SINGING GAMES OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND TUVALU:
A CLASSIFICATION AND ANALYSIS OF
MUSIC AND MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

Traditional singing games from eleven provinces of Papua New Guinea (Melanesia) and from Tuvalu (Polynesia) are studied for both game content and music. The sociocultural context is briefly described, previous publications on games discussed, and a classification system presented.

Ninety games are presented with a general introduction, directions for movements together with illustrations, music transcriptions, and translations of all the Tuvalu and some Papua New Guinea texts.

Game aspects are classified and tonal materials of the songs and chants analyzed. The writer believes that: 1) environment is an important influence, 2) many games are closely related to adult traditional dances, and 3) elements of pre-European contact culture persist in the traditional singing games.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This study grew from the writer's involvement in developing a music syllabus for Papua New Guinea. In 1973, when the writer began lecturing in the Territory of Papua New Guinea, the school music being presented was the same as that in Sydney, Australia. No indigenous music of the Territory or information on indigenous instruments were included in the syllabus or in resource books readily available to teachers working in rural areas of the country. The Government radio network, the only one in the Territory, broadcasted regularly-scheduled instructional programs on music, but the contents were all oriented to the European heritage and meaningless to all but the expatriate (mostly Australian) children. The only western instrument known to most Nationals (citizens) was, and still is, the guitar.

The writer, an Australian, holds a Bachelor of Music degree with a double major in music education and ethnomusicology, and a teaching diploma. He had experience teaching in South Australia and became familiar with the Kodály Method in which repeated intervals and simple rhythmic patterns in folk music are used to help children understand music. He decided to collect Papua New Guinea music for a new syllabus in which most of the European songs would be replaced by music closer to the children's experience.
He arranged to have his students at the Madang Teachers College teach indigenous folk songs in a peer group situation. However, it became obvious that singing games were more suited to his intended application of the Kodály Method because they have simpler tunes. As the collection grew, two features became apparent, namely that games use dance steps or rhythmic patterns found in adult dances of sing-sings (pidgin word for any traditional singing or dancing), and are closely linked with the environment (for example, in the games from the coastal regions that are associated with water, players jump into the sea or river as part of the action of the game, whereas in those from the highlands the activity is to warm players after swimming in the cold streams).

Apart from using the games with his students in the lecture room, the writer has had no opportunity until this present study to transcribe or analyze them. The 49 games from Papua New Guinea are a sample selected from 360 collected during the years 1973 through 1978. Some games are very well known, and were taught each year by different students. At least one version of these games, and an explanation for their popularity, is included. All the highland provinces are represented in the sample, but only three from the north coast of the mainland--East Sepik, Morobe, and Madang--and three island provinces--East New Britain, New Ireland and North Solomons. Because too few
games were collected from the Papuan region--Western, Gulf, Central, and Milne Bay Provinces--none is included in the sample.

The Tuvaluan collection was made in 1981 while the writer was an exchange student at the University of the South Pacific in Suva, Fiji. Of the five months spent working with this university, four were spent with its Extension Centre in Tuvalu. The 41 songs and chants from Tuvalu are a sample selected from 81 collected. English songs translated into Tuvaluan are excluded from the sample as are six from Kiribati (the island group just north of Tuvalu, formerly known as the Gilbert Islands). Some games are widely known and were recorded on more than one atoll. At least one version of these is included in the sample.

For purposes of this study the writer defines a game as structured play in which the participant(s) creates a world with its own rules and time value. He defines a singing game as a game played for amusement with some action(s) related to the text. (No distinction is made between an 'action song' and a 'singing game', because the writer believes that within the cultures discussed no differentiation is made.) He defines a traditional singing game as one played within the cultural group, with the text in the language of the culture, and musical components characteristic of other genres of the culture. Game songs
and game chants are arbitrarily differentiated by the writer as necessary for transcription.

The spelling of names of the countries, provinces and atolls follow that of the Pacific Islands Year Book, fourteenth edition [1981]; that of geographical features such as rivers and mountain ranges in Papua New Guinea follows that in the Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea [1972]. Local place names in the texts of the Tuvaluan songs and chants were checked with the informants at the time of collection as were names of persons. The present tense is used for the period 1973 through 1978 in reference to Papua New Guinea and 1981 in reference to Tuvalu.

Singing games from the two countries represented in this study appear to have few restrictions on who may play them and when. Two games (Games 1 and 20) in the Papua New Guinea sample and one in the Tuvaluan (Game 33) are limited to boys; the others are played by either sex or by mixed groups of boys and girls. A participant in a game is referred to as 'he', even though the game may be played by a girl.

1.1 Papua New Guinea: ethnography and culture

Papua New Guinea, the largest land mass of Melanesia, lies between 3 degrees and 10 degrees south latitude. The main land mass is the eastern half of the large island of New Guinea to the north of Australia. The country of Papua
New Guinea, extending from 141 degrees to 156 degrees east longitude, includes the neighboring island groups of Trobriands, Bougainville, New Ireland, New Britain, Manus, and many smaller islands (see maps, Figures 1-1 and 1-2).

There are many different linguistic and cultural groups (approximately 700), whose lifestyle and physical appearances are almost as diverse as their languages. Although some migration has occurred between the provinces, especially since the 1950s, physiognomy remains a fairly reliable guide to place of origin.

The first European to see New Guinea was the Spaniard Ortiz Retes in 1545 who sailed along the north coast. The first European settlements began in 1874 with Emma Forsayth establishing plantations in New Britain. Most of the coastal regions in both the south and north have been in constant contact with Europeans throughout the present century; the coastal and island regions were all part of German New Guinea. Large plantations were developed—the majority owned by expatriate companies, some by Christian missions—and lifestyles affected. For example in East New Britain, a region which has been under mission influence for at least one hundred years, the Tolai have adopted many Western conventions as their own: German folk tunes with Kuanua (the language of the Tolai) words are claimed as their own traditional songs.
Figure 1-1. Map of the Pacific.
Figure 1-2. Map of Papua New Guinea.
In contrast, all highland areas were first contacted by Europeans between 1925 and 1960; some Australian Patrol Posts were established in the mid-1950s. The highlands region was opened up primarily to seek labor for the plantations on the coast, and to exploit mineral wealth—mainly gold. Most of the commercial activity affecting Nationals (citizens of Papua New Guinea) began only in 1950 when roads were pushed into the region. Traditional life still continues to a great extent in the highlands. The greatest stimuli for change are the mobility of the people, and the substitution of Western for traditional trading goods in traditional exchange ceremonies that involve large displays of dance.

Prior to 1976 when Papua New Guinea was to gain Independence, the Democratic Socialist government in power in Australia had placed strong emphasis on culture and its preservation. It had given the first one million Australian dollars to be followed at Independence by a further five million dollars over a five-year period to establish programs to preserve and display the culture of Papua New Guinea. The gift was administered by a government department established for the purpose.

The Museum, the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, and the National Arts School are tangible results of this gift, but none has lived up to its potential. In 1975 when the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies was established
it was responsible for publishing two periodicals—New Guinea Writing four times a year, and Oral History six times a year—and numerous books and occasional papers. In its first three years it produced five phonograph recordings of indigenous music with detailed notes, as well as a catalogue of its own archives. Since 1978 publication of New Guinea Writing has ceased; in 1981 Oral History appeared only twice, and the number of occasional publications was less than a third of that of 1977 and 1978. The reason given for this reduction in output is a shortage of money, the gift from Australia having never been matched by either the Papua New Guinea Government, or any aid agency. The policy on culture in the country appears to have shifted from positive interest to apathy.

In two papers presented at the Conference for Ethnomusicologists at Goroka, Papua New Guinea (August 1982) the position of traditional music in education was discussed. A paper by Ilaita Gigimat, "Traditional Music in Papua New Guinea Schools" (1982), posed some questions on the training of teachers and the use of radio to promote traditional music. The same questions had been discussed at conferences the writer attended in the mid-1970s, and although reports were prepared and presented nothing has happened. Another paper by Jon Fearon, "The Teaching of Traditional Music in the Community Schools of Papua New Guinea" (1982) presented little more than the outline of the syllabus the writer was
responsible for developing in the 1970s. Although Fearon claims that a change of direction has taken place in elementary education, it has not been implemented beyond the printed syllabus.

Within the education system it was the cultural programs that were cut first following Independence; the trained teachers, lecturers and writers were given no incentive to stay in the country. In a recent interview [June 1982], a leading expatriate education officer who has lived in the country for twenty years told this writer that no effort is now being made to incorporate indigenous culture within the school curriculum. The policy of the Education Department is for the schools to teach literacy and mathematics. The hope that children's cultural identity will be developed in the villages is clearly impractical considering that any child who goes on for schooling beyond the fifth year must attend a boarding school many miles from the home village—in many cases in a different language area and cultural base.

Western contact has wrought profound changes throughout the country with inevitable decay of traditional cultural and social values. Traditionally in Papua New Guinea (with the exception of the Trobriand Islands) leadership within the clan is gained by the man who can amass the most wealth. This wealth can be in traditional goods such as pigs, shell money, and wives as well as in Western goods such as coffee,
trucks, and money. Often wealth of a bigman (name for a powerful leader in each community) is measured by what is owed to him by other members of the clan. Large ceremonies are held when the wealthy man gives some of his goods away to either a sub-clan or a distantly related family. When the bigman needs support to go to battle with another clan, or has some large work project, clan members who have received gifts are expected to help him. Such a position of power, seldom hereditary and holding no ceremonial privilege, is attained by demonstrating good bargaining skills and natural leadership qualities that his clan could respect.

Now the sons of bigmen are inheriting their fathers' Western wealth that often includes trucks, trade stores, and cattle projects. All of these require paid labor to be run successfully. Other members of the clan are employed, making them dependent on the wealthier members of the clan. Often younger sons of bigmen are encouraged to obtain as much education as possible. Many university graduates who are taking high positions in the public service, or entering parliament, are using the father's power base to build their own.

With the advent of Western education, much of the traditional value system has been adapted to accommodate the Western value system. For example, within the Tolai matrilineal family organization, the husband was the outsider. In the rules of the clan no one moved away from the territory
owned by the clan. Although a woman married a man from another clan she did not change her allegiance from her clan to that of her husband. Rather, she was lent to be impregnated, the Tolai being well aware of the dangers of breeding within the family. A woman's children remained members of her clan, rather than being members of her husband's. The clan's property was not dispersed because a woman's sons inherited her brother's property rather than her husband's. The husband's property was inherited by his sister's sons.

In the 1980s however the rules of inheritance are different. The Tolai are very commercially oriented, using trade stores and public transport vehicles. Fathers now leave their Western goods--their most valuable possessions in hard cash--to their sons, thereby keeping the wealth within the nuclear family, rather than having it distributed among the clan. The result is the rise of a new elite class of a few very wealthy families who can afford sophisticated housing, and other luxuries, and to send their children to Australia for education.

Prior to World War II coastal peoples engaged in long trading voyages, the two best known systems of overseas trade exchange being the Hiri in the Papuan Gulf and the Kula ring in Milne Bay. In the Hiri, Papuan people from the Port Moresby area sailed across the Papuan Gulf in large twin-hulled canoes carrying clay pots and woven mats to their
trading partners in the gulf which they traded for sago processed from the palms of the swamps. In the Kula, although some trade goods were exchanged, necklaces and display goods were passed on a set pattern of exchange (Malinowski 1922). Lesser known are some trading routes on the North Coast such as that of the people near Madang who traded clay pots and sago with people of the Siassi Islands and Finschaffnen in exchange for dances and songs. The modern trade routes between the major commercial centers of 1982 bypass these areas making it difficult to reach them from Madang. Consequently, most of the traditional trading in dance has now ceased, and although many of the old dances are still performed, new influences and inspiration are coming from non-traditional areas such as the large squatter settlements of people from the Ramu Valley and Sepik River peoples around the township of Madang. The people from these settlements, many of whom have no other source of income, dance for tourists on a commercial basis.

To celebrate an important event, or to raise money, *singsing* competitions are held in the large provincial centers. Admission is charged to see the dancing and prizes are given to those who win in various categories such as the most authentic costuming or best presented group. Several provinces are often represented in these competitions, and people from one area see dances and costumes that are radically different from their own.
Stylistic changes result when one group incorporates decorations or dance steps from an area which is not a traditional source of inspiration. Some of the dances are considered more dramatic after the inclusions. Changes have always been made, but their sources are now much wider and more frequent than in pre-contact times.

Opening up and pacifying the country since Western contact has also allowed the population to shift from one area to another. Formerly, highland peoples seldom ventured outside their own tribal territory because they most likely would have been killed. Since 1965 they are found all over the country. Many highlanders who call themselves Thursday Islanders are working in Queensland, the closest Australian state to Papua New Guinea. These highlanders retain little of their traditional lifestyle or values, and many of their children speak only Melanesian pidgin (the business language of Papua New Guinea) and English, having no contact with the tribal language of their parents and little interest in other aspects of their native culture.

Papua New Guinea has attracted many anthropologists and other research workers. Studies began with the Russian, Micholai McClay in 1872, and continue to the present. Two bibliographies that list published books and papers, as well as theses and dissertations on the country are An Ethnographic Bibliography on New Guinea, in three volumes [1968], and World Catalogue of Theses and Dissertations Relating to
Papua New Guinea, in three volumes [Coppell:1978]. Most of the anthropological studies have been devoted to specific areas and apart from several art books, there is no work looking at the country of Papua New Guinea as a whole.

Ken Gourlay [1974] compiled a bibliography of writings on music in Papua New Guinea, listing the subject material by province and major subject headings. Ethnomusicologists have worked in some areas of the country, but little has been published. Only two music publications look at the country as a whole—a survey of musical instruments written by Jaap Kunst [1931] published before the highlands were opened to outsiders and, therefore, incomplete; and further work on musical instruments by Vida Chenoweth [1976]. The Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea [1972] has two articles on music. The first, by Alice M. Moyle, on traditional music and instruments, is derived from secondary sources and is general in nature. The second by R. J. Sheridan, discusses music since European contact and commercially available phonograph recordings. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians [1980] has an entry under the general heading 'Melanesia' with a sub-section on Papua New Guinea written by Chenoweth. None of the articles gives more than a general outline of the subject and a few examples.

Although the present study deals with only one aspect of the music culture, namely singing/chanting games, it is
more broadly based regionally than most musical or anthropological studies.

1.2 Tuvalu: ethnography and culture

Tuvalu, formerly known as the Ellice Islands, is a small country of nine atolls located in the Central Pacific, lying in an oblique line close to the International Dateline, extending from 5 degrees south to 10.5 degrees south latitude (see maps, Figures 1-1 and 1-3). Ethnically the people are Western Polynesian, of which there are slightly variant dialects in the atolls.

The first Europeans to see any of the atolls were members of the Spanish fleet commanded by Álvaro de Mendaña. This fleet sailed through the northern atolls in 1568, but did not stop or go ashore. Mendaña saw the southern atolls during his next expedition in search of "King Solomon's Islands" in 1595, but again made no attempt to contact the people. The Tuvalu atolls were next visited by Europeans in 1819 when an English ship, owned by the English politician Samuel Ellice, stopped at Nukufetau and Funafuti. Maps were made of these two atolls and Funafuti was given the name Ellice Island. Later the British Admiralty Hydrographer adopted this name for the chain of atolls when they were all discovered and charted by whalers and English trading vessels.
Figure 1-3. Map of Tuvalu.
There are reports of blackbirding in the 1850s and 1860s. The people of Nukufetau, Funafuti, and Nukulaelae--all atolls with good natural harbors--were affected most, losing up to seventy percent of their male population. By the 1890s however, it was reported that there were many children on the atolls, and by 1892 the population had recovered [Bedford, Macdonald and Munro 1980:214].

The British nationals living on the atolls attracted the attention of the British High Commissioner in Fiji, who formally brought them under the jurisdiction of his office in 1877.

Germany's expanding colonial policy of the 1880s and 1890s caused Britain to declare a Protectorate over the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in 1892. This began the joint administration of the two island chains first as a protectorate and then, in 1916, as the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony. Apart from a brief period from 1941 to the end of 1943 when the Japanese invaded the Gilberts, the islands continued as a British Colony until 1975 when the two groups separated and subsequently became independent countries. The name Ellice Islands was changed to Tuvalu ("tu", stand together; and "valu", eight--for the major atoll communities) at the time of separation. Independence was gained in October 1978. The name Gilbert Islands was changed to Kiribati on Independence Day in July 1979. Both
countries remain within the British Commonwealth with the Queen of England as the reigning monarch.

Linguistic evidence [Niko Besnier 1981:xxiii] and legend [R. G. Roberts 1958:416] indicate that both Tonga and Samoa were original homes of Tuvaluans. However other blood lines have been introduced during the last one hundred years. A small number of Europeans (most of whom seemed to have jumped ship but became traders for one of the Australian firms operating in the Pacific at this time), had settled on the atolls by 1890 and are often referred to as beachcombers. A Jamaican who lived on the atoll of Nukulaelae is still referred to by the people as the African, and his descendents still display characteristics distinct from the other Polynesians there. Most of the Caucasian traders took Tuvaluan women as their wives, adopted Tuvaluan lifestyle, and left large families who were brought up as Polynesians. Today on the atoll of Funafuti one of the four major families is named O’Brien and on the atoll of Nukufetau there is a large extended family named Schutze who even now, five generations later, produce children who have blue eyes. Samoan missionaries, who began evangelizing in the atolls in 1861, also took Tuvaluan girls as wives and today there are several Tuvaluan men who hold Matai status in Western Samoa.

When Independence for the colony of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands was first discussed, prominent Ellice
Island politicians suggested that they wanted to be totally independent rather than joined to the Gilbert Islands. The colonial experience of Micronesian and Polynesian people being forced together for administrative purposes had not been a particularly happy one, and because the Polynesians were the smaller population they felt they would automatically become subject to the larger Micronesian population. Britain, the colonial power administering the islands, did not favor separation but, under pressure, held a referendum on the Independence issue. The result was an overwhelming vote for Independence as a separate country.

The constitution states that the government must protect and promote the Tuvaluan culture, however, the writer could find no evidence of government policy being implemented except for the sending of a performing troupe to the South Pacific Festival of Arts in 1976 and 1980. A government department buys Tuvaluan artifacts for export to Fiji and Australia, and although there is no quality control on the goods made for export it is to the credit of the outer islanders that they still maintain high standards for much of their fine work and craftsmanship. Air travel into Tuvalu is very expensive and hotel accommodation within the country is not very attractive—two features which combine to deter tourists from visiting the country.

The advent of missionaries, and later a need for cash to buy trade goods, altered the lifestyle of Tuvaluans,
though many aspects of Polynesian lifestyle remain. The pastor became the most powerful force in the island's social organization, taking this power from the elected chief. Even before the turn of the century, Mrs. David [1899:119, 126] recorded that the chief had only a ceremonial position and that the laws were enforced by the island magistrate appointed by the British Commissioner, and encouraged by the pastor. Since Independence, however, the elected politician appears to be taking the leadership away from the pastor. In 1892 the chief held little more than the title and was afforded no social recognition. The extended family is still an important aspect of Tuvaluan life, and it is not unusual to find grandparents bringing up their grandchildren on the home atolls, while the parents work in Nauru or Christmas Island. The Samoan version of cricket (kilikiti) and soccer are popular introduced sports, but the most popular sport of all is still the traditional game of fano that is played with a laufala (pandanus) ball.

The structure of Tuvaluan society, never as rigid as that found on large Polynesian land masses such as Samoa and Hawaii, has now decayed. There is no tabu on marriage between ranks or islands; it is only forbidden for third or closer cousins to marry. The marriage of the pastor is most important, and he is accorded privileges automatically, always living in the best house. His wife, in contrast to
the chief's wife who holds no special privileges at all, also assumes an important place in society.

The people of Tuvalu are conscious of body odors, and make pointed jokes about people who either smell badly, or do not wash enough. Great care is taken to ensure that their bodies are washed at least twice a day; flowers and perfume are used by everyone. The traditional diet of Tuvalu causes flatulence especially in the women who, at feasts, eat after the men have already eaten all the fish and pork leaving only starch. The flatulence that results is recognized by all and no embarrassment is shown when they stand up to walk away from feasts, releasing their wind. The writer has seen small children making jokes and funny gestures about the sounds, as they follow the old women home from a feast. In contrast, subjects such as copulation and a person's genital areas are never mentioned.

The greatest change in the culture began in 1861 when the first Christian missionaries began work in the atolls. They were Samoan converts working for the London Missionary Society, and were responsible for major changes in both social structure and governance, having adopted concepts of correctness and decency from the European missionaries. For example, in Samoa, European missionaries, who considered the dance movements of the traditional circular dances to be lascivious and lewd, had demanded that they be replaced by dances in which the participants would sit or stand in
place. When the Samoan missionaries came to Tuvalu, they were even stricter than their European counterparts, and forbade any form of dance. At first they allowed only the singing of hymns. Eventually they granted permission for chanting multiplication tables which gave the dances of Tuvalu their present name, fatele, which several of the writer's informants translated as 'to tell the story of the numbers'.

The hymn tunes used in church on Tuvalu—all based on the hymnals used by the London Missionary Society—are incorporated into the present fatele which tell Bible stories. Fatele are performed either sitting or standing, but never use steps. They seem to have little in common with descriptions of dances given to the writer by informants who, in turn, had received them from their grandparents. With the exception of some children's games (see Chapter 5), music and texts performed today are very different from the old music and ceremony which had been associated with fecundity and fertility [David 1899:67].

The early Samoan missionaries made no attempt to use Tuvaluan—they used the Samoan Bible, and preached in Samoan. The Tuvaluan language, however, is closely related to Samoan and, with many words understood by Tongans, can be readily understood by Polynesians from as far west as Kapingamarangi and south as Wallis and Futuna. It is only
since Independence that a lexicon has been produced (Besnier (compiler):1981) and the Bible is being translated into Tuvaluan.

There has always been rivalry between Nanumea, the northernmost atoll, and Funafuti, the atoll which is the Administrative Center for the country. Rivalry is not limited to just these two atolls, but appears to extend throughout the chain dating from traditional times to the present. The people of Nukulaelae are known as the best song writers and composers of fatele. Recognition of this status was given when they were chosen as the first group to represent Tuvalu as an independent country at the second South Pacific Festival of Arts held in Rotorua, New Zealand in 1976. (At the first Festival in Suva, Fiji in 1972, Tuvalu had shared the dancing with Kiribati, and the Tuvaluan dancers in the troupe were all residents of Tarawa.) Although acknowledged as the best, the people of Nukulaelae are also thought of as fast and unstable—an attitude reinforced when the dance troupe returned from the 1976 Festival and decided to adopt Cook Island dance costume. Whereas the girls had previously worn either T-shirts or embroidered blouses and grass skirts made from dried coconut leaves, they now wear a decorated brassiere and skirts made from shredded rice bags, and expose more flesh than is considered proper. Fatele composed on
Nukulaelae are often copied on other atolls in the chain, but never seem to be danced with the same enthusiasm.

Prior to European contact, the atolls were self-supporting; there is no history of voyages for food from other places. Legend tells of voyages by Samoans and Tongans who attacked some of the atolls, and there is evidence of warfare with the southernmost islands of Kiribati. These voyages were not undertaken on a regular basis, and there is no evidence of trading routes between points such as these. Influences of change seem to have occurred only when an occasional canoe-load of settlers arrived from Central Polynesia or Kiribati. There was little motive for trade between the atolls because the primary resources of all are extremely limited, and they all produce the same food. Apart from some variation in design, the artifacts are all the same. However, the people of Tuvalu have always been curious about other parts of the Pacific, and open to change as evidenced by their abandonment of old dance forms and development of the fatele, a dance derived from the Samoan siva. With the advent of cassette tape recordings and inexpensive recorders in the last decade, the musics of Tahiti, Kiribati, and the Cook Islands, and their associated dance styles are now the most popular at parties. Wood slit-drums (lali) have been replaced by large tin cans in which sea biscuits are shipped. These
tin cans are preferred because of the greater loudness that can be produced.

Scarcity of land has always been a problem, and the limits imposed on cash crops by the poor soil have been an incentive for the people to work for wages outside the country. Tuvaluans, unlike their Kiribati neighbors to the north, are adventurous. They have signed on as crew on ships throughout the Pacific for the past one hundred years; a large portion of the work force on both Ocean Island and Nauru was Tuvaluan, and until 1947, all secondary education had to be obtained outside the country. Outside influence is even wider now because many young men work for international shipping lines, and travel all over the world. With travel an accepted part of Tuvaluan life many aspects of other cultures are adopted into their own--including popular Cook Island and Tahitian melodies into their music.

