THE STRUCTURE OF TONGAN DANCE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ANTHROPOLOGY JUNE 1967

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One of the most conspicuous features of Polynesian life and one that has continually drawn comments from explorers, missionaries, travelers, and anthropologists is the dance. These comments have ranged from outright condemnation, to enthusiastic appreciation. Seldom, however, has there been any attempt to understand or interpret dance in the total social context of the culture. Nor has there been any attempt to see dance as the people themselves see it or to delineate the structure of dance itself. Yet dance has the same features as any artifact and can thus be analyzed with regard both to its form and function.

Anthropologists are cognizant of the fact that dance serves social functions, for example, Waterman (1962, p. 50) tells us that the role of the dance is the "revalidation and reaffirmation of the aesthetic, religious, and social values shared by a human society . . . the dance serves as a force for social cohesion and as a means to achieve the cultural continuity without which no human community can persist." However, this has yet to be scientifically demonstrated for any Pacific Island society. In most general ethnographies dance has been passed off with remarks such as "various movements of the hands were used," or "they performed war dances."

In short, systematic study or even satisfactory description of dance in the Pacific has been virtually neglected despite the significance of dance in the social relations of most island cultures.
An adequate description of a culture should place the same emphasis on
dance as that given it by the members of that society. Yet inadequate
descriptions of dances and their social functions persist even though
dancing is a cultural universal which is integrated with many other
universals in society. Despite the new techniques in recording dance
movements and the possibility of testing approaches such as those
developed in ethnoscience for their applicability, the scientific
description of dance and its function in Polynesia is at the same point
where the first writers on the subject, such as Captain Cook, left it.

The work to be presented here is an exploratory step in filling
a gap in the descriptive literature of the Pacific. It has two aims,
namely, to outline a method for analyzing structure of ethnographic
dance data and to delineate the structure of the dance of the
Polynesian society of Tonga.

I wish to thank the government of Tonga under their majesties
the late Queen Salote Tupou III and the present King Taufa'ahau
Tupou IV for permitting me to reside in Tonga for an extended period
of time. I also wish to thank other government officials including
His Royal Highness Prince Tu'i Pelehae, Mahe 'Uli'uli Tupouniua, and
the Honorable Ve'ehala. To my Tongan families, the Mataeles, Helus,
and Fonofehis go my 'ofa 'atu, not only for their kindness and
acceptance but also for patiently putting up with my repeated questions
about things being the same or different, which one individual
confessed "made her wild."
This dissertation was initiated under the direction of Dr. Alan Howard while he was a member of the faculty of the University of Hawaii. He continued as chairman of the dissertation committee even though he transferred full time to the Bishop Museum. Dr. Thomas W. Maretzki assumed the official chairmanship for purposes of final defense.

In writing this dissertation I would like to acknowledge my debts to the National Institute of Mental Health and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research who financed my work. I would also like to thank the Bernice P. Bishop Museum for giving me time and space to pursue my work, and to its staff members William K. Kikuchi, Fellow in Anthropology, for his line drawings, Genevieve Highland, Editor, for helpful suggestions on the manuscript, and Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., Curator, for permission to use his maps.
ABSTRACT

The problem of this dissertation is to devise a method to analyze the structure of dance. Ethnoscientific in orientation, the method presented borrows heavily from structural analysis as used in linguistics, which by induction seeks to discover units and patternings valid in terms of a particular system. The method devised is then used to analyze the structure of Tongan dance.

The two most basic levels of dance organization derived, kinemic and morphokinemic, are comparable to phonemic and morphemic levels in linguistic analysis. The kinemic analysis of Tongan dance isolates 47 movement units which are the basic components in that dance tradition. Kinemes may have several allo-kines which vary physiologically but are considered the 'same' or a 'variation' of a kineme by 'native speakers' of the dance tradition. The kinemes with their several allo-kines are 'kinetically' notated in Labanotation, a graphic system for recording human movement.

The second level of dance organization is called morphokinemic and combines sequences of kinemes into recognized movements. The internal structure of morphokines is described in terms of kinemes and the external distribution is discussed in terms of co-occurrence of morphokine classes.

The third level of dance structure in Tonga is called the motif level. This section enumerates some of the frequently occurring combinations of morphokines that form short entities in themselves.
These are termed motifs because of their likeness to folklore motifs or motifs in the visual arts. Tongan dance concepts of movement as interpretation and movement as beauty are briefly discussed and illustrated with motifs. The Tongan cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement is related to dance motifs.

The fourth level of dance organization in Tonga is the structure of whole dances. A dance in Tonga can be defined as a totality in which the structural elements have a standardized chronological order. Six genres of Tongan dance, each of which has a different combination of structural elements, are discussed in terms of dance movement and three factors external to movement—music, the association of poetry, and the occasion of performance. Interrelations of "living" dance genres (within which new dances are still created) with "dead but extant" genres (dances that are performed but no longer created) are discussed.

The method presented seeks to ascertain objectively the basic dance units and the ways in which they can be combined, and concludes that descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethno­grapher's point of view can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND ORIENTATION

One way to begin an intensive study of a specific aspect of culture is to approach ethnographic data objectively and to locate significant cultural categories. Categories that are inherent in a culture will shed light on social relations in that society and help us to understand how the society works. We must begin without a priori assumptions that a category such as dance even exists in the society. If we find there is such a category we must put aside our own cultural notions as to what constitutes dance and what its boundaries are and look instead for the internal structure of the category as seen by the society we study. The task, then, is to give an ethnographic description of that category and its relations with the rest of the culture.

The ultimate aim of an ethnographic description of dance is to give a reader the information necessary to operate as a member of the society with regard to any activity that includes or could include, dance. Such a description would be, as Goodenough has said in a more general context, comparable to a grammar which enables an investigator to learn to speak the language (Goodenough, 1951, p. 10).

With language everyone must be able to speak in order to participate in a culture (though even in language everyone does not participate equally). It is possible in some cultures, however, to
know nothing of the dance and still be considered a normal member of
the society. Thus, in dance the level of participation ranging from
specialists to those who know little or nothing can be quite signif­
icant. An ethnographic description of dance, then, must give a reader
the information necessary to operate within one or more of several
levels of dance participation in the society, if they exist. Whereas
in a language description only one taxonomy may be adequate, in dance
several taxonomies may be imperative.

This approach, now known as ethnoscience, has been used in
several recent ethnographic studies on selected aspects of culture
such as kinship (Goodenough 1951, 1956, and 1964; Lounsbury 1956 and
1964; Wallace and Atkins 1960), disease (Frake 1961), religious
behavior (Frake 1964), folkbotany (Conklin 1962), and color categories
(Conklin 1955). Ethnoscientists, after ascertaining the categorical
distinctions recognized by the people they study, construct structural
models that are often conceived as sets of interrelated principles
or rules presentable in the form of taxonomic hierarchies and paradigms.
Structural analysis in linguistics can be ethnoscience par excellence.
As Dell Hymes says, ". . . for the individual system, structural
analysis means a scientific and moral commitment to the inductive
discovery of units, criteria, and patternings that are valid in terms
of the system itself" (1962, p. 22).

The aim here, following selected aspects of the work of contem­
porary ethnoscientists, will be to discover the structural units
inherent in the movement system. The problem, briefly stated, is to
devise a method to analyze the structure of dance. The most crucial problem is the identification of the units for analysis. The discovery procedure, borrowed from descriptive linguistics, aims to isolate basic structural units that are significant to the people studied, comparable to phonemes and morphemes.

Ethnomusicologists, though keenly aware of the possibilities of using methods analogous to linguists to describe musical sound (see, for example, Nettl, 1964, p. 104; Bright, 1963, pp. 30-31) have seldom heeded their own remarks. With notable exceptions, such as McAllester, Merriam, and Trimillos, ethnomusicology has been mainly historical, descriptive and comparative, rather than ethno-musicological. In fact Nettl in a recent book on the subject, *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*, tells us, "The ultimate purpose of description in ethnomusicology is comparison" (1964, p. 167). Another of the few exceptions to this rather harsh characterization is Lamont West who has worked with music of Australian aborigines. In a paper presented to the annual meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology in 1965, he presents the problem as one of identification and evaluation of musical items. As he sees it, without field-checked analysis we cannot know if the items comprising a corpus are of a coordinate level of validity, if they contain errors, or how their equivalence is perceived by the people of the culture studied.
Dance ethnologists, for the most part, have not even entertained the possibility that a method analogous to that of linguistics is even feasible. Using descriptive tools, they record a dance as it occurs during a particular performance, and this often is second hand as it is usually done from motion pictures. This can give a description of how a dance was performed on a particular occasion. A corpus of material can be collected and described in this way. It can, however, tell us little that is ethnographic or ethno-scientific unless it is presented to holders of the tradition for confirmation. It seems to me that the dance ethnologist should also try to find what the people themselves consider to be the significant elements, just as a linguist does. We can derive from the judgment of native speakers if language sounds are considered to be the 'same' or 'different,' how much something can vary and still be the 'same,' and what is essential in the linguistic habits. Dance is equally amenable to this same kind of questioning.

A problem that the linguist and ethnomusicologist does not have is one of the greatest obstacles to this type of analysis in dance. The linguist and ethnomusicologist deal in sound and have the efficient tape recorder to record and instantly play back the sound to the informant to judge 'same, different, variation, good, bad, etc.' The dance ethnologist deals in movement and has no comparable mechanical device. True, there are motion pictures, but they are not yet instant developing. In most field situations there is little possibility of
developing them, let alone play them back for informants. Perhaps instant videotape might solve the dance ethnologists' dilemma. Without these aids the only hope is for the ethnologist himself to become a 'native speaker' of the dance tradition. This is a second-rate solution at best, for learning to perform the dance tradition accurately, and especially all variations and genres is a time-consuming job and probably not possible in the time available for fieldwork. However, I see no alternative than for the ethnologist to do the 'playback' for native identification and evaluation through his own medium of dance--his body. And there is always the consolation that one learns what is 'wrong,' or 'unacceptable,' or 'different' by making mistakes.

The inadequacy of descriptive words or photographs, even of motion picture film, for the analysis of dance necessitates a more precise way of describing and recording it. To record or describe the physiological aspects of Tongan dance, I shall use Labanotation, a graphic system of recording movement developed by Rudolf Laban (Hutchinson 1954; for use in anthropology see Kurath and Marti 1964), which is an extremely precise system capable of recording even the most subtle movements. It is complete and accurate in itself, however, motion pictures, still photographs, and verbal descriptions are useful supplements in the same way that a recording is a useful supplement to a music score. As a system for recording movement, Labanotation can be used in a way comparable to a phonetic notation of speech sounds.
Just as a linguist working with a living language subjects a phonetic grid to phonemic analysis to obtain an inventory of the basic phonemes in a language, a dance ethnologist can subject an 'etic' movement grid recorded in Labanotation to 'emic'\(^1\) analysis in order to ascertain which movements have emic relevance and thereby obtain an inventory of basic dance movements comparable to the phonemes of a language. Meaningful combinations of these emic units are roughly analogous to linguistic morphemes, and these, in turn, form motifs, and finally whole dances.

This type of ethnoscientific analysis will provide a means of objectively ascertaining the basic dance units and the ways in which they can be combined. It will also describe the structure of whole dances. A dance in Tonga can be defined as 'a totality in which structural elements have a standardized chronological order.'

The emphasis is on the form or structure of the dance, its parts, and their combinations into integrated unities. The aim is to present an objective scientific method of describing and analyzing dance movements fully and adequately, and in such a way that it reflects the movements as known and performed by Tongans themselves. Thus, descriptions of dances and movements occurring within a culture as seen from

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\(^1\) The terms 'etic' and 'emic' are derived from 'phonetic' and 'phonemic.' 'Etic' refers to actual differences, for example, in sound or movement, that are culture free, while 'emic' refers to differences that are recognized by a particular culture. For a discussion of this differentiation see Sturtevant, 1964, pp. 101-103.
the ethnographer's point of view, can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves.

FIELDWORK ON WHICH THIS STUDY IS BASED

The fieldwork on which this study is based was carried out in two stages. The first field trip was financed by a pre-doctoral fellowship from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The second more extensive field trip was financed by Public Health Service fellowship No. 5-F1-MH-25, 984-02 from the National Institute of Mental Health and a research attachment.

My first real acquaintance with the Tongans was in 1964 during the Tenth International Conference of the Pan Pacific and South East Asian Women's Association (PPSEAWA) held in Nuku'alofa, Tonga. At least three events during this two-week conference helped to establish my rapport with the Tongan people and to impress upon them my purpose.

First, most of the women of PPSEAWA are middle aged or older and all of the Tongan people thought that I was a reporter for the conference. (I had, in fact, only shortly before joined PPSEAWA because I was going to Tonga at approximately the same time as the Conference people.) Many were considerably surprised when during the second week I gave the paper for the Hawaiian delegation. The symposium "Art and Culture as a Bridge Between Past and Future" was based on my paper, "The Preservation of the Arts in Hawaii" (Kaeppler 1965). After this I was firmly established in the eyes of the Tongans as being interested in the arts.
Secondly, at the International Night program during the Conference, although there were 15 in the Hawaiian delegation, only two of us performed for Hawaii. We did five Hawaiian hulas and I thus became known as an authority on Hawaiian dance (which I am not) and thus it was only natural that I would be interested in Tongan dance.

Thirdly, the conference had small discussion groups including individuals from all the countries represented. As leader of one discussion group I became acquainted with the Tongans of the group. One of these Tongan women subsequently introduced me to a family of 'dance specialists,' and they became some of my best informants.

During my first period of fieldwork in Tonga, from August to November 1964, I lived with a Tongan family that was atypical in many ways. The house 'belonged' to the grandmother (residence in Tonga is ideally patrilocal) who was of chiefly birth. Although her husband had traveled and had wealth, his rank was lower than hers. Their oldest son, who was a representative in parliament, his wife and their seven children lived there. Their two unmarried sons lived there, but their unmarried daughter did not, nor did their other married children. The mother and father of the eldest son's wife were also part of the household, although they slept, with some of the children, in a small sleeping house adjacent to the main house. There were always at least five, and usually more, other related or unrelated individuals in the house for various reasons. In addition, a family of
'squatters' lived in a small house on the same land, and in some ways can be considered part of the household.

My original plan was to do a broad study of the arts and aesthetic taste in Tonga. I gave value tests based on sculpture, began to learn the language and some dances, and observed tapa making. But mainly I just participated in Tongan life.

On my second trip I stayed nearly one year and lived alone in a small, thatched Tongan house. However, for many purposes I was again part of a household. This was a commoner family consisting of a married couple plus their own and 'adopted' children. I usually spent two days each week in Lapaha, Mu'a, the village traditionally reknowned for its dancing. In Lapaha the family I stayed with consisted of a woman of a chiefly family; her husband, a man from a matapule (ceremonial attendant) family; the woman's step-father, who was a commoner; and two young girls who did most of the work. This third family was Catholic, while the first two were Mormon and Wesleyan, respectively.