The price Tuvalu has paid both economically and in true independence for its national identify is very high. The country has extremely limited resources and has become dependent on aid from other countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Britain to survive. In a recent interview (June 1982), Dr. Macu Salato, former Secretary General of the South Pacific Commission, stated that Tuvalu had given up one form of colonial dominance for another. In order to function, it must rely on outside aid, making it subject to the whims of donor countries. Furthermore, most of the
trained personnel are either expatriates or Nationals who, having attended schools of higher learning in countries more developed than Tuvalu, return home expecting to duplicate their overseas lifestyles. To sustain this new lifestyle, they increase the demand for imported goods with deleterious effects on the economy and culture, thus changes are introduced.

The decay of the traditional life of Tuvalu threatens to become total. No longer self-supporting, the country is now, in 1982, totally dependent on outside goods for the most basic necessities of life. All lighting on the outer atolls is from kerosene lamps, much of the food is cooked in imported cooking oil, and flour has become an integral part of the diet. The trading figures the writer saw while in Tuvalu for the January-June period of 1981 indicate this dependence--in round figures, 10,000 Australian dollars for goods exported from the country in contrast to 100,000 Australian dollars for food imported during the same period.

Few anthropological or scientific studies have been carried out on Tuvalu which is in contrast to Papua New Guinea where anthropological studies have been continuous for over a century. The first scientific study was that by the Australian Museum expedition of 1896, although prior to this, several European missionaries had written general descriptions of the people and the country in missionary publications. The Australian Museum expedition, under the
leadership of Sir Edgeworth David worked on the atoll of Funafuti for four months. The expedition in 1896 attempted to test Darwin's theory of atolls. The report, *The Atoll of Funafuti, Ellice Group* (1896-1900), presents detailed descriptions of the geography, botany, and animal life of the atoll but makes only passing references to the people and their culture. *Funafuti; or three months on a coral island: an unscientific account of a scientific expedition* (1899), written by the wife of the leader of the expedition and published as a personal narrative, gives more details of the daily life of the people but was not intended as a serious study.

Apart from Colonial Office reports, the next major publication was in 1931 by Donald G. Kennedy, a district officer and later a school teacher on the atolls of Funafuti and Vaitupu. His book, *Field notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Islands* (1931), has been one of the principal sources of information for anyone wanting to study the society and culture of the country. Harry Maude (1968) and Arthur Grimble (1952) make passing references to the Ellice Islanders, but most of their work was written about the Gilbert Islands and Nauru.

The first anthropological study on Tuvalu was written by Gerd Koch in 1961. His work, *Die Materielle Kultur der Ellice-Inseln*, contains some mention of music, though he appears to have taken all the information on games directly
from Kennedy's earlier work of 1931. Dieter Christensen working on the tape recordings collected by Koch, analyzes the then-surviving older music in *Die Musik der Ellice-Inseln* [1964]. When the present writer was in Tuvalu in 1981, this older music is seldom sung, and only by a few of the older people; young people have no interest in it, and interviews made it apparent that they did not want to learn it.

The anthropologist, Ivan Brady, worked in the central atolls of Nukufetau and Nanumanga in the late 1960s, and his dissertation *Land Tenure, Kinship and Community Structure: strategies for living in the Ellice Islands of Western Polynesia*, appeared in 1970. This work explores the economic life of the atolls more than the social. Similarly Anne Chambers' *Nanumea Report* [1975], is part of an in-depth study of four atolls in Kiribati and one in Tuvalu from a purely economic point of view. No other substantial work has been carried out in the country. Some articles which have appeared over the years in such publications as *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* are important sources of information although most of them were written by district officers with no formal training in anthropology or ethnography.

The data in this collection of singing games was given by informants from five of the nine atoll's, and is drawn from more sources than most previous studies. The
informants' translation of song texts indicates that many of the games are the oldest surviving form of expression in the country.
CHAPTER 2
CLASSIFICATION OF SINGING GAMES

The purpose of this study is to discover dominant aspects of singing games that are important to the cultures represented. The writer wishes to isolate some major influences that affect children in their games. Johan Huizinga in his discussion on 'play' summarizes:

"game "represents" a contest, or else becomes a contest for the best representation of something."

[1955:13]

Piaget believes that play is "essentially a cognitive activity" and is associated with the child's efforts to get to know his world and assimilate it in his own terms [1972:142]. The games in this study have been largely influenced by the environment, although some have been adopted from another culture.

Classification of singing games is important to indicate similarities and differences not only in the games themselves but, more importantly, in behavior of the people playing them and their relationships to their environment.

The writer surveyed previous publications on games, paying particular attention to collections containing singing games and to classifications of games. A system of classification to be used for the analysis in
Chapter 6 of the samples from Papua New Guinea and Tuvalu is explained (see 2.3).

2.1 Previous publications of games

Folklorists made most of the collections of games during the last two centuries. In most of their collections games are grouped by the subject matter of their texts, or by actions. In two early collections from English-speaking areas games are organized according to age and sex of the players, as well as broad subject headings.

William Wells Newell's *Games and Songs of American Children* published in 1883 and revised in 1903 is a pioneer work. The games he collected were played by children without supervision of parents and passed on from one group of children to another. Newell classifies the games under themes such as love games, histories, playing at work and others--some of which coincide with those used by the writer in this present study under the heading of 'thematic elements' (see 6.1). However, Newell did not make any distinction between games with and without singing.

*Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, by Lady Alice Gomme, was published in two volumes in 1894 and 1898. Gomme puts the games into "two main divisions, which may be called descriptive, and singing or choral" [Gomme 1964:xv]. She collected games from contemporaneous
gentle homes, but none from the streets, slums or farming communities.

Composers in the early part of the twentieth century began collecting folk music to use in their compositions, and to preserve it. Ralph Vaughan Williams and Gustav Holst collected in Britain at the same time as Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály in Hungary. Bartók's primary concern was notating the music and words, and although he transcribed the music in great detail, he did not describe actions of the game songs or provide diagrams or illustrations.

Kodály recognized the importance of singing games and realized their value as educational material. He incorporated singing games into the education system that he and others devised for Hungarian schools. Within Kodály's education system, the singing games were graded on the basis of use; no other classification scheme was used.

Folklorists, in the 1920s, became interested in the environmental stimuli that prompt children and adults to play particular games at particular times. Singing games were often classified as functional songs and included in collections of folk dance and drama [Brunvand 1978:160]. Dorothy Scarborough, in a collection that includes games as part of a larger body of folk material, gives descriptions of singing games played at funerals in On the Trail of Negro Folk-Songs [1925].
Many collections of traditional children's songs include a few singing games as an integral part of children's music. Only a few collectors attempt to classify the games apart from other music. Donald Berger's introduction to Folk Songs of Japanese Children [1969:11-12] lists types of children's songs, the first of which is "play songs".

Ian Turner's Cinderella Dressed in Yella [1969] is a comprehensive collection of children's rhymes from Australia. Turner divides his collection into two sections, 'Rhymes for games' and 'Rhymes of the playground'. His major interest is in the rhymes, and their variants; he also broadly classifies games as counting out, skipping, clapping, ball bouncing and other games. He gives no music transcriptions or movement descriptions.

Playground Game Characteristics of Brisbane Primary School Children [1981] by P. L. Lindsay and D. Palmer is another collection of Australian children's games. The authors present detailed descriptions of the actions of the games but do not include any music notation. Their study compares children's playground games with those taught in schools from a physical education syllabus. Some of their headings such as ball bouncing, skipping, and counting out are the same as Turner's.

Little has been published on games in the Pacific. Stewart Culin, a pioneer in working outside his own
cultural and language group, wrote "Hawaiian Games" [1899:201-247] which contains descriptions of games and for some includes illustrations depicting the properties.

Ramon Campbell, in La Heréncia Musical de Rapanui [1971] has a chapter [7:443-457] devoted to children's singing games. The eight kai kai songs which accompany string-figures (cat's cradles) that he claims are indigenous to the people of Easter Island, are transcribed into Western notation, and are accompanied by diagrams showing the string-figures. Donald Mitchell's Hawaiian Games for Today [1975], which presents traditional Hawaiian games for use in schools or youth groups, includes detailed descriptions, photographs, and drawings.

Play and games are discussed by a few writers in Papua New Guinea, but there is no collection devoted to singing games. Several teacher's colleges have published limited collections of folksongs of Papua New Guinea that include singing games, but few of these give details on the movement. John Newton's Village Games of Papua New Guinea [1974], published by Goroka Teachers College (in the Eastern Highlands), contains two song texts, but no musical transcriptions. Jon Fearon's Inanaga Ibagana [1980], published by Dauli Teachers College (in the Southern Highlands), includes four "dancing and action songs" [1980:18-22] with music transcriptions, two with a general description of the movement. Unfortunately there is no
description of the steps, making it difficult for a reader to reconstruct the actions with any degree of accuracy.

The only references the writer has found to game songs in Tuvalu are in a section of Kennedy's *Field Notes on the Culture of Vaitupu, Ellice Island* [1931:110-124], and the introduction to Christensen's *Die Musik der Ellice-Inseln* [1964:18]. Neither provides musical transcriptions of game songs or chants.

2.2 Previous attempts at game classification

Over the years, several writers have attempted to classify games, but none of their systems are satisfactory when widely applied to various world cultures.

Phyllis Frederick's "Children's games and sports" [1968:519] makes five categories:

1. outdoor games
2. water games and sports
3. nature games
4. picnic games
5. indoor and parlor games

These are rather obviously based on a European concept of living and playing. The last two categories in Frederick's list cannot be applied in the Papua New Guinea situation because in that culture no concept of either a picnic or a parlor game exists. However within Tuvaluan society, picnics are very important occasions and planned with great care. Many are single-sex excursions and are often used to gather a large workforce for certain community-based
activities, as when women collect green pandanus leaves which must be processed over a fire almost immediately. Games may be played at this time, but are usually not part of the purpose of the occasion. Of the traditional games, only fano (not a singing game) is considered important enough to require advance planning, and no other activities are allowed while it is being played.

In Japan, of the several attempts to develop a classification system of games, Yanagida Kunio's is the most widely accepted:

1. hand games
2. under-the-eaves games
3. individual outdoor games
4. games played at a crossroad (group outdoor games)
5. set-rule games
6. children's play-acting

[Sasamori 1969:13]

This classification reflects the high culture in which the games originated and cannot be readily applied to the cultures discussed in this study. Although hand games and individual outdoor games are appropriate in classifying Papua New Guinean and Tuvaluan games, the category of 'under-the-eaves games' (which are, in fact, outdoor games) and 'set-rule games' (games where fixed rules are written down), are not.

The most comprehensive classification of games for a less-developed ethnic group is that by Jacob Elder who uses the following five-part classification in his Song Games from Trinidad and Tobago [1965:27]:
1. cultural function
2. formation
3. objects used
4. origin
5. central activity

However it does not completely satisfy all the criteria needed for the present study. Paul Brewster, in his introduction "Children's Games and Rhymes" to volume I of The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore writes:

The system of classification which I finally adopted is of my own devising, and I anticipate criticism of it by admitting that it is not without flaws.

[1952:33]

2.3 Classification for this study

The writer has devised a classification system for this study which adequately covers different aspects such as actions, elements, activities, and musical components of games in the cultures discussed.

It is a further development of an earlier paper, "A dual classification system for singing games collected in Papua New Guinea," in which the writer devised a system based on who plays, and what action accompanies the games. In his classification he attempted to design a system applicable to traditional games of any culture. The classification is organized in the Dewey decimal system as in "Classification of Musical Instruments" by Eric von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs first published in 1914. The
system does not take into account either text or if a chant or song is used (see Appendix A). However, the categories are not exhaustive and can be added as needed.

The classification system used for the analysis in Chapter 6 of the present study is an enlargement of the system above. For purposes of this study, seven categories are selected with sub-categories of each identified by number (see Figure 2-1).

The first category, dexterity versus chance, is derived in part from Stewart Culin's classification in Games of the North American Indians [1907:31]. The second category, thematic elements, with ten sub-categories, share those found in Newell [1903:xxi-xxvii] and Lindsay and Palmer [1981:iii]. The third category, grouping, has nine sub-categories of configurations of players; the fourth, position and foot movement, has four sub-categories; the fifth, properties, has three sub-categories; the sixth, sex, has four sub-categories; and the seventh, song versus chant, has three sub-categories.

The relevant information for a game song can be coded. For example, a game that is a guessing game played by girls who sit in a circle, and who pass an object while they sing a rhyme would be classified as 2:8:7:1:3:2:1. The first number, 2, is the sub-category chance/guessing game in dexterity versus chance. The second number, 8, is the sub-category subterfuge in the category thematic
elements. The third number, 7, is the sub-category one circle in the category grouping. The fourth number, 1, is the sub-category sitting in the category position and foot movement. The fifth number, 3, is the sub-category passed in the category properties. The sixth number, 2, is the sub-category female in the category sex. The seventh number, 1, is the sub-category song in the category song versus chant.

A complete list of the classification of each of the 90 singing games in this study is presented in Appendix B.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dexterity versus Chance</th>
<th>Thematic Element</th>
<th>Grouping</th>
<th>Position and Foot Movement</th>
<th>Property</th>
<th>Sex of Player(s)</th>
<th>Song versus Chant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 dexterity</td>
<td>1 beach/water</td>
<td>1 individual</td>
<td>1 sitting</td>
<td>1 none</td>
<td>1 male</td>
<td>1 song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 chance/ guessing</td>
<td>2 blindman's buff</td>
<td>2 pair</td>
<td>2 standing: stationary</td>
<td>2 held/not passed</td>
<td>2 female</td>
<td>2 chant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 catching/it'</td>
<td>3 pairs in line</td>
<td>3 standing: moving</td>
<td>3 passed/ thrown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 education</td>
<td>4 straight line</td>
<td>4 standing: stationary then moving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 miming</td>
<td>5 two straight lines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 nonsense</td>
<td>6 four straight lines</td>
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<td>7 simple dance</td>
<td>7 one circle</td>
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<td></td>
<td>8 subterfuge</td>
<td>8 small informal assembly</td>
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<td></td>
<td>9 training for dexterity</td>
<td>9 two small informal assemblies</td>
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<td>10 others</td>
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Figure 2-1. A classification for singing games of Papua New Guinea and Tuvalu.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the writer discusses the methodology used in the collection of the material for this study, the selection of the sample, the presentation of the games, the criteria for transcription of the songs and chants, and the special symbols for notation. The sample from Papua New Guinea is presented in Chapter 4, the sample from Tuvalu in Chapter 5.

3.1 Methodology of collection

The singing games collected from students in Papua New Guinea were all recorded between 1972 and 1978 at Madang Teachers College. These students, drawn from every province of the country, were resident at the college for two years to receive training as primary school teachers. After graduation they would not necessarily return to their own provinces. Although they were encouraged to use their own regional music, they were also expected to become interested in the music of other cultural groups within the country. To facilitate this expanded interest each student was required to teach the class a singing game and song from his or her own area.

The singing games collected in Tuvalu were all recorded between August and October 1981, while the writer
was attached to the University of the South Pacific Centre in Funafuti. Most games were collected from adults who had learned them as children. In general, adults are less inhibited about singing these songs and, in many cases, know more traditional songs than children for whom 'singing games' mean those learned at school. Few of the writer's informants had been to school, so had not been influenced by school games. Many of the school games children are now learning, although the texts are in Tuvaluan, are, in fact, translations of English-language songs such as 'Little bird upon a tree' and 'Eeny meeny miny mo'. One informant claimed that children do not want to learn traditional songs because they are considered rather silly. On several occasions however, the writer saw children playing games that had been demonstrated for him the previous evening. There could be a reluctance on the part of the parents to teach their children songs and chants because they think these inferior to the school songs.

In the Papua New Guinea collection the text of the song or chant was given by the student teaching the game together with an explanation of the action. Both the text and action were checked by the writer as the game was taught in the classroom. It is the student's own spelling in their language that the writer presents as the written form of the texts. Because few students
receive instruction in their own language or have training in writing their language phonetically, the spelling may not agree with that in the lexicons for some Papua New Guinea languages produced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The texts of the Tuvaluan songs and chants were written by either the informant, or a member of the informant's family. After typing the texts, the writer checked them with the informant for spelling and pronunciation. Tuvaluan, which has been a written language since the turn of the century, follows the same written form as Samoan. The only change that has occurred in the past 15 years is that the 'ng' sound is now written as a 'g' (with no 'n'). This is the accepted practice in 1982 and therefore is used throughout this study.

Some photographs were taken in Papua New Guinea at the time the game was taught, but these have deteriorated during the years of storage in the tropics, and therefore are not presented in this study. Instead, sketches by Mrs. Rosalie Christensen, made especially for this study in 1982, are included with each of the games. Mrs. Christensen worked in Papua New Guinea at the same time as the writer, and made a comprehensive study of the national dress of Papua New Guinea. The illustrations of the clothing seen on the children are authentic to the geographical area from which the game originates. Photo-
graphs were taken in Tuvalu by the writer after the games had been recorded. Because many of the games are variants of the same game, the photographs are included after the first of the games where they are appropriate to the description of the action.

The Papua New Guinea material was originally collected as an extracurricular activity for a series of education handbooks to accompany a new national syllabus being developed by the writer, but pressure of time did not allow for its completion. Literal translations to English were made of only a few songs and chants, so the majority of the games in Chapter 5 are presented without translations.

The games of Tuvalu were collected as an ethnomusicological project, so great care was taken to obtain clear and detailed recordings of sound and actions and a translation of each text. For the Tuvaluan games, the text is given both a literal and idiomatic translation (in a poetic form). Words whose meanings are not known are therefore not translated. They are indicated by a question mark in the literal translation. In the researcher's view, this unevenness of collection does not lessen the value of the material presented, but does limit the types of comparison that may be made between the two samples.
3.2 Selection of the sample

The 49 games in the Papua New Guinea sample selected from the larger collection of 360 by the following process. Those recordings that had either deteriorated in the tropics, or were not clearly recorded were rejected because no accurate transcription could be made from them. The games from the Papuan Provinces (see Chapter 1) were under-represented and as stated earlier are not included in the study. Any game description that is inadequate in the field notes collected from the student informant, was omitted because an accurate presentation of the game is impossible.

The 41 games in the Tuvaluan sample were selected from a collection of 81. Several of the recordings were made with combined classes of school children, and cannot be transcribed with any accuracy. A number of games collected from different informants are identical in text, action and melody, so only one is included. Several of the games are Kiribati games, and not included because the writer wishes to present only Tuvaluan material in this study. Any game that is an English game translated into Tuvaluan is also omitted as the writer is interested in presenting traditional material only in this study.
3.3 Presentation of games

Each game is assigned a number and is introduced by a description of the cultural setting. This is followed by a description of the movements and actions of the games. Where available, translations follow; first in interlinear word-for-word presentation and then in poetic form. The name of each informant and the place of origin of the game is documented.

In every game in the Papua New Guinea sample an illustration(s) is included related to the description of the actions. In the Tuvaluan sample, photographs are included after those games that have detailed descriptions of the actions. As many of the games in the Tuvaluan sample are variants of each other, only one set of photographs is included. A music transcription--songs on a five-line staff, chants on a one-line staff--conclude the presentation.

3.4 Criteria for transcription

In this study it is the game songs and chants per se, rather than the specific recorded performances of them, that are described. Therefore, transcriptions of a high level of specificity are not needed.

In the first stage of transcription each recording was played at full speed, the rhythm and melodic movement notated, and the text written below the appropriate notes.
Later it was played at half speed, breathing marks placed above the transcription, and rhythm and melody checked. Western note values are employed throughout to denote rhythm; the notes within a beat are grouped according to instrumental practice, rather than the syllabic distribution of the text. The five-line staff is employed for songs in which Western pitch relationships prevail and/or are approximated; a one-line staff is used for chants. In the latter, where two, three or more pitches occur these are placed below, on or above the staff line.

Transposition is used in some cases to avoid key signatures with a large number of accidentals, because some of the material is intended for future inclusion in a resource book where simplicity in presentation will facilitate use. The level of music notation comprehension in the South Pacific is very elementary; key signatures with many accidentals would deter potential performers of this material.

Each transcription on a five-line staff is given a key signature of the major key of appropriate tonal center (tonic) as recognized in standard Western practice, whether all scale degrees affected by its accidentals occur or not. This decision was made to facilitate suitable chord choices if, in the future, a teacher might want to accompany the songs on a guitar or other Western-tuned instrument.
No meter signature is used in any of the transcriptions. Many of the songs and chants do not have regularly recurring groups of beats. If barlines were placed at points of emphasis, frequent changes of meter signatures would be required. Therefore to avoid confusing readers with a limited knowledge of notation, no meter signature is included. In many of the games accompanying actions reinforce the beat of the chant or song. Unless otherwise indicated in the game description, the quarter note (♩) is assigned the beat of the music transcription. The quarter note is also the unit upon which the tempo is based, with the exception of three games in the Tuvaluan sample. A dotted half note is employed in Game 25 and a dotted quarter note in Games 10 and 33. The occurrence of claps is shown by placement over the appropriate note or rest of the melody.

At the beginning of each transcription the tempo is given in number of beats per minute; when this is followed by an arrow and a second number, it indicates a gradual change to the second tempo. Where a game is repeated at a different tempo, the tempo of each is presented.

Full barlines are used for songs and chants where the pulse is metrically regular. Partial barlines are used in word-centric songs and chants where the pulse varies with the text.
The text of each song is presented under the staff with words divided syllabically. Each new line of text begins on a new line of staff except where it is too short to justify such separation (see Chapter 4, Game 4). Where a word or syllable was written by the informant, but is not heard on the recording, it is written on the text line and enclosed in parentheses. Where a word or syllable was not written by the informant but is heard in the recorded performance, it is written on the text line and enclosed in square brackets. Where a word or syllable sounds different in the recorded performance from that in the given text, it is written below the text line and enclosed in square brackets. Where the text as written contains two syllables or words that are elided in performance, this is indicated by a curved line under the text.
3.5 Special symbols

The following special symbols are employed in the transcriptions of this study:

1. \( \bullet = 72 \) = 100 - initial tempo increases by the end of the transcription

2. \( \bullet = 104 \) = 120 - initial tempo increases by the end of the transcription in first performance, but begins on a new tempo and increases in second performance

- hand clap
- breath mark
- pitch one octave lower than treble
- a tone slightly higher or slightly lower in pitch than that of equal temperament
- a slide/glide between notated pitches in a song
- a slide/glide between pitches in a chant
- a slide/glide to an unspecified pitch in a chant
- a tone of indefinite pitch in a song
- a tone of indefinite high pitch in a chant

- falling and rising intervals in a chant

- barline for metric song

- barline (partial) for a word-centric song

- barline for metric chants

- barline for word-centric chants

(e) - omitted textual syllable/word

[e] - added syllable/word

sa-ri-ki [sa-ru-ku] - sound where different from written text

uho - elision of text vowels/syllables
CHAPTER 4
SINGING GAMES OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA

There are 49 singing games in the following sample taken from a larger field collection of 360 games. They are presented in groups according to the 11 provinces from which they originated. The writer presents the games by province because, in many instances, the physical environment has determined some significant aspects. The highland provinces are presented first, followed by coastal and then island provinces. A short description of the province of origin and its people precedes each group of games. The material for each game includes: a general introduction; a description of movements; a translation of the text for those games for which it is available; an illustration(s); and musical transcription. A tape recording of the song or chant is deposited in the Hawaii Archives of Ethnic Music and Dance at the Music Department, University of Hawaii at Manoa.

4.1 Chimbu Province

The Chimbu Province is the most mountainous and has the least arable land of all the provinces of Papua New Guinea. Because of the scarcity of flat land, hamlets are built on the top of ridges or on high spurs of mountains; growing food on slopes of 70 degrees is not
uncommon. A literal translation of an expression referring to local efforts at food production is "the women fall off their gardens". There is too little space for children to engage in wide-ranging games--if they were to play in the gardens they would destroy the fragile terraces. Children find the stream beds of the many running rivers the most convenient place to play; three games (1, 3, and 4) are associated with swimming or paddling. The water in the streams is cold so it is not surprising that these games are very vigorous. The other two games from Chimbu can be played in the limited space between the huts in the hamlets. The Chimbu people are strong, and are often thought of as the most aggressive in the country. The children appear to be hardy, often living in very cold and wet conditions with little or no clothing. Their toughness is reflected in much of their behavior; they often play more roughly than their coastal or European counterparts.
Game 1

The hardy nature of the children is evident in this game. The river the child will be thrown into may be quite shallow, and certainly will be cold. Although Figure 4-1A shows only four pairs of children, the writer has seen this game played with lines of ten to twelve pairs of boys.

A group of boys form two parallel lines facing each other as in Figure 4-1A. The head of the configuration is at the edge of a river. The boys link arms as in Figure 1B forming a platform on which one boy lies, stomach down, with his hands extended beyond his head pointing towards the river. The arms of the group move backwards and forwards in time to the beat of the song. On the syllable 'sah' of the final word 'hupsah' extra effort is put into the swinging motion of the arms, and the boy is thrown forward. The song and actions are repeated until the boy lying on the arms is thrown forward into the river.