Building on my knowledge of Tonga gathered during the first trip, I decided to concentrate on two of their important cultural categories—dance and tapa making—and to explore the relation between these and the social order. It should be noted that the Tongans have no verbalized category that would correspond to the Western concept of the 'arts.' A few months after I arrived Queen Salote died, which placed both dance and tapa making under tapu. This tapu officially lasted six months, but in effect really lasted for a year. Although my
specific research died under me, so to speak, this did not prove to be an insurmountable problem. After a month or so, some of my informants were willing to teach me some dances and were willing to talk about dance. In some ways this was an advantage, for if I wanted to know how to do something, they could not tell me to go and look at a performance, but had to demonstrate instead.

The last nation-wide celebration with dance performance was in 1962. It is not very often that a large-scale celebration is held, so the Queen's death was not the only reason that I could not observe one. I did, however, miss the minor dance performances which would have been held if the Queen had not died during my residence. Fortunately, during my first field trip and the first three months of my second field trip I did see performances of all the dance genres. I also learned to perform a dance of each genre. From observation, participation, and persistent questioning my research has enabled me to delineate the structure of Tongan dance and its function in the society.

Many other aspects of life were studied that will not be presented here. A good deal of my time was occupied with gathering of texts that dances accompany. These texts are not written down but are reconstructed each time they are to be performed by the people who know them, and it was particularly difficult to gather these people together especially when it was tapu to sing dance songs. These texts are very important in ascertaining the meaning of the dance. The
gathering, translation and search for meaning of these texts were probably the most frustrating aspects of my research. (See Kaeppler 1967a for an interpretation of one of these texts.) I also worked on the interrelations between tapa design, the dances, and their texts, and I was instructed in the making of tapa, mats, and other kinds of plaiting. Actually, it was my good fortune to be in Tonga at the time of the funeral and mourning ceremonies of the Queen. These were not only illuminating in themselves but gave me insights into aspects of culture that I might otherwise have missed. Throughout my research, no matter what aspects of culture I examined, the fundamental theme of social organization always arose. Language, material culture, dance, religion—all referred ultimately to the fundamental emphasis of this society on its socio-political system.
CHAPTER II
ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TONGAN DANCE

GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

The Tongan archipelago, last of the Polynesian Kingdoms, lies in the South Pacific approximately between 18° and 23° south latitude and 173° and 176° west longitude, southeast of Fiji and southwest of Samoa (see map, Figure 2.1). Tonga's 269 square miles are divided among some 150 islands, many of which are uninhabited.

Tonga is little known to the Western world except for the geological fame of several of its volcanic islands on the Westerly long axis of the group which are part of a volcanic chain running from New Zealand to Samoa through the Kermadec Islands. Volcanic activity still occurs both above and below the surface of the sea. About midway along this line of islands lie Kao and Tofua. Kao, an extinct crater reaching a height of 3,380 feet, is one of the few examples in the world of a perfect volcanic cone. Tofua, which is flatter and still occasionally erupts, is well known because it was off the coast of Tofua that the mutiny on the <i>Bounty</i> took place. Fonuafo'ou (Falcon Island) is well known because, due to volcanic activity and erosion, it alternates being above and below the surface of the sea.

To the Tongans the most important volcanic island is Niuafo'ou. The disastrous eruption in 1946 is still vivid in their minds as it necessitated the evacuation of the people to Tongatapu and 'Eua. Niuafo'ouans are recognized as being 'different' because of their
Figure 2.1. Map of Polynesia
Drawn by Edwin H. Bryan, Jr.
'peculiar way of speaking.' The language of Niuafo'ou, although it is Tongan, has a dialect status which shows grammatical relationships with Samoan. Unfortunately for the world of anthropological linguistics this dialect has never been fully studied and it is in danger of dying out, for the younger generation speaks the main dialect of Tongan and only the remaining old people speak the Niuafo'ou dialect. The tau faka-Niua is a dance local to Niuafo'ou, and it too is in danger of being forgotten.

This chain of volcanic islands is relatively unimportant to Tonga today, but it is these very islands that are important for an understanding of the ecology which supports the Tongan social system. The main inhabited islands of the Tongan group are coral islands, which in most Pacific areas would be associated with lack of fertile soil and often a subsistence level economy. In Tonga, however, the flat coral islands have reaped the harvest of the close volcanic islands and the resulting deep, rich volcanic soil has made it possible to develop an economy of surplus to maintain Tonga's highly stratified social system. The population concentration is mainly on these low-lying islands to the east of the volcanic chain. The largest of this group of limestone islands, Tongatapu, is less than 270 feet high, but in many places has a soil depth of ten feet. The soil is excellent and a very large proportion of the islands are intensely cultivated. The main food plants are yam, taro, sweet potato, banana, sugar cane, manioc, coconut, and breadfruit. In addition, fruit of the mango, orange,
Figure 2.2. Map of Tonga
Drawn by Edwin H. Bryan, Jr.
pineapple and papaya are eaten in season, and kava is widely grown. Pigs and chickens thrive and, along with fish and tinned corned beef, form the main protein in the Tongan diet.

Geographically and administratively the Tongan islands can be divided into three main groups (see map, Figure 2.2). Tongatapu and 'Eua in the south have by far the largest land area. The central Ha'apai group consists of small coral limestone islands. Lifuka, largest of the Ha'apai group, is 4 1/4 miles long and 1 1/2 miles at its broadest place. The Vava'u group lies 60 miles northeast of Ha'apai and consists of one large and several small islands. Neiafu harbor, Vava'u, is one of the best land-locked harbors in the South Pacific. In addition to these three main groups there are outlying islands to the north, including Niuafo'ou, Niutaputapu, Tafahi, Toku, and Fonualei.

The temperature varies from the low 50°s to 90°, the humidity is usually very high, the mean being almost 80°. Annual rainfall is about 65 inches per year. There is usually a definite wet season from December to April and often a draught between October and December. Until recently all fresh water was rainwater. Tonga is subject to hurricanes and not infrequently thousands of coconut and banana trees, the basis of their cash economy, are ruined.

PEOPLE AND LANGUAGE

This is the geographical setting in which nearly 70,000 people play their daily social roles. The figures of the last Tongan census,
taken at the end of 1966, are not yet published, but it was anticipated that the number would reach 70,000. The last published figures are from 1956 (Tupouniua 1958) at which time the total population was 56,838. Of this number 55,156 declared themselves to be Tongan, 277 European, 604 part European, and 801 others (mostly other Pacific Islanders).

Tongans are Polynesians, but there is a definite admixture with Fijian, with whom both today and traditionally, there is much social intercourse. In many genealogies there are one or more Fijians, and they are more highly admired than Samoans who are much closer to Tongans in physical type. The late Queen Salote's half-brother is the son of her father, Tupou II, and a Fijian woman. The social system of Tonga, based on a hierarchical ranking of persons, creates a category of people with no one of equal rank to marry. In the past this was often remedied by marriage with Fijians creating a societal division called Ha'a Fale-Fisi.

Tongans have their own language which seems to have been the first to split from the proto-Polynesian language family. The Tongan language has its closest similarities with Uvean and Niuean and broader similarities with Samoan and Fijian. Highly developed in Tongan is a language of respect in which words correspond to the three societal levels. Thus when speaking to the King different words are used than when speaking to chiefs, and still different words when speaking to commoners. Thus 'go' is ha'ele for the King, me'a for
chiefs, alu for commoners and lele, a derogatory word, when speaking of oneself to persons of higher rank. Integrally related with the language of respect is speech making. The matapule, ceremonial attendants, are the traditional speech makers and are of necessity well versed in the language of respect. Speeches are the most important element on all formal occasions—and formal speeches have a definite structure. The structure is in three parts, 1) fakatapu, 2) body of the speech, and 3) tatau. The fakatapu is usually couched in stylized phraseology and in effect acknowledges the presence of important people and asks their permission to speak. The body of the speech usually alludes to the occasion by figurative and metaphorical language. The tatau is a concluding expression of thanks and often acknowledges again the presence of the important people. Speeches are linguistically subtle and sophisticated, and often by allusion and the use of homophones make it possible to say one thing and refer to something quite different. The structure and language of speeches corresponds to the poetry of certain dance types, which will be elaborated in Chapter VII.

SOCIAL SYSTEM

Only a few observations will be made here in regard to the social system. In addition to suggesting how Tongans order their interpersonal relations, these observations have been selected because they are necessary to understand the formation of dancers in certain dance types. The main idea to be presented is that the Tongan social system
is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. All interpersonal relationships are governed by the principles of rank. The arrangements of dancers in relation to each other and to the audience reflects these principles.

The most important principle on which rank is based is a societal division which differentiates chiefs from commoners. This is further refined in two ways: First, the most chiefly of chiefs is set apart and he is known as Tu'ī. Second, an intermediate class between chiefs and commoners is matapule, who are ceremonial attendants to the chiefs.

The second and third principles of rank are derived from the ranking of siblings within the family. The most important of these is that sisters outrank brothers. It is only after sex of siblings is taken into account that elder outranks younger. Thus a girl of 12 years of age will outrank her brother of 20 years of age. The extension of these principles into the extended family results in sister's children outranking brother's children. Thus father's sister is the highest ranking person to ego and mother's brother is lowest in relation to ego. Ego can take what he likes from his mother's brother, and must give everything he has to his father's sister.

The family ranking system has societal implications, for even the highest chief will be outranked by his sister and his sister's children will outrank his own. This dilemma at the top of the social system was solved in two ways. One of the ancient traditional ways was that a Tu'ī's sister's child (usually the oldest daughter) had a
special title, Tamaha. A Tamaha was often married to a Fijian, or an individual of the societal division Ha'a Fale-Fisi, who although not full Fijian were considered Fijian. A second way to prevent a sister's children's children from outranking his own children's children, was for a Tu'i to have his son marry his sister's child. Cross-cousin marriage was not proscribed, prescribed, or preferred, but it was practiced to prevent social repercussions that might result if a Tu'i were outranked by a collateral line.

According to Tongan tradition, the first Tu'i Tonga of the present dynasty was born after the god Tangaloa Eitumatupua climbed down from the sky on a great casuarina tree and cohabited with a woman of the earlier Tongan population who had descended from a worm. The child of this union was Ahoeitu. When Ahoeitu was old enough he went to the sky to visit his father, and returned with several celestial half-brothers who became his matapule, ceremonial attendants. Ahoeitu, half-man and half-god, lived over a thousand years ago (about 950) and from him the present King descends from a collateral line. The succeeding Tu'i Tonga who descended from Ahoeitu were born of the daughters of the highest chiefs in the land. Several Tu'i Tonga were assassinated and in about the fifteenth century the incumbent Tu'i Tonga appointed a subsidiary ruler, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua. The first Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was a younger brother of the 24th Tu'i Tonga. The Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was given only temporal power while the Tu'i Tonga retained for himself high rank and spiritual status.
The sixth Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua created a similar split in authority, reserving for himself high rank and giving to one of his sons the title of Tu'i Kanokupolu and the tasks of ruling and collecting tribute. All three lines descended from Ahoeitu and were further linked by marriage.

Eventually the second line lost status as the power of the Tu'i Kanokupolu grew. Rivalries among chiefs brought on a series of civil wars. The Tu'i Kanokupolu, Taufa'ahau, was baptised in the Wesleyan Church in 1831 as Siaosi (George) Tupou I and his wife as Salote (Charlotte). The spiritual power of the Tu'i Tonga was undermined and he became a Catholic. Finally, in the last civil war in 1852, the Tu'i Kanokupolu defeated the Tu'i Tonga and George I became the supreme ruler in Tonga and Wesleyanism in effect a state religion. The last Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua was slain in battle by the Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1799 and the last Tu'i Tonga died in 1865.

The story does not end here. The office holders of the two higher lines were gone, their descendants, however, lived on and their blood rank was higher than that of the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The Tu'i Tonga line especially was a force to be reckoned with. They were set apart not only by higher rank by blood, but also because they followed the Tu'i Tonga and became Catholic. New titles were created for the chiefs of the two lines, Tungi replacing Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua and Kalaniuvalu replacing Tu'i Tonga. Frequent intermarriage of the three lines has now made them nearly equal. Thus the present King Taufa'ahau
Tupou IV is Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua through his father, Tu'i Kanokupolu through his mother's father, and Tu'i Tonga through his mother's mother.

All other chiefs in the Kingdom trace their relationship to one or more of these three lines and ultimately back to Ahoeitu, the first Tu'i Tonga. But according to the principles of rank, each knows his relative status in relation to all the others.

An innovation of George I elevated thirty-three of these chiefs to nobles, or legal chiefs. Each of these nobles and six matapule have hereditary lands which were granted by Tupou I, II, or III, which for the most part reflect the ancient land holdings of the great chiefs. These nobles in turn, parcel out pieces of land of 8 1/4 acres in size, called api, to each man over 16 years of age who applies. (This is the ideal situation; in reality, however, many men do not have their own api.) Thus, the nobles are subservient to the Tu'i and commoners who hold land from a noble are subservient to him.

The societal divisions differentiated by blood and legality, as well as the family ranking system can all be seen to operate in a nation-wide katoanga, 'celebration,' which uses dance. First, it is nobles, that is, legal landed chiefs, who bring their villages to dance for the celebration and thereby show their subservience and allegiance to the Tu'i. Second, the dances represent the great traditional societal divisions and have an internal ordering which reflects the importance of these divisions. And third, the arrangement of the
individual performers visually displays the social organization of the village.

Lakalaka is the present day formal dance type (see Chapter VII) and is performed by 'all' the men and women of a village. They are ranged in two or more rows facing the audience, the women on the left (from the spectator's point of view) the men on the right. The center positions for both men and women are the highest positions in the dance. These positions are called vāhenga and are held by the highest ranking individuals in the village. The female vāhenga is usually the noble's eldest daughter. The male vāhenga may be the eldest son of a collateral line. Because the sister outranks her brother and because of the principle of brother-sister avoidance, brother and sister cannot stand next to each other (although in some cases it is said that the principle of high rank takes precedence and brother and sister do stand next to each other). Next to each vāhenga position is a position called ta'ofi vāhenga, which literally means to 'separate the vāhenga.' Ta'ofi vāhenga positions are usually filled by individuals of matapule blood. Perhaps a matapule himself will stand next to the male vāhenga, and the eldest daughter of the matapule will stand next to the female vāhenga. In most villages the position next to the ta'ofi vāhenga is the place of malie taha, 'the best dancer.' Sometimes, however, the ta'ofi vāhenga is also the best dancer, and then the third position is not distinguished from the rest. Or in some villages where there are several chiefly lines, the noble's daughter will take the first position,
the daughter of one of the other chiefs in the village will take the second position and the matapule will take the third position.

The two end positions (male and female) are called fakapotu, and are usually occupied by individuals of important chiefly lines represented in the village. The dancers between the mālie taha and fakapotu are not differentiated. These positions are filled by the common people of the village, and just as commoners are not differentiated from each other, neither are the dancers.

Before the actual performance of the lakalaka at an official government celebration, it is usually taken to the palace and presented to the Tu'i. If he doesn't agree with the choice of individuals who fill the positions of importance, he may ask that they be changed. It is a great honor to have the named positions and much argument in the village may ensue before the individuals are assigned. In some cases it is clear cut, but in others genealogies are traced, often in several different ways, in order to show that one individual outranks another. In Lapaha, the village of the Tu'i Tonga, there are so many chiefly lines who all want to be represented in the named positions, that the choice was often left to Queen Salote. It is desirable not only to show who is of highest chiefly rank, but also to show how many chiefly lines are represented in the village.