Informant: Edward Gumakama
Area: Sine Sine Area
Figure 4-1. Game 1.

\[
\text{Oh pa-li-mo\_ le-mu-ge\_ mu-ge}
\]

\[
\text{Sah ka ka mu-ge\_ mu-ge sah oh}
\]

\[
\text{Fa-li-mo\_ e hup- sah.}
\]
Game 2

Traditionally a Chimbu child had to be alert to survive. Warfare was a way of life; emphasis was put on people's ability to either run from danger or move quickly to avoid it. Because the terrain is so mountainous and paths lead straight up the mountainside, people using them have to be very agile and sure-footed. Although not all the games have chants, this one, similar to others the writer has seen in this area, is aggressive and requires the players to be agile. It is often played with boys and girls together.

A large circle is drawn on the ground. Children stand around it putting either the right or the left foot inside it as in Figure 4-2A. One child stands inside the circle. When the line beginning 'Ko ko ben ben' is sung, the child in the center tries to step on any foot inside the circle while the children around the circle try to avoid being stepped on by lifting the foot out of the way as in Figure 2B. The person who is 'caught' exchanges places with the person inside the circle.

Informant: Wai

Area: Kundiawa Valley
Figure 4-2. Game 2.

\[ \text{\textbf{A}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{B}} \]

\text{\textbf{E-ne dag(o)m ko-ro pai(ro) wi-ao.}}

\text{\textbf{Ko ko ben ben ko ko ben ben.}}
Game 3

To get warm after swimming, children often play vigorous games. This game often becomes quite rough—the writer has seen one child thrown over the head of the other player, landing on pebbles or very coarse grass without giving any indication of being hurt.

Two children—both boys or both girls (although they may swim together, a boy will seldom make bodily contact with a girl such as this game requires)—sit facing each other holding hands with their legs forward, and their knees bent. They lock their feet under the knees as in Figure 4-3. On the beat of the song one child rocks backwards, pulling the partner forwards. The partner responds by pulling backwards and reversing the action. These movements are repeated, getting increasingly vigorous and often faster as the song progresses.

Ande abulag simolmiwe
Sun is shining
Kamun morodome
The place is green
Koime kaime ande pure
Hit at the flies get the heat of the sun
Koye pala dume
Spread their wings.

Informant: Dendena Tolak
Area: Kundiawa Valley
Figure 4-3. Game 3.

\[ \text{Ande abulag simolmiwe} \]

\[ \text{Kamun morodo me} \]

\[ \text{Koime kai me ande pure} \]

\[ \text{Ko ye palaludume} \]
Game 4

There are many games in the Chimbu with simple chants and actions not unlike much adult music of the ceremonies when people display their wealth at a pig kill, or a bride price. A short phrase is repeated many times, coupled with a very simple dance movement. Although a new text may be invented for a particular occasion, some have been chanted for many years. Chimbu preoccupation with the sun seems normal because when the valley is covered with mist and rain for too long, the sweet potato—the staple food supply for both the people and pigs—rots. This game is played by boys and girls together.

To warm up after swimming, children sit cross-legged on the river bank. On the first syllable of each of the first three words of text the child slaps the thighs as in Figure 4-4A. On the first syllable of each of the last three words the child crosses the arms and slaps the upper arms as in Figure 4B.

Ade wagai wagai
Sun is good
Bogume kinde kinde.
Shade is bad.

Informant: Josepha Biange
Area: Chimbu River Valley
Figure 4-4. Game 4.

Ad-e wa-gai wa-gai bo(gu)me kin-de kin-de
On moonlight nights when the temperature is mild, children play in the areas between huts in the hamlets. Fear of ghosts is very real, so the children typically restrict their movements to the best lit areas, usually in front of the houses where adults sit gossiping. Because the area available is quite small the children sit close together.

Children sit in a circle facing towards the center with their eyes closed. Their sitting positions may vary as in Figure 4-5. One child walks around the outside of the circle carrying a stone or other small object that can be dropped easily. At any time during the chanting the object can be dropped behind any seated child. Any child who thinks the object has been dropped may shout the word 'kalabus' (calaboose, i.e., jail). If a child shouts at the right moment, the person who has dropped the object must go and stand in the center of the circle, being replaced by the person behind whom the object was dropped. If an incorrect call is made, the game begins again with the same person on the outside of the circle. The game continues until the children tire of the activity. Throughout the chanting of the text the children clap their hands in time to the beat.

Informant: Erepana Nupapo
Area: Chimbu River Valley
Figure 4-5. Game 5.

\[ E_1 X_1 \]

\[ \text{Sai pa-wai-a wai-a umm} \]

\[ \text{Sai pa-wai-a wai-a roi-a umm.} \]
4.2 Southern Highlands Province

The Southern Highlands Province was one of the last provinces in Papua New Guinea to be developed. It was opened by air in the mid 1950s, but it was not until the 1960s that roads penetrated beyond a few areas close to the border. A cash economy is still comparatively new to the people and there has been less dislocation of traditional life in this Province than in any other. Since 1949 prior to the air traffic and roads, a group of fundamentalist missions had been active in the Tari Valley. The missionaries claim that traditional song and dance is unacceptable to Christians, but the Tari people still have their singsings, and songs play an important part in their social occasions. Two games (6 and 8) originate in the Tari Valley. The Huri who live in the valley make a strong division between the sexes. Boys are treated as men from the age of seven when they leave the women's houses and move in with the men who live apart from the women even having their own gardens and cooking their own food.

Game 7 is from the Mendi area at the eastern end of the Province. The town, headquarters for several mission organizations as well as the administrative center for the Province, has had schools (both government and mission) since 1959.
Game 6

This game from the Tari Valley is played by young boys and girls who are in their mother's care. Traditionally, children stayed close to their parents because the area was continually in a state of warfare. Large trenches, dug all through the area so the warriors can move from one area to another without being seen, are used by people as roads from one hamlet to another. Children can easily use these to get away from their guardians when they want to run away as they do in this game.

A group of children sit on the edge of a garden where a child is working with a parent, usually the mother. After they sing this song twice to attract the child's attention, one of them indicates which direction they are going to play by a small gesture of any part of the body. Figure 4-6 shows a girl extending her arm to indicate a direction to the standing boy. The boy later slinks off from his mother's garden to join the group in the direction indicated.

Ki ayu kelengale tin ayu kelengele
Run away boys and girls into the bushes boys and girls
Ama aba bobo ali dagia biau biau.
Father mother are running to hit us.
Alendo mba loe sore [Nda nde ta]
Can't get us. Look at them, see how they run.
Informant: Bernard Andrew
Area: Tari Valley

Figure 4-6. Game 6.

\[ \text{Ki a-yu ke-le-nga-le, Tin a-yu ke-le-nga-le} \]

\[ \text{A-ma a-ba bo-bo a-li da-gia bi-au bi-au.} \]

\[ \text{A-len-do ma lo-e so-re inda nde ka} \]
Game 7

The melody of this game does not sound traditional and could be a school game that has been adopted by children in the hamlets. The text is in the language of the Mendi Valley.

Children form two parallel lines, standing in single file behind a leader. Usually girls are in one line, and boys in the other. The leader randomly selects a stepping pattern which, once established, is imitated by all the other children in line. Figure 4-7A shows a line of girls performing one step, and Figure 7B a line of boys performing another. When the song begins, each line moves in a wriggling or circular path depending upon the whim of its leader. Eventually, again depending upon the whims of the leaders, the two lines are brought to a parallel position. Then a new leader is chosen and the game begins again, with other dance steps selected by the new leaders.

Informant: Masoli Sukil
Area: Mendi
Figure 4-7. Game 7.

In a- u- la- le- ae, mas- ta u- la- le.

Fa- le. po po_ po san- de.
Game 8

The young men of the Tari Valley have few opportunities to show off in front of the girls except at singsings. Often a boy will rub his body with oil and put aromatic leaves in his waistband to attract attention. Young men form large circles and dance and sing, incorporating gossip and a girl's name into the text of the song.

Game 8 is similar to dances performed at singsings. Young men and boys over eight years of age form a circle, and face towards the center, and link arms as shown in Figure 4-8. They jump up and down, making a slapping sound when they land on the beat of the song, with both feet flat on the ground and knees slightly bent. The circle rotates slowly in a clockwise direction. This game is similar to Game 17.

Informant: Joseph Wane
Area: Tari
Figure 8. Game 8.
= 112

E wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa.
[pe] [pe] [pe] [pe]

Fu la lom-bo si wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa.
[pe] [pe] [pe]

Mi-ni-gi ki-an-de wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa
[pe] [pe] [pe]

Br-a-wa br-a-wa wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa
[pe] [pe] [pe]

E wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa.
[pe] [pe] [pe] [pe]
4.3 Eastern Highlands Province

The Eastern Highlands Province is represented in this sample by only two games. Prior to pacification of the Province by Australian Government patrols, contact between the many tribes was that of warfare, and then usually only between neighboring tribes. Game 9 is from Kainantu in the northwest, where traditionally, some people act as clowns at singsings and other gatherings, and practical jokes are often played. Game 10 is from Goroka 60 miles south, where the land is very fertile, and traditionally the people had to defend it from surrounding tribes.
Many of the games of the Kainantu area are jokes that people play on one another. The area has an abundant supply of food and, unlike other highland areas, children are not censured for stealing food. In this game, children blatantly sing in front of those from whom they stole it. If a child is caught in the act of stealing, he is slapped, but after the event the whole incident is treated as a joke.

Some children sit chewing the stolen food in time to the beat of the song as in Figure 4-9A, while several other children reinforce the beat by simultaneously stamping one foot and clapping their hands as in Figures 9B and 9C.

Arinto gayo sisapine sisapine
Men and women look this way
Sina nanu e  Sina nanu e
You foolish people
Siuire ore ori owara
Come and carry me home.
Sinang ko ko tisa mata e
I am hungry, did you hear that.

Informant:  Timo Duo
Area:  Kainantu
Figure 4-9. Game 9.
A-rinto gayo sisa-pi-ne

sisa-pi-ne

Sina nanu e sana-nanu e

Sui-re ore ori o-wara

Sina nga ko ko ti-sa ma-ta e.
Game 10

There are many dexterity games in the Goroka area. Those which require hand-eye coordination reinforce the training of the young as warriors. This game requires good coordination because the children have to hit the stone while moving in time to the beat of the song.

A group of children stand facing the center of a circle and place hands in random order in a vertical pile on top of each other as in Figure 4-10, no player touching his own hand. A stone is placed on the back of the hand on top. When the song begins, the child whose hand is on top bounces the stone into the air and then places his hand on the bottom of the pile. The player whose hand is then on top repeats the action. This action is repeated, with each player trying to coordinate his hand action with the beat of the song.

Informant: Elecy Erevino
Area: Goroka
Figure 4-10. Game 10.

Ko-dan-ku in-arufim-pa u-wa-re.

O-di-a o-di-a o-di-a o-di-a o-di-a

In-arufim-pa-ke ko-mo-pan e-re

ad. lib.

Ra-ri ra-ri ra-ri
4.4 Enga Province

The Enga Province is the home of one of the largest single-language groups in Papua New Guinea. The people are thought of as aggressive, having expanding their territory by raids on bordering tribes for many years (the last significant raid being into the Baiyer River of the Western Highlands in the 1920s). The Enga were first contacted by the Australian Administration in 1934; Patrol Posts were established near to airstrips in the late 1930s. It was not until 1958 that roads, for four-wheel drive vehicles only, linked all the major areas potentially productive for vegetables. Beef and coffee are the only really viable cash crops, although the distance and cost of transportation makes them less viable than other parts of the highlands. With the normally disruptive factors associated with cash cropping absent, there is less dislocation of the traditional lifestyle than in most other highland areas, many ceremonies and accompanying music continue essentially unaltered. The music style is predominantly a free unmetered chant. The text consists of only a few words, but often the phrases convey more meaning than the lexical meaning of the words. Songs are used in gossip, or as part of long stories already well known to listeners. The two game chants in this sample have simple repeated texts.
Although the Province is mountainous, there is also flat valley land which provides play area. Games in which the children range over quite a large area of the clan land are quite common. This game, from Wabag, is an Enga version of blindman's buff. Although it needs only a small space, other versions require wider areas. Games help familiarize a child with his home area, which was formerly important when raids from hostile clans were expected at any time.

Children stand in a circle facing towards the center with one blindfolded child in the middle of the group. The child in the center chants the first three words, and is answered by the others chanting the last three words. The blindfolded player tries to locate another player by sound, reaching out to touch him as in Figure 4-11. The chant is repeated until someone gets caught, then the blindfolded child must identify that child by feel. Players may try to avoid being caught by bending down, as in Figure 11, but must not leave the circle. If the child caught is correctly identified, he changes places with the blindfolded child. There is no relationship between the rhythm of the chant and the body movements of the players. This game is similar to Game 27.
Ans kalep ole? as kale ole
Where are you? I am here.

Informant: Theresa Karowalo
Area: Wabag

Figure 4-11. Game 11.
Although the rivers in the Enga Province are cold they are a favorite haunt of small boys. The rivers are seldom deep enough for swimming but children splash about and play in the water for hours with occasional breaks to warm up on the riverbank. These breaks give an opportunity for vigorous games, some very rough. Many employ the same dance steps used by adults in *singsings*. Young children are not permitted to take part in adult dances until they can afford to accumulate the feather decorations needed to be properly dressed. This game could be seen as practice for the time when a child is old enough and wealthy enough to take part in a *singsing*.

After swimming children stand on the river bank. On the first line of the chant they stand and swing alternate arms up and down vigorously as in Figure 4-12A. On the second line they jump up and down, landing with both feet flat on the ground, and knees slightly bent (as in Game 8) with the arms bent so that the hands are at chest level as in Figure 12B. Both these motions are coordinated with the beat of the chant.

Informant: Thomas Tepend
Area: Wapenamunda
Figure 4-12. Game 12.

\[ \bullet = 138 \]

\[ \text{Ni-ki ep(e) ku-bu koo} \]

\[ \text{Ni-kip iya- k[api] pyau- la gau- la} \]
4.5 Western Highlands Province

The Western Highlands Province is unique in the highlands region in that it has enough spare land for large resettlement schemes and agricultural development projects. The Wahgi River Valley which lies in the center of the Province is approximately 70 miles long and 15 miles wide at its widest. Most of the original local population live on the mountain slopes around the rim of the valley, and use some of the valley for gardens and hunting. Since 1950 much of the valley has been developed with cattle production and agricultural projects such as coffee and tea.

The Highland Highway was built to economically transport produce from this rich valley, and as a result the people now combine many European-type interests with their traditional lifestyle. For example, at bride-price ceremonies and compensation payments more western goods such as money, trucks, transistor radios and cattle are exchanged than traditional shell money and pigs. Reference is often made to "highway" in the traditional songs because this is the most important link to the outside world. When the new highway, built in 1974-76, was constructed along the south wall of the valley, the old highway that followed the north wall was no longer used by the many trucks and buses. Several clans on the north wall area held mourning ceremonies because they realized that their main source of
wealth had been taken from them. On the south wall, new songs have been composed about the highway and the advantages of living near it.

There are three main areas and language groups in the Western Highlands Province. At the western end, the Tambul people who speak Kaugal live in the Tambul Valley. The Melepa-speaking people live around the town of Mount Hagen. At the eastern end of the Wahgi Valley bordering Chimbu are the Mid-Wahgi people whose language is different from those on either side. The Mid-Wahgi people, unlike their neighbors, are rather large physically, but placid in nature. They have an activity called karim lek (carrying leg) in which all the single boys and girls congregate in a long house and take part in a courting ceremony that is carefully chaperoned by their elders. The young men and women put their legs on top of each other and rock their upper bodies backwards and forwards as they sing songs.

A similar activity, practiced in the Melepa and Tambul areas, is the turnim het (turning head) in which the boys and girls line up face to face, the boy's left ear being placed on the girl's right ear, and then the faces rolled until the boy's right ear touches the girl's left ear. This activity can be repeated for hours.

Three of the games (13, 14, and 17) in this sample reflect the traditional ceremonies most commonly practiced, and are similar to those described above.
Game 13

In the Mid-Wahgi one of the traditional social occasions is the karim lek. Although the seating for Game 13 is slightly different, the rocking backwards and forwards of the players is similar. Many of the songs have simple melodies; the text consists of only a few words but often the phrases convey more meaning than the lexical meaning of the words. Songs are used in gossip, or as part of long stories already well known to the listeners. The chant for this game is similar to those heard at a karim lek, and appears to be practice for the activity that the children will take part in as soon as they reach puberty.

The children sit in a long line side by side, each alternate child facing towards the other as in Figure 4-13. Each child places the right hand on the shoulder of the child to the right, and the left hand on the shoulder of the child to the left. While the chant is sung, the children facing in one direction rock forwards forcing the others to rock backwards. This action is then reversed, causing the line to rock backwards and forwards. Each rocking action forward and back is performed to the beat of the chant. At the end of the song each child tries to push over the two people sitting facing him.

Informant: Paraka Mara
Area: Mid-Wahgi
Figure 4-13. Game 13.

\[ \text{\textbullet = 208} \]

\[ \text{Nang kang kel mo-na, mor kang olk a mor-a.} \]

\[ \text{Mor-a e-pa naen e-pa, mon-a e-pa mor vee pa.} \]
Game 14

The children of the Gum River, six miles outside of Mount Hagen, play mostly on the banks of the River which has fast-flowing, shallow, cold water in it all year. This game is used by the children to get warm after swimming. It has a text and chant that is also popular with the young men and women at singsings, but whereas the children sit to perform this game, the young men and women stand to perform their dance. For both game and dance to be successful, the performers must move simultaneously on the beat of the chant.

Children sit cross-legged in a circle facing towards the center, holding hands as in Figure 4-14. They swing their hands towards and away from the center of the circle on the beat of the song. As the song progresses the action described above becomes more vigorous.

Waipa waipa waipaya
The mighty sun
Waipari waipaya
Father of everything help us.

The song text is repeated.

Informant: Thomas Poning
Area: Mount Hagen
Figure 4-14. Game 14.

$\frac{1}{\text{132}}$

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa-ya, Wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa-ya} \\
\text{Wai-pa-ri wai-pa-ya.} \\
\text{Wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa-ya, Wai-pa wai-pa wai-pa-ya} \\
\text{Wai-pa-ri wai-pa-ya}
\end{align*}
\]
Game 15

This game from the Mid-Wahgi is not typical of those usually played there. The writer suspects that it is derived from a school game because although the music and text seem traditional, the action is similar to elimination games commonly taught in school. Traditional games observed by the writer are more boisterous than this one, and are usually similar in some aspect to an adult dance, or are training in dexterity.

The children divide into two groups of unequal size. The smaller group stands facing the others who sit on the ground as in Figure 4-15. After the chant is sung the standing children select a partner from those sitting, by randomly grabbing a child. Those children selected join the standing group, while the others remain seated. The chant is sung again and the action repeated. Those standing who are unable to select a partner are considered 'out'.

Informant: John Tai
Area: Mid-Wahgi
Figure 4-15. Game 15.
The Tambul Valley of the Western Highlands is high and cold. During the winter months there is often frost and fog until late in the morning. The houses are built with thick walls padded with grass for warmth. Most people stay indoors at night in an effort to keep warm. Games from this area are either vigorous requiring a wide space, or are more passive like this game which may be played in a seated position, thus requiring a small area such as indoors in a small house.

Two or three children stand facing the center of a circle and pile their hands in random order on top of each other, making contact by pinching the backs of each other's hands as in Figure 4-16A. The children move their hands up and down to the beat of the chant. On the last syllable, 'pu', of the chant, they scramble to release hands, each trying to pinch another child's stomach while trying to prevent other children from pinching his by bending backwards. The first part of this game is the same as Games 18, 22, and 35.

Informant: Sol Widguria
Area: Tambul
Figure 4-16. Game 16.


* Not included on the recording.
Game 17

This game from the Mount Hagen area is also used as a dance by young men and women. Those boys and girls who do not own enough feathers (traditional wealth) and other body decoration to take part in the main lines of dancers at a *singsing*, stand in a circle and dance jumping up and down, after having rubbed their bodies with oil. The dancers take this opportunity to display their bodies in place of wealth.

Teenage boys and girls take alternate positions around a circle facing towards the center, and link arms as shown in Figure 4-17. They jump up and down making slapping sound when they land on the beat of the song, with both feet flat on the ground and knees slightly bent. The circle rotates slowly in a clockwise direction. This game is similar to Game 8.

Informant: Joseph Bulda
Area: Mount Hagen
Figure 4-17. Game 17.

\[ \text{Sa wip sa el-ga.} \]
4.6 East Sepik Province

This Province takes its name from one of the largest navigable rivers in Papua New Guinea. Although the bulk of the population lives in the Sepik River Valley, other diverse groups live in the Torocelli Mountains and on the islands off the coast near the administration center of Wewak. Unlike the highlands region where there are common cultural factors throughout each province, the East Sepik Province is an administrative conglomeration of non-related peoples. The mountain peoples speak languages and have lifestyles that have nothing in common with those of the people who live in the river and lake settlements. Many islands uninhabited at the time of European contact, were settled by Micronesians and coastal Sepiks who were brought by Germans (the colonial power at the turn of the century) to fish the trochus shell and develop the coconut plantations.

The River is navigable by ocean-going boats for the first 250 miles, and because of this, has been subject to almost constant contact with Europeans and other New Guinean peoples since the 1890s. There are extensive areas of plantations owned by mission and expatriate companies. Sepik men have been recruited over the years to work on plantations throughout the northern part of Papua New Guinea. This has resulted in Sepik people migrating to other parts of the country on a permanent basis. Many towns
have large squatter settlements in which the majority of the inhabitants are from the Sepik Province.

The artifacts from the Sepik Valley are among the best known in the country, and have become an important source of income from tourists; the music is less well known. The five games in this sample are from five different language groups, four from the Sepik Valley and one from an island. Some European influence can be detected in several of the melodies, although all informants believe them to be traditional.
Game 18

Often when villages in the middle Sepik River area are flooded for weeks at a time, the only areas the children have to play are the small platforms built out in front of their houses. Such restricted spaces are adequate for this game.

Four or five children either stand or sit facing the center of a circle and pile their hands in random order on top of each other. They make contact by pinching the backs of each other's hands as in Figure 4-18A. As they chant the first line of the text they move their hands up and down on the beat. Then they release their hands and during the second line of the chant, and in time to the beat, they roll their hands over one another in a movement away from the body as in Figure 18B. The first part of this game is the same as Games 16, 22, and 35.

Informant: Magaret Aukleya
Area: Sepik River Valley
Figure 4-18. Game 18.

\[ \bullet = 160 \]

---L.;D~D--=---",--O~~

Mon-do lei mon-do lei mon-do lei

---L.;D~D--=---",--O~~

Game 19

This game is from Koil Island near the capital of Wewak. The main cash crop of the islands is copra, so it is not surprising to find a game using coconuts. This area has been under Catholic mission influence since 1900 and many European elements have been adopted into the lifestyle.

Children kneel as in Figure 19A (the illustration indicates only two children, but usually there are as many as wish to play) in a circle and face toward the center. Each child has a half coconut in his hand, which he taps on the ground on the beat of the song through the first two syllables of the word 'kalambus'. On the syllable 'bus' each child passes the coconut to his neighbor on one side as in Figure 19B, and quickly returns his hand to pick up the coconut placed in front of him by his neighbor on the other side. This action is repeated on the repetition of the word 'kalambus'. One child is the leader who determines which direction the object is passed—either clockwise or counterclockwise; the other children must be quick to follow the direction of his movement.

Informant: Jack Alike
Area: Koil Island
Figure 4-19. Game 19.

Mal mal mal, ka-ma-mee go

Ka-ma-mee go

Ka-lam-bus ka-lam-bus.
Game 20

In the middle Sepik many villages are built around large dance grounds. The dominant feature of the village is the men's house, called Haus Tambaran, which is also the spirit house. This building contains all the important artifacts used in initiation ceremonies for boys. These ceremonies, which last over a month, are accompanied by singing and chanting. The melodic line of this game is typical of the music from the middle Sepik.

Two boys mime a fight by pretending to punch and spar with one another as in Figure 4-20. Their movements are on the beat of the song. The other boys sit and clap their hands on the beat as they sing the song. The tempo may be speeded up when the song is repeated, usually causing the boys who are doing the actions to exaggerate their movements.

Informant: Cherobim Vaian
Area: Ambunti
Figure 4-20. Game 20.

\[ a = 112 \]

\[
\text{Na-ya gae\ldots go\ldots e}
\]

\[
\text{Na-ya go-a go-wa i\ldots o}
\]

\[
\text{Na-ya go-a ga-wa i\ldots o}
\]
The dance ground in front of the Haus Tambaran in a middle Sepik village is often used for games when no ceremony is in progress. The dance area which is large and flat, provides space needed to play the games successfully.

A group of children each find a stick or piece of bamboo three to four feet long and then sit on the ground. One child places the stick at the back of his knees and squats on it as in Figure 4-21A. The child bounces in time to the beat of the chant, away from the group and back again following a circular path. When the song is repeated another child joins with the first child. By overlapping the adjacent ends of the two sticks, both children holding the two sticks form one line as in Figure 21B. The action is repeated with a third child, and continues until all the children are joined squatting on a continuous line of sticks.

Informant: Giles Kalina
Area: Middle Sepik Valley
Figure 4-21. Game 21.

A

B

= 108

[ Taim ] mi- so taim mi- so mi- so

Ai- lan- ge ai- lang ai- lan- ge
Game 22

This game from the lower Sepik Valley is usually played when older children are looking after younger children. It is basically a nonsense game used to amuse the younger children.

Four or five children stand facing the center of a circle and pile their hands in random order on top of each other. They make contact by pinching the backs of each other's hand as in Figure 4-22A (illustrations show only two children, but this is for clarity). They move the pile of hands up and down on the beat of the chant. On the last line 'kis kis kis kis', the children scramble to release hands and try to tickle another child's stomach, at the same time attempting to prevent their own from being tickled as in Figure 22B. The first part of this game is the same as Games 16, 18, and 35.

Informant: Anna Winaulin
Area: Lower Sepik River Valley
Figure 4-22. Game 22.

! = 144

Ki-bui ji-ka ji-ka

Kuang ji-za ji-ka

Kis kis kis kis
4.7 Morobe Province

Morobe Province contains many diverse and unrelated tribal groups that traditionally would never have come into contact with each other. The Markham River with its huge valley lies in the center of the Province, and it is through this valley that the major highway to all the highlands runs. There are several islands which are more closely related culturally to Madang than to Morobe, but for administrative purposes, the islands are run from the capital at Lae.

It has been only since 1946 that the administration has shifted to Lae. Prior to that the Province was administered from Salamua, however this town was bombed during World War II, and never rebuilt. Wherever the capital was situated, the people living around it were subject to change because they worked in town, and became more accustomed to a cash economy than the people further from the capital. Because the capital shifted, more people were involved with wage earning earlier than in other Provinces on the north coast. In addition there is a substantial amount of private enterprise in the Province, the people being accustomed to Western goods and customs for as long as anywhere in the country.

Some of the first schools in the country were begun at Finschaffen, and it was from this area that the first pastors and teachers were recruited to teach in the
mission schools throughout the highlands region. As a result several Morobe games and songs are widely known, Games 24, 25, and 30 are known to school children almost everywhere in the country, and many students at Madang Teachers College, where these games were recorded, claimed the games as their own. However, it was only the students from Finschaffen and Siassi who could translate the texts, so Morobe is designated the province of origin.
Game 23

The people from the inland area of the Markham Valley are subsistence farmers who only recently have started cattle projects. Traditional pastimes such as *singsings* and story-telling are still very important, with the most dramatic parts of the story often acted out by the person telling it. Miming is considered very important, and children are encouraged to mime local village activities. In this game children mime actions well known to everyone who lives in the village.

Children stand facing towards the center of a circle as in Figure 4-23A. They clap their hands to the rhythm shown above the song transcription. Inside the circle two girls mime an activity common to life in the village. In Figure 23B one girl is pretending to pet a child, the other digging in a garden. Outside the circle two boys try to attract the girls' attention by waving their arms and performing exaggerated dance steps, usually on the beat of the song. After the song has been sung twice, the boys enter the circle and lead the two girls outside. The group re-forms with two other girls in the center and two other boys outside the circle. These girls choose different activities from those mimed the first time the game is played.

Informant: Nigminda Gwaing
Area: Markham Valley
Figure 4-23. Game 23.
Ge mo(a) e ja__ o ta-la- e

O ja-lo ge mo(a) te

Ke-po ja__ ge mo(a) e ja :a-la- e.
This game and Games 30 and 39 are three of the most popular school songs in Papua New Guinea because they were collected by a music lecturer during the first education program in the 1950s and were taught to all the European teachers in the training courses. They are also sung in instructional broadcasts heard in schools throughout the whole country. The game, commonly known as 'Lumbo', is a simple children's dance which, in its tribal setting, makes use of pelvic thrusts in the final section. The game is similar to some dances of initiation ceremonies. Often dances with sexual overtones are performed late at night when the European missionaries will not witness them, and therefore not censure the people for licentious behavior.

A large group of children stand facing the center of a circle and place their hands on their heads. They sing through the song once, while swaying their hips from side to side in time with the beat of the music. On the word 'glung' they hold the hip to the side for two beats as in Figure 4-24. When the song is repeated, hands are placed on the shoulders, and in subsequent repetitions on the waist, hips, knees, and feet. In the final statement the children turn to face in a clockwise direction, place their hands on the hips of the child in front, and dance around the circle, pausing on the word 'glung'. The children may prolong the game by reversing the circle and moving in a
counterclockwise direction repeating the dance step described below.

One dance step is used throughout—the children progress on the first beat by jumping forward with both feet, on the second beat by jumping with the right foot extended to the side, on the third by jumping forward with both feet and, on the fourth by jumping with the left foot extended to the side.

Informant: Julius Kari

Area: Finschaffnen

Figure 4-24. Game 24.
Lum-bo e lum-bo, lum-bo sa-le eng sa-le eng,

O lum-bo ka-ma-le-le ka-ma-le-le

O lum-bo glung o lum-bo glung.
This game from Siassi is similar to several in the Finschaffen area. It is almost a dance and to be successful requires many children. Since its adoption as a school song, the game is often used as a display for parents or visiting officials.

Figure 4-25A shows one line of children but there are four lines like the four spokes of a wheel, with the children facing towards the center as in the ground plan Figure 25B. The song is repeated many times throughout this game. The dance step which is the same as that described in Game 24, is performed on the beat of the song.

Lines 1 and 3 dance towards each other until the leaders meet face to face as in Figure 25C. While they retreat to their original positions, lines 2 and 4 dance towards each other as in Figure 25D. While these two lines retreat to their original positions, lines 1 and 3 move forward, passing each other and exchanging places as in Figure 25E. Lines 1 and 3 dance on the spot while lines 2 and 4 exchange places as in Figure 25F. These actions are repeated--lines 1 and 3 returning to their original places, lines 2 and 4 following them in sequence.

Line 1 begins to move towards the center, then turns and, moving by the side of line 2, begins a path that will eventually lead it around the outside of the circle as in Figure 25G. As the end of line 1 passes the leader of
line 2, line 2 joins on and follows line 1 out of the center to dance around the outside of the circle as in Figure 25H. This action is repeated with the leader of line 3 joining onto the end of line 2 and eventually the leader of line 4 joining onto the end of line 3 to form a large circle as in Figure 25I.

After the group has moved around the circle twice, line 1 begins to go back towards the center, taking up its original position while line 2 continues on around the outside of the circle as in Figure 25J. Line 2 then returns to its position as in Figure 25K while lines 3 and 4 continue around the circle. Line 3 and then line 4, returns to its original position, thus lining up as at the beginning of the game as in Figure 25B.

Informant: Rose Bill
Area: Finschaffen
Ya wa din ding bo-ya

Ge ya ia--e ya-wa din ding bo-ya

Ge ya ia--e ya-wa din ding bo-ya.
Game 26

Traditionally the people of Siassi traded with the people around Madang, exchanging dances for pots and sago (see 4.8). Dance steps used in Siassi are the same as those seen in Madang. In this game children use a dance step that is also used by women as they circle the men at singsings. A different step is used by women than by men. Dancing in pairs is an important part of all singsings of Siassi, and the step that accompanies this must be a precise stamp on the beat of the song. This game, probably a simplified dance, uses the two features of the adult dances -- pairs and the dance step -- serving to train children for when they will be old enough to take part in singsings.

Children stand side by side holding hands behind their backs as in Figure 4-26A (figure shows only two children) who represent the leaders of a line of pairs. The first pair moves off as the song is sung using the following step. Prior to the first beat of the song the right leg is bent with the foot behind the left leg. On the first beat the right foot is brought forward, the heel scuffing the ground, then extending slightly forward of the body. On the second beat the foot is placed flat on the ground, slightly in front of the left foot, and the weight of the body transferred to the right foot. On the third and fourth beats the same movements are executed by the left foot.
The first pair of children moves away from the other children returning by a circular route to their original position. They are then joined by the next pair of children, and again move off on the same path. Each time the action is repeated another pair of children joins in the line of dancers until the whole line is moving as in Figure 26B.

Informant: Sonny Kako
Area: Siassi Island
Figure 4-26. Game 26.

1. Ma-le-le (i)ya ma-le-le (i)ya.
2. Sa-ro rok (i)ya sa-ro-rok (i)ya.

Ye ye ma-le-le (i)ya.
Ye ye sa-ro-rok (i)ya.
This version of blindman's buff comes from the Markham Valley. The game is played by children moving in a circle, the most common configuration of the dances from this area. The writer has noticed that when circular dances or games move in a clockwise direction the circle becomes smaller. To make the circle larger again the dance or game will often be turned for one complete revolution in a counterclockwise direction.

Children stand in a circle facing in either a clockwise or counterclockwise direction depending on the whim of the dance leader. They march around one blindfolded child in the center as in Figure 4-27. The song is sung by the children who reinforce the beat by marching around the circle clapping their hands. When the song ends, the children stop marching and turn to face the center while the blindfolded child attempts to grab one of them. If a child is caught and is correctly identified, he changes places with the blindfolded child. This game is similar to Game 11.

Informant: Luke Tonitili
Area: Markham Valley
Figure 4-27. Game 27.
\( \dot{=} 132 \rightarrow 138 \)

ko-li gen e-wang e wa- ng.

Ko-li gen__ tang-ke tang__ ke__.

Ko-li gen e-wang e- wang

Ko-li gen__ tang-ke tang__ ke__.

Ko-li gen e-wang e- wang.
Game 28

This game comes from the highlands area in the Morobe Province that borders the Eastern Highlands Province. It makes use of children's ability to mime everyday actions that are seen around the village. The games from this area are often rough; in this one a child could easily be hit quite hard by the stick. Mimicking the death of an animal is often very funny, but accurate, even to the sounds emitted.

Two children assume the roles of a hunter and a lizard while other children crowd together pretending to be trees as in Figure 4-28. The 'trees' sway on the beat and sing the song while the 'lizard' tries to hide between their legs, and the 'hunter' leaps about looking for his prey. The hunter tries to touch the lizard with his spear, and mimics killing it while the lizard pretends to be caught on the end of the spear, and to thrash about until dead.

Informant: Wagi Pirano
Area: Markham Valley
Figure 4-28. Game 28.

\[ \text{Li-va e \{e\} pa-le uho (h)o (h)o (h)o} \]

\[ \text{Li-va e li-va pa-le uho li-va e.} \]
Game 29

Children's ability to mime what they see in and around the village is an important feature of this game from the Markham Valley. Chickens and pigs are the main scavengers of food scraps and children are accustomed to seeing these animals. This game is a fun activity, and is one of the spontaneous games that is popular at the time of full moon.

Children while pretending to be chickens, move their feet in time with the beat of the song. Each child chooses a pantomimic action he can recall or invent. The children follow a leader in a group reminiscent of a mother hen with her brood of chickens. This game often results in an exaggerated display of actions; it is an opportunity for children to show off. This game is similar to Game 23 in its use of mime.

Informant: Anna Ponga
Area: Morobe
Figure 4-29. Game 29.
Ko ko-ko rakia- awe me-ra me-ra
[kia]
Game 30

This game and Games 24 and 39 are three of the most popular school songs in Papua New Guinea because they were collected by a music lecturer during the first education program in the 1950s and were included in the song book given to all the teachers trained at this time. The actions are similar to those in the dances from the Siassi area, from which this game originated. This game is circular, the most popular configuration in the dances of the area.

Children form a circle facing in a clockwise direction, with their hands on the shoulders of the child in front as in Figure 4-30A. On the first line of the song, using the steps described in Game 24 the children dance on the beat. On the second line they stand in place with their hands on their hips and sway in time to the beat as in Figure 30B. On the first occurrence of 'ele lona' they sway to the right, and on the second they sway to the left. The action of the first line is repeated on the last line of the song.

Informant: Moses Wanga
Area: Siassi Island
Figure 4-30. Game 30.
Ta-no ta-no il-le-le.

Wa-si wa-si wa-si si my le-ka la-la.

E-le lo-na e-le lo-na.

Ta-no ta-no i-le-le.
Game 31

This game comes from the upper Markham Valley, and is typical of games that children under the age of 11 play on moonlight nights, or when they are waiting to be given food. The villages in this area are small, and a game such as this is played with only a few players (in contrast to dance games from the coast and islands that require many players).

Six or more children sit in a circle facing towards the center. One child stands in the center of the circle and touches his ears as in Figure 31A. The seated children must be close enough to touch hands because the game involves the passing of a single object around the group. On the beat of the song, each child moves his hands outwards towards the side as in Figure 31B. If he holds the object he passes it on to a neighbor when he makes contact with his neighbors' hands. If he does not hold the object he mimes this action. The child in the center tries to identify who has the object, and when he thinks he knows, he jumps over that person's head as in Figure 31C. If he is correct the two children change places. This game is similar to Games 36 and 46 of this sample.

Informant: Finam Igub
Area: Upper Markham Valley
Figure 4-31. Game 31.

Pen pen na-re-ka, re-ko re-ko

Kal-n-ga-le lo-o.
4.8 Madang Province

Madang Province contains many diverse and unrelated tribal groups. The people living on the coast have had almost continuous contact with Europeans since the 1880s, while inland in the mountains there are some people who have been in contact with the outside world only since 1970. The northeastern coastal region is the home of one of the largest cargo cults in the country, while the Ramu Valley in the west produces some of the most intricately carved artifacts in the whole country. The people who live around the administration center of Madang have traditionally traded with the Siassi Island people (in Morobe Province) selling pots and sago for dances and stories. As a result, some adopted words have no meaning to the people now performing them, nevertheless they are retained.

The two games in this sample are from unrelated areas, the first from Karkar Island, and the second from Bogia on the western edge of the Province, close to the mouth of the Ramu River.
Karkar Island, eleven miles off the coast of the mainland, is an active volcano, with very fertile soil and extremely good fishing. It has a dense population most of which lives close by the beach. The few villages that were built inland have been destroyed in volcanic eruptions. The island has large areas of betel nut growing around every village, and all people chew it--including children from about the age of eight, though it is only when they become young adults that they begin adding lime and pepper. Only small children are light enough to climb the very slender palms to get the nuts down, so often bigger children bully smaller children into climbing the palms for them. In this game children use betel nuts, although chewing them is not essential to the game.

Children sit in a circle facing towards the center with a small pile of betel nuts. While they sing this song, one child walks around the outside of the circle as in Figure 4-32. The seated children begin to peel the nut cover off the outside of a nut. At the end of the song, the child on the outside of the circle tries to snatch a nut from one of the seated children. There is no relationship between the rhythm of the song and the body movements of the players.

Informant: Bagom Atalei
Area: Karkar
Figure 4-32. Game 32.

\[ \text{Na-nuk ki-ti-tik ta-bon lo di yau} \]

\[ \text{Yem di-sag di-mul di-pa-lu} \]

\[ \text{Di-dom lo di-man do di-go do-na e.} \]
Game 33

This game from Bogia is similar to the traditional dances found in this area. The step used, and the formation of four lines is the same as parts of the dances seen at singsings. In some dances the dancers execute very involved patterns. This game, with its re-forming lines, conditions the children to think in patterns as they dance. In the Bogia area the villages are large, set back from the beach and have cleared spaces. These provide a place for this game which requires many children to be played successfully.

Children form four parallel lines (Figure 4-33A shows only the leader of each line). As the song begins, each line moves off behind its leader in an oval path as in the ground plan in Figure 33B. When the song is repeated, dance lines 1 and 2 and lines 3 and 4 combine and, following the configuration shown in Figure 33C, move off in pairs. The song is again repeated, and the four lines of dancers combine and move in the configuration shown in Figure 33D. The step used for this game is similar to marching, except that the knee is lifted higher than normal. The children clap their hands, and march to the beat of the song.

Informant: Ruben Wurwur
Area: Bogia
Figure 4-33. Game 43.
Sa-ma lumb-a le
Sa-ma lumb-a le
Sa-ma lumb-a le
Sa-ma lumb-a le
Sa-ma lumb-a le
Sa-ma lumb-a le lum-ba.
Le lum-ba lum-ba lum-ba le
4.9 East New Britain Province

East New Britain Province has been dominated by the Tolai people who live on the coastal plain around the administrative center of Rabaul. These people, traditionally very warlike and aggressive, migrated to the area from the Duke of York Islands about 100 years before the arrival of the Europeans in 1885. They had driven the original settlers into the hills, and were trying to drive them even further into the mountains when the Germans took control of this area in the 1890s as one of their first settlements in the old German New Guinea Colony.

Wesleyan missions working in the Gazelle Peninsula prior to the German arrival, had brought pastors from Samoa. The Germans brought the Society of the Divine Word, a Catholic missionary order based in southern Germany, whose priests and nuns evangelized and taught in the same area using their own native German music in the small mission schools. The Tolais adopted a number of these melodies and substituted texts in their own language, so that in 1980 they claim that these songs are traditional. They also claim that the harmonies which are the same as those used by the Samoans are traditional.

The Tolai adopted the guitar, and use it as the main accompanying instrument for all their casual singing. They are continually making up new songs, structured to fit simple guitar chord progressions.
Some Tolai may live inland now, but they are basically a seafaring people. Many of their games and ceremonies reflect the people's origins with references to the sea or coast. String games are an important children's activity, and the use of hands seems to be important to the children. All the games in the East New Britain sample were collected from Tolais.
Game 34

This simple catching game is played in the flat area between the huts in the village. The children chant nonsense words which are repeated many times.

Two circles are drawn in the sand about 10 yards apart. Children crowd into one circle, while one child stands between the two circles waiting to catch them as in Figure 4-34A. After the text has been chanted twice to build suspense, the children try to run from one circle (a 'safe' area) to the other without getting caught as in Figure 34B. If a child does get caught he has to sit away from the playing area. In another version of the game a child who is caught helps the boy in the center catch other children.

Informant: Doris Vuvuna
Area: Gazelle Peninsula
Figure 4-34. Game 34.

\[ \text{Wok wok wok to-li wo-li wok} \]
Game 35

Children can easily play this game in the limited space under a house built on stilts during the wet season when there is rain almost every day. Since the people have adopted Western clothing, it has become harder to stay dry during the wet season, so children are kept under cover more than formerly when no clothes were worn.

Two or three children stand facing the center of a circle and pile their hands in random order on top of each other, making contact by pinching the back of each other's hands as in Figure 4-35. The children move the hands up and down to the beat of the song. At the end of the song the child whose hand is on the bottom moves it up to the top of the pile. The game is repeated, the song getting a little faster on each repetition. This game is similar to Games 16, 18, and 22.

Informant: Joyce Joel
Area: Gazelle Peninsula
Figure 4-35. Game 35.

Kin kin it mur mur, ta- ti- kai na bu-ra.

Note: The musical notation provided corresponds to the rhythm and melody of the game, indicating the tempo and structure of the activity described in the text.
Game 36

There are many protected harbors on the Gazelle Peninsula, most of which have sandy beaches with a protective reef that encourages many forms of marine life. Tolai children spend much of their spare time playing on the beaches--the place this game is played most successfully.

Six or more children sit in a circle facing towards the center with their feet in front of them, and their legs bent. One child stands in the center of the circle. The children dig a furrow in the sand under their knees deep enough to move their hands along, because they have to pass an object around the circle as in Figure 4-36. On the beat of the song, each child moves his hands from under his knees outwards towards the side. If he holds the object he passes it on to a neighbor when he makes contact with his neighbors' hands. If he does not hold the object he mimes this action. The child in the center tries to identify who has the object, and when he thinks he knows, he points to that child. If he is correct, the two children change places. This game is similar to Games 31 and 46 of this sample.

Informant: Samuel Kaviula
Area: Gazelle Peninsula
Figure 4-36. Game 36.

Bu-lik bu-lik bu-lik

Ru-ga-le ru-ga-le ru-ga-le ru-ga-le
Game 37

This game and Game 38 are versions of the same game. Breadfruit is an important source of food for people on the Gazelle Peninsula at certain times of the year. Large trees dominate each village, and great care is taken to put natural fertilizer (such as ashes) at the base to insure a good crop. A literal translation of the chant is 'look at the breadfruit, let us knock it down'. The word 'kapiak', the Tolai word for breadfruit, has been adopted by pidgin speakers and is now understood throughout the country.

Four or five children stand facing the center of a circle and link their hands forming a vertical pole as in Figure 4-37. They move their hands up and down in time to the beat of the chant, imitating a bamboo pole knocking down a breadfruit. At the end of the chant the hand at the bottom of the pile moves up to the top and the chant is repeated. This continues until the pile of hands is too high to reach. This game has the same action as Games 38 and 43 and is similar to Game 41.

Informant: Girai Romel
Area: Gazelle Peninsula
Figure 4-37. Game 37.

\[ \bullet = 112 \]

Ko-no ko-no ka-pi-a-ka

Ta ti-kai na bu-ra
Game 38

This version of the game comes from the northern end of the Gazelle Peninsula. The words of the chant are different from those of Game 37, but they still refer to the action of knocking down the breadfruit:

The movements of this game are the same as those of Games 37 and 43, and is similar to Game 41.

Informant: Rabbie Manula
Area: Gazelle Peninsula
Figure 4-38. Game 38.

\[ \text{To ka-le-pu ti-kai la bu-ra} \]

\[ \text{Ko-no ko-no ka-pi-a-ka} \]

$\bullet = 112$
Game 39

This game and Game 24 are among the best known games in the country (see Game 24). The text however is recently composed because the subject is girls dancing in the school grounds. Apart from catechist schools, there was no education for Nationals until the early 1950s, and then only for boys. Although there are many versions of this game, the differences are small, in many cases being in the use and position of the hands. The actions below are those given by the writer's informant.

Girls stand behind each other in two parallel single lines. Figure 4-39A shows one of the leaders moving off in the dance. On the first line of the song the girls step on the beat with a swaying motion of the body, their arms bent and their hands at chest height. They may carry a shredded coconut leaf as decoration. On the second line they stand and sway their hips from side to side, while rolling their arms over one another as in Figure 39B. These actions are repeated on the subsequent repeated text lines in verse one, and verse two. The boys sit to one side and sing the song keeping time by beating on several bamboo garamuts (slit drums).

Verse 1.

Purma tam purma tam
I put coconut oil on my face
To miro miro miro  
And look at it in the mirror.

Verse 2.

Ravarina na sikul  
School girls are dancing

Imale na la gure  
At the school dance

Informant: Rapet Emmanuel

Area: Rabaul

Figure 4-39. Game 39.
\[ \text{Fur-ma tam, pur-ma tam} \]

\[ \text{To miro miro miro} \]

\[ \text{Fur-ma tam, pur-ma tam} \]

\[ \text{To miro miro miro} \]
Game 40

Much of the Gazelle Peninsula was planted by the German colonizers with coconuts from Samoa. They intended to make this into one of the main copra-producing areas of the world. The trees, now nearly a hundred years old, have grown to 60 to 80 feet high. In some places the sea wall has eroded, causing trees to hang out over the water.

Children, using a fallen coconut tree as a diving board, bounce up and down in time to the beat of the song. On the last occurrence of the word 'gumu', one of them leaps into the sea as in Figure 4-40. These last three words may be adjusted to allow the child to catch the biggest wave as it comes underneath. Verses and new lines can be added to these play songs to tell current stories, or gossip. This game is similar to Game 42.

Informant: Naumi Boas
Area: Gazelle Peninsula

Figure 4-40. Game 40.
A-ru-a ru-a na-ta dat-uro da-ta
Gumu gu-mu da-ta gu-mu gu-mu
Data kau ra ula da-vai na-
ta da-ta pil a-ra-ma lui da-ta
Gumu gu-mu gu-mu da-
ta
Gumu gu-mu gu-mu
Game 41

This game is played within the confines of a house, and is suitable to amuse children during the long wet season.

Four or five children stand facing the center of a circle and link their hands forming a vertical pole as in Figure 4-41A. They move their hands up and down in time to the beat of the chant. When they chant the word 'Takulamen' the first time they release their hands and, bending at the waist, they put their heads together and rotate them on the beat of the song, at the same time trying to maintain contact with each other as in Figure 41B. There is one version of this game in which the children hold onto one another's ears from the word 'Talingana', but on the last line rock their heads together. This game is similar to Games 37, 38, and 43.