On the occasion of the final performance the spectators look first to see who the individuals are who occupy the named positions and decide which chiefly lines they represent. Then they settle back to
enjoy the dance. The dance itself is judged in four ways. First, the poetry is judged by how skillfully the poet has included the necessary speech-making elements within the structure of the poetry and how he has metaphorically alluded to the people and history of the village that performs it. Second, the movements are judged by how skillfully they allude to the poetry and reflect the rhythm and mood of the associated music. Third, the dancers are judged on their overall performance, including the concept of ve'ehala or ve'etonu, that is, do they all step to the same side and together or do they move in opposite directions and bump into each other. They are also judged by the movements of the arms, including moving together as a group and on the contrast between the women's graceful movements and the men's virile movements. Fourth, the dancers are judged individually mainly on the proper movements of the head (see Chapters III and IV) and their ability to 'act and look alive' while they dance.

The spectators feel mafana, 'inwardly exhilarated,' at a good performance. They tie scarfs or other decorations on the performers while they dance or tuck money into their clothing. They move their heads in concert with the performers and occasionally stand up and dance themselves. They shout, "malie, malie faiva" in appreciation, until finally by the end of the performance the dancing space is alive with the movements and song of the performers and the empathetic movements, applause, and shouts of the spectators.
CHAPTER III
DANCE AND A METHOD FOR ITS DESCRIPTION

THE DOMAIN OF DANCE IN TONGA

At the outset it is necessary to define precisely what is meant by dance and how the Western concept compares with the Tongan.

Let us begin with the term faiva. Faiva is defined by Churchward as a noun meaning, "work, task, feat or game, etc., requiring skill or ability; trade, craft; performance, play, drama, item (at a concert, etc.); entertainment; film, moving picture" (1959, p. 23). Baker defines faiva as, "calling, occupation, anything at which a man is clever" (1897, p. 31). However, while I was in Tonga I was always described by Tongans to each other as 'ta'ahine ako faiva,' that is, 'the girl who is learning faiva.' Then they would enumerate the kinds of faiva that I already knew something about or just what sort of faiva I was interested in. When I was just beginning to learn Tongan, I told people I was interested in learning me'e which Churchward gives as the translation for dance (along with hulohula which means ballroom dancing). This confused my informants because me'e includes only certain kinds of 'dances' and it is not a term that is generally used today. I listened to their conversations until I discovered that they were translating 'dance' as faiva and then qualifying it by either listing one or more kinds of faiva or saying that I did the haka well. Haka is an intransitive verb meaning, "to move the hands rhythmically, esp. while singing." The reduplicated form hakahaka
makes it repetitive or continuing. *Hākahaka* means, "to be jubliant, to express joy or exhilaration, esp. by movements of the hands and arms;" and the transitive form, *haka'i* means, "to sing or chant with appro-hand movements (*haka)*" (Churchward 1959, p. 207).

The closest Tongan equivalent of 'dance' then, is *'faiva* with *haka*, that is, 'performance with hand movements.' However, a Tongan would seldom use this to describe dance. Instead he would use the term for the genre of *'faiva* he was talking about or, if he were going to dance practice he would simply say, "*Teu 'alualoako faiva,*" 'that he was going to study *faiva,*' and there would be no confusion as to what he meant. If it were listed in the newspaper that on a certain occasion there were going to be *faiva*, it would be immediately clear as to what could be included.

In eliciting taxonomic levels of contrast *faiva* always emerged as the most generalized term and thus the top vertical dimension in a dance hierarchy. For example, if watching a dance I would ask, "*Koe fa'ahinga faiva ha e?*" (what kind of 'dance' is that?), I would immediately get the name of the category of *faiva* they were doing. Conversely if I would ask, "*Koe lakalaka ko fa'ahinga faiva?*" (Is the *lakalaka* a kind of *faiva*?), I would always get the answer "yes." On the other hand if I would ask in English, "Is the *lakalaka* a kind of dance?" I would sometimes get "yes" and sometimes "no." This confused me until I found that one category of *faiva* (*tau'olunga*) is often translated as 'Tongan dance' to distinguish it from the so-called
action songs such as *lakalaka*. In fact some of my informants when speaking English denied that *lakalaka* is a kind of 'dance,' but they affirmed that it is *faiva*. Thus, I could never say in English that I wanted to learn 'Tongan dance' because this meant to them that I was interested in *tau'olunga*.

It appears then, that the best term for the subject of this study is *faiva* with *haka*. This delineates a block of human behavior or an activity system which the Tongans themselves distinguish and separate from other sorts of performances and also from ballroom dancing, which, of course, does not use *haka*. The Tongan concept and the Western concept are not identical; the Western concept of dance usually focuses on the feet or legs. As a case in point, in a recent publication called *Ten Folk Dances in Labanotation* (Venable and Berk 1959) folk dances of eight European countries were notated. It is characteristic that it was only necessary to notate foot and leg movements, while a short verbal explanation of what the arms were doing was sufficient. The Tongan concept of dance mainly revolves around what is done with the hands and we will see later how hands and feet (and other parts of the anatomy) are concerned with the Tongan system of classification.

It is interesting to note that although the Tongans have a mental concept of a block of activity that is roughly similar to what we would call 'dance,' they have no term for it. Such a term would not communicate anything. When they talk about dance they use the term
for the category of *faiva*. The category name not only expresses what kind of *faiva* will be performed, but also communicates what kind of occasion it will be. An occasion on which *lakalaka* are performed is likely to be quite different from one on which *tau'olunga* are performed. In fact, however, *tau'olunga* may be included on a program with *lakalaka*.

It often happens in folk taxonomies that there is a 'hole' at one level of contrast, that is, there is no term for that level in the native language, or at least none was elicited. In the case of Tongan dance a terminological hole exists at the highest level of abstraction for there is no term for the entity we are talking about. I will, for want of a better term, use 'dance' in this dissertation to indicate the Tongan concept of *'faiva with haka'*.' The reader must keep in mind, however, that the activities implied by the English term 'dance' are not identical, the principles which separate dance from non-dance are different, and the functions of dance are strikingly divergent.

**METHODOLOGY**

Describing dance has long created a problem for anthropologists, dancers, and writers of all sorts. It is sometimes possible to convey the atmosphere and excitement of dance in words, but it is impossible to reconstruct the 'artifact' through words, as dance has too many dimensions which operate simultaneously. Movements of various parts of
the body have pattern and operate in space and time. There may be instrumental and vocal music and texts that are associated with movement. Also to be considered are costumes and other wearing apparel and properties, the dance space, and the relationship of dancers to each other and to the audience. All of these may have pattern, regularity and structure and if so can be analyzed as form. To make a formal analysis it is necessary to find the significant parts of the form and the ways in which these parts are combined into a totality. It is necessary to have an object to analyze. The transitory nature of dance precludes the possibility of using the dance itself for analysis, thus a symbolization of the 'object' is imperative. This can be done most efficiently with a graphic notation through which movements, phrases, sections, and whole dances may be analyzed and compared in relation to each other.

It is difficult to notate in two dimensions a three-dimensional body movement that takes place in time. Many systems have been tried and rejected because of their lack of precision. One method which overcomes many problems of earlier notation systems is Labanotation which was first published in 1928 by Rudolf Laban. In it "he introduced the vertical, symmetrical staff, read from the bottom up and clearly picturing, for the reader facing the notation, right and left, front and back. The other invention which has made his system so flexible is using the length of the symbol on the staff to indicate duration of movement. These two innovations have made possible the
first truly successful method of movement notation. Since Labanotation records in vividly legible form all possible movements of the body in space and time (and in a dimension heretofore unattempted - dynamics), it overcomes the obstacles which had impeded the progress of all earlier systems." (Hutchinson 1954, pp. 3-4).

The Labanotation staff is read from the bottom up, with the music staff running parallel to it and to its left with the measure lines connecting the two staffs.

Figure 3.1. Notation staff for music and dance.
Figure 3.1 is a simple example. It shows one measure of music and one measure of dance with foot movements only. On the first count there is a step forward on the right foot. On the second count the left foot steps forward and the leg bends. On the third count the right foot steps to the right side. On the fourth count the left foot steps to join the right foot. The symbols are explained in Chapter IV.

Labanotation is not a shorthand system, but rather, it necessitates a detailed analysis of the movement of every part of the body as it moves through space and time. In order to notate accurately it is helpful (indeed almost necessary) for the notator to be able to perform the movements himself in order to analyze exactly what the various parts of the body are doing and in what sequence they are done.

Although the basic principles are simple and logical, it is necessary to undertake a formal course in Labanotation to be able to read and write, just as a course in phonetics is necessary in order to hear and write accurately the language of a people. Labanotation is similar in its scope and precision to the International Phonetic Alphabet which is a basic tool for research and analysis in anthropological linguistics.

Recording dances in Labanotation makes it possible to analyze and thus describe from the ethnographer's point of view the structure of various types of dances existing in a society and to isolate
cultural traits such as movement patterns, or motifs, lines of direction, and repetition. But anthropologists want to know more than this. Linguists subject their phonetic notation to phonemic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant sounds of a language. Likewise, a dance ethnologist can subject his etic Labanotation to emic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant movements. Certain parallels between dance and language make it possible to use similar methodology. However, procedures are not necessarily the same, for some analytical steps that are imperative in phonemic analysis would have little utility in movement analysis. Some of the methods are comparable but the units of analysis are not necessarily so.

Still a method parallel to that used by linguists is most productive in analyzing dance. The main problem of comparability in the two systems is just what unit of movement would be comparable to a phoneme. That is, should an emic unit be very small such as rotation of the lower arm or should an emic unit include what the hand is doing while the arm is rotation? Since this study is preliminary or exploratory in borrowing methods from linguistics, the units for analysis may seem arbitrary. Thus, it is with my apologies to linguists, especially to Kenneth Pike, that I borrow and adapt terms for what they may not agree are strictly comparable units for analysis.

The problem of this dissertation is basically a methodological one: to describe dance analogously to describing language. Although this method of analysis has been used by linguists for years, it has
not been applied to other aspects of culture with equal success. This has been well stated by Gleason (1955, p. 61):

The concept of allomorphs and morphemes, and of other "allos" and "emes", is one of the most basic in descriptive linguistics. Its importance both as a tool and as an insight into the operation of language can hardly be overestimated. It stands behind the two basic units of linguistic description, the phoneme and the morpheme, as well as behind other lesser concepts such as the grapheme. The principle involved is largely responsible for the high development of linguistic theory and techniques. The inapplicability (so far as we now know) of the concept in certain related disciplines is the chief differentiating factor between the science of linguistics and other treatments of human behavior.

"Allos" and "emes" are the basic concepts that will be used to analyze dance and it will be shown that these concepts are applicable and at least reasonably successful in the analysis of human movement.¹ It is necessary to coin new words in order to convey movement analogues of linguistic concepts. I will use the words kineme and morphokine to correspond to the linguistic concepts of phoneme and morpheme. Other words such as posture and gesture were tried and rejected, because it was felt that their ordinary meanings would interfere with a technical use. Kineme from 'kine' is used to convey the meaning of a significant movement which is analogous to a phoneme which means a significant sound. Birdwhistel (1952) has used this

¹ See Philip K. Bock 1964, for a comparable application in social structure.
term in a different sense. Kinemes in his system have meaning—while in this system the requirement is that they are significantly different in movement to the 'native speakers' of a given dance tradition. Meaning in this study is not relevant until the morphokine level.

The first aim will be to isolate the significant units of movement, kinemes, for the dance culture of Tonga and present them in the form of a list or inventory. It will then be shown how these kinemes combine to form morphokines and how they, in turn, combine to form motifs and finally dance types. Labanotation, as noted above, is capable of recording all forms of movement in very precise terms. However, only a small segment of all possible movements are significant to the Tongans and thus only the relevant parts of the Laban system will be used. Labanotation symbols will be explained only as needed. For a complete list of those used in this study see Appendix C.

Kinemes will be designated by a letter with a numerical subscript. The letter will designate the part of the body while the numerical subscript will designate what it is doing. For example, 'W' designates 'wrist,' while \( \text{\textsuperscript{1}} \) designates that the wrist is bent forward and \( \text{\textsuperscript{2}} \).

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2 "Turning to microkinesic analysis, experiment reveals that the various kines may be variedly produced in structural organization or in degree of stress or extent of completion of the particular motion. These variations, which do not change differential meaning, are described as allokinic. From the abstraction of the class of allokines is derived the given kineme which may be lid closure, or head set, or brow position, or mouth behavior, etc." Birdwhistel 1952, following page 75.
designates that the wrist is bent backward. This is similar to the designation of components as used in kinship analysis (see, for example, Wallace 1962). Kineme designation will be written with arbitrary symbols corresponding to those used in componential analysis. Kinemes will then be etically notated in Labanotation.

Just as a phoneme may have more than one phonetic member or allophone, so too, a kineme may have more than one etic member, which at the risk of carrying linguistic parallels too far, I will call 'allo-kines.' This term is also used by Birdwhistel (see footnote page 35).

Following Pike's analytical procedure for a "detailed technical descriptive statement" which requires first a description of the phonetic nature of the phonemes (1947, p. 177), I will present the kinemes significant in Tongan dance in componential designation and their etic nature in Labanotation.
ANALOGY WITH PHONEMES

The two basic units in linguistic analysis are phonemes and morphemes. The method of dance analysis presented here will distinguish movement analogues of phonemes and morphemes—that is, kinemes and morphokines. Kinemes are units treated as comparable to phonemes; that is, they are elements selected from all possible human movements and positions and are recognized as significant by people of a given dance tradition. Kinemes are those motions and positions which, although having no meaning in themselves, are the basic units from which all dance of a given tradition is built. The task of this chapter is to locate for Tongan dance the basic units and define the range of permissible variation within these units.

Tongan dance has several levels of structure, the most basic of these, the kineme level, is the substratum on which the other levels of structure are based. The analysis of the more complex levels depends on the definition and isolation of the kinemes, as statements about higher levels, especially the morphokine level, will be phrased in terms of kinemes.

When faced with a new or unfamiliar dance tradition the first impression may be one of overwhelming complexity, especially when many body parts are moving at the same time. In order to make sense out of a universe of movement that may seem at first glance to have no
pattern or regularity, a productive procedure is to isolate the smallest significant units, kinemes, and then to analyze what is done with them to build a totality (dance). It is also desirable to know if, and at what stage of combination of the kinemes meaning is communicated. In a dance tradition where several parts of the body move at once the most economic procedure is to analyze each gross part of the body separately. Then we must find what are the various significant elements for each of these parts of the body. Once this has been determined the contrasting features of the kinemes can be delineated. Eventually a chart of the kinemes can be made. Such charts are potentially useful for cross-cultural comparison. In order to isolate kinemes the first step is observation and comparison of movements in different contexts. The next step is to find by experimenting which differences in movement—etic differences—are recognized as significantly different by the people themselves and which are considered only variants of the same movement.