Informant: Minika Batil
Area: Gazelle Peninsula
Figure 4-41. Game 41.

Kono kono bo-roi uuai na ka-tu ia-ka-te

Talin-ga-na be-be bubu talin-ga-na be-be

Taub bar i-uan ta-ku-la-men ta-ku-la-men.

eeee MM
4.10 New Ireland Province

This Province lies east of West New Britain, and consists of two large islands, New Hanover and New Ireland, and numerous small islands. Some of the tribes of Southern New Ireland speak a language similar to that of the Tolai people; some of the games and dances are also similar. The cultures of the people of the middle and northern areas of New Ireland have no known links with other areas.

The extreme northern end of New Hanover is the site of the 'Johnson cargo cult' that developed in the early 1960s. In the Kavieng area on the northern end of New Ireland, there has been a resurgence of carving and use of traditional artifacts in ceremonies since Independence (in 1976). The intricately carved masks called Malligan masks are being made again (after almost 40 years), the ceremonies that make use of these masks are being revived, and traditional practices such as initiation for the young men are again being held. Previously the Protestant mission preached against these ceremonies, but with the localization of the missions the people now feel they can challenge the church.

In New Hanover, there has been a complete change of language since the 1920s. Previously, the language could not be understood by the people in Kavieng, the administrative center of New Ireland, so the younger people of New Hanover adopted the other language. This resulted in the
original language becoming extinct except in some song texts. The young people in 1980 have no idea what some of the words mean in the songs they sing at singsings.

Many villages are built on sheltered bays near the sea, and have quite a large area around them for activities. The games in this sample are taken from different areas of the Province.
Game 42

This game is from the southern area of the Province. Most of the people's food is from the sea, and children must be strong swimmers to be able to fish the reefs. During the dry season children spend most of their time in the sea, or on the beach.

The children dive from coral platforms often singing this song and bracing themselves to leap into the sea when a big wave appears. The tempo of the song may be adjusted to allow the child to catch the biggest wave on the last word of the song. This game is similar to Game 40.

Informant: Pitato Waisale
Area: Namatanai

Figure 4-42. Game 42.
\[ \frac{5}{4} \]

Lan-gun lan-gun ku-mai-na

Ra kur kur ra pe-re pe-re

Na bua ra mai a-na bus ra ku-kur ra

Le u_________ ui!

[ai]
Game 43

Children play this game as they sit in the shade of trees or within houses. The houses are not large, so the movements are restricted to fit within the limited space.

The movements of this game are the same as those of Games 37 and 38 and is similar to Game 41.

Informant: Sila

Area: Kaivieng

Figure 4-43. Game 43.

Pu pu pu pu ma-gi-to bo-kot.
Game 44

This game needs more space than most of the games in this sample, and because the villages of central New Ireland have large flat open spaces around them, it is possible to play it.

Four small circles, each about three feet in diameter, are drawn about 20 feet apart around the edge of a larger circle as in Figure 4-44A, to form a circle of circles. Children spread out randomly into any of the four smaller circles except for one child who is 'it' and who stands in the center of the large circle. On the last 'ude' of the song the children try to get from one circle to another without getting caught by the child in the center as in Figure 44B. Any child who is caught must leave the game area and sit on the side. There is no relationship between the rhythm of the song and the body movements of the players.

Informant: Lakasep Hosea
Area: Central New Ireland
Figure 4-44. Game 44.

\[ \text{La-si la-si u lam-lam sig ku} \]

\[ \text{Na-tu lu-na u-de u-de u-de.} \]
Game 45

This game from Central New Ireland is similar to songs from the Tolai area of East New Britain. The holding of ears seems to be part of the play of children in the southern area of New Ireland and the Gazelle Peninsula.

Children sit in a circle facing towards the center and hold onto their neighbors' ears as in Figure 4-45. On the beat of the song they first rock to the right and left on the words 'Le le gu', and then nod their heads forwards and backwards on 'kito kito kito'.

Informant: Hiwalis Ezekiel
Area: Central New Ireland

Figure 4-45. Game 45.

\[ \text{Le le gu kito kito kito.} \]
4.11 North Solomons Province

Formerly called the Bougainville District, most of the North Solomons Province is centered on the large island of Bougainville, but there are a number of smaller islands around the main island, and many different languages within the Province. There is no unifying element within the cultures.

The whole Province was subjected to heavy fighting throughout World War II. Since the early 1970s the huge copper mine in the south has brought in enormous amounts of capital to an island that was previously quite poor. In the north a traditional musical instrument is the stamping tube, which is a piece of bamboo from 2 to 4 feet in length with all the nodes broken out except for the one near the end that hits the ground. At this end the bamboo is cut about six inches below the last node, leaving a resonating chamber when it hits the ground. The sound (a deep 'boom') can carry a long distance. The instrument is carried by a dancer and hit on the ground as the dancer moves around in a circle. This instrument is used with one of the games (Game 47) in this sample.
Game 46

This game is from the south of the main island of Bougainville, where most of the villages are built on the beach. The villages have large central areas that are used for **singsings**, and it is here that many of the games are played.

Six or more children sit in a circle facing towards the center. One child stands in the center of the circle. The seated children must be close enough to touch hands when they extend their arms to the side to be able to pass an object around the circle. On the beat of the song, each child moves his hands from in front of his chest outwards towards the side. If he holds the object he mimes this action. The child in the center tries to identify who has the object, and when he thinks he knows he points to that child as in Figure 4-46. If he is correct the two children change places. This game is similar to Games 31 and 36 of this sample.

Informant: Pauline Sinanda

Area: Southern Bougainville
Figure 4-46. Game 46.

\[ \text{Si bele-ka si bele male.} \]

\[ \text{na- le na- le nam.} \]

\[ \text{So len- le- le gam.} \]
Game 47

This game from the northern end of the main island of Bougainville is a simple dance. Dancers in this area carry a stamping tube which they use to reinforce the beat as they dance. This instrument is used in this game.

Eight or more children walk around a circle in a clockwise direction each carrying a stamping tube in one hand as in Figure 47A, marching on the beat of the song with a heavy step. At the beginning of the song they hit the tube on the ground as in Figure 47B on alternate beats. From the line beginning 'Tamane' they hit the tube on the ground on every beat, and continue this beating until the end of the song. When they change the beating of the stamping tube, they also move towards the center of the circle for four beats, and on the last two beats (indicated by rests in the transcription) re-form the circle facing clockwise ready to begin the game again.

Informant: Mariki Tukana
Area: Buin
Figure 4-47. Game 47.

\[ \text{\textbf{0} = 1\textbf{4}4} \]

\begin{verbatim}
Tsi-bu e tsi-bu e tsi-bu.

Tsi-bu e tsi-bu e tsi-bu e

Ta-ma-ne tua-ma no su-le ke

Tu-po-sen e ta-ma-ne gua-ma no su-le ke

Tu-po-sen tu-po-sen ta-man poem.
\end{verbatim}
Game 48

This simple little game from the southern west coast area of Bougainville makes use of children's ability to mime. Older children look after younger children and quite often play 'mother', using the small child as the baby. Some excuses given in this game would be rather earthy as Bougainvillian children do not have polite words for various bodily functions such as those European children are taught.

A big girl with a smaller child in her lap sits in front of a group. She acts the part of a mother to the child as in Figure 4-48. The song is sung and one of the children tries to take the small child, but the 'mother' gives an excuse why it cannot be taken. The song is repeated, until no more excuses can be thought up. They stand up and run away trying not to get caught by the remainder of the children who chase them.

Informant: Catherine Koola
Area: South Bougainville
Figure 4-48. Game 48.

\[ \frac{\text{d}}{\text{t}} = 126 \text{ [uneven]} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ni-ni ka-ni} & \quad \text{ni-ni-ka-ni} \\
\text{Ka-ni o-gu ka-ni ri-to be-re} \\
\text{Tun-u ai} & \quad \text{ri-to be-re} \\
\text{Tun-u ai} & \quad \text{bo-ko be-re} \\
\text{Ta ra ni-te} & \quad \text{to-be ra-ni-te.}
\end{align*}
\]
This is one of the most popular games from the northwestern area of the island of Bougainville. The children like playing games of skill, and this one, with its rather complicated clapping pattern, is typical. Sometimes children will sing this song very fast in an attempt to trick their partners into making a mistake.

Two children kneel facing each other with their hands on their thighs as in Figure 4-49A. Each of the following actions is done on the beat of the song. On the first beat the children lift their hands from their thighs in preparation for clapping their own hands in front of them on the second beat as in Figure 49B. On the third beat the partners slap their right hands across the body in front of them as in Figure 49C. On the fourth beat they clap their own hands as in Figure 49D and on the fifth beat the partners slap left hands as in Figure 49E. On the sixth beat they clap their hands as in Figure 49F and on the seventh beat the partners slap right hand to left hand, left hand to right hand as in Figure 49G. In the final movement of the sequence they clap their own hands above their heads as in Figure 49H. In preparation for the starting position, the hands are moved back down to slap the thighs. This sequence is repeated three times, followed by three claps immediately after the last words.
Informant: Aida Lagi
Area: North Bougainville

Figure 4-49. Game 49.
Figure 4-49. Game 49 (continued).

\[=168\]

O-vi e na-ke-le e Pa-gi-na.

Ke-si-le-gu ke-si-le-gu.

A ma-ta-gi-na ke-si-le-gu

O-vi-na.
CHAPTER 5
SINGING GAMES OF TUVALU

There are 41 games in the following sample. These were selected from a collection of 81 recorded games. Because Tuvalu is essentially a mono-cultural, mono-lingual society there is no geographical or provincial division as in Papua New Guinea. Instead the games are presented in three sections: beach games, simple dances, and educational games. Although in the classification in Chapter 6 nine games are categorized as 'nonsense games', and one as 'training for dexterity' they are either essentially simple dances (Games 19-21, 33 and 34), or educational (Games 38-41).

5.1 Beach games

Most of the atolls of Tuvalu are of the classical atoll structure with a series of small low islands around a large central lagoon. The Polynesian word 'motu' has been adopted throughout the Pacific for these small islands. Most motus have a sandy beach on the lagoon side because these beaches are protected from rough seas. Children make use of this area for many games, and many of the chants in this collection make references to the marine and shore life of the atolls.
All 10 games classified as beach games have the same action, and although several have similar texts, local place names set the action in an environment familiar to the child. Most texts contain archaic and/or Samoan words, and refer to concepts originating in pre-European times.
Game 1

One or more children either kneel or sit cross-legged on the sand and smooth a small area in front of them. In time with the beat of the chant they make vertical strokes in the sand as in Figure 5-1. When they repeat the chant the children cancel each mark with a diagonal stroke. The object is to make as many cancellation marks as vertical marks.

Te lupe te lupe ne tu ite ofaga
The dove the dove goes to its nest
Ne mau te selu i tena ulu
Was stuck the comb at its head
Gali gali tuli Afelika nako mai a kove
Pretty pretty plover Africa comes here many curlews
Teteu lou loto ole tiapolo.
Calm your heart of the Devil (exclamation)

The dove goes to its nest.
Then raises the comb on its head,
A pretty plover has flown from Africa,
Also many curlews
Calm your heart, it is a devil thing.

Informant: Vaitupu Tovia

Area: Nukufetau
Figure 5-1. Game 1.

$\frac{1}{4} = 112$—108

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

Te lu-pe te lu-pe ne tu i-te o-fa-ga

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 & 3 \\
\end{array} \]

Ne mau te se-lu i te-na u-ulu

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times \\
\end{array} \]


\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times \\
\end{array} \]

Te-te-u lou lo-to o-le ti-a-polo

\[ \begin{array}{cccccccc}
\times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times & \times \\
\end{array} \]

Te-te-u lou lo-to o-le ti-a-polo o
In 1947 the people of the atoll of Vaitupu bought Kioa, an island in Fiji, to use as a home for their expanding population. In 1981 there was a settlement of 300 Tuvaluans on Kioa and, although there has been no migration since 1959, there is constant contact between the two communities. The writer considers the melody of this game similar to that of Fijian meke. Musically this version is very different from the other two in this sample (Games 1 and 24) and from other versions also heard by the writer.

In the translation there are two sections in which the informants apparently had changed the meaning of the text. The writer checked both of these variants with an older informant after the recording session. His alternative translation seems more meaningful within the context of the verse, and is closer to the other two versions of the song in this sample. The writer presents the older informant's translation.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te lupe ne tu ite ofaga
The dove was standing nest
E mau te selu tena ulu
To put the comb its head
E gali e gali
Pretty pretty
Ki mai tuli agi Afelika
Comes a plover from Africa
Nako mai a kove sina tau a kove
Comes towards curlew grey three curlew
Te teu lou loto ua le tiapolo o o
Calm your heart the Devil o o

The dove was standing on the rim of its nest
With the plume on its head erect.
How pretty it looks
Here comes a plover from Africa
Here comes a curlew towards us
Now there are three mature curlews
Do not be afraid, it's not the Devil.

Informant: Ameli and Family
Area: Vaitupu
\( \text{J} = 88 \rightarrow 96 \)

8. Te lu-pe ne tu i-te o-fa-ga

8. E mau te se-lu (e) te-na u-lu

8. E gal-i e gal-i


8. Na- ko mai a ko-(ve) si-na tau a ko-(ve)

8. Te teu lou lo-to

u-a le ti-a-po-lo o o
Game 3

Although this game was collected on the atoll of Funafuti, it contains a place name from the northernmost atoll of Nanumea. No explanation could be given for this by the informants, both of whom had lived on Funafuti most of their lives.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

O lo matou ki Lakena
- - we went to Lakena*

O ta te fiakaiga
To get the favorite food

Fia mai matou ko fifiu
Like to come we are tired

Seai ne aulo
No was gold

I loto ite fenua tenei
At inside at the island this

We went to Lakena because we wanted
To get our favorite food.
We are now tired.
There is no special food in the middle of the island.

*Lakena - a motu in Nanumea.

Informant: Senetima and Vaie

Area: Funafuti
\[ \text{\textbf{O lo ma-tou ki La-ken-a}} \]
\[ \text{\textbf{O ta te fi-a-ka-i-ga}} \]
\[ \text{\textbf{Fia mai ma-tou ko fi-fi-u}} \]
\[ \text{\textbf{Se-ai ne a-u-lo}} \]
\[ \text{\textbf{I lo-to i-te fe-nu-a te-nei}} \]
Game 4

The subject of this chant is one that a European child would not repeat in front of his parents [Turner 1978:158]. In contrast, in Tuvalu children are not censured at all when this chant is performed, but are encouraged by laughter to shout the words louder. The text refers to a boy who urinates on his sleeping mat while he sleeps. Bed mats made from pandanus leaves absorb moisture and can become impregnated with the smell of urine. The word 'sogo' is used exclusively for this smell. The people are very conscious of body odors, and make vulgar and pointed jokes about people who either smell badly, or do not wash enough. The writer was told that this chant is a joke.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

E fue i fea te ili?
You fan at where the fan?

E fue i foga Lefolefo
You fan face Lefolefo*

Fakatasi te fenua ki te motu Sanafa
Combine the people to the motu Sanafa**

Kae sola Lefolefo o funa tena kafu e sogo
But run Lefolefo* to hide his mat smells of urine

E fue mai fue mai ko fati tona vae
He fans towards us he breaks his leg

E fue mai fue mai ko fati tona lima
He fans towards us he breaks his hand
Where do you wave your fan?
I wave my fan in Lefolefo's face.
We will mix up the people on Sanafa,
But Lefolefo runs away to hide his bed mat that smells of urine.
He fans towards us, he waves towards us, and breaks his leg.
He fans towards us, he waves towards us, and breaks his hand.
He waves towards us, he waves towards us, then he sleeps soundly.

*Lefolefo - a boy's name.
**Sanafa - a motu in Funafuti.

Informant: Senetimaand Vaie
Area: Funafuti
E fū-e i fe-a-te i- li?

E fū-e i fo-ga Le-fō-le-fo

Paka-ta-si te fe-nu-a ki te mo-tu Sa-na-fa

Kae so-la Le-fō-le-fo o fū-na te-na ka-fu e so-go

E fū-e mai fū-e mai ko fa-ti to-na vae

E fū-e mai fū-e mai ko fa-ti to-na li-ma

E fū-e mai fū-e mai ko mo-e pa-la-pa-la
Game 5

The chant of this game from Funafuti, concerns some of the things that might scare a child at night. It is believed that ghosts and evil spirits come out only on the darkest nights. There is always a fear that a 'devil' will take a person at night, and children are urged to be in the safety of their homes before the moon sets.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te masina to pagulu to gagana
The moon fall roar fall clashing sound

Fai ole ti fai ole to, vovo tele vave.
Do ole* tea make something much fast.

Magumagu tele vave oai le tino e pule ile masina.
Old much fast who is person in charge moon.

Kolokolo maopoopa. Te lupe ne tui tausunu.
Sennit** gather. The dove was perched at tree.

Ne mau te selu i tona ulu
With the comb at its head

Gali gali ki mai tuli agi Afelika.
Pretty pretty another plover flown Africa.***

Nako mai a ko ti na tave nako
Come another here we will quickly go

Ua le tiapolo o o.
Which is a devil yes yes.

After the moon sets there is a roar and crashing sound to be heard.
Do something, make food and drink quickly
Who is the old person who lives in the moon?
Perhaps he is a person who makes sennit.
There is a dove in the tree, its comb on its head
is erect.
There is another bird, it is the pretty plover
that has flown from Africa.
There is another bird here, but we will go quickly
It is the devil, that comes in the dark.

*ole - Samoan word for 'the'.
**sennit - rope made from coconut fiber.
***Africa - This country is always used to denote a long
distance travelled.

Informants: Senetima and Vaie
Area: Funafuti

\[
\text{Te ma-si-na to pa-gu-lu to ga-ga-na}
\]

\[
\text{Fai o-le ti fai o-le to, vo-vo te-le va-ve.}\]

\[
\text{Ma-gu-ma-gu te-le va-ve o-ai le ti-no e}
\]
pu-le (i)le ma-si-na

Ko-lo-ko-lo mao-poo-pa. Te lu-pe ne tu-i tau-su-nu

Ne mau te se-lu i to-na u-lu

Ga-li ga-li ki mai tu-li a-gi a-re-li-ka

Na-ko mai a ko ti na ta-ve (na)ko

U-a le ti-a-po-lo o o o o
Game 6

The main seasonal change in Tuvalu occurs in October when the westerly winds begin to blow, bringing heavy rain; they can also make the sea so rough that the men cannot go out to fish. The people study the new moon to see if there is a ring around it and, if there is more than one, a radical change in the weather is expected. The text of this chant refers to this ring as a decorative skirt (titi) worn over the grass skirt when people dance the fatele.

A shell (misa) was formerly used as a trumpet to signal to the people to come down to the shore to help the men beach their canoes--canoes are never left in the water because the men are afraid they will drift away. Shells are being replaced by either plastic fuel funnels, or battery-operated megaphones.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te masina fai aka tou titi
The moon put on your skirt

Ke lavea ne te Faoa
To seen by the Faoa*

Keke matua ke ta
Old mother to hit

Te misa ka ki ki
The shell sounds ki ki
The moon wears a ring around it like a *titi* on a grass skirt. This is seen by Faoa. The old woman beats a rhythm. The shell is blown. The sound it makes is 'ki ki'.

*Faoa - a supernatural being, not really evil, but to be respected.*

Informants: Senetima and Vaie

Area: Funafuti
The text of this game from Funafuti has a double meaning: a nonsense verse about a girl who sleeps at the open end of the house and a punch drill, or a story of a girl enticing a boy to come and sleep with her after her parents have gone to sleep. There is a practice called moe totolo in which a young unmarried man will sneak into the house and offer to sleep beside the girl. If she accepts he will stay the night, leaving early in the morning; if he is rejected he leaves very quietly. Usually the father sleeps next to the open end of the house, but if a girl were to do this she would be letting a boy know she was willing to sleep with him.

Two words have no intelligible English translation, and even in Tuvaluan their meanings are ambiguous. 'Vivitai' can be the fruit of a bird, but is usually used as a metaphor for fertility in either humans or pigs. 'Kagi' can mean either shoot or gun, but is also used to make oblique reference to an ejaculation. As stated above (see 1.2) reference to copulation is never direct in conversation or song, but in chant, indirect reference is comparatively common.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te fafine Pisilani te fafine Pisilani
The girl Pisilani* the girl Pisilani
Ou alofa sese, ou alofa sese  
Your love wrong your love wrong  
Ko pu tou ulu ite ligiligi  
It hole your head at the short eave of the house  
Se mea mia fea se mea vili kao  
A thing it where a thing drill** coconut shell  
E vivitai e kagi te kakani  
Bird shoot the fertilize  
E kagi te kakani.  
Shoot the fertilize.

The girl Pisilani loves the wrong person  
She sleeps at the open end of the house  
Move it like a punch drill.  
This will fertilize the eggs.

*Pisilani - a girl's name.  
**drill - this is a simple pump drill used throughout the Pacific for putting holes into shells for fish hooks or decoration.

Informants:  Senitima and Vaie  
Area:  Funafuti
$\frac{3}{10}$ = 126–138

Te fa-fi-ne Pi-si-la-ni te fa-fi-ne

Pi-si-la-ni

Ou a-lo-fa se-se, ou a-lo-fa se-se

Ko pu tou u-lu i-te li-li-li-gi

Se me-a mi-a fe-a se me-a vi-li kao

Ε vi-vi-tai e kag(i) te ka-kan(i)

Ε kag(i) te ka-kan(i).
Game 8

This chant containing both old and more recent words is from Funafuti. It has almost as absurd a match of animals as the English nursery rhyme 'The cat and the fiddle'. In the Tuvaluan chant a cat marries a cow. Cats were introduced by Europeans, but cattle were not because there is no feed on the islands for them, so very few people have seen any except for pictures in books. This makes their marriage even more absurd in Tuvaluan terms.

The obsolete word 'pilimataiti' is applied very specifically to a couple who have been happily married for a long time. Younger informants told the writer that it is a nonsense word, but an older informant gave the above explanation.

The actions are the same as Game 1.

Te nonu palapala ite vai
The plant soft on the pool
O Talamoni pusi e pusi e
   Talamoni* cat cat
Pusi mafau fa avaga mote pulumakau
Cat thinks marry with cow
Fatasi male loto si ave si ave
Together with love (expression)
To pilimataiti e e e
They happily married
The plant floats on the pool
That belongs to the cat Talamoni.
The cat thinks it will marry the cow,
Because they love one another
They are very happily married.

*Talamoni - a name given to some people, but in this chant used by the cat.

Informants: Senetima and Vaie
Area: Funafuti

Informants: Senetima and Vaie
Area: Funafuti
Game 9

The chant for this game from Funafuti warns children about a spirit that lives in the shadows. A 'toeaina', like a goblin in European stories, lives only in the shadows and dies if it comes out into the moonlight. On atolls the only plant that casts a solid shadow is the banana tree. Bananas are always grown in clumps so they can be tied together for support when the strong westerly winds blow. Banana plantations are suggested as a place where ghosts or spirits live. On moonlit nights (when it is frequently bright enough to read) the contrast between open areas and the shade of the banana tree is quite dramatic, because unlike coconut palms and breadfruit trees which allow some light to pass through their leaves, no light penetrates under the banana.

To placate a ghost or goblin, an uto--a sweet coconut that is precious to the people--is thrown to it. This nut is difficult to keep until it matures because the husk is very soft, and is the favorite food of both coconut crabs and rats, both of which will climb the palms to either eat the nut there or pull it off to eat on the ground.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Toto potu e tike ite matapoto
Cousin beetle at crouches on the cross beam of the house
Ne galulu mai ko toeaina  
Is shivering his toeaina*

Ite muli ote fala ka vau ite ao e mase  
Under of the pandanus if come the daylight bad

Ka vau ite po e tago mai tena lima  
During the night carrying something in his hand

Tena lima musumusu pela mese failo  
His hand whispers like a mouth wheeze

Ke olo atu matou o titi mai tena uto  
He/it comes to us drop down him uto**

Tena uto magalo mai Kalevale  
His uto sweetest at Kalevale***

Iku ana mata kite Asiga  
Glances his eyes to Asiga****

Ne mamalu mai kote futi teatea kae to  
The shadows of the banana white looks

Suna Manaia e  
Very beautiful

He crouches like a beetle on the cross beam of the house
The old man is shivering.
At the bottom of the pandanus tree it is very dark,  
If daylight comes it will be bad for the old man.  
During the night the old man carries something in his hand.  
His hand moves like the sound of a whisper  
He wants to come and touch us.  
Climb up and drop a sweet coconut to him,  
They grow at Kalevale. He glances towards Asiga,  
from which direction the moon will rise.
The shadow of the banana is black and white on the ground, it is very beautiful.

*toeaina - an old man who is like a goblin.
**uto - a very sweet coconut with an edible husk as well as the shell.
***Kalevale - a place on Funafuti.
****Asiga - a motu in Funafuti.

Informants: Senetima and Vaie
Area: Funafuti
Game 10

Children are aware of most of the animal life on the atolls; crabs and other sea creatures are an important subject in their chants (e.g., Games 14, 18, and 26).

The tupa—the largest land crab found on the atolls—is a scavenger and will eat almost anything from the meat inside a coconut to food that is left lying around. These crabs are an important source of food for people when the sea is too rough to go fishing. In this chant both the tupa and the kaipea—a smaller land crab, also a scavenger—are seen to be planning to steal a heron's eggs. The heron's nest on the ground under pandanus trees, is often a target of these nocturnal creatures.

The actions are the same as Game 1.

Te tupa ne lagalaga ite pu ote kaipea
The large crab sitting at the hole of the small crab
Fai ana tala
Telling its story
Te matuku to olo o mamata ou fua loaloa
The heron we go look at your eggs oval.
Fakato kite pu fala
Lay eggs into hole pandanus
Auaia, auaia, auaia ua-ia ua-ia.
(sound of the heron)
One land crab was sitting outside the hole of another land crab.
They were gossiping.
We will go to see the heron which has a nest of oval eggs under the pandanus tree.
The heron makes frightened sounds because it feels its eggs are threatened.

Informants: Senetima and Vaie

Area: Funafuti
\[= 116\]

تعیین

\text{\textbf{Te tu-\,pa ne la-\,ga-\,la-\,ga i-\,te pu [o]te kai-\,pe-\,a}}

\text{\textbf{Fai an-\,a ta-\,la}}

\text{\textbf{Te ma-\,tu-\,ku to o-\,lo o ma-\,ma-\,ta ou fu-\,a}}

\text{\textbf{lo-\,a-\,lo-\,a}}

\text{\textbf{Fa-\,ka-\,to ki-\,te pu fa-\,la}}

\[= 120\]

\text{\textbf{A-\,ua-\,ia a-\,ua-\,ia a-\,ua-\,ia ua-\,ia ua-\,ia [Au-\,uai-\,ia au-\,uai-\,ia au-\,uai-\,ia]}}
The text of this simple chant describes one of the social activities of Tuvalu. Many people have lice in their hair, and either do not want or cannot afford to use medication to get rid of these pests. The writer has seen groups of women sitting around a lantern, combing each other's hair looking for lice. When a louse is caught it is either held over a flame for several seconds and then eaten, or bitten in half and swallowed raw. Tuvaluans believe that lice were introduced to the Pacific by Europeans, and this is the reason there is no traditional medicine to get rid of them.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Kutu e kutu sele sele
Louse oh louse striped
Kati kati kai a lala
Cut cut eat roast
Te kutu e!
The louse oh!

The head louse has stripes.
Pick it out of the hair, break its back
Roast it near the lamp then eat it.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
I = 69 → 84

Ku-tu e ku-tu se-le se-le

Ka-ti ka-ti kai a la-la

Te ku-tu e!
Game 12

Men who go out to sea to fish in sailing canoes fear that the wind will change and they will be unable to get back to land. The writer met men from Nukufetau who had been blown over 800 miles of open sea to come ashore in the Solomon Islands or Vanuatu. The reference in the chant to Amelika (America) is to a faraway unknown place. Nukufetau, where this game was collected, is exposed; and strong ocean currents pass by the atoll so the threat of being carried away is always present.

On Nukufetau turtle eggs are considered a delicacy because a turtle rarely comes ashore to lay eggs. When it does, it lays hundreds of eggs and this event will almost always be an occasion for a very large feast.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te ma tagi ko lele e mai luga mai e faga
The our cry is flying from above thing village.

Uli toku vaka fakatele ki Amelika
Steer my boat sail to America*

Ole leu Kavakava o kai aku fua
The ripe Kavakava* to eat my egg

O mimiti aku fua muna mi se ulu fonu
To suck my egg through its a head turtle

Sale aka se kalaga mutu la te likiliki
Walk up don't call small canoe the hungry
Fakatote miliona e.
Save the million.

The shout carried a long way above the village.
Sail the canoe to America, but take a lot of edible
panadanus nuts from the motu of Kavakava.
You must eat the eggs.
The big turtle walks up on the sand at Kaleanga
It looks like a small canoe bringing food to the
hungry.
It will lay a million eggs.

*America - is the country they say when they mean they are
sailing on a very long voyage.
**Kavakava - a small motu in Nukufetau where the best
edible pandanus nuts grow.

Informant: Vaenioi

Area: Nukufetau
It = 88 → 104

Te ma ta- gi ko le- le e mai lu- ga ma- i e fa- ga [ne]

U- li to- ku va- ka fa- ka- te- le ki (A) me- li- ka

O- le le- u [ma] Ka- va- ka- va o kai a- ku fu- a

O mi- mi- ti a- ku fu- a mu- na mi se u- lu fo- nu

Sa- le ak- a se ka- la- ga mu- tu la te li- ki- li- ki

Fa- ka- toe te mi- li- o- [o]- na-[a] e.
The two sides of an atoll are different, from each other, the side facing the lagoon has a white sandy beach; and the side facing the open ocean has very rocky reef flat with large jagged pieces of coral thrown up by the sea. The beach on the lagoon side is used for play, whereas the rocky seashore is an important source of food. At low tide older women wade on the reef flat looking for trapped eels and fish. This rocky shore is also the source for stones for the earth ovens, the traditional method of cooking prior to European contact. Coral rock turns to lime when it is heated, so a fresh supply of stones is always needed. These rocks are carried by the older women. The younger women work on the sandy beach, often doing very light work in comparison to that of the older women. The text of the chant, expressed in a few simple words, is concerned with this division of roles.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te moa ne fanau ite
The chicken was laid at the
Pisipisitai ne tama fafine,
Beach were young girl
Ne olo kite mauga ite makaukau.
went to the Mountain on the bent back.
The chicken went to scratch on the beach where there are young girls. The older woman went to the sea to do heavier work that bent her back.

Informant: Vaenioi

Area: Nukufetau
In some areas of the lagoons the floor is almost covered with seaslugs. Children play with these seaslugs and make them eject a slimy liquid over another child. A child who has been squirted with the liquid usually runs out of the water across the beach trying to remove the sticky substance from his skin.

The 'peka', a propellor made from a coconut leaf, is widespread throughout the Pacific and a popular toy with small boys. These propellors often turn fast enough to make a humming sound.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te loli pukupuku te loli pukupuku
The seaslug round the seaslug round

Te mai Alesana te mai Alesana
The thing/person Alesana*

Fakamapuki mo Tanielu
Hit/ran into Tanielu**

Tagi te peka ki, tagi te peka ki.
Cried the peka*** ki, cried the peka ki

The seaslug is round.
Alesana was running, playing with his toy propellor and ran into Tanielu.
The propellor makes a sound 'Ki!'
*Alesana - a child's name.
**Tanielu - a child's name.
***peka - a popular toy made from the leaf frond of the coconut tree. It is like a propellor.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
This chant from the atoll of Nukufetau tells the life story of a child. It begins with the child learning to stand, and ends with the child as a grown person wanting to sail away on a ship with masts. The last line is philosophical in its suggestion that all the child has learned in growing up will help him survive and live a long time.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Pepe tutu e, tu sae sae e, sae tina tina e
Baby stand stand rip rip destroy

Tina tolotolo e, tolu ipu ipu e,
Destroy crawl crawl cup

Ipu ne ne e, ne pusi pusi e, pusi gafa gafa a
Cup yes yes blow blow measure distance.

Gafa umi ou outele
Distance length I want to go.

alu ile va tila fa
To the canoe mast four

Ia mai se pusa e loaloa.
Life thing trunk is long.
(All these things that we have learnt help to make our life a lot longer.)
The baby stands, then it rips things up. It can destroy things, then it learns to crawl. It learns to drink from a cup, then to say 'yes'. The baby learns to blow noises, then to tell how far it is from home. The distance becomes greater until the child wants to sail away on a four-masted ship. With all the child has learned it should live a long time.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
Note : 112 à 160

Pe- pe tu- tu e,  tu sae sae e,  sae ti- na ti- na e [a] [a] [ni] [ni a]

Ti- na to- lo to- lo e,  to- lu i- pu i- pu e, [ni] [a] [a]

I- pu ne ne e,  ne pu- si pu- si e  pu- si ga- fa ga- fa a [a] [a]

Ga- fa u- mi ou ou- te- le  a- lu i- le va ti- la fa

I- a ma- i se pu- sa (e) lo- a- lo- a. [Ai-a]
The text for this chant is quoted by Christensen [1964:14] as an example of a simple text with a complex meaning. The translation tells a simple story of a fly sitting on a piece of coconut rope. The writer was told by an informant that this means that the sea is so calm a fly could sit on the ropes tying the outrigger to the canoe without being disturbed by the rocking of the boat. When the sea is so calm it is ideal for spear fishing from a canoe. This condition occurs so rarely as to deserve comment.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Te lago te lago ne
The fly the fly
Tu ite moikaka
Stood on the coconut fiber rope.
Mio mio mio gali
Turn round good.

The fly settled on the rope on the canoe,
This is good because the sea is still and we can fish.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
\[ \text{\textbullet} = 100 \]

Te la-go te la-go ne

Tu i-te mo-i-ka-ka

Mi-o mi-o mi-o [o] ga-li.
Game 17

In pre-Christian Tuvalu the people worshipped five gods at individual shrines built for each god in different parts of the atoll. The writer was unable to collect any information about these old gods, or to determine whether this was due to ignorance, or to a reluctance to talk about them.

The chant tells the story of a person sitting in the house of Kaulialia, a former god. The chant asks that the gifts from the god be shared with first one person, then two people, and so on up to ten people.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

Kululii Kululii tefea Kululii
Kululii* Kululii where is Kululii
Tela e nofo i tou fale ata ite Molopa
There sits in your house in Molopa**
Kaulialia,
Kaulialia***
Vae tasi, vae lua, vae tolu, vae fa,
Share one two three four
vaе lima, vae ono, vae fitu, vae valu, vae iva
Share five six seven eight nine
vaе vae.
Share ten.
Kululii, where is Kululii?
There he is, sitting on Molopa in the house of Kaulialia.
Divide the good things one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

*Kululii - a person's name.
**Molopa - a place on the end of Vaitupu atoll.
***Kaulialia - one of the five traditional gods of Tuvalu.

Informant: School children in Vaitupu
Area: Vaitupu
\[ \dot{b} = 138 \rightarrow 176 \]

Ku-lu lii  Ku-lu-lii  te-fe-a  Ku-lu-lii

Te-la e no-foi tou fa-le a-ta i-te Mo-lo-pa


Vae ta-si, vae lu-a, vae to-lu, vae fa,

va-e li-ma, vae o-no, vae fi-tu, vae va-lu.

Vae i-va, vae vae.
Game 18

The text of this chant is almost the same as that of Game 10. The tupā and the kaipea are planning to look at the eggs of the heron.

The actions are the same as in Game 1.

E tupā lagalaga ite pu ote kaipea
The large crab sitting at the hole of the small crab
Fai ana tala te matuku
He says stories the heron
Taolo o mamata i ou fua loaloa
Let us go and look at your eggs long.
Fakato kite pu fala
Lays eggs into hole pandanus
Auoi, auoi, auoi.
(call of the bird)

The large land crab was sitting at the hole of the small land crab.
He said let us go and look at the long eggs of the heron.
They have been laid under the roots of the pandanus tree.

Informants: Eileen's family
Area: Vaitupu
$\bullet = 80-104$

I

\begin{align*}
&\text{E tu-pa la-ga-la-ga i-te pu (o) te ka-i-pe-a} \\
&\text{Fa-i a-na ta-la te ma-tu-ku} \\
&\text{Ta-o-lo o ma-ma-ta i ou fu-a lo-a-lo-a.} \\
&\text{Fa-ka-to ki-te pu fa-la} \\
&\text{Au-oi au-oi au-oi-[a].}
\end{align*}
5.2 Simple dances

The games in this section have some elements the writer can compare with those in dances. Several of the games (Games 22, 23, and 26) have steps and movements also found in dances from Rotuma and the Cook Islands. The writer believes that these games give an indication of the old dances no longer performed in Tuvalu. Games 19, 20, and 21 have elements of nonsense as well as dance, so have been included under 'nonsense' in the analysis in Chapter 6.
This game is common to the four atolls from which the writer collected data. It was always referred to as 'Tolotolo si' and because of its popularity the writer used it as a demonstration game when asking for information from potential informants.

Three versions of the game are presented. Game 19 was collected on Funafuti from an informant who was a former resident of Nukulaelae. It is identical to others collected on Funafuti, but not included in this sample. Games 20 and 21 were both recorded on Nukufetau, Game 20 collected from a four year old boy, and Game 21 from his grandmother. These two versions have different texts. Although one word in two of the versions sounds the same, they are two different words with basically the same meaning; the writer presents the spelling as given by the respective informants.

Two players sit cross-legged facing each other, and holding fingers as in Figures 5-2A and 2B. One player is the leader throughout the game. This person moves his finger backwards and forwards on the beat of the chant stroking the end of his partner's fingers. On the word 'sogi' the child whose finger is being stroked puts that finger under his nose as in Figure 2C. On the word 'palusi' he places the finger under the armpit as in Figure 2D. When the chant ends he holds his partner's ear
as in Figure 2E. The game is repeated until both ears of both players are held. The players then begin to rock backwards and forwards as in Figure 2F. Finally they ruffle each other's hair as in Figure 2G. The final actions, Figures 2F and 2G can be accompanied by the words 'lulu poti' (rock the boat) and 'ulu sina' (white head) while the players ruffle up each other's hair.

Tolotolo si tolotolo si
Creep creep always
Kaveau mo tagata i vaoniu
Kaveau* and man/boy activity
Sogi lou lima ua
Smell your hand like
Manogi taesi palusi
Smell fish palusi **

The man there doing things has a hand that smells like the palusi fish.

*Kaveau - a person's name.
**palusi - a reef fish.

Informant: Vielli Peter
Area: Nukulaelae
Figure 5-2. Game 19.
Figure 5-2. Game 19 (continued).
\[ \text{\textordfervent} = 116 \rightarrow 138 \]

**To-lo-to-lo si**

**Ka-ve-a-u mo ta-ga-ta i va-o-ni-u**

**So-gi lou li-ma ua**

**Ma-no-gi ta-e-si pa-lu-si**
Game 20

The actions are the same as in Game 19.

Tolo si tolo si, gnau mea e totua
Creep always creep always behind thing back

Takataka sogi lou lima
Takataka* smell your hand

Ua manogi tae moa palu palu
nose chicken palu palu**

What's behind your back?
Is it dried coconut?
Sniff your hand with your nose,
You can smell both chicken and fish.

*takataka - dried coconut stored for food in case of a famine.
**palu - a lagoon fish.

Informant: Samuelu

Area: Nukufetau
=144 — 176

To-lo si to-lo si gnau mea e to-tua

Ta-ka-ta-ka so-gi lou li-ma

Ua ma-no-gi tae mo-a pa-lu pa-lu
Game 21

The actions are the same as in Game 19.

Tolotolo si tolotolo si
Creep creep always
Gaiu mea kite tagata mo
Behind thing is boy with
Fafine ki vae ki e
Girl at leg at
Kopi lou lima ua manuta e si sogi!
Place your hand manuta* smells.

There is something behind the boy,
It is also near the girl's leg.
Place your hand on the thing and touch it.
Your hand smells like a fish.

*manuta - a fish.

Informant: Samuelu and Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
トロトロする トロトロする

ガイムアキ[テ]タガタモ

ファイネキvae ke e

コピルオウ lima u ama nu ta e si so-gi!
Tuvaluan children are conscious of the fish and animal life around them and by watching when the animals produce their young the children know when a change of season is about to occur and different food found. This is important because the diet on atolls is very limited, and any change is anticipated with pleasure. The subject of this chant is the change that takes place in a sea slug—young sea slugs are put into an imu for special feasts. When the sea slugs are breeding, schools of sardines can also be found in the lagoon, providing children with a change of diet as the fish are driven up into the shallow water and eaten raw.

Children stand side by side in a line with enough space between so they will not touch when extending their arms out to the side. (The two children in the photographs in Figure 5-3 are standing closer than normal for this game, but were positioned this way in order to be included in one photograph.) On the words 'Te loli loaloa' each child extends his right arm out to the side of the body at shoulder height with the palm facing forward. The left arm is bent and the hand placed on the left breast as in Figure 3A. On the words 'Te loli pukupuku' both hands are placed on the stomach as in Figure 3B. When these two phrases are repeated, the action is repeated, but using opposite arms as in Figure 3C.
On the syllable 'fa' of the phrase "E fanau mai ko' the children extend their arms out to the side with palms facing forward as in Figure 3D. They slowly bring the palms together keeping the arms straight, the palms touching on the syllable 'a' of the phrase 'ana tama' as in Figure 3E.

On the words "Tu lu' the children place their hands on their hips and swing from side to side in time with the beat of the song as in Figure 3F.

In one version of the game, instead of bringing the palms together on the second line, the children bring their hands to their face and making two circles with index finger and thumb, place their hands over their eyes and look through these as in Figure 3G. This occurs on the word 'ana'.

Te loli loaloa, te loli pukupuku.  
The seaslug long,  the seaslug round.

E fanau mai ko ana tama.  
Is born thing her children.

Tu lu.  

The seaslug is long and thin, then it is short and round. Then she has her children.

Informants: School children at Vaitupu  
Area: Vaitupu
Figure 5-3. Game 22.
Figure 5-3. Game 22 (continued).
The reef flat is an important source of food for atoll dwellers. Many motus are linked by reef flat which at low tide is exposed leaving eels and fish in rock pools. The edge of the reef flat drops away very abruptly on the open sea side, and it is on the face of the underwater cliffs that young men dive to find octopus, eel, and crayfish. The eel—one of the species in the Moray group—is vicious when threatened. In spite of the danger, divers still try to spear the eels. The movement of the eel is like a ribbon in the water, bending in a series of curves, then lying straight. When it retreats from those attacking it, it moves in among the rocks, and turns with its vicious jaws facing outwards. An eel, when disturbed in a tidal pool, tries to get to the open sea across the dry reef, often looking like a snake as it moves.

Children line up side by side with enough space between them so that they do not touch one another when they extend their arms out to the side. On the word 'pusi' each child extends the right arm sideways away from the body, and bends the left arm so that the palm of the hand covers the left breast as in Figure 5-4A. On the first syllable of the word 'papa' the arms are extended in front making a circle with the tips of the fingers touching as in Figure 4B. When the first line of text is repeated, the actions are repeated with opposite arms as in Figure 4C.
Keeping their hands in the circular configuration, the children move their arms up until their hands are above their heads, and they are looking through the circle that is formed as in Figure 4D. They move into this position on the word 'tonu', and slowly lower the hands to their stomach in a large curve on the word 'piko' as in Figure 4E. The line of text is repeated, and so are the accompanying actions.

On the last line of the chant, the children place their hands on their hips and sway from side to side as in Figure 4F. This is done on the beat of the chant.

In a version played on Funafuti, the children line up behind one another, usually forming pairs. The action remains the same until the last line of the chant, when the child in front puts his hands on his hips, places his feet about 18 inches apart and sways from side to side in time to the beat of the chant while the child behind drops onto his hands and knees, and scrambles between the open legs of the person in front as in Figure 4G. At the end of the chant the child who has crawled through the legs stands up and takes the position in front. The game begins again.

Te pusi te pusi, e ite mata kau papa.
The eel the eel in/on the face of reef
E tonu kae piko
It is straight then bent
Eae ono ono mai mafai ko tele
Then look here when to run.

The eel that lives on the face of the reef.
It is all bent, then it is straight again.
Look here when it begins to move.

Informants: Children at Motafua
Area: Vaitupu
Figure 5-4. Game 23.
Figure 5-4. Game 23 (continued).

\[ \text{Figure 5-4. Game 23 (continued).} \]

\[ \text{Figure 5-4. Game 23 (continued).} \]
Game 24

The text of this chant is similar to that of Games 1 and 2 in this sample. It was collected from an older informant on the atoll of Nukufetau, and appears to be more a sitting dance than a game. The writer was told that this form of chant with actions was formerly very popular, but is now seldom performed. None of the informant's children knew all the actions of the game, or were able to join in with more than an occasional hand movement although they all knew the text because they use it for the sand game, Game 1 in this sample.

The player sits cross-legged on the ground, and places a comb on the ground in front of the knees. All the actions of this game are related to the text, and often mime the activity being described in the chant.

On the first line of the chant the player raises the right arm and points in front of the body as in Figure 5-5A. The arm moves around to the right side as though following a moving object through the air. On the word 'mau' in the second line the player picks up the comb. During the chanting of this second line the comb is placed in the hair as in Figures 5B and 5C.

On the words 'gali gali' the player brings both hands in front of the face, and beginning with the palms opened, closes and opens the hands twice as in Figures 5D and 5E. On the word 'tuli' the player points to the front as in
Figures 5F, then imitating a bird flying puts his arms out to the side as in Figure 5G. On the word 'Nako' the player rests the left hand on the left knee, and raises the right hand above the head, with the arm bent at the elbow as in Figure 5H bringing the hand down to rest on the right hip on the word 'kove' as in Figure 5I. On the phrase 'funa sale moa' the action is repeated with the left arm as in Figures 5J and 5K. On the word 'te' of the phrase 'te teu lou', the player extends the arms out to the front of the body making a wave motion placing the palms over each breast as in Figures 5L and 5M. On the word 'loto' the player places the hands in a praying position as in Figure 5N and on the word 'tiapolo' extends the right arm away from the body and points in different directions on each of the three syllables of the word as in Figure 5O. The last line of text is repeated with actions identical to those described above.

The game may be repeated with a faster tempo to show the skill of the player, and to confuse anyone else attempting to play it at the same time.

Te lupe te lupe ne tu ite ofaga
The dove the dove was standing
E mau te selu i tena ulu
Was stuck the comb at its head
Gali gali ki mai tuli agi Afelika.
Pretty pretty comes plover from Afelika.*
Nako mai a kove funa sale moa
Comes here many curlew hide away chicken
Te teu lou loto o le tiapolo
Calm your heart it is devil thing

The dove was standing with the comb on its head all erect.
Here comes the very pretty plover¹ that has flown from a long way over the sea (Africa).*
But here also comes many curlews that will steal the chicken, so hide it away.
Now calm your heart, even though it is a devil in disguise.

*Afēlika - Africa. This is used to denote the furthest place away from Tuvalu.

¹The tuli is a plover that migrates to the atolls from Alaska during the northern hemisphere winter. Soon after arriving it changes its plumage from light to dark grey.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
Figure 5-5. Game 24.
Figure 5-5. Game 24 (continued).
Figure 5-5. Game 24 (continued).
\[ \bullet = 96 \rightarrow 112 \]

**Te lu-pe te lu-pe ne tu i-te o- fa-ga**

**E mau te se-lui te-na u-lu**


**Na- ko mai a ko- ve fu- na sa-le mo- a**

**Te te- u lou lo- to o le ti- a- po- lo**

**Te te- u lou lo- to o le ti- a- po- lo**
Game 25

The coconut is an important source of food and building material on the atolls. Tuvaluans allow the dry nuts to drop, and harvest them off the ground. The subject of this chant is climbing trees to knock the green nuts down, possibly for drinking.

This game was performed by a group of women between 25 and 40 years of age and was not known by any of the children in the group watching when it was recorded. When the writer asked the women why they had not taught the game to their children, they replied that the children were not interested. However at the recording session the children seemed to be captivated by the performance, and on the next day, the writer heard them chanting the text and trying to perform the actions. Although this game was performed by adults, the informants insisted that it is a children's game.

Children stand in two lines facing towards each other. The players in each line must be far enough apart so they do not touch each other when they put their hands on their hips. In this game the beat is notated as the dotted half note (\( \frac{1}{4} \)).

On the beat of the chant, the players, all of whom have placed their hands on their hips, swing their hips first to the right, then to the left. This is repeated until they chant the third line of text 'I a Tekita'. On the first
'a' they hold the hip out to the side in an exaggerated style. When the phrase is repeated the players, on 'a', transfer the weight of the body to the other side, and transfer the weight from side to side on the 'ta' syllable of the following three 'Tekita'. When the chant is repeated the tempo is increased, making the action even more vigorous.

Ta tou ta tou kilava kilava
   We     we    enough
E lu ki teki teki
Shake of bunch coconuts.
I a Tekita i a Tekita i a Tekita Tekita Tekita
Belong Tekita*

There are enough of us
To shake the tree to get some drinking nuts.
They belong to Tekita.

*Tekita - a person's name.

Informants: Women at Motafua
Area: Vaitupu
\[ \sigma = 72 \]

Ta tou ta tou ki-lava ki-lava.