In the field I first watched whole dances to find what parts of the body and sections of the parts moved and what sorts of movements these were. Next I tried to watch certain individuals do the same movements over and over. This was accomplished by having people teach me dances and thus they had to do the movements repeatedly. In this way I learned how much the movement varied as done by one person (personal variation). Then I tried to see several people do the same dance or dances of the same genre that would use the same
kind of movements. From this I learned how much variation there was from individual to individual (interpersonal variation). A combination of these two types of variation gave me a chance to see the same movement performed in several contexts (contextual variation). After I learned the movements I performed them in what I considered to be correct and incorrect ways. My 'teachers' would correct versions that were not acceptable. From this I learned that the amount of variation allowed is different in different dance genres.

In summary then, my procedure was to make observations, to form hypotheses about what was significant in the performance, and finally to test the hypotheses, verifying, modifying, or rejecting them. This was not possible for each kineme individually, but I tried to follow these steps whenever I could. From these steps and further analysis I have isolated the gross and lesser body parts used in Tongan dance and abstracted the smallest significant units of the movement system. These significant units are here termed kinemes which include positions as well as small units of motion. The kinemes include only the contour of movement. Timing is not part of their definition, because the timing of a kineme can vary and still be considered the 'same.'

Kinemes are arrived at by a contrastive analysis similar to the process of arriving at phonemes. That is, the significant element is whether a kineme is perceived as the 'same or different' as another kineme—that is, if it contrasts. Actual physiological differences
which do not contrast can be said to be allo-kines. The sum of all
the allo-kines defines the limits of the kineme and specifies the
amount of variation allowable before it becomes a 'different' kineme.
Kineme for our purposes can be defined as 'one of the significant units
of motion or position arrived at for a particular dance culture by
the analytical procedures presented above.' (For a comparable
definition of a phoneme see Pike 1947, p. 63).

KINEMES OF TONGAN DANCE

Movement is accomplished through positions and motions of
various parts of the body. An etic notation, for example, Labanotation,
symbolizes these motions and positions. Movements can also be
described and classified verbally. Positions and motions are
theoretically limited only by the physiological limitations of the
human body which is composed of head, torso, hips, arms, and legs,
each of which can make only a limited number of movements.

From all the physiological possibilities the Tongans employ
mainly a constellation of movements produced by legs, arms, and head.
These three body parts are not of a similar order or of equal import-
ance. The pattern and variation of leg movements is quite simple.
The head is used mainly for style. However, arm movements are
intricate and varied and are the most significant movements. It is
mainly the leg movements which contrast between the genres or cate-
gories of dance, while it is the arm movements which contrast
within the genre and thus differentiate one dance from another.
Let us look at some of the body parts separately.

Torso

Occasionally in Tongan dance the torso twists but this is not considered significant or emic to the Tongans, which is shown by the fact that when I would perform for my teachers varying only the rotation of the body or torso they would say that the performances were the 'same.' On the other hand if I would vary foot or arm movements I was corrected immediately. Movements of the torso may make a performance more aesthetically pleasing but they do not make it right, wrong, or different. Such movements can tell us something about the dancer but not about the dance. The torso movement has no name and I had a difficult time trying to make my informants understand what I was referring to. Perhaps this movement is not recognized as significant because it is not part of the indigenous movement system, it being used usually only in the contemporary dance types. Indeed many Tongans do not even consciously perceive it, just as Americans are seldom conscious of the sound of glottal stops.

Head

Head movement is of a different order. Head movement adds style to a dance, makes a dance more aesthetic, and differentiates good dancers from poor dancers. However, it is accepted as fact that head movements should be included, and a rendition which uses the head differs from one that does not use the head. In fact, it was when I used my head in the prescribed way that my teachers were most pleased.
It was quite often the aspect of head movement that they talked about when speaking of my progress with each other (for example, "ta'ahine poto fakateki" which means 'clever at moving the head').

There are two types of head movement but only one of them is emic. The emic head movement listed below as a kineme is named, fakateki, which gives evidence that it is recognized as a movement.

**Hips**

In Tongan dance the hips do not move in a way that is significant or emic to Tongans. However, there is a natural movement of the hips following the leg movements. In the case of the hips, absence of exaggerated movement is considered significant. In fact at one very high level of contrast in which Tongan dance is distinguished from non-Tongan dance, the principle or dimension of contrast is hip movement.

Three body parts have significance to a structural analysis of Tongan dance. Motions and positions which derive from use of the head, legs, and especially of the arms will be used in analyzing the formal structure of Tongan dance at the kineme level.

**Head Kineme**

The first part of the body to be considered for emic significance is the head. There is only one head kineme that has such significance and this is a tilt where the head moves quickly to the right side. The head will be labeled 'H' to abbreviate 'head.' The subscript $^1$ denotes the occurrence of the side tilt.
In Labanotation:

\[ H_1 \]

Figure 4.1. Side head tilt, \( H_1 \).

In Labanotation 'C' is called a presign for the head, indicating that what follows it in that column refers to the head. A triangle facing right means it moves to the right side. Slanting lines within a symbol mean that it is in a high position. The ' return to normal.' The '>' designates that ' refers back to the presign 'C'. The '.' designates that the movement is not quite as far as the symbol ' indicates, that is, it is at an intermediate position between normal ' and '. The symbols say:

- return to normal
- tilt to side, high position
- presign for the head

In this analysis \( H_1 \) can be used to refer to the side tilt movement of the head.

An etic element of movement is present in head kineme, \( H_1 \), which will not be given a componential notation because it is not
contrastive. This is an accent which can be used in movements of the head, legs, and arms. It is usually used on the beat and often marks the end of a movement. The heaviness of accent varies with the individual. Accent is written in Labanotation as \( \mathbf{v} \). When it is filled in \( \mathbf{v} \), it signifies a heavier accent. Adding an accent changes the manner of performing a movement. But it is not a kineme because its presence or absence does not make a movement different. Accents usually occur in specific places in certain movements. Failure to use the accent does not make the movement wrong but is usually on the order of an allo-kine.

**Leg Kinemes**

The second part of the body with emic significance is the legs. The letter 'L' abbreviates 'legs.' Important in Tongan dance is how the body is being supported and what the supports are doing. In Tongan dance legs do only a specified number of things: they fold cross-legged, they bend down and up, they step, they turn, and they rotate.

Labanotation symbols are based on rectangles and it is easiest to understand their use in the case of leg movements. There are three levels of support—normal, middle, and high. These levels are incorporated into the symbol. Normal level is designated by a dot in the middle of the symbol; low level, in which the knees are bent, by a shaded symbol; and high level, in which one would be standing on
one's toes, by slanting lines (as in the triangular symbol in Figure 4.1). In Tongan dance only normal and low levels are significant for leg movements so only the dot and shaded symbol will be used.

The Labanotation staff has two columns to the right and two columns to the left of a center line for notating leg movements. The center columns are for the supports, which in Tongan dance is either the legs or, in a sitting dance, the hips. The second columns from the center line are for leg gestures.

Figure 4.2. Leg columns of Labanotation staff.
In Tongan dance there are eleven significant variations of leg movement. They are enumerated below. For simplicity the Labanotation will be for the right leg, but the movements can be performed with either leg.

$L_1$, the first leg kineme, is a forward step in normal or middle level. Note how the rectangle is altered to point forward—that is, to the top of the page. There are two allo-kines noted. Allo-kine $a$ is a normal or walking size step. Allo-kine $b$ is a very short step. In Labanotation an 'X' preface to the rectangle indicates a short step. The length of the step is not significant, and can vary from a walking size step to a step of only a few inches. In the photograph my informant has just stepped forward and is preparing to lift her back foot for another forward step.

Figure 4.3. Kineme $L_1$, allo-kine $a$, normal size step forward.
Figure 4.4. Kineme $L_1$, allo-kine $b$, short step forward.

$L_2$ is a backward step in normal or middle level. Note that the rectangle points backwards. Again, there are two allo-kines showing that the length of the step is not emically significant.

Figure 4.5. Kineme $L_2$, allo-kine $a$, a normal size step backward. Figure 4.6. Kineme $L_2$, allo-kine $b$, a short step backward.
is a step in 'place.' 'Place' in Labanotation terms means to the center of weight. Thus, a step in 'place' can be made without moving the center of weight as in allo-kine a where the foot is lifted and then steps in the same place. Or a step in 'place' or 'to place' can be made to where the center of weight is. In allo-kine b after a forward step is taken, the other foot is brought to the center of weight or to 'place.' In allo-kine c the foot is brought to the center of weight after a backward step. In allo-kine d after taking a step to the left with the left foot \( \overleftarrow{\cdot} \), the right foot steps left in order to bring it to the center of weight or to 'place.'

'Place' or to the center of weight is symbolized in Labanotation by \( \overrightarrow{\cdot} \). In the photograph my informant is just about to put her foot down in 'place.'

This kineme is an ambiguous one, not agree upon by my informants. Some informants classed these four allo-kines together, the significant dimension being that the feet are brought together and the weight taken by both feet. Others considered only allo-kine a, stepping in place, to belong here, while allo-kine b should be a part of \( L_1 \), allo-kine c should be part of \( L_2 \), and allo-kine d should be part of \( L_4 \), the significant dimensions being a move forward, backward, or sideward.
Figure 4.7. Kineme $L_3$, allo-kine $a$, a step in 'place' without moving the center of weight.

Figure 4.8. Kineme $L_3$, allo-kine $b$, after a left forward step, right foot steps in place.

Figure 4.9. Kineme $L_3$, allo-kine $c$, after a left backward step, right foot steps in place.
Figure 4.10. Kineme $L_3$, allo-kine $d$, after a left side step, right foot steps in place.

$L_4$ is a side step in middle level. Note that the rectangle becomes a triangle pointing to the direction in which it is going to move. There are two allo-kines. Allo-kine $a$ is a normal size step about 12-15 inches. Allo-kine $b$ is a small step, often only 2 inches. The size of the step is not emically significant.
Figure 4.11. Kineme L₄, allo-kine a, a normal size step to the side.

Figure 4.12. Kineme L₄, allo-kine b, a short step to the side.

L₅ is a jump with both feet which can be performed to the front, to the back, or to either side. In Labanotation when no symbols appear in the support (center) columns it means that the body is in the air. In performing a jump the preparation is shown below the double line. The supports bend (indicated by an 'X' prefix in the leg gesture column), they lift from the ground (there is nothing in the support column), they return to the ground (in these examples after the double line) which in Tongan dance is on the beat.
Figure 4.13. Kineme $L_5$, allo-kine $\alpha$, a forward jump with both feet.

Figure 4.14. Kineme $L_5$, allo-kine $\beta$, a backward jump with both feet.

Figure 4.15. Kineme $L_5$, allo-kine $\gamma$, a jump to the right with both feet.

Figure 4.16. Kineme $L_5$, allo-kine $\delta$, a jump to the left with both feet.
L₆ is a bending of the knees low in place. This is accomplished in the Tongan movement system by bending the knees as far as possible while keeping the feet flat on the floor and the back straight. The straightness of the back is very important. It does not make the movement 'different,' but it separates those who have the traditional 'right' to do the dance type in which it is used, from those who have just learned it by copying and do not realize what are the important elements of the dance. Those who have the 'right' to do this dance genre (ula) come from the village of the highest king or Tu'i Tonga. This village is today known as Lapaha. The people who do this movement say that it makes the upper legs hurt terribly while it is being learned, but that one must keep doing it until he is ready to drop in order to do it properly. They associate the pulling in the muscles of the upper legs with keeping the back straight.

Figure 4.17. Kineme L₆, the legs are bent low in place.
L7 is a turn. This is accomplished in the Tongan movement system by turning the body and then stepping. The symbol for clockwise rotation is '═' while '↑' means it is a half turn, or '—' means a quarter turn. Allo-kine a consists of turning the body one quarter turn and stepping slightly forward in the direction of the turn. Allo-kine b consists of stepping forward and making a half-turn on that foot. Allo-kine c consists of stepping in place and making a full turn while the other lower leg is raised to the back. This kineme is an ambiguous one. Informants usually say there is only one kind of turn, meaning allo-kine a, which is the traditional type of turn. Allo-kines b and c are used mainly in tau'olunga, which is a recent dance genre.

Figure 4.18. Kineme L7, allo-kine a, body turns one quarter and foot steps slightly forward.

Figure 4.19. Kineme L7, allo-kine b, the right foot steps forward and the body turns one half turn left.
Figure 4.20. Kineme $L_7$, allo-kine $g$, the left foot steps in place, the body turns one whole turn left, while the right lower leg is raised backward.

$L_8$ is a rotation of the lower leg that moves the heels out and in. This is usually used to mark time when no other foot kinemes are used. It is notated in the leg gesture column (second column from the center) because the legs rotate but the supports do not move. A hold sign 'o', is placed in the support column to show that there is no movement or change in weight distribution. Sometimes this lower leg rotation is very small and scarcely perceptible to the observer. It is important to the dancer, however, because the movement helps him to feel the pulse of the music.
Figure 4.21. Kineme $L_8$, the heels are moved out and in to mark time.

$L_9$ consists of a quick lifting of the foot by a bend of the knee. One foot steps and receives the weight and the other knee quickly bends. The knee bending is notated in the leg gesture column. The 'X' designates the amount of flexion of the knee. In the photograph in Figure 4.22, the dancer on the left is just about to take a forward step while the dancer on the right has just lifted her left leg with a quick bend of the knee.
Figure 4.22. Kineme L₉, right foot steps forward and left foot is quickly lifted.
is a touch of the foot without shifting weight. There are three allo-kines. In allo-kine a, after one foot steps, the other foot touches in place without shifting weight. In allo-kine b the ball of the foot touches to the front. In allo-kine c the ball of the foot touches to the side. In allo-kine d one foot crosses in front of the other and touches the ground.

Figure 4.23. Kineme $L_{10}$, allo-kine a, left foot steps to the left, the right foot touches in place without shifting weight.
Figure 4.24. Kineme $L_{10}^{'},$ allo-kine $b,$ right foot touches to the front without shifting weight.

Figure 4.25. Kineme $L_{10}^{'},$ allo-kine $c,$ right foot touches to the right side without shifting weight.

Figure 4.26. Kineme $L_{10}^{'},$ allo-kine $d,$ right foot touches to the left in front of left foot without shifting weight.
L₁₁ is the cross-legged sitting position. In the Tongan version of sitting cross-legged the upper legs should be nearly parallel, especially for women. The left lower leg is placed to the back right diagonal forming an acute angle at the knee. The right lower leg is forward left diagonal forming a 90° or larger angle at the knee. The right lower leg is thus in front of the left leg. The hips are indicated by '+'—note that this symbol is in the support column where the stepping of the feet was in the previous kinemes. The '+' designates the upper leg; '±' designates the lower leg; '□' designates the back right diagonal; '■' designates the forward left diagonal; '—' means 'in front of'; '—' means a touch. While in this position, the right foot, '■■', marks time by moving up and down.

Figure 4.27. Kineme L₁₁, cross-legged sitting position. The girl on the right of the photograph is in the 'correct' sitting position. The other girls have their legs too far to the sides. This is quite often the case with young girls. Men also do not keep their upper legs as straight forward as do the women.
Summary of Leg Kinemes

These eleven leg kinemes are those that are significant in the Tongan dance system. From this inventory we can now make statements about the use of the legs in this tradition. First we can say that the legs are always flexible at the knee. The main movements of the legs are straight steps to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps—that is, jumps from one foot to another—or large steps are not significant categories in Tongan dance. Perhaps this is because full use of the upper leg would be required for a leap or large step.

This limited use of the upper leg is probably most important for a characterization of Tongan leg movements. Although the upper leg certainly does move when taking steps or bending, it moves always as a result of movement of the lower leg and never for itself. In the earliest accounts of Tongan dance the dancers are described as being clothed between the waist and the knee. It was not considered in good taste to expose this part of the body and it was this part of the body that was tattooed in ancient Tonga.

To move the upper legs by themselves is called fakamahae.1 Anyone, and especially a woman, who moves this part of her legs is considered to have very poor taste, and indeed, to be even vulgar.

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1 This word usually refers only to women.
The Tongans when seeing a modern rendition of the Hawaiian dance movement *uwehe* in which the knees were opened to the sides, were shocked (traditionally in Hawaii this movement is done bending the knees forward). A group of school children in Tonga did a take-off on ballet for a program but refused to use their upper legs as is proper in ballet which caused their performance to have very little resemblance to classical ballet.

Movement of the upper leg is hindered by a tightly wrapped *vala*, a garment which extends from waist to knee for both men and women. Traditionally this wrap-around skirt-like covering was made of tapa; today it is made of cloth. Only during dances do the women wear the *vala* to the knees. For ordinary street wear women wear the *vala* extending from waist to ankle under Western style clothes. "Traditional" Tongan dance costumes used today consist of a *vala* of tapa (or cloth) completely covered with ti leaves, shells, seeds, or layers of tapa. On top of this dancers wear a waist mat (*ta'ovala*) of woven pandanus or a flower or leaf girdle (*sisi*) which extends downward several inches from the waist. This clothing not only restricts movements of the hips and upper legs but also hides any movement made there.

Today for one type of dance called *tau'olunga* a skirt of shredded hibiscus inner bark (*fau*) is sometimes worn, especially for informal or tourist type occasions. During this kind of dance the movements of the legs are a bit more free, but it is always the lower leg which
is free. This limited use of the upper legs can also be seen in sitting dances. We have seen in LI that the correct sitting posture has the upper legs almost parallel and close together, and the right lower leg is crossed in front of the upper legs which makes the upper legs inconspicuous.

The lower leg is called va'ē, and includes the foot and lower leg. The upper leg is called alanga, but I have never heard this word used in conversation. When speaking about dance Tongans speak only about what the va'ē are doing. They translate va'ē as 'feet' but never as 'legs.'

In Tongan dance terminology the upper leg does not exist. Movements of both the upper legs and hips are repressed. Conversely, if a dancer at a very informal occasion wants to be risque, the way to do so, is to move the upper legs and the hips. On the occasion of a moonlight picnic for example, when informal dancing is called for, the most applauded dancer is one who uses her legs in any way not accepted by the Tongans as 'correct.'

This ideal is relaxed in the dancing of young girls. For example, one Tongan choreographer set the movements of a dance for four young girls and included one movement where they touched the inside of their knees with their hands. When this dance was taught to a grown woman, this movement was changed by the original choreographer, to touch the upper part of the thigh.
Arm Kinemes

The third and most important part of the body emically significant in Tongan dance is the arms. The arm movements, intricate and complex as they seem, can be broken down into six basic groups of kinemes. These groups are 1) rotation of the lower arm, 2) bending and flexing of the wrist, 3) eight finger positions, 4) five directions for the facing of the palm, 5) seventeen arm positions, and 6) touching and brushing. It is the combination of these 35 kinemes that form Tongan arm movements.

In Labanotation it is not usual to abstract just a part of a limb and rotate its movements in space without saying where in space the limbs are. For example, one doesn't ordinarily notate a rotation of the lower arm without notating in what position the arm is held. However, because I want to notate each kineme separately, it will be necessary to do this. In the terminology used here, the position of the arms adds an additional contrast. Thus when I notate kinemes without arm position, I do so because the arm position is also significant in the movement system. A kineme in one arm position is different from the same kineme in a different arm position. Each kineme is significant by itself, and combinations of kinemes result in a higher level of structure (morphokine). Thus, in order to analyze the smallest significant units of movement, it is necessary to treat all aspects of motion and position separately.
Another thing must be noted about the way I use the Labanotation system. In writing Labanotation it is usual to notate a movement in the most economic way. However, I may write movements in a manner that would be considered redundant in regular dance notation, using this redundancy to make clear exactly what kinemes significant in Tongan dance are being used. This procedure will facilitate comparison of various movements.

The six groups of arm kinemes are not equally important at the emic level of Tongan dance. The most important and discretely contrasting are arm rotation, wrist flexion, and finger position. The palm facings and arm positions constitute the 'environment' in which these three groups of kinemes occur. Perhaps we can say they are comparable to the 'noise' or 'redundancy' in speech as these terms are used in communication theory.
Lower Arm Rotation

The first and most distinctive kineme in arm movements of Tongan dance is the rotation of the lower arm. It is this movement, so often repeated, that is perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of Tongan dance. This kineme will be notated $R^\perp$. 'R' abbreviates 'rotation.'

![Figure 4.28. Kineme $R^\perp$, the lower arm rotates.]

The symbol for the lower arm is ' $\perp$ '. The clockwise rotation symbol is ' $^\downarrow$ ' (see also $L_7$ and $L_8$ above); and ' $^\uparrow$ ' is counterclockwise. As in the case of leg movement, a half turn is notated ' $^\dagger$ '. I have notated this turn as a half turn, however, the amount varies from one half to one quarter. The half turn is at the wrist end of the lower arm--it is impossible to turn the elbow end of the lower arm a half turn.
Figure 4.29. Three stages in the rotation of the lower arm.
Wrist Flexion and Extension

The second type of arm kineme is flexion and extension of the wrist. In many arm movements there is a wrist flexion which follows naturally from the movement of the hand and these need not be notated. The two wrist kinemes noted are those where there is a definite emphasis on wrist motion and which are significant in the movement system. When the wrist is relaxed with no flexion or extension it can be said to be in 'normal' position. The two kinemes begin from this normal position. 'W' abbreviates 'wrist.'

$W_1$ is a kineme in which the wrist is extended—that is, bent backward. The amount varies from slightly extended, '$W$' to as far back as is comfortably possible, '$\text{\textprime}$'.

Figure 4.30. Kineme $W_1$, allo-kine $\text{a}$, the wrist extends part way back.
Figure 4.31. Kineme $W_1$, allo-kine b, the wrist extends fully backward.

$W_2$ is a flexion of the wrist that carries the hand forward. The amount varies from slightly flexed, 'X', to flexed fully forward, 'X'. (Note that ' is the same symbol as for the lower arm. There should be no confusion here as the lower arm cannot bend. It is obvious from context that ' in this case refers to the wrist.)

Figure 4.32. Kineme $W_2$, allo-kine a, the wrist flexes part way forward.
Palm Facing

The third group of arm kinemes involves the facing of the palm. The end product of rotation of the lower arm or flexion and extension of the wrist is the direction of the palm facing. There are five significant palm facings in Tongan dance—all other physiological possibilities that may be encountered in Tongan dance are allo-kines of one of these five.

One way that the palm facing is used in Tongan dance results from rotation. In this case the palm begins either upward or backward and ends facing downward or forward. Another way is as an end product of wrist extension. In this case the palm usually begins facing down and ends facing forward. A third way is to help define the arm positions. 'P' will be used to abbreviate 'palm facing.'
P\textsubscript{1} is a kineme in which the palm faces forward or away from the body. Palm facing is notated 'P'. Note that the forward pointing rectangle, 'L', is the same symbol as used for forward steps (L\textsubscript{1} above). This symbol is used throughout the Labanotation system to indicate forward.

Figure 4.34. Kineme P\textsubscript{1}, the palm faces forward.
$P_2$ is a kineme in which the palm faces backward or toward the body. Note that the backward pointing rectangle indicates facing back.

Figure 4.35. Kineme $P_2$, the palm faces backward.

$P_3$ is a kineme in which the palm faces upward. This is indicated by a 'place' symbol with slanting lines, '□', meaning it faces 'place high.'

Figure 4.36. Kineme $P_3$, the palm faces upward.
$P_4$ is a kineme in which the palm faces down. This is indicated by a 'place' symbol that is shaded in, '|', meaning it faces 'place low.'

Figure 4.37. Kineme $P_4$, the palm faces down.

Figure 4.38. The palms face up, $P_3$, and down, $P_4$. 
P₅ is a kineme in which the palm faces to the side. Side is indicated by a triangle pointing to the side indicated.

Figure 4.39. Kineme P₅, the right hand faces to the left.

Figure 4.40. The hands face to the sides.
Finger Positions

The fourth group of kinemes is the flexion and extension of the fingers. There are eight finger kinemes that are significant or emic in Tongan dance. Although physiologically some of these kinemes are really a flexion of the palm, the Tongans contrast them with other finger positions—thus, they will be referred to here as finger kinemes. 'F' abbreviates 'fingers.'

$F_{1}$ is a kineme in which the fingers are extended and flat. The symbol for fingers is $\{\}$. There are two allo-kines. Allo-kine $a$ is a straight position of the fingers, this is designated by a single extension symbol, $\mathcal{N}$. In allo-kine $b$ the fingers are slightly extended backward, this is designated by a double extension symbol, $\mathcal{N}$. Allo-kine $b$ is used when opening the fingers from another $F$ kineme and usually is used to mark the beat. In kineme $F_{1}$ the thumb can either be held parallel with the fingers as in the drawing in Figure 4.41, or it can be slightly opposed. When the thumb must be opposed this is considered a different kineme, $F_{7}$.

![Figure 4.41. Kineme $F_{1}$, allo-kine $a$, fingers flat in relaxed position.](image)
Figure 4.42. Kineme $F_1$, allo-kine b, fingers extended backward.

$F_2$ is a kineme in which the fingers are slightly flexed.

Flexion in Labanotation is indicated by 'X'; 'X' indicates slight flexion; 'X' indicates flexion that forms approximately a circle; 'X' indicates flexion in which the fingers are fully flexed forming a fist. Other degrees of flexion and extension of fingers are physiologically possible and Labanotation recognizes them. In Tongan dance, however, other degrees are not significant categories.

Figure 4.43. Kineme $F_2$, fingers slightly bent.
$F_3$ is a kineme in which the fingers are flexed so that the second finger touches (or almost touches) the thumb. The ring and little fingers are usually a bit more flexed than the first two fingers.

![Figure 4.44. Kineme $F_3$, fingers rounded.](image)

$F_4$ is a kineme in which the fingers including the thumb are fully flexed to form a fist.

![Figure 4.45. Kineme $F_4$, fingers form a fist.](image)
F₅ is a kineme in which the fingers are flexed to form a fist, but the thumb is extended. In this case it is necessary to indicate the fingers individually. This is done by placing dots on the general finger sign to indicate the fingers referred to. For example, "\[ \text{\textbullet} \]" indicates the thumb, "\[ \text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet}\text{\textbullet} \]" indicates the first finger, and so on.

Figure 4.46. Kineme F₅, fingers form a fist and thumb is extended.

F₆ is a kineme in which the thumb and index finger are extended and the other three fingers are fully flexed.

Figure 4.47. Kineme F₆, pointing position.
$F_7$ is a kineme in which the thumb and fingers are extended in opposition to each other. The defining feature of this kineme is that the thumb is extended at a $90^\circ$ angle to the fingers, which distinguishes it from $F_1$.

Figure 4.48. Kineme $F_7$, thumb extended at $90^\circ$ angle to fingers.

$F_8$ is a kineme in which the fingers and thumb are extended in opposition to each other and the palm is flexed, $\overline{\cdot}$. The position is the same as $F_7$ except for the flexion of the palm.

Figure 4.49. Kineme $F_8$, thumb is flexed parallel to fingers.
Arm Positions

Thus far the kinemes have been relatively simple and the variations few: rotation of the lower arm, two wrist kinemes, five palm facings, and eight finger kinemes. All of the simple and complex movements of the hands and arms are built from these four groups of kinemes. One further group of kinemes determines where in space the movements are made. This group of kinemes involves the position of the arms. There are seventeen variations of arm position in which the first four groups of kinemes are performed. However, all kinemes are not performed in all of the arm kinemes. Only certain combinations of kinemes are significant categories, and these will be presented in the next chapter. Some of the arm kinemes are quite static in that they are held while the hand and lower arm movements are performed. Others are those of the beginning and ending of a movement in which the arm moves in space from one position to the other. The arm kinemes can be said to be passive environments in which the hand and lower arm movements occur, and yet they can contribute to 'meaning' for simply a change in arm position can change the whole narrative meaning of a movement.

The kinemes for arm position will be noted 'A' for 'arm.' The subscripts 1 to 17 will designate the positions.
A₁ is an arm kineme in which the whole arm is in a forward, middle position.

Figure 4.50. Kineme A₁, allo-kine a, whole arm is forward middle.

Figure 4.51. Kineme A₁, allo-kine b, arm is slightly bent in forward middle.
A_2 is an arm kineme in which the arm is raised to the front. Labanotation has no single symbol for this position, therefore it is necessary to write a position between the two closest ones. In this case, A_2 is between the Labanotation symbols for forward middle (A_1) and that for forward high (which is not a significant category in Tongan dance).

Figure 4.52. Kineme A_2, arm raised forward.

A_3 is an arm kineme in which the arm is in a forward position but in low level.

Figure 4.53. Kineme A_3, allo-kine a, arm is forward low.
Figure 4.54. Kineme $A_2$, allo-kine $b$, arm is slightly bent so that lower arm is diagonal.

$A_4$ is an arm kineme in which the arm is slightly bent at the side of the body or at 'place low.'

Figure 4.55. Kineme $A_4$, arm is slightly bent at the side of the body.
$A_5$ is an arm kineme in which the arm is extended out to the side in middle level.

Figure 4.56. Kineme $A_5$, allo-kine $a$, arm extended to the side.

Figure 4.57. Kineme $A_5$, allo-kine $b$, arm is slightly bent in side middle.
$A_6$ is an arm kineme in which the arm is in a position raised to the side, or in 'side high.'

Figure 4.58. Kineme $A_6$, arm in side high position.

$A_7$ is an arm kineme in which the arm is in a side low position.

Figure 4.59. Kineme $A_7$, arm in side low position.
A₈ is a kineme in which the arm is flexed at the elbow at approximately 90°. There are at least three allo-kines. Allo-kine variations include the bending of the arms at approximately 90°, but only when they do not have the upper arm straight down at the side.

Figure 4.60. Kineme A₈, allo-kine a, arm is bent forward at approximately 90°.

Figure 4.61. Kineme A₈, allo-kine b, arm is bent forward a bit more than 90°, but not as far as A₉.

Figure 4.62. Kineme A₈, allo-kine c, arm is bent forward at approximately 90° but raised to a level between middle and high.
$A_9$ is a kineme in which the arm is bent forward but considerably more than $90^\circ$. There are at least two allo-kines. In this case the defining feature is that the lower arm is vertical or nearly vertical.

Figure 4.63. Kineme $A_9$, allo-kine $a$, the arm is almost fully bent.

Figure 4.64. Kineme $A_9$, allo-kine $b$, arm is fully bent, upper arm is parallel to the body.
$A_{10}$ is an arm kineme in which the arm is bent forward at approximately $90^\circ$ and the upper arm is parallel to the body.

Figure 4.65. Kineme $A_{10}$, arm is bent forward and upper arm is parallel to the body.

Figure 4.66. Kineme $A_{10}$, allo-kine b, upper arm is parallel to the body while lower arm is forward between middle and diagonal.
A₁₁ is a kineme in which the significant dimension is that the lower arm is crossed horizontally in front of the waist. The upper arm has little significance in this case and can be held in one of several positions. In the main allo-kine the upper arm is held in a forward low position and the lower arm is in a side middle position approximately at waist level.

\[ A₁₁ \]

Figure 4.67. Kineme A₁₁, allo-kine a, lower arm is crossed horizontally at waist level.

Figure 4.68. Allo-kines of A₁₁.
A_{12} is a kineme in which the significant dimension is that the lower arm is crossed diagonally in front of the chest. The upper arm has little significance and can be held in one of several positions. In the main allo-kine the upper arm is held in a forward low position. Again there are several variations.

Figure 4.69. Kineme A_{12}, allo-kine a, lower arm is crossed diagonally in front of chest.

Figure 4.70. Allo-kines of A_{12}. 
$A_{13}$ is a kineme in which the lower arm is basically side high as in $A_{12}$. Here, however, the lower arm does not cross diagonally in front of the chest but only far enough so that the hand reaches the middle of the chest. The upper arm is in a side position. Again there are several allo-kines.

Figure 4.71. Kineme $A_{13}$, allo-kine $a$, lower arm crosses diagonally to the middle of the chest.

Figure 4.72. Allo-kines of $A_{13}$. 
A_{14} is a kineme in which the lower arm is held horizontally as in A_{11} but at chest level rather than at waist level. The upper arm is unimportant in itself and is simply the means by which the lower arm is raised.

Figure 4.73. Kineme A_{14}, allo-kine A, lower arm is horizontal at chest level.

Figure 4.74. Allo-kines of A_{14}. 
\( A_{15} \) is a kineme in which the lower arm is held in a vertical position at \( 90^\circ \) from the upper arm. Thus, the upper arm must be held in a position horizontal to the shoulder.

Figure 4.75. Allo-kines of Kineme \( A_{15} \). The lower arm is vertical from shoulder level.
$A_{16}$ is a kineme in which the arms are flexed downward about $90^\circ$ to the side. That is, in the position in which to place a hand on the hip.

Figure 4.76. Kineme $A_{16}$, position in which to place a hand on the hip.

$A_{17}$ is a kineme in which the arm is flexed upward from the side. That is, in a position in which to place a hand on top of the head.

Figure 4.77. Kineme $A_{17}$, position in which to place a hand on the head.
The last group of arm movements significant in Tongan dance involves touching or brushing. 'T' abbreviates 'touching.' $T_1$ designates touching and $T_2$ designates brushing. In Labanotation a bow '$\bow$' is used to symbolize touching. By connecting the appropriate columns, the two ends of the bow show which parts of the body are touching. (A bow with broken lines '$\bow$' shows that two body parts are related to each other or near each other but not actually touching.)

$T_1$ is a kineme that consists of touching the hand to a part of the body. In the example notated the hands, '$\text{E}$', touch.

Figure 4.78. Kineme $T_1$, a touch. (In this case of the hands.)
$T_2$ is a kineme that can be called 'a touch that moves,' or in other words a brush. In the example notated the left palm faces up. The right hand perpendicular to the left with the palm facing back, brushes the little finger over the left palm until it faces to the side.

Figure 4.79. Kineme $T_2$, a brush.

Figure 4.80. Beginning and ending positions for a brush.
Summary of Arm Kinemes

We can characterize Tongan arm kinemes as using mainly the lower arm. The upper arm is usually only the means by which the lower arm is moved to the correct position in order to make the appropriate movements. All groups of arm kinemes--rotation, wrist extension and flexion, palm facing, finger flexion, arm position and touching are centered on the lower arm. Aesthetics, meaning, and interpretation alike, all depend mainly on the lower arm. When speaking of arm movements, Tongans refer to what is done with the nima--the hand and lower arm. They do not refer to the upper arm. Although there is no vulgar connotation in moving the upper arm (as there is in moving the upper leg) the movements and concepts about movements usually exclude the upper arm. When movements are made with the arms close to the body--physiologically accomplished by the upper arm being close to the body--they are called haka nonou or haka momo-iiki and are considered difficult to do and therefore are more applauded. These movements contrast with haka loloa--movements which are done with the arms extended--that is, with the upper arm away from the body. It should be noted that extended arm positions, taking the upper arm away from the body are more often used by men than women.

Summary

An inventory of Tongan dance kinemes, that is, units analogous to phonemes, has now been presented. These are the components from
which all Tongan dance is structured. There are 47 kinemes that are significant in the 'faiva with haka' movement system. There are 34 allo-kines or physiological possibilities that have been enumerated and it has been shown how these are grouped as variations of Tongan recognized kinemes. When notating Tongan dance emically it is possible to do so with this small number of significant kinemes.

When viewing Tongan dance, we can see what kinemes are used and how they vary in different contexts.

The kinemic inventory is summarized in Table I giving a classification of Tongan dance kinemes by body part, and includes all of the significant movements in Tongan dance. The highest level or starting point in this classification is the large body part performing the motion or position in which motion takes place. Each level is a category subordinate to the one directly above. The name of the kineme is most specific at the lowest level and more general at successively higher levels. For example, $L_4$ can be called from lowest level to highest, a step, a lower leg support, a support, or a leg (va'e) movement. Reading from highest level to lowest level one can ask a series of questions: "What do the legs do in Tongan dance?" The answer can be ascertained by reading the next lower level of contrast. They either support or move without supporting. "How do they support?" Either with the hips or with the lower leg. "When supporting with the lower leg, what do they do?" They step, bend, or turn. "How do they step?" Forward, backward, to the center
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*TABLE I. CLASSIFICATION OF TONGAN DANCE KINEMES BY BODY PART*
of weight, or to the side. Thus by referring to this chart the
reader has the information needed to tell which parts of the body
are relevant in the structure of Tongan dance and what specific
movements or motions are significant for that body part.

The physiological aspects of the kinemes of Tongan dance,
classified according to body part and motion-position, are summarized
in Table II. Each kineme occurs at the point where the body-part
axis coincides with the motion-position axis. Where no kineme is
noted we know that motion-position is not a significant category in
Tongan dance. This chart gives the reader the information needed
to tell what are the types of action significant in Tongan dance as
well as what body parts are used. Table II is adapted from linguistic
charts used to classify phoneme systems (see, for example, Gleason

From the data provided we can make generalizations about
significant components in Tongan dance at various levels. At the
highest level of abstraction, we can say that Tongan dance uses
mainly the lower leg and the lower arm, the head is used mainly for
style, and other parts of the body are quite insignificant. Although
kinemes vary with the dance genre, in general the same basic
components are used and the same elements of performance are respected
or rejected.

Tongan dance has been remarkable in the persistence of its
movements. Dance forms are still quite similar though minor changes
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<td>Wrist</td>
<td>$W_1, W_2$</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arm</td>
<td>$A_1 - A_{17}$</td>
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* hips also support
have occurred by internal evolution and by adaptation of other Western Polynesian concepts. Some of the music has been Westernized. But the kinemes or smallest significant units of movement seem to have persisted—at least from the time of European contact until the present (Kaeppler 1967b). In the future new movements diffused from other Polynesian traditions, are likely to be adapted to the basic Tongan dance kinemes.
In Chapter IV the significant kinemes of Tongan dance are listed and the etic nature of one or more allo-kine for each are notated. There are more allo-kines which could be listed, but they seem unnecessary at this point because they fall within the range of variation of those presented. Kinemes like phonemes, are largely unconscious as separate entities to the people who perform them. Though I have purported them to be significant to the people themselves, it is I, not they, that have abstracted them into a formal system. If a Tongan were given a kineme chart (or a phoneme chart) he would have to be convinced that it represents what happens when he dances (or speaks), because the kinemes individually (or phonemes individually) have no meaning.

In this Chapter a further analogy will be drawn between the structure of dance and the structure of language. As the material presented in the last Chapter was compared to a phonemic description of a language, the material presented in this Chapter purports to be comparable to a morphemic description of a language. The unit of movement comparable to a morpheme will here be termed a morphokine, meaning the 'form, shape, or structure of movement.' Morphokine can be defined as 'the smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of the movement system.' This does not imply that morphokines must
have narrative meaning (although they sometimes do), but only that they are recognized as dance movements. These units cannot be divided without changing or destroying their 'meaning.' Morphokines can be examined in a way analogous to morphemes, that is, with regard to their internal structure and their external distribution.

Morphokines are sequences of kinemes and only certain combinations are meaningful. These combinations of kinemes often recur. They are recognized by the Tongans and some are given names and can be grouped in categories. A unique selection and arrangement of kinemes can be said to define a morphokine. Statements about morphokines must be made in terms of the kinemes which comprise them, just as statements about morphemes are made in terms of phonemes (Gleason 1955, p. 66).

It should be noted that in Tongan dance the kinemes and morphokines are never minutely specific so that at the etic level they may not be identical. For example, if I say that the palm is facing up, I do not mean that it must do so exactly, for there may be a slight tilt in any direction. In Tongan dance the wrists are always flexible and follow comfortable natural movements of the hands. The so-called graceful look of Tongan dance is due to this flexibility of the wrists.

The morphokines of Tongan dance will be analyzed with regard to their internal structure (that is, their kineme composition—the kinemes used and their sequence) and grouped into classes. The external distribution—that is, the co-occurrence of morphokines will also be examined.
The first objective in identifying language morphemes is "to segment the corpus—that is, to divide it into portions, each of which represents a single morpheme; and to class these segments together into morphemes" (Gleason 1955, p. 65). In this study of Tongan dance, segmenting and classing of the raw data proceeded simultaneously. The results are listed below. Doubtless there are other ways in which the data could be grouped. The classes presented, however, seem most economic and systematic, and are able to account for all the data. No doubt there are morphokines that are not included in my corpus, but I feel quite certain that they will fit into the class system devised.

**INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF MORPHOKINES**

By the internal structure of morphokines I mean the sequence of kinemes that make up a recognized movement. Some kinemes are motions (e.g. rotation of lower arm); others are basically positions with the motion of getting from one position to another understood. Morphokines, as here described, combine kinemes—whether position or motion into flowing movements that have a definite beginning and end. A morphokine may consist of a single kineme, a kineme repeated one or more times, or a combination of kinemes. Morphokines will be abbreviated 'M'. When a morphokine consists of a single kineme, its kineme designation will be used to avoid unnecessary duplication.

The movements deriving from the three sections of the body significant in Tongan dance can be considered at the highest level
of abstraction as classes of morphokines and they will here be treated one by one. Morphokines of the hands and arms will be abbreviated M.I. Morphokines of the legs will be abbreviated M.II. Morphokines of the head will be abbreviated M.III. Morphokines not classifiable in any of these groups will be abbreviated M.IV.

**Arm and Hand Morphokines, M.I.**

The morphokines of the arms and hands, M.I., can be divided into three groups or categories:

a. **Nima** (hand and lower arm) morphokines which can be performed in two or more arm position 'environments.' These will be abbreviated M.I.a.

b. Arm position 'environments' in which morphokines of category M.I.a. are performed. These will be abbreviated M.I.b.

c. Morphokines in which the arm position environment is integrally related. These will be abbreviated M.I.c.

The morphokines of group M.I.a. will be described first. The first morphokine of this group will be abbreviated M.I.a.1. The second morphokine will be M.I.a.2., and so on. Although these morphokines are made up of kinemes, it is not possible to say of a morphokine that it equals the total of the kinemes used in that morphokine, because not only the kinemes must be taken into consideration but also the sequence of the kinemes. Thus, a full description
of a morphokine (for example, M.I.a.l.) must include the sequence of kinemes listed for it in this Chapter.

Morphokines of the nima (hand and lower arm), group M.I.a.

M.I.a.l. is the most common and characteristic morphokine in Tongan dance, and co-occurs in any environment from M.I.b.l. through M.I.b.16. M.I.a.l. constitutes the essential movement of what is called 'haka' or hand movements. It is a combination of three kinemes: rotation of the lower arm, \( R^\perp \), and two finger kinemes, \( F_1 \) and \( F_3 \).

These kinemes are always the same no matter in what 'environment' they occur. The environment consists of the arm position and the direction in which the palm is facing and constitutes a separate set of morphokines, M.I.b. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) from kineme \( F_1 \) fingers begin to flex or bend (this flexion starts with the little finger; and the index finger is last to bend and does not bend as far),

2) when fingers are almost to kineme \( F_3 \) the lower arm begins to rotate, \( R^\perp \), while fingers complete their flexion to \( F_3 \),

3) immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation (so that the palm faces the opposite direction from which it began), fingers open to \( F_1 \),

4) after the completion of 3 in the sequence above, the lower arm rotates in the opposite direction bringing the palm facing back to the position in which it began.
This brings the nima back to the position from which it started and it is ready to repeat the whole morphokine. Rhythmically, this morphokine usually begins on an upbeat so that 3 above falls on the beat.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5.1. Morphokine M.I.a.1.

M.I.a.2. is similar to M.I.a.1., but is not so frequently used. It differs in that the wrist bends instead of the fingers. It co-occurs with M.I.b.10., M.I.b.11., M.I.b.16., M.I.a.26., and M.I.a.27. The sequence of kinemes is:
1) with palm facing $P_2$, wrist begins to flex,
2) when wrist is partially flexed, lower arm begins to rotate, $R_1$, and wrist completes its flexion to $W_2$,
3) immediately after the lower arm finishes rotating, wrist extends to $W_1$ and palm faces the opposite direction from which it began. During this movement the fingers may bend slightly following the natural movement of the wrist. Since it is insignificant to the Tongans whether the fingers bend slightly or not, it is not emic and therefore is not notated. Note that the palm position is included in the description of this morphokine (although it was not in that of morphokine M.I.a.l.) for here it always faces backward at the beginning of the morphokine and forward at the end (whereas in M.I.a.l. it changes with the arm position).

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.2. Morphokine M.I.a.2.
Note the contrast between the two movements. The differences are that in M.I.a.2. wrist kinemes have replaced finger kinemes, and the nima does not return to the starting position in order to begin again as did M.I.a.1. Rather, this morphokine combines with other morphokines to form motifs at the next higher level of organization.

M.I.a.3., circling the hands around each other, is another important movement in Tongan dance and is used in several motifs. M.I.a.3. is a three-quarter circle of the right hand around the left hand, and co-occurs with M.I.b.17, M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) hands with fingers in a slightly flexed position, $F_2$, palms face each other, the left palm facing the chest, $P_2$, and right palm facing forward, $P_1$,

2) right hand circles over, in front of, and under the left hand with a rotation of the lower arm, $R_1$. ('Front' in this paper will always be taken from the point of view of the whole body not the individual body part.)

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.3. Morphokine M.I.a.3.
M.I.a.4. is the reverse of M.I.a.3. and is a movement called au. Its usual environment is M.I.b.18. with the sequence of movements reversed. It may also co-occur with M.I.b.17. and M.I.b.19. with the sequence of movements reversed. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with right hand below left and fingers in F₂, right palm faces up, P₂, while left palm faces backwards, P₂;
2) right hand circles in front of, over and behind the left with a rotation of the lower arm, R₁, bringing the right palm facing to P₁.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.4. Morphokine M.I.a.4.](image)

In M.I.a.3. and M.I.a.4. the pins ' | ', ' | ', ' | ', and ' \perp ', show the relation of the hands to each other. 'In front of' is designated by ' \perp '; ' | ' designates 'in back of'; ' \perp ' designates 'on top of'; and ' \perp ' designates 'below'.
M.I.a.5. is similar to M.I.a.3. but differs in that both palms face the chest (thus it is not necessary to rotate the lower arm to get the hands to the new position) and the fingers are not flexed. It co-occurs with $A_{10}$ and $A_{11}$ which function as M.I.b. morphokines in this level of analysis. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in $F_2$, palms face the chest, with right hand in back of (that is, closer to the chest) left hand,

2) right hand circles over and in front of left hand, bringing left hand closer to chest (the left hand also moves slightly but the emphasis is on the movement of the right hand).

In Labanotation:

![Labanotation Diagram]

Figure 5.5. Morphokine M.I.a.5.
M.I.a.6. is the same as M.I.a.5. except that the fingers are fully flexed to form a fist. It co-occurs with $A_{10}$ and $A_{11}$ which function as M.I.b. morphokines. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in kineme $F_4$, palms face the chest with right hand in back of (that is, closer to the chest) left hand,

2) right fist circles over and in front of left fist, bringing left fist closer to the chest (left fist also moves slightly but the emphasis is on the movement of right fist).

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.6. Morphokine M.I.a.6.](image-url)
M.I.a.7. is a circling of the hands around each other with palms facing forward, and is sometimes called teki. It co-occurs with A_{14} facing forward or with the rotation of the torso, M.IV.2. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_{2} and both palms facing forward, arms form a circle with left hand above right,

2) right hand circles behind left hand until right hand is above left hand and fingers extend to F_{1} (usually on the beat),

3) fingers relax to F_{2} and left hand circles behind right hand until left hand is above right hand and fingers extend to F_{1}.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.7. Morphokine M.I.a.7.
M.I.a.8. is called ha'ota. It begins in the same way as M.I.a.3. and co-occurs with M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., or M.I.b.19. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in $F_2$, palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, $P_2$, right palm facing forward, $P_1$ (in actual performance the palms do not really face each other squarely at the beginning, but the right palm is nearly above the left),

2) right hand circles over, and in front of left with a rotation of the lower arm, $R_1$ (this results in both palms facing the chest, $P_2$, left hand closer to the body and right hand directly in front of it),

3) hands are pulled away from each other by flexing the wrists and slightly opening the arms to the side.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.8. Morphokine M.I.a.8.
Note that in M.I.a.8. arm positions were included in the Labanotation although they are not part of the morphokine, because it is impossible to convey an idea of M.I.a.8. without including an arm position. This will also be necessary in several of the succeeding morphokines.

M.I.a.9. is similar to M.I.a.8. except that when the hands pull away from each other palms face forward. This is accomplished by adding another rotation of the lower arm, $R_1$. M.I.a.9. is performed in M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., or M.I.b.19. with the addition of a forward palm facing, $P_1$. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in $F_2$ palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, $P_2$, right palm facing forward, $P_1$ (in actual performance the palms do not really face each other squarely at the beginning, but the right palm is nearly above the left),

2) right hand circles, over, and in front of left with a rotation of the lower arm, $R_1$ (this results in both palms facing the chest, $P_2$, left hand closer to the body and right hand directly in front of it),

3) both lower arms rotate, $R_1$, so that palms face forward, $P_1$, and wrists extend to $W_1$,

4) hands are pulled away from each other by slightly opening the lower arms to the sides.
In Labanotation:

Figure 5.9. Morphokine M.I.a.9.

Both M.I.a.9. and M.I.a.8. have the same duration, so the rapid lower arm rotation and quick wrist flexion makes M.I.a.9. look less graceful than M.I.a.8. Sometimes M.I.a.9. will be performed by men while women are performing M.I.a.8. giving the men's movement a more forceful character. Women also do M.I.a.9. in the dance types *tafi*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, and *tau'olunga*. In *tafi* and *ma'ulu'ulu* men and women do the same movements, and in *tau'olunga* all movements may be done by both sexes.
M.I.a.10. begins the same as M.I.a.3. and M.I.a.8. and is called kako. In M.I.a.10. the right hand completes a full circle around the left hand (or the left hand around the right hand) with the right palm always facing the left hand. This is accomplished by lower arm rotation and flexion and extension of the wrist. It co-occurs with A₉ or A₁₂ which function as M.I.b. morphokines. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F₂, palms face each other to the sides, P₅;
left lower arm is vertical, for example in A₉,

2) right hand with fingers leading circles around left hand by rotation of the lower arm, R₁,

3) the circle is completed as right wrist extends backward, W₁,
and right arm drops (during 2 and 3 the left wrist is bent forward to accommodate the circling of the right hand),

4) right palm which now faces left lower arm, continues past the arm to the open space formed by the 45° angle of the vertical left lower arm,

5) immediately on reaching the open space, fingers of both hands extend to F₁ with an accent.
In Labanotation:

M.I.a.11. is similar to M.I.a.10. except that the right arm makes only a three-quarter circle so that when the fingers extend the left arm is closer to the chest than the right. It co-occurs with A_9 or A_{12}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_2, palms face each other to the sides, P_5; left lower arm is vertical, for example in A_9,

2) with fingers leading, right hand circles around the left hand with a rotation of the lower arm, R_1, until the left hand is closer to the body,

3) right wrist extends backward, W_1, and right arm drops down,

4) as the arm drops down the right hand is in front and to the left of the left lower arm,
5) immediately on reaching this position, fingers of both hands extend to $F_1$ with an accent.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.11. Morphokine M.I.a.11.

M.I.a.12. is similar to M.I.a.10. except that fingers are fully bent to form a fist, $F_4$. It co-occurs with $A_9$ or $A_{12}$. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in $F_4$, palms face each other to the sides, $F_5$; left lower arm is vertical, for example in $A_9$,

2) right fist circles around left fist with a rotation of the lower arm, $R_1$,
3) the circle is completed by the right fist, which now has its back
to left palm, continuing past the arm to the open space formed
by the $45^\circ$ angle of the vertical left lower arm,

4) right wrist extends backward, $W_1$, right arm drops down, and left
wrist extends backward, $W_1$,

5-8) 1 to 4 in the sequence above are reversed—that is, 4,3,2,1,—
so that right hand circles left hand in the opposite direction.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5.12. Morphokine M.I.a.12.
M.I.a.13. usually follows after an upbeat identical to the upbeat in M.I.a.1 or follows after M.I.a.1. It co-occurs with M.I.b.20., M.I.b.21., or A9. This morphokine is the essence of a motif called toli and has the narrative meaning of 'to pick.' The sequence of kinemes is:

1) starting from a relaxed or normal position the wrist bends forward, W2, and fingers extend to F7,

2) the wrist, with a definite pulse, extends to W1, and fingers flex to F3.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.13. Morphokine M.I.a.13.
M.I.a.14. uses the same wrist movement as M.I.a.13. but the fists are clenched. It is usually performed with both hands at the same time, one on top of the other, co-occurring with A_{10} and A_{11}, or half way between as arms alternate between A_{10} and A_{11}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in F_4 the wrist bends to W_2,
2) wrist then extends to a fully extended position, W_1.

In Labanotation:

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Figure 5.14. Morphokine M.I.a.14.

M.I.a.15. consists of moving the lower arms in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with M.I.b.22. or M.I.b.24. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers extended in P_1 palms face opposite directions (either P_1 and P_2, or P_3 and P_4); arms are moved in the directions of the palm facings,
2) lower arms rotate, R_1, so that palms face in opposite directions from where they started,
3) arms are moved in the directions of palm facings.
In Labanotation:

Figure 5.15. Morphokine M.I.a.15.
M.I.a.16 is similar to M.I.a.15 except that the hands move slightly from side to side and together rather than in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with A_{10}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right palm faces up, $P_3$, left palm faces down, $P_4$, fingers are in a slightly bent position, $F_2$,

2) lower arms rotate and move to the left, fingers extend to $F_1$,

3) lower arms rotate, $R_1$, and fingers relax to $F_2$,

4) lower arms move to the right, fingers extend to $F_1$.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.16. Morphokine M.I.a.16.](image-url)
M.I.a.17. is similar to M.I.a.15. except that the hands both face forward. It usually co-occurs with M.I.b.23. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in $F_1$, both palms facing forward, right lower arm moves forward and left lower arm backward,
2) left lower arm moves forward and right lower arm backward.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.17. Morphokine M.I.a.17.](image-url)
M.I.a.18. is the essence of a motif called tui and involves rubbing or brushing the backs of the hands together and rotation of the lower arms. It co-occurs with M.I.b.30. or M.I.b.31. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in $F_1$ and palms facing in opposite directions (for example, left hand facing backward and right hand facing forward), the backs of the hands are brushed together, $T_2$, by moving one upward (or forward) and the other hand downward (or backward),

2) both lower arms rotate, $R_1$, so that the palms are facing in the opposite direction from which they started and the backs of the hands touch each other,

3) backs of the hands brush together, $T_2$, by moving one hand forward (the opposite one that moved forward previously) or up and the other hand backward or down.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.18. Morphokine M.I.a.18.
M.I.a.19. is a combination of M.I.a.1 and M.I.a.18. M.I.a.19. differs from M.I.a.18. in that the palms both face in the same direction at the same time and the fingers curl as the lower arms rotate as in M.I.a.1. It co-occurs with M.I.b.30. with the change of palms both facing up or down at the same time. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with palms facing upward, $P_3$, and arms crossed right over left at wrist, the fingers from position $F_1$ begin to bend,

2) when the fingers are almost to $F_3$, lower arm begins to rotate, $R_1$, and fingers complete their flexion to $F_3$,

3) immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation, the fingers open to $F_1$, and palms face down, $P_4$,

4) right arm moves forward and left arm moves backward brushing little fingers, $T_2$,

5) lower arm rotates in the opposite direction, $R_1$, bringing palm facings back to the position in which they began, $P_3$,

M.I.a.19. stands in the same relation to M.I.a.18. as M.I.a.9. stands in relation to M.I.a.8.—that is, both pairs differ from each other in that the essence of M.I.a.1. is added to the basic movement.
In Labanotation:

Figure 5.19. Morphokine M.I.a.19.
M.I.a.20. derives its character from the extension and flexion of the wrist. It usually co-occurs with M.I.b.29. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) starting from a relaxed or normal position for the wrist and fingers in $F_7$,

2) wrist bends forward, $W_2$, fingers flex to $F_8$,

3) wrist extends backward to $W_1$, fingers extend to $F_7$.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.20. Morphokine M.I.a.20.
M.I.a.21. combines the wrist flexion of M.I.a.20. with finger positions $F_1$ and $F_2$. When this movement is performed with both hands in M.I.b.28. it is sometimes called tene. The movement is also performed with one hand alone in arm position $A_{14}$. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with fingers in $F_1$ and wrist in normal position,
2) fingers flex to $F_2$ (actually this is a flexion of the palm) and wrist extends slightly to $W_1$,
3) fingers extend to $F_1$ (by an extension of the palm) and wrist returns to normal.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.21. Morphokine M.I.a.21.](image)
M.I.a.22. is a half rotation of either lower arm with the fist clenched. It is usually performed in A_{12} or A_{13}. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in F_4, palm faces forward, P_1,
2) lower arm rotates quickly one half turn clockwise (for the right arm), which inverts the palm facing to P_2.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.22. Morphokine M.I.a.22.
M.I.a.23. is a half rotation of the lower arm in the opposite
direction from M.I.a.22. with the fingers extended. It is usually
performed in A_8 or A_15. The sequence of kinemes is:
1) fingers extended in F_1, palm facing backward, P_2;
2) lower arm rotates with an accent.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.23. Morphokine M.I.a.23.
M.I.a.24. is a side movement of the arm with the elbow leading. It co-occurs with $A_{11}$ or $A_{14}$. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers are fully flexed, $F_{4}$, palm faces down, $P_{4}$ (arm in $A_{14}$ for example),

2) elbow extends with an accent by a quick side arm extension.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.24. Morphokine M.I.a.24.](image)

M.I.a.25. is a snapping of the fingers. This is called *fisipa* in Tongan. While the fingers are snapping, $T_{2}$, the lower arm is usually rotated, $R_{1}$. It usually co-occurs with $A_{8}$ or $A_{9}$.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.25. Morphokine M.I.a.25.](image)
M.I.a.26. is a morphokine in which the hands brush each other. It usually occurs moving either forward or backward from $A_{10}-A_{11}$, or half-way between as arms alternate between $A_{10}$ and $A_{11}$. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in $F_1$, palms face each other to the sides, $P_5$,
2) hands brush together, $T_2$, starting with the fingertips of the right hand at the heel of the left hand, and ending with the fingertips of the left hand at the heel of the right hand.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.26. Morphokine M.I.a.26.](image)
M.I.a.27. is similar to M.I.a.26. Here the little finger of one hand which begins facing $P_2$, brushes, $T_2$, the other palm which is in $P_3$, by moving to face $P_5$ and returns to $P_2$. The movement involved is an extension of the wrist, $W_2$, which changes the palm facing. It usually occurs in $A_{10}$-$A_{11}$ or half way between as arms alternate between $A_{10}$ and $A_{11}$.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram of M.I.a.27.](image)

Figure 5.27. Morphokine M.I.a.27.
There are three types of clapping used in Tongan dance. They will be noted here as three separate morphokines, because each has a different 'meaning', which is mainly based on the sound made by the clap. Each can be performed in several different M.I.b. environments, its most usual one is $A_{13}$.

M.I.a.28. is a clap called *pasi*. The palms are flat and hit each other equally in a more or less vertical position. The sound made is a sharp one—that is, high pitched. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) in finger position $F_1$ and palm position $P_5$;
2) hands hit each other, $T_1$, with an accent.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.28. Morphokine M.I.a.28.
M.I.a.28.a. is a variation of pasi, M.I.a.28., that opens the hands so the palms face forward. It usually co-occurs with \( A_{13} \).

The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in \( F_1 \), palms in \( P_5 \), hit each other, \( T_1 \),

2) hands open forward by rotating the lower arms, \( R_1 \), so that palms face forward.

In Labanotation:

[Diagram of Labanotation]

Figure 5.29. Morphokine M.I.a.28.a.
M.I.a.29. is a clap called fu. In this clap the hands hit each other diagonally and the fingers are slightly bent. The sound is a hollow one—that is, low pitched. It co-occurs with $A_{13}$, $A_{8}-A_{12}$, $A_{10}-A_{11}$, or M.I.b.25. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left palm faces backward, $P_2$, right hand faces forward, $P_1$, fingers in $F_2$,

2) hands hit each other, $T_1$, with an accent.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5.30. Morphokine M.I.a.29.
M.I.a.30. is a clapping movement in which the back of the hand hits the other open palm. It co-occurs with $A_{13}$ or $A_{9}-A_{12}$. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand in $F_4$, left in $F_2$, palms both face backward, $P_2$, right hand behind left (that is, closer to the chest),

2) back of right hand hits palm of left hand.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5.31. Morphokine M.I.a.30.
M.I.a.30.a. is a variation of M.I.a.30. I have seen it used in only one dance and it is performed in this way because of its context. In this variation the right hand is upside down from that in M.I.a.30. when it hits the left palm. This is because it is a very rapid movement and a surprise ending to a sitting dance. In the movement just previous to it the right palm hits the floor in front of the dancer. The right hand is picked up and M.I.a.30.a. is performed in $A_3$, and finally the index finger of the right hand is pointed forcefully at the audience. The variation is performed because the hand is already in the appropriate position and it is a movement that is not usual and thus fitting for a surprise ending. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in $F_2$, wrist of right hand is flexed downward, $W_2$,
2) back of right hand hits the palm of left hand with an accent.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.32. Morphokine M.I.a.30.a.
The morphokines so far presented can be performed in a number of arm position 'environments.' The arm position was not part of the morphokine since the definition of a morphokine was that it could not be divided without changing or destroying the meaning. Thus, the arm positions constitute separate morphokines that co-occur with the morphokines of group M.I.a. The morphokine that can occur in the largest number of environments is M.I.a.1 which occurs with M.I.b.1 to M.I.b.16.

In group M.I.b. palm facing helps indicate position of the arm at the beginning and end of each movement and at the point within the morphokine where changes occur. Arm position, A, and palm facing, P, taken together define this group of morphokines, M.I.b. If only an arm position is required by a M.I.a. morphokine to complete a movement, a kineme notation can be used. In such case, however, the kineme functions in the same way as a M.I.b. morphokine.

This group of position morphokines is not equal in importance to group M.I.a. Perhaps we can liken the M.I.b. morphokines to the tone of voice in speech. This group of morphokines can also be compared to what is called 'analogous morphemes' in a morphemic speech analysis, which are derived "by separating various meaningful morphemes and leaving a small residue which can then be best handled as analogous morphemes" (Pike 1947, p. 242). Thus we can call group M.I.b.
analogous morphokines to convey the idea that they may not be meaningful in themselves.

Many morphokines of group M.I.b. alternate only palm facing while arm position remains the same. These constitute the usual environments of M.I.a.l. and together comprise the most important group of movements in Tongan dance. Others change both arm position and palm facing.

M.I.b.l. is arm extended forward in middle level, A₁; with palm facing alternating between up, P₃, and down, P₄. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

Figure 5.33. Morphokine M.I.b.l.
M.I.b.2. is arm extended forward between middle and high level, $A_2$; with palm facing alternating between up, $P_3$, and down, $P_4$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

Figure 5.34. Morphokine M.I.b.2.

M.I.b.3. is arm forward in low level, $A_3$; with palm facing alternating between up, $P_3$, and down, $P_4$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

Figure 5.35. Morphokine M.I.b.3.
M.I.b.\textsubscript{4} is arm in place low, \( A_4 \), that is, slightly bent at the side of the body; with palm facing alternating between up, \( P_3 \), and down, \( P_4 \). It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

![Figure 5.36. Morphokine M.I.b.\textsubscript{4}.](image)

M.I.b.\textsubscript{5} is arm in side middle, at shoulder level, \( A_5 \), with palm facing alternating between up, \( P_3 \), and down, \( P_4 \). It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

![Figure 5.37. Morphokine M.I.b.\textsubscript{5}.](image)
M.I.b.6. is arm in side high, raised from shoulder level, $A_6$; with palm facing alternating between up, $P_3$, and down, $P_4$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

M.I.b.7. is arm in side low, $A_7$; with palm facing alternating between up, $P_3$, and down, $P_4$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.
M.I.b.8. is arm bent forward at 90°, A₉; with palm facing alternating between backward, P₂, and forward, P₁. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

Figure 5.40. Morphokine M.I.b.8.

M.I.b.9. is arm bent forward so that the lower arm is almost vertical, A₉; with palm facing alternating between backward, P₂, and forward, P₁. It co-occurs with M.I.a.l.

Figure 5.41. Morphokine M.I.b.9.
M.I.b.10. is arm bent at 90° with upper arm straight down and lower arm straight forward, A_10; with palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It occurs with M.I.a.1. and M.I.a.2.

Figure 5.42. Morphokine M.I.b.10.

M.I.b.11. is arm bent with upper arm down and slightly forward and lower arm sideways at about waist level, A_11; with the palm facing alternating between up, P_3, and down, P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1. or M.I.a.2.

Figure 5.43. Morphokine M.I.b.11.
M.I.b.12. is arm bent with upper arm down and slightly forward and lower arm crossed diagonally across the chest, $A_{12}$, with the palm facing alternating between up, $P_3$, and down, $P_4$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

Figure 5.44. Morphokine M.I.b.12.

M.I.b.13. begins in $A_{12}$ with palm facing backward, $P_2$; and moves to $A_9$ with palm facing forward, $P_1$. This can also be performed beginning in $A_9$-$P_2$ and ending in $A_{12}$-$P_1$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

Figure 5.45. Morphokine M.I.b.13.
M.I.b.14. begins in $A_{12}$ with palm facing backward, $P_2$; and moves through $A_{15}$ with palm facing forward, $P_1$; and finally ends in $A_9$, the palm remaining forward. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

Figure 5.46. Morphokine M.I.b.14.

M.I.b.15. begins in $A_{12}$ with palm facing backward, $P_2$; and moves to $A_1$, with palm facing forward, $P_1$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1.

Figure 5.47. Morphokine M.I.b.15.
M.I.b.16. begins in $A_2$, with palm facing backward, $P_2$; and moves to $A_1$ with palm facing forward, $P_1$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.1 or M.I.a.2.

Figure 5.48. Morphokine M.I.b.16.

M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. are three environments used for a performance of M.I.a. morphokines in two or three positions—that is, left side, forward, or right side. There are a number of variants due to allo-kine variation. The variant given here in Labanotation is the one most commonly used because it is the usual environment of ha'ota, M.I.a.8. When the similar morphokine, M.I.a.9., is performed in the above environments, another change in palm facing is required for both lower arms.

M.I.b.17. is the environment for the left side of the body. The left arm is in $A_{10}$ with palm facing sideward. At the same time the right arm in $A_{11}$ changes the palm facing from $P_5$ facing left to $P_5$ facing right. Following this, etically the right arm moves
between two allo-kines of $A_{11}$ (emically it does not move, the movement being that of the nima, M.I.a. morphokine). It co-occurs with M.I.a.8., M.I.a.3., M.I.a.4., or M.I.a.9. with an additional change of palm facing.

Figure 5.49. Morphokine M.I.b.17.

M.I.b.18. is the environment for performing in front of the body. Etically both arms move between two allo-kines of $A_{11}$. The left palm remains facing backward, $P_2$; while the right palm moves from forward, $P_1$, to backward, $P_2$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.8., M.I.a.3., M.I.a.4., or M.I.a.9. with an additional change of palm facing.

Figure 5.50. Morphokine M.I.b.18.
M.I.b.19. is the environment for performing on the right side of the body. The left arm is held in $A_{11}$ with palm facing backward, $P_2$. Right arm in $A_{10}$ changes the palm facing from forward, $P_1$, to backward, $P_2$. Etically the right arm moves between two allo-kines of $A_{10}$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.8., M.I.a.3., M.I.a.4., or M.I.a.9. with an additional change of palm facing.

Figure 5.51. Morphokine M.I.b.19.

M.I.b.20. begins with arm in forward low, $A_3$; with palm facing changing from backward, $P_2$, to down, $P_4$. The arm then moves to side low, $A_7$; with palm facing changing from side, $P_5$, to down, $P_4$. (This can also be performed from $A_7$, $P_5$-$P_4$ to $A_3$, $P_2$-$P_4$.) It co-occurs with M.I.a.13.

Figure 5.52. Morphokine M.I.b.20.
M.I.b.21. is arm extended forward in middle level, A₁; with palm facing alternating between down, P₄, and forward, P₁. It co-occurs with M.I.a.13.

M.I.b.22. begins in A₉ and alternates between A₉ and A₈; with palm facing alternating between P₁ and P₂. It co-occurs with M.I.a.15.
M.I.b.23. alternates between arm positions $A_3$ and $A_9$; with palm facing remaining in $P_1$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.17.

Figure 5.55. Morphokine M.I.b.23.

M.I.b.24. alternates between arm positions $A_8$ and $A_{10}$; with palm facing alternating between $P_4$ and $P_3$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.15.

Figure 5.56. Morphokine M.I.b.24.
M.I.b.25. alternates the right palm facing between $P_3$ and $P_4$, while both arms remain in $A_{13}$. (This can also be performed alternating the palm facing between $P_1$ and $P_2$.) It co-occurs with M.I.a.29.

Figure 5.57. Morphokine M.I.b.25.

M.I.b.26. begins with arm in $A_{11}$ and palm facing $P_2$ and moves to $A_8$ with palm facing $P_1$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.2.

Figure 5.58. Morphokine M.I.b.26.
M.I.b.27. begins with arm in $A_9$ with palm facing $P_2$ and moves to $A_8$ with palm facing $P_1$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.2.

M.I.b.28. consists of one arm beginning in $A_{10}$ with palm facing $P_5$ and moving to $A_{11}$ with palm facing $P_2$; while the other arm, with palm facing $P_4$, moves from $A_{11}$ to $A_{10}$. It co-occurs with M.I.a.21.
M.I.b.29. begins in A_9 with palm facing P_5 and moves to A_{12} with palm facing P_4. It co-occurs with M.I.a.20.

M.I.b.30. consists of one arm moving forward from A_{10} with palm facing P_3; while other arm beginning slightly forward from A_{10} moves to A_{10} with palm facing P_4; the palm facings are then inverted (by a rotation of the lower arm from the M.I.a. morphokine) and the movement is repeated symmetrically opposite. It co-occurs with M.I.a.18. It may also co-occur with M.I.a.19. in which case palms both face up or down at the same time.
M.I.b.31. consists of one arm moving upward from $A_{13}$ with palm facing $P_2$; while the other arm, beginning slightly higher than $A_{13}$ moves to $A_{13}$ with palm facing $P_1$; the palm facings are then inverted (by a rotation of the lower arm from the M.I.a. morphokine) and the movement is repeated symmetrically opposite. It co-occurs with M.I.a.18.

Figure 5.63. Morphokine M.I.b.31.

Morphokines of Group M.I.c.

The morphokines of group M.I.a. are movements that are used frequently and can be performed in a number of arm position environments which form group M.I.b. The M.I.c. group of morphokines includes the arm position environment as an integral part of the morphokine. This group includes some elements of the M.I.a. and M.I.b. morphokine groups. However, here they are joined in such a way that to separate them would destroy their meanings.
M.I.c.l. consists of the palm of one hand hitting the elbow end of the opposite lower arm. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand in $F_2$ and left hand in $F_4$, right arm in $A_{11}$, left arm in $A_9$;

2) palm of right hand hits, $T_1$, left lower arm at elbow end,

3) fingers of right hand close to $F_4$ and fingers of left hand open to $F_2$, right arm moves to $A_9$, left arm moves to $A_{11}$,

4) palm of left hand hits, $T_1$, right lower arm at elbow end.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.64. Morphokine M.I.c.l.
M.I.c.2. consists of touching the index finger to the inside of the opposite elbow. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers of both hands in $F_6$, palms in $P_2$, left arm in $A_9$, right arm in $A_{11}$,

2) index finger of right hand touches, $T_1$, left elbow and left lower arm rotates, $R_1$, until palm faces $P_1$,

3) palm facing returns to $P_2$, with a rotation of lower arm, $R_1$,

4) fingers remain in $F_6$, palms again in $P_2$, right arm moves to $A_9$, left arm moves to $A_{11}$,

5) index finger of left hand touches, $T_1$, right elbow and right lower arm rotates, until palm faces forward, $P_1$.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.65. Morphokine M.I.c.2.
M.I.c.3. consists of the fingertips of one hand touching the other arm. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm extended, $A_1$, palms face down, $P_4$, fingers in $F_1$, right lower arm horizontal in front of chest, $A_{14}$,
2) fingertips of right hand touch, $T_1$, inner side of left arm at elbow,
3) right arm extends to $A_1$, left arm flexes to $A_{14}$, palms face down, $P_4$, fingers in $F_1$,
4) fingertips of left hand touch, $T_1$, inner side of left arm at elbow.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.66. Morphokine M.I.c.3.](image-url)
M.I.c.⁴ consists of touching the tips of the thumbs to the chest.

The sequence of kinemes is:

1) tips of thumbs touch the chest, T₁, one above the other, with arms in A₁³ and fingers F⁵,
2) hands alternate so that the second time the thumb tips touch the chest the other one is on top.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.67. Morphokine M.I.c.⁴.
M.I.c.5. consists of touching the fingers of both hands to the chest one above the other. In this and the following touching morphokines \( \frac{\text{\(\text{\(f\)}}}{\text{\(\text{\(f\)}}} \) will designate the first pad of the fingers. This touch may use two, three, or four fingers. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers in \( P_1 \), palms face backward, \( P_2 \), arms in \( A_1 \),
2) fingers are touched, \( T_1 \), to chest one hand above the other,
3) the hands remain in this position but move slightly up and down to keep time.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.68. Morphokine M.I.c.5.
M.I.a.6. consists of touching the tip of the thumb to the chest. One thumb at a time touches first one side of the chest and then the other side. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in $A_{12}$, fingers in $F_5$, thumb tip touches, $T_1$, the left side of the chest,

2) thumb tip then touches, $T_1$, the right side of the chest.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.69. Morphokine M.I.c.6.
M.I.c.7. consists of touching the chest with the tip of one thumb while the other hand is on the hip. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in $A_{12}$, fingers in $F_5$, thumb tip touches, $T_1$, the chest while left hand in $A_{16}$, touches, $T_1$, thumb tip to the left hip,

2) left arm moves to $A_{12}$, fingers in $F_5$, touch, $T_1$, thumb tip to the chest while right arm in $A_{16}$, touches, $T_1$, thumb tip to the right hip.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram of kinemes](image)

Figure 5.70. Morphokine M.I.c.7.
M.I.c.8. consists of touching the palm of one hand to the chest while the other arm is extended forward. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm is extended forward in $A_1$, palm faces down, $P_4$, and fingers in $F_2$; right arm