Elu ki te-ki te-ki te-ki

I a Te-ki-ta i a Te-ki-ta i a Te-ki-ta

Te-ki-ta Te-ki-ta.
Game 26

In this chant the children imitate the sound of the crab as it scratches the inside of the coconut, climbs up the woven walls of the houses or on the rocks. This game from Vaitupu was not known on Nukufetau, but a similar version is known on Funafuti and Nukulaelae.

Children make one line, shoulder to shoulder, facing the same direction. On the beat of the chant they step forward, their arms bent at the elbows and hands across their bodies as in Figure 5-6A. On each step they move their arms in a rolling action away from the body as in Figure 6B. On the second line 'E kili ueke', the children stand with their feet apart knees bent and arms extended out in front of their chests, usually the palms facing the ground. As they shout the chant the children, keeping their feet flat on the ground, quickly sway their hips from side to side and oscillate the hands as in Figure 6C. On the final 'ueke' the children jump into the air, turn 180 degrees and face in the direction from which they have just moved. The chant is repeated with the same actions.

E sopo kama kama ite mata o te pa
Jump crab on the face of the wall

E kili ueke e kili ueke e kili ueke ueke
(This is the sound the children think the crab makes as it climbs the woven walls of the houses or rocks in the sea.)

The crab jumps up and tries to climb inside the house. This is the sound it makes as it climbs.

Informants: Boys at Motafua

Area: Vaitupu

Figure 5-6. Game 26.
\[
\begin{align*}
\frac{\text{E sop-po ka-ma ka-ma i-te ma-ta o te pa}}{
\text{E ki-li u-e-ke e ki-li u-e-ke e ki-li u-e-ke}}
\end{align*}
\]
This is a simple game with a text about the purchase of a chicken. Although the birds have a free range over the whole motu, ownership is always known, and when a chicken is needed for a feast, there is protracted bargaining.

Children sit cross-legged in two rows facing each other. They must be close enough to make contact with their hands. Throughout the first two lines, and the first statement of the repeated section, they slap their knees on the beat of the chant. Beginning on the repetition of line three and continuing through line four the children perform the following actions on every alternate beat, i.e., on the rests. After 'tasi' (one) the children slap right hand of one partner against the left hand of the other; after 'lua' (two) the left hand slaps the right hand of the partner; after 'tolu' (three) they reach across their bodies and slap right hands together; after 'fa' (four) they slap left hands. This sequence of four actions is repeated until they sing 'sefulu' (ten) when the players slap both hands of opposite partner, right hand to left hand, and left hand to right. The game is repeated with increased tempo until one child makes an error.

Simoa Simoa e fia le tau a le moa
Simoa* Simoa how much cost is the chicken
Tasi lua tolu fa
One, two, three, four,
Lima ono fitu valu iva na sefulu
Five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.

Simoa how much is that chicken
One two three four five six seven
eight nine ten.

*Simoa - a person's name.

Informants: Primary School children
Area: Nukufetau
Game 28

This is a more complicated version of Game 27, collected from an older informant than the previous game.

Two players sit cross-legged on the ground, and face one another. They must be close enough to make contact with their hands. Throughout the first two lines the following two actions are alternately repeated on the beat of the chant. First the players slap their knees on the beat of the chant as in Figure 5-7A. Then they slap the hands of the player opposite, right hand to left hand, left hand to right hand on the second beat as in Figure 7B. At the beginning of the third line of text, the action is done on alternate beats, i.e., on the rests. The words are punctuated by the sound of the action performed by the players.

. After the word 'tasi' (one) each player slaps the left knee with the right hand and passes the left arm across the body with the elbow bent so that the left hand is in front of the right shoulder as in Figure 7C. After the word 'lua' (two) the action is repeated, but with opposite hands. After the word 'tolu' (three) the arms are extended in front of the chest with the palms of the hands facing to the floor, but with the palm of one hand resting on the back of the other hand as in Figure 7D.

The remaining five actions are performed without any text, the rhythmic pattern continuing in the actions of the
players. In between each of the actions the players slap their knees as in Figure 7A, creating a movement on each beat. The tempo of the final section is usually speeded up as it progresses.

In the first action the players extend one arm out from the body, bent at the elbow with the back of the hand in front of the face and the palm facing the player sitting opposite as in Figure 7E. In the second action the hands slap the knees and then move across the body to slap the left cheek as in Figure 7G, the hands returning to slap the knees on the next beat. In the third action the right hand slaps the forehead as in Figure 7H, the hands returning to slap the knees.

In the last action, the right arm is extended in front of the body, the wrist bent so that the tips of the fingers point to the floor, while the left hand grips the elbow of the right arm as in Figure 7I. This action is usually accompanied with a cry like a chicken being caught.

Simoa Simoa e tatau moa e fia le tau a le moa
tolu e fa.
One two three four.
Simoa we want to own a chicken.
How much will the chicken cost.
One two three four.

*Simoa - a person's name.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
Figure 5-7. Game 28.
Figure 5-7. Game 28 (continued).
\[ \bullet = 88 \rightarrow 92 \]

Simo-a Simo-a e ta-tau mo-a e fi-a le

tau a le mo-a

Chorus. E ta-si e lu-a e to-lu e fa

Ta-si lu-a to-lu
This game was collected from two different informants on the same atoll. The first version was from a kindergarten teacher who had received most of her education from European teachers outside of Tuvalu. Her high school education had been in Tarawa at King George the Fifth School, and her teacher training had been a one-year course in Fiji. The melody she uses has a much wider range of pitches than that of the second version, Game 30, in this sample.

The text is simple, and says that only lazy people stay in the sun. Tuvaluans avoid going out in the heat of the day, and cannot understand the European practice of getting a suntan. During the day they usually sleep in a shade house built on the edge of the lagoon to take advantage of any breeze that may blow.

The player sits cross-legged on the ground holds both hands in front of his face, palms together in a praying position as in Figure 5-8A. On the first beat of the chant he slaps his knees as in Figure 8B. On the second beat he lifts his hands in front of his face, and claps them together as in Figure 8C. These two actions are repeated four times. On the syllable 'ie' of 'paie' the player makes a mark in the sand as in Figure 8D. The text is repeated while the marks are cancelled out. The tempo is
usually increased on the repetition. This game can be played by as many children as can find a sandy spot.

Tauaki te tagata tauaki te fafine.
Dry in the sun the boy dry in sun the girl.
Paie paie paie paie paie
Lazy.

The boy and the girl lie out in the sun.
They are very lazy.

Informants: Kindergarten teacher and children
Area: Nukufetau
Figure 5-8. Game 29.

1. $j = 84$

2. $j = 104$

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tau-aki te taga-ta, tau-aki te fa-fine}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pa-ie pa-ie pa-ie pa-ie pa-ie}
\end{align*}
\]
Game 30

This game has the same text and action as Game 29. The informant had no schooling and had been off the atoll only once, and that was as an adult when she went to Funafuti. The melody uses only two pitches and appears to the writer to be the more traditional of the two versions.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau

1. $d = 88 \rightarrow 96$
2. $d = 96 \rightarrow 108$
3. $d = 108 \rightarrow 116$

\[ \text{Tau-aki te ta-ga-ta tau-aki te fa-fi-ne.} \]

\[ \text{Pa-ie pa-ie pa-ie pa-ie pa-ie} \]
Game 31

The text of this chant mentions several locations on the atoll of Nukufetau which are important navigational points for people sailing from the lagoon into the open ocean. The motu of Nineva is large enough for only three coconut trees to grow on it. By getting them in alignment with those growing at Matamotu sailors know where the deepest water is in the entrance through the reef.

This game like Game 24 appears to be a sitting dance. The informant, a grandmother, had not performed it for many years. Her own children and grandchildren had no knowledge of either movements or text.

The player sits cross-legged on the ground with the arms bent at the elbow, the upper arm being held to the sides of the body, and the lower arm extended to the front of the body, with the palms of the hands facing away from the shoulders as in Figure 5-9A.

On the first beat of the chant the player claps his hands above his left shoulder as in Figure 9B and 9C and on the second beat over the right shoulder as in Figure 9D and 9E. These actions are repeated for the first eight beats.

On the second and third syllables of 'Taumata' the right arm is extended away from the body with one finger pointing as in Figures 9F and 9G. On the first syllable 'li' of 'likiliki' the right hand drops to the right knee
and the left arm is raised until it is parallel to the
ground with the elbow bent so that the hand (the open palm
facing to the floor) is in front of the left collarbone as
in Figure 9H. On the second syllable 'na' of 'tena', (two
beats later) the left hand is placed on the left knee and
the right arm is brought parallel to the floor, with the
arm bent at the elbow, and the clenched fist with the
thumb to the face placed in front of the mouth as in
Figure 9I.

On the following beats the right arm is extended so
that on the word 'tele' it is pointing in front of the
body, parallel to the ground as in Figure 9J. The two
actions (Figures 9I and 9J) are repeated during the next
four beats. On the last syllable of the fifth line 'li'
both arms are extended parallel to the ground out in front
of the body with fingers extended and with the palms facing
downwards as in Figure 9K.

On the first beat of the sixth line the player bends
the arms at the elbows and, clenching the fists, crosses
arms at the center of the forearms as in Figure 9L. On
the next beat the arms are uncrossed, the bent arms, held
at right angles to the ground, are brought out to the
sides so that the forearms are now parallel to each other
as in Figure 9M. These actions are repeated three times
each.
Tu aka tili ite Matamotu
Stand net at Matamotu*

Tu aka te polo Nineva
Stand at the boundary Nineva**

Taumata ki motu likiliki
Look at island small

Tena Falau ka tele atu
That Falau*** is running there.

O tau tala kia Vili
Tell stories to Vili****

E Vili e e Vili e e Vili tete.

Stand with your net at Matamotu
Also stand at the boundary of Nineva.
Look at that small island
Falau runs there.
Tell the story to Vili.

*Matamotu - the end of the motu where the village is in Nukufetau.
**Nineva - tiny motu near the ship's passage.
***Falau - a person's name.
****Vili - a person's name.

Informant: Vaenioi

Area: Nukufetau
Figure 5-9. Game 31.
Figure 5-9. Game 31 (continued).
Figure 5-9. Game 31 (continued).
\[ \boxed{\text{\textbullet} = 92 \rightarrow 100} \]

Tu a-ka ti-li i-te Ma-ta-mo-tu

Tu a-ka te po-lo Ni-ne-va

Tau-ma-ta ki mo-tu li-ki-li-ki

Te-na Fa-lau-i ka te-le a-tu

O tau ta-la ki-a Vi-le (s)

E Vi-li e e Vi-li e e Vi-li te-te
5.3 Education games

The games in this section have some elements the writer thinks are educational for children. In one of the games (Game 32) children count as part of the text, whereas in other games (Games 35-38) children chant the names of the different parts of the body. Games 33 and 38-41 have elements of nonsense in them as well as education and have been included under 'nonsense' in the analysis, Chapter 6. Game 34 has elements of training for dexterity and has been included under 'training for dexterity' in the analysis, Chapter 6.
Game 32

The old way of processing copra was for men to split the coconut and lay the unhusked half out in the sun, allowing up to two weeks for the meat to dry out. In the meantime the new oil, separated from the meat of the nut, became rancid creating an odor. This smell is disliked by Tuvaluans who are fastidious about cleanliness. When heat dryers were introduced they were very quickly adopted as it made the processing of copra much faster, and eliminated the bad smell. It is only the very lazy people who now dry copra in the old way, and if they do it, they are expected to put it on the windward end of the atoll so that the smell will blow out to sea.

A child sits cross-legged on the ground, and smooths a place on the sand in front of him. He slaps his knees with his hands in time with the beat of the song until the last syllable 'ta' of the word 'tagata'. On the word 'tasi' the player makes a mark in the sand.

The song is repeated and the word 'lua' is added to the end of the chant. The player adds two new marks under the first one. The series of marks on the ground looks like the diagram below. This is repeated until they reach 'sefulu' (ten).

```
I
II
III
etc.
IIIIIIIIII
```
After reaching 'sefulu' (ten) the players work backwards dropping one number at a time, cancelling the marks with a diagonal slash.

I
II
III
etc.

III

Tauaki te takataka paie paie
To dry the copra lazy lazy
E lau ki tagata
Are counting to men
E tasi
O one

The lazy way to dry copra is dry it in the sun. Let us count the men doing this, one two (etc.).

Informants: Class 1 and 2
Area: Vaitupu
\[ \text{\textbf{\textit{\large \textbf{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{\textit{Tau-a-ki te ta-ka-ta-ka pai-e pai-e}}}}}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{\textit{\large \textbf{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{\textit{\text{	extbf{1.}}}}}}}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{\textit{\large \textbf{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{\textit{E lau ki ta-ga-ta-(a) e ta-si}}}}}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{\textit{\large \textbf{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{\textit{\text{	extbf{2}}}}}}}} \]

\[ \text{\textbf{\textit{\large \textbf{\textcolor{red}{\textbf{\textit{E lu-a e to-lu e fa e li-ma} etc to sefulu}}}}}} \]
This is the only game collected in Tuvalu that seems to be the exclusive property of boys. (The two children in the photographs in Figure 5-10 are girls, because these were the only models available to the writer.) The writer could find no reason for this beyond the subject matter of the chant. In some cultures, a chant about pig's testicles would be considered unsuitable for children and children would probably never perform such a chant where adults would hear them. On Tuvalu this game was performed in front of many adults whose only reaction was to laugh and join in the chant.

Up to five boys sit in a circle facing towards the center with their legs extended, and feet touching. One boy begins to count the feet in time to the beat of the chant as in Figures 5-10A and 10B. At the end of the chant, on the last 'bongo', the person whose foot is touched removes it from the center as in Figure 10C. The game is repeated until there is only one foot in the center. This boy must then chase the others. An alternative ending has the boy with one foot remaining in the circle counting the feet when the game is repeated.

Olo ki sai puaka
Let's go to the sty pig
Tanelu fiakai bongo puaka
Tanelu* wants eat testicle pig
Bongo bongo bongo
Testicles.

Let us go to the pig sties, as Tanelu wants to eat pig testicles.

*Tanelu - a boy’s name.

Informant: Oliver Slavin
Area: Vaitupu

Figure 5-10. Game 33.
$= 92-132$

0-lo ki sai pu-ka pu-ka

Ta-ne-lu-(a) fi-a-kai bon-go pu-ka

Bon-go bon-go bon-go
The first subject of this chant is the fear people have of ghosts. This is a recurring theme in texts of Tuvaluan games. Ghosts always seem to live in dark places and whisper to warn people that they are coming. The other chant in this collection (Game 9) suggests that food could placate the ghost, but in this chant it appears that clapping and making a noise will scare it away. The last three lines of text are tonic-solfa names used as text, but are not 'correctly' applied because 'la', 'ti', and 'do' are here sung on the same pitch.

Children sit in a circle facing towards the center each holding a half coconut in one hand above the ground as in Figure 5.11A. For the first eight beats of the song they hit the nut on the ground in time with the beat of the song as in Figure 11B.

On the first beat of the second line of text the children place the half coconut in front of the player on the right, release it and on the next beat pick up the nut that has been placed in front of them, in preparation for passing it on again as in Figure 11C and 11D. These actions are repeated three times on the next six beats. On the last two beats the nut is not released but moved in front of the person on the right and then returned to the front of the player.
On the third line the action on the first line is repeated, and continues until the fifth beat of the fourth line. On the word 'la' the nut is passed to the right, but is not released and is brought back in front of the player and then hit on the ground on the eighth beat as in Figure 11E. The action of line three is repeated on line five and continues until the last two beats of line six when the players place the nut in front of themselves and clap hands twice.

Toku vae ne malili te palave agaga
My leg is missing the palave* ghost

Te ua tasi misimisi palave agaga
The noise one whispering place ghost.

Uili to uili to uili to to to lagi
Sun coming down sky.

Tasi la tasi la tasi la to la ti do
One

Tolu pa tolu pa mi le pa mi pa mi re do mi re
Three clap (expression that accompanies clapping)

Pa mi re do mi re

Mi re do re la doh doh.

My leg is broken near the place where the ghost lives. I can hear it coming, its whispering. The sun is setting, that is when we will see the ghost.

*palave - the area where the ghost lives, usually dark.

Informant: Amelli
Area: Vaitupu
Figure 5-11. Game 34.
1 \( \frac{\text{min}}{\text{beat}} \) = 92–96

2 \( \frac{\text{min}}{\text{beat}} \) = 96

\[ \begin{array}{c}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 \\
\text{To-ku vae ne ma-li-li te pa-la-ve ag-a-ga} \\
\text{Te ua ta-(si) mi-si-mi-si pa-la-ue ag-a-ga} \\
\text{Ui-li to ui-li to ui-li to to to la-gi.} \\
\text{Ta-si la ta-si la ta-si la to la ti do} \\
\text{To-lu pa to-lu pa mi le pa mi pa mi re do mi re} \\
\text{Li-ne re do re la doh doh}
\end{array} \]
This game and the two following it use the body as a marker for the chant. These games appear to be known in slightly different versions on the four atolls visited by the writer. There are regional differences, but most of the chants use the same structure and hand actions.

These texts are sometimes chanted by an adult holding a child in the lap. In such a case the adult uses parts of the child to demonstrate the words that are being chanted. This could be seen as a simple teaching game to familiarize the child with the parts of the body.

One or more players sit on the ground and, using a finger on one hand, point to the various parts of the body as they say this chant.

The chant gets faster in tempo as it proceeds.

*Maikao tamatama, Maikao tautanifa,*
Finger baby finger wedding

*Maikao lotoloto, maikao tusi fenua,*
Finger middle finger write island

*Maikao matuatua, te aloalo apa*
Finger mother (thumb), the palm clapping

*Te tuatua pa te ala ki safata*
The back clapping the way to chest

*Te aluga ote tama, te ua ko motusia.*
The pillow of the child the stretch neck

*Te kauvae maniania, te gutu ko feopogi*
The chin shining, the mouth gossiping
Te isu ko se sogia.
The nose doesn't like smell.

Te mata ko sa kilagi
The eye looks at sky,

Taliga ko se kovi, te lae ko sae a,
Ear not bent, the forehead is appearing,

Te ulu ko pokonaua.
The head hits trouble.
(The head that gets you into trouble.)

Informant: Amelli

Area: Vaitupu
Figure 5-12. Game 35.
Figure 5-12. Game 35 (continued).
Figure 5-12. Game 35 (continued).

\[ \text{\textdagger} = 100 \rightarrow 112 \]

Mai-kao ta-ma-ta-ma, mai-kao tau-tan-i-fe,

Mai-kao lo-to-lo-to, mai-kao tu-su-fe-nu-a,
Mai-kao ma-tu-a-tu-a, te a-lo-a-lo a-pa.

Te tu-a-tu-a pa, te a-la ki sa-fa-ta.

Te a-lu-ga o-te ta-ma, te u-a ko mo-tu-si-a,

Te kau-va-e ma-ni-a-ni-a, te gu-tu ko feo-po-gi

Te i-su ko se so-gi-a te ma-ta ko sa ki-la-gi

Ta-li-ga ko se ko-vi, te lae ko sae a

Te u-ulu ko po-ko ta-u-a.
Game 36

This game is probably a school game, but is now sung outside in the village. Beginning with the thumb the child touches each finger as he sings this song.

Sali niu mata tusi tagata
Scrape coconut head point man
Loaloa vale e iloa ai
Long misplaced knows much
Te mitikao tama
The little finger.

The thumb is used for scraping the coconut,
The second finger points to the man,
The middle finger is long and gets hit if one
misplaces it.
The fourth finger has the ring that tells us if the
person is married
The fifth finger is little like a baby.

Informants: Class I and II at primary school
Area: Nukufetau
1 \( \cdot \) = 100

2 \( \cdot \) = 104→108

Sa-li ni-u ma-ta, tu-si ta-ga-ta.

Lo-a lo-a va-le, e (i)lo-a ai Ts

mi-ti-kao ta-ma
Game 37

This game is the same as Game 35, but is the version found on the atoll of Nukufetau.

Te lima tamatama, te lima tautanifa
The hand little boy, the hand wedding.

Te lima lotoloto te lima tusi fenua
The hand middle, the hand write island.

Te lima matuatua, te aloalo lima
The hand mother/thumb, the palm hand

Te tuatua lima, te taga noa,
The back hand, the forearm

Te aluga ote tama, te gutu ko kai kai
The pillow of the child, the mouth to eat

Te isu ko se sogia, ko mata ko sira kilagi
The nose not like smell, an eye rolls to the sky.

Te lae ko papo
The forehead is smooth

Te ulu ko poko taua si si si
The head hits fights.

Informant: Vaenioi
Area: Nukufetau
Figure 5-13. Game 37.
Figure 5-13. Game 37 (continued)
Figure 5-13. Game 37 (continued).

\( \downarrow \) = 104 \rightarrow 126

\( \uparrow \) = 108 \rightarrow 126

Te li-ma ta-ma ta-ma, te li-ma tau-tan-(a)-i-fa.
Te līma lo-to-lo-to, te līma tu-si fen-u-a,

Te līma ma-tu-a-tu-a, te a-lo-a-lo līma

Te tu-a-tu-a līma, te ta-غا no-a,

Te a-lu-غا o-te ta-ma, te gu-tu ko ka-и ka-и,

Te i-su ko se so-غا a, ko ma-ta ko si-ra ki-la-ги,

Te la-e ko pa-po, [pa]

Te u-lu ko po-ko ta-u-a, si si si.
Game 38

This game, and the three variants following, was known to every person the writer spoke to in Tuvalu (see Games 19-21). In the game differences occur in occasional words of the text between one variant and another but the action always remains the same. The substitution of 'mango' (shark) on the atoll of Vaitupu is also not surprising, as only the people of this atoll seem to catch sharks regularly, in fact go out specially to look for the fish.

Four versions are included to demonstrate the variants that can be found in one game. Other collectors of children's games have all found games that appear to be widely known throughout a culture [Lindsay and Palmer 1981:ix-xi].

Two players—one leads the game and asks the question, the other answers it—sit facing each other and place their hands in a pile on top of each other as in Figure 5-14A. One player chants the first question, lightly tapping the back of the hand on the top of the pile as in Figure 14B. The second player answers, but does not have to use the same tonal center for the chant as the first player. The second question is asked, the beat being tapped out as before, and this is answered. The second player then holds onto the ear of the first player as in Figure 14C. The game is repeated until both ears on both players are held. The children then begin to rock backwards and forwards while
repeating the line of text, 'lulu poti', as in Figure 14E.
The players may speed up as they repeat this phrase. On
the final line they place their hands on top of each
other's head and ruffle the hair, quickly repeating 'ulu
sina'.

Papa lima e seka ite a?
Tap your hand ?  ?  ?
Ite papa
I am tapping
Nea mea  i ou tua
What thing behind you?
Takataka
Dried coconut
Fafa aka ki sua talinga
Hold onto other ear.
Lulu poti
Rock boat
''
Ulu sina
Head white

Informant: Manaema
Area: Funafuti
Figure 5-14. Game 38.
1st Player

Pa-pa li-ma e se-ka i-te a?

2nd Player

I-te pa-pa

1st Player

Ne-a me(a) i ou tu-a?

2nd Player

Ta-ka-ta-ka.

1st Player

Pa-fa a-ka ki su-a ta-li-h-a.

Both Players

Lu-lu po-ti U- lu si-na.
Game 39

The actions are the same as in Game 38.

Papa mago  papa mago
Hit shark  hit shark
Nea mea i tou tua
What that thing behind you?

Te papa
The mat.

Nea mea i tou alo?
What thing in front?

Takataka
Dried coconut.

Fafa aka la tou taliga
Grab hold of your ear

Lulu poti
Rock boat

Ulu sina
Head white.

Informant: Children at Motafua

Area: Vaitupu
\( \dot{=} \text{126} \)

1st Player

\[ \text{Pa- pa ma- go pa- pa ma- go ne-a me- a (i) tou tu- a?} \]

2nd Player

\[ \text{Te pa- pa} \]

1st Player

\[ \text{Ne- a me(a) i tou a- lo?} \]

2nd Player

\[ \text{Ta- ka- ta- ka} \]

1st Player

\[ \text{Fa- fa a- ka la tou ta- lig- a ta- lig- a} \]

Both Players

\[ \text{Lu- lu po- ti U- lu si- na} \]
Game 40

The actions are the same as in Game 38.

Papa lima papa lima a sek ite a?
Mat hand what's passing by you
Te papa
Mat.
Aua
(I don't believe you)
Takataka
Dried copra
Sa tagi la mae to lima
don't cry give me (your) hand
Mo faite te fale
To build the house
Mae to sua lima
Give me other hand
Mo faite te teu
To build the broom.

Informant: Samuelu
Area: Nukufetau

\[ \bullet = 144 \]

1st Flayer

\[ Fa- pa li- ma pa- pa li- ma e se- ka i- te a? \]
2nd Player

Te pa-pa

1st Player

Au-a?

2nd Player

Ta-ka-ta-ka

1st Player

Sa ta-ṣi la sa ta-ṣi la mae to li-ma

2nd Player

No fa-le-te te fa-le

1st Player

Nae to su(a) li-ma

2nd Player

No fai-e-te te te-u
Game 41

The actions are the same as in Game 38.

Papa lima papa limá seka ita a?
Mat tap what is going past?
Seka ite papa e
Floor of small hut
Gau mea i ou tuaa?
What thing your back?
E takataka e palupalu sogi
Dried copra fish smell
Gau mea e funa e to tua/lima ne takataka ne
What thing hide your back/hand and copra and
palupalu sogi
fish smell
E ulu sina
Head white.

Informants: Vaenioi and Samuelu

Area: Nukufetau
1st Player

1st Player

2nd Player

2nd Player

Both Players
CHAPTER 6
ANALYSIS

The sample of singing games from Papua New Guinea and Tuvalu in this study is analyzed in two ways: classification of the games, and tonal materials of the game songs and chants. For purposes of these analyses, and because the writer is interested in relationships of ecology and broad aspects of culture to the singing games, the sample from Papua New Guinea is divided into the 17 games from the highlands region--Chimbu, Southern Highlands, Eastern Highlands, Enga, and Western Highlands Provinces--and the 32 games from the coastal/island region--East Sepik, Morobe, Madang, East New Britain, New Ireland, and North Solomons Provinces. The 41 games from Tuvalu (which in comparisons will also be referred to as a region) are treated as a unit.

Each game in the sample is analyzed separately although some are variants of the same basic game. In the classification (see 6.1) some of the games could be assigned to more than one thematic-element sub-category, however the writer chooses to assign each game to only the one sub-category he considers dominant (see Appendix B). In the analysis of tonal materials (see 6.2) however, because five games from Tuvalu begin with song and end with chant, it is necessary that the respective part of each be included in
the relevant section. Furthermore, because of the nature of performance or quality of recording, three chants from the highlands region of Papua New Guinea and one chant from Tuvalu are excluded from the analysis of tonal materials (see Appendix C).

6.1 **Classification of games**

The game classification system (see Chapter 2) has the following seven categories: dexterity versus chance (as in Culin's *Games of the North American Indians* [1906]) thematic element, grouping, position and foot movement, property, sex of player(s), and song versus chant.

Dexterity is far more prominent than chance in all three regions. Traditionally survival in both countries depended on skill in hunting or fishing, and in producing all artifacts (for example in processing natural fibers for constructing houses, clothes, etc.); in Papua New Guinea it also depended on skill in fighting. Traditional equipment for all of these requires good body coordination to be successful; therefore it is not surprising that dexterity is important to successful playing of many games--whether success is determined competitively or cooperatively. The frequency of occurrence of dexterity and chance in each regional sample is shown in Table 6-1A.

The second category, thematic elements, contains sub-categories relevant to the games of two regions of
Table 6-1A. Classification of singing games of Papua New Guinea and Tuvalu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>PAPUA NEW GUINEA</th>
<th>TUVALU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>Coastal/Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Dexterity versus Chance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dexterity</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Thematic elements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 beach/water</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 blindman's buff</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 catching/'it'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 miming</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 nonsense</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 simple dance</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 subterfuge</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 training for dexterity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Groupings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 individual</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pairs</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pairs in line</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 straight line</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 two straight lines</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 four straight</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 one circle</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 one small informal assembly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 two small informal assemblies</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATEGORY</td>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>Coastal/Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D. Position and Foot Movements</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 sitting</td>
<td>4 24</td>
<td>11 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 standing: stationary</td>
<td>2 12</td>
<td>7 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 standing: moving</td>
<td>11 65</td>
<td>13 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 standing: stationary then moving</td>
<td>-- --</td>
<td>1 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>E. Property</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 none</td>
<td>14 82</td>
<td>24 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 held: not passed</td>
<td>1 06</td>
<td>4 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 passed/thrown</td>
<td>2 12</td>
<td>4 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>F. Sex of Player(s)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 male (only)</td>
<td>2 12</td>
<td>1 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 female (only)</td>
<td>-- --</td>
<td>-- --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 either: together</td>
<td>13 76</td>
<td>30 93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 either: but not together</td>
<td>2 12</td>
<td>1 03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G. Song versus Chant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 song</td>
<td>9 53</td>
<td>25 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 chant</td>
<td>8 47</td>
<td>7 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 song then chant</td>
<td>-- --</td>
<td>-- --</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.*
Papua New Guinea and of Tuvalu; it is not an exhaustive list, or adequate for classifying singing games of all the world's cultures. The ten thematic elements are: beach/water, blindman's buff, catching/"it", education (actions directly linked to the text, or counting) miming, nonsense, simple dance, subterfuge, training for dexterity (hand-eye coordination), and other.

In the highlands region sample from Papua New Guinea, simple dance is highest in frequency of occurrence. Dances are an important aspect of traditional life, and children are encouraged to participate in the large exchange ceremonies (the only opportunity a clan has to display its traditional wealth) in which dance is an integral part. Second in frequency of occurrence is beach/water; for the highlands this should be interpreted as river-bank/river, the most popular place(s) for children, especially boys, to play. Many river valleys serve as the boundary between clans; it is here that children from neighboring clans can meet to play.

In the coastal/islands region sample from Papua New Guinea, nonsense is highest in frequency of occurrence. This may result from the need for children to amuse themselves, especially during the long rainy periods of the wet season. Simple dance, second in frequency of occurrence, is important for the same reason as in the highlands. Mime, third in frequency of occurrence, is found, in material in
this study, in only this region; the writer can give no reason for this.

In Tuvalu, beach/water is highest in frequency of occurrence. Although in terms of basic game types, at 44%, it is over-represented (many of these games are variants), in terms of widespread use its predominance is representative of the material collected. It is not surprising that games of this sub-category are widespread because children live with the sea as the most important influence on their lives. Most of their basic food comes from the sea, and the beach facing the lagoon is their most popular playground. Simple dance is second in frequency of occurrence. However, in contrast to both regions of Papua New Guinea where many games reflect the dances, none of the games from Tuvalu is similar to the fatele, the dance form most commonly accepted as traditional: they seem closer in style to some contemporary dances the writer has seen from Rotuma and the Cook Islands. The possibility that they may have been derived from obsolete, pre-Christian dances deserves further research. In Tuvalu, as in coastal/islands Papua New Guinea, nonsense games are important. The climate of both regions is similar, and often in the middle of the day people do nothing strenuous because of the heat and humidity. Most of the nonsense games require a minimum of physical activity and are played at this time.
In the combined samples from all three regions, beach/water has the highest frequency of occurrence (26%); simple dance is next (24%). The sub-category education (actions directly linked to the text, or counting) may be under-represented because the writer chose not to include games of European origin with texts translated into the language of the country. The frequency of occurrence of thematic elements in each regional sample is shown in Table 1B.

Grouping has nine sub-categories in this study: individual, pair, pairs in line, straight line, two straight lines, four straight lines, one circle, small informal assembly, two small informal assemblies.

In both regional samples from Papua New Guinea, one circle is highest in frequency of occurrence. A circle is one of the easiest configurations for children to make as they hold onto each other's hands and move away from a central point. In Papua New Guinea the circle is one of the most common dance configurations especially for young people at singsings. Individual is the next most frequent in the highlands sample. One small informal assembly is of almost equal importance as the circle in the coastal/islands sample. In most of the country, with the exception of some coastal areas, people live in hamlets or small villages, so only a small number of children of appropriate age to play together live in a typical social unit.
In the Tuvaluan sample, individual is by far highest in frequency of occurrence. Eighteen of the 27 games in this sub-category are beach/water games. It is not unusual to see a child left alone on a beach, expected to amuse himself while his mother is fishing in the tidal pools on the reef flat. This contrasts with Papua New Guinea where a child is never left on his own, a practice possibly derived from fear of attack from raiding parties which were a constant threat in pre-contact times. A pair, second in frequency of occurrence, is possibly a result of older children being expected to look after and amuse younger children while their mothers weave mats, cook in earth ovens, or do other activities. The writer has seen an older child amusing a younger child by playing the games in this sample.

The frequency of occurrence of grouping in each regional sample is shown in Table 1C.

The fourth category, position and foot movement, contains four sub-categories: sitting, standing:stationary, standing:moving, and standing:stationary then moving. In both regional samples from Papua New Guinea, standing:moving is highest in frequency of occurrence followed by sitting. In the Tuvaluan sample, sitting is by far the highest in frequency of occurrence, followed by standing:stationary.

When observing the cultures of the three regions the writer has noticed that the people, both children and
adults, of Papua New Guinea are active—they always appear to be either working or moving from one place to another in the village or garden; whereas in Tuvalu they sit for hours just gossiping or watching while others in the group weave a mat. The aggressive manner of Papua New Guineans may be a result of the constant threat of attack that the people lived under in traditional society; Tuvaluans, less aggressive, have never had the same fear of attack, and it is now almost two hundred years since the atolls were raided by another island group. The frequency of occurrence of the position and foot movement in each regional sample is shown in Table 1D.

The fifth category, property, has three sub-categories: none, held not passed, and passed/thrown. In each of the Papua New Guinean and Tuvaluan samples, games requiring no properties is by far the most frequent in occurrence—only eleven games of the total sample require properties. All these properties are readily accessible natural objects which can be obtained ad hoc as desired (none needs to be stored from one occasion of use to the next as would manufactured or carefully crafted objects). The frequency of occurrence of property(s) in each regional sample is shown in Table 1E.

The sixth category, sex of player(s), has four sub-categories: male, female, either:together, either:but not together. In the combined Papua New Guinea and
Tuvaluan samples, either:together is by far the most frequent in occurrence. The sub-categories, female, and either:but not together, may be under-represented in the Papua New Guinea sample because the games were collected from student teachers who were encouraged not to make the sexual differentiation traditionally considered as normal behavior. The frequency of occurrence of sex of player(s) in each regional sample is shown in Table 1F.

The seventh category, song versus chant, has three sub-categories: song, chant, and song then chant. In the highlands region of Papua New Guinea, song and chant occur with almost equal frequency in the sample; in the coastal/island region, song is highest in frequency of occurrence (78%); in the Tuvaluan sample chant is the highest in frequency of occurrence (78%). Only in Tuvalu does performance of a game text combine song and chant. The following section (see 6.2) gives more details of this category in the analysis of the tonal materials of the game songs and chants.

6.2 Tonal materials

The analysis of tonal materials considers tonal inventories and tonal systems. Within these, songs and chants are discussed separately.

For purposes of this study, the writer differentiates between chant and song on the basis of vocal production.
Although a chant may have the same or similar pitches and intervals as those of song, the sound of the voice producing them is different; it is closer to speech. (For a discussion of the boundaries between speech and song, see List 1963.) In the sample of 17 games from the highlands region of Papua New Guinea nine are classified as songs and eight as chants; in the sample of 32 games from the coastal/islands region 25 are classified as songs and seven as chants; and in the 41 games from Tuvalu nine are classified as songs, and 32 as chants.

The songs are transcribed onto a five-line staff; a special symbol, placed at the approximate pitch level, indicates the few tones that cannot be assigned a specific pitch (see 3.4). The chants are transcribed onto a one-line staff with the pitch movement indicated by placement of a note in relation to the tonal center which is on the line. In five of the game songs in the Tuvaluan sample, the last section is chant; it is written on a one-line staff and is shown separately in relevant figures and raises the number of items to 37.

The tonal inventory of each song or chant shows all the tones that occur in the transcription arranged from the lowest pitch to the highest. The tone perceived as the tonal center (tonic) is assigned the numeral 1. For comparative purposes each inventory is transposed to a common tonic, and the pitches assigned a number correspond-
ing to that of a diatonic scale degree. The inventory of each game and chant is classified for: a) number of tones, b) range (distance between the lowest and highest pitches), and c) location (b = bottom, i = internal, t = top) of the tonic (see Appendix C).

Three chants in the highlands sample (Games 4, 11, and 16) and one in the Tuvaluan sample (Game 27) are not analyzed for tonal material.

In the songs in this study, three-, four-, and five-tone inventories are found in all three regions. The five-tone inventory is the most frequent in the highlands and Tuvaluan samples (both 33%) and of equal importance with six-tone inventories in the coastal/islands sample (27%). Six-tone inventories are second in frequency of occurrence in the highlands region (22%), equal to five-tone inventories in the coastal/islands sample (24%), but not found at all in the Tuvaluan sample. The frequency of occurrence of the number of tones in the inventories in each regional sample is shown in Table 6-2A.

In range, a perfect fifth, a major sixth and an octave are found in the three regions in this study. A perfect fifth occurs most frequently in the combined sample from the three cultures, being 30% of the total. It is the most frequent in both coastal/islands Papua New Guinea (28%) and Tuvalu (44%), and shares the second most frequent occurrence with the major sixth (22%) in the highlands
Table 6-2. Tonal Inventories of Songs

**PAPUA NEW GUINEA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Number of Tones in the Inventory</th>
<th>Highlands</th>
<th>Coastal/Islands</th>
<th>TUVALU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>2 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>1 11</td>
<td>3 12</td>
<td>2 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>1 11</td>
<td>4 16</td>
<td>2 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>3 33</td>
<td>6 24</td>
<td>3 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>2 22</td>
<td>6 24</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>1 11</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>1 11</td>
<td>2 8</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1 4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| B. Range of Inventory              |           |                 |        |
| maj or 2                            | --        | 1 4             | 1 11   |
| major 3                             | --        | 1 4             | 1 11   |
| perfect 4                           | 1 11      | --              | --     |
| perfect 5                           | 2 22      | 7 28            | 4 44   |
| minor 6                             | 1 11      | --              | --     |
| major 6                             | 2 22      | 5 20            | 1 11   |
| minor 7                             | --        | 1 4             | --     |
| major 7                             | --        | 1 4             | 1 11   |
| perfect 8                           | 3 33      | 5 20            | 1 11   |
| major 9                             | --        | 2 8             | --     |
| minor 10                            | --        | 1 4             | --     |
| major 10                            | --        | 1 4             | --     |

| C. Position of Tonal Center         |           |                 |        |
| bottom                              | 2 22      | 18 72           | 2 22   |
| internal                            | 6 67      | 7 28            | 7 78   |
| top                                 | 1 11      | --              | --     |
region of Papua New Guinea. The octave is the most frequent in the highlands (33%) and together with the major sixth, second in frequency of occurrence in the coastal/islands sample (20%), but occurs only once in the Tuvaluan sample. A major sixth occurs almost as frequently as the octave in the combined samples making up 19% of the total. The frequency of occurrence of the range of inventories in each regional sample is shown in Table 2B.

In position of tonal center, location as the lowest pitch (bottom) is the most frequent in occurrence in the coastal/islands sample of Papua New Guinea (72%). In the highlands sample, and the Tuvaluan sample, location between the lowest and highest pitches (internal) is the most frequent in occurrence, amounting to 67% and 78% of the respective samples. In the total of the three regional samples, 'bottom' is 51%, and 'internal' 47%. The frequency of occurrence of the position of tonal center in the inventories in each regional sample is shown in Table 2C.

In chants, two- and three-tone inventories are found in all three regions; the three-tone inventory is the most prominent being the most frequent in the highlands (50%), second in the coastal/islands (43%), third in the Tuvaluan chant (13%), and most frequent in the song-chant (60%). Two-tone chants are most frequent in
occurrence in the coastal/islands (57%) and second in frequency in the highlands sample (37%). The total of two-tone chants in the two regions of Papua New Guinea make up 47% as does that of the three-tone chants from the same regions. Four-tone inventories occur most frequently in the Tuvaluan sample, being 49% of the chants. The frequency of occurrence of the number of tones in the inventories of each regional sample is shown in Table 6-3A.

In range, a major third is the only interval found in the three regions. A minor third is the most frequent in occurrence in both highlands regions (50%) and coastal/islands (43%) which contrasts strongly with its absence in the Tuvaluan sample. A perfect fourth is the interval that occurs most frequently in the Tuvaluan sample (46%), a perfect fifth is second (32%). The frequency of occurrence of the range of the inventories of each regional sample is shown in Table 3B.

In the position of tonal center, 'top' is the most frequent in occurrence in the highlands sample (75%). In the coastal/islands sample there is an equal number of chants that have the tonal center positioned at the bottom and the top of the inventory. The internal location is by far the most frequent in occurrence in Tuvalu, being 89% of the sample. The frequency of occurrence of the position of the tonal center of each regional sample is shown in Table 3C.
### Table 6-3. Tonal Inventories of Chants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Papua New Guinea</th>
<th>Tuvalu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>Coastal/Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Number of Tones in Inventory</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undetermined</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B. Range of Inventory</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>major 2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minor 3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>major 3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect 4</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect 5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>major 6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undetermined</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C. Position of Tonal Center</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bottom</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>internal</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(single-tone)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undetermined</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the five song-chants in the Tuvaluan sample, only one (Game 9) has the same inventory in both the song and the chant. Three of the song-chants (Games 2, 3, and 32) have a larger interval between the bottom and top notes in the song than in the chant. One song-chant (Game 4) has a larger interval in the inventory for the chant.

Tonal systems of the songs and chants, in contrast to tonal inventories, are derived by accepting the predominant tone as the tonic (tonal center), and listing all other tones above it, all tones lying within an octave (octave duplications are not counted as separate tones within the system). All systems are transposed to a common tonic for comparative purposes.

The songs are discussed first, as in the analysis of tonal inventory, followed by the chants. In the Tuvaluan sample, five with a final component transcribed as a chant are analyzed separately.

The classification system has two divisions: a) the number of notes in the system and b) a letter indicating how each increasingly complex system is related to a simpler system.

There are 21 tonal systems in the songs of the combined samples, only one being found in the three regions of this study. Seven systems are found in the Papua New Guinea highlands sample, 13 in the Papua New Guinea coastal/islands sample, and eight in the Tuvaluan sample (see Table 6-4A).
Table 6-4. Tonal System of Songs.

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Highlands  Coastal/  TUVALU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal System</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Highlands</th>
<th>Coastal/Islands</th>
<th>TUVALU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2a</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>3a</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 5</td>
<td>3b</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 4</td>
<td>3e</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 5</td>
<td>3f</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 5</td>
<td>4b</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 6</td>
<td>4c</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 45</td>
<td>4d</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 4 5</td>
<td>4g</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 5 6</td>
<td>4h</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 5 6 7</td>
<td>4i</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 45</td>
<td>5a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 5 6</td>
<td>5c</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 5 7</td>
<td>5d</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 45 6</td>
<td>5f</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 5 6 7</td>
<td>5g</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 3 4 5 7</td>
<td>5i</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 45 6</td>
<td>6a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 45 7</td>
<td>6b</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 5 6 7</td>
<td>6c</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 45 6 7</td>
<td>7a</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Number of tones in the system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tones in the System</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>#</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The major second as the first interval above the tonic occurs in 15 of the tonal systems. Four systems without a major second have the major third as the first interval. One tonal system has a perfect fifth as the first interval.

The second interval of a major third occurs in ten of the tonal systems. Tonal systems that contain a perfect fourth as the third interval are found in four systems. Three tonal systems contain a perfect fifth as the third interval. Eight tonal systems contain a perfect fifth as a fourth interval. Seven tonal systems contain a major seventh.

The tonal system found in the samples from all three regions (5c) is only 14% of the combined sample, and is not particularly significant in any of the regions. Four systems (including the one found in all the regions) are found in the samples of both the highlands and coastal/islands regions of Papua New Guinea; three systems are found in the samples from both the coastal/islands region of Papua New Guinea and Tuvalu. No system, except the one found in all three regions, is found in the highlands region of Papua New Guinea and Tuvalu.

In number of tones in the systems, three-, four-, five-, and six-tone systems are found in each of the three regional samples. The five-tone system is the most numerous in both regions of Papua New Guinea, and making up 35% of the total. Four-tone systems are next in frequency.
of occurrence, being the most frequent in Tuvalu and making up 21% of the total sample. Six-tone inventories are more frequent than three-tone inventories in both regions of Papua New Guinea; three-tone more frequent than six-tone in Tuvalu. The frequency of occurrence of the number of tones in the systems of each regional sample is shown in Table 4B.

There are 14 tonal systems in the chants of the combined samples, only one, 3a, being found in three regions. Four systems are found in the Papua New Guinea highlands, six in the coastal/islands, and nine in the Tuvaluan chants and three in the Tuvaluan song-chants (see Table 6-5A).

Three-tone systems are found in all four samples and comprise of 38% of the combined total. Four-tone systems are the most frequent in occurrence in Tuvalu being 49% of the sample. The frequency of occurrence of pitches within the system of each regional sample is shown in Table 5B.

In the five song-chants only one (Game 9) has the same system for both song and chant. Two of the song-chants (Games 2 and 4) have four-tone systems in the song and five-tone systems in the chants. One (Game 3) has a four-tone system in the song, and a three-tone system in the chant. One (Game 32) has three tones in both, but the system found in the song (3b) is different from that of the chant (3a).
Table 6-5. Tonal System of Chants.

### A. Tonal System Classification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tonal System</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Papua New Guinea Highlands</th>
<th>Coastal/Islands</th>
<th>Tuvalu</th>
<th>S/C</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>2a</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2b</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 6</td>
<td>2c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>3a</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 6</td>
<td>3c</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 7</td>
<td>3d</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 67</td>
<td>3g</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 5</td>
<td>4b</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 6</td>
<td>4d</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 67</td>
<td>4f</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1234 7</td>
<td>5b</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 56</td>
<td>5d</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123 67</td>
<td>5e</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123567</td>
<td>6c</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undetermined</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### B. Number of Pitches

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Pitches</th>
<th>Papua New Guinea Highlands</th>
<th>Coastal/Islands</th>
<th>Tuvalu Chant</th>
<th>Song-Chant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undetermined</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONCLUSIONS

The traditional singing games from Papua New Guinea and Tuvalu in this study indicate to the writer several important aspects of the respective cultures:

1. That environment is an important determinant of the texts and movements. In several of the games in the highland region of Papua New Guinea children sing about the sun, which is important to their lives when it is realized how cold it can be and that children wear little or no clothing. In the coastal/islands region of Papua New Guinea and in Tuvalu where most of the games are from coastal villages, children sing about fish, crabs, and sailing in canoes. The vigorous actions of the games from the colder highlands region contrasts with the predominantly sitting games of Tuvalu where the climate is often hot and humid.

2. That the games reflect aspects of the adult traditional dances. This is apparent in both regions of Papua New Guinea where many of the games have dance steps used in the adult dances, and the formations used in the games are the same as those used in dances. In Tuvalu the movements in the games do not reflect those in the fatele, currently the predominant dance form (they seem closer to traditional dances seen from Rotuma and the Cook Islands), and the subject matter, in contrast to the
Biblical texts of the fatele, is related to the environment, often making reference to fertility and fecundity, and with actions of the games miming these parts of the texts. The writer postulates that the games do reflect an obsolete dance tradition.

Children traditionally teach other children traditional games and are seldom subject to parental control in this process, and often pass on information that recent mission influence would not approve. Some of this information seems to relate to the pre-European contact culture, and could indicate that traditional singing games are one of the oldest cultural expressions surviving in the Pacific today.
### APPENDIX A

#### CLASSIFICATION OF SINGING GAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culin Classification</th>
<th>Grouping</th>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Dexterity</td>
<td>1 Individuals</td>
<td>1 Sitting</td>
<td>1 None</td>
<td>1 Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance</td>
<td>2 Pairs</td>
<td>2 Standing stationary</td>
<td>2 Held and not passed on</td>
<td>2 Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 i Pure chance</td>
<td>3 Pairs in line</td>
<td>3 Moving</td>
<td>3 Passed or thrown during the game</td>
<td>3 Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 ii Guessing game</td>
<td>4 Straight line</td>
<td>4 Standing then moving</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 2 straight lines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 3 lines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 4 lines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 Many lines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 One circle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 2 concentric circles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 2 more than 2 concentric circles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12 2 circles side by side</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13 Many circles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 Small group up to 5 people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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## APPENDIX B

### SINGING GAMES CLASSIFICATION

**PAPUA NEW GUINEA**

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**TONAL INVENTORIES OF SONGS AND CHANTS FROM PAPUA NEW GUINEA**

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*Chants were not critically recorded, and no accurate tonal measurement was possible.*
### APPENDIX C (continued)

**TONAL INVENTORIES OF SONGS AND CHANTS FROM PAPUA NEW GUINEA**

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## APPENDIX C (continued)

### TONAL INVENTORIES OF SONGS AND CHANTS FROM TUVALU

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Kunst, Jaap.
R/1967 English translation and corrections by Jeune Scott-Kemball
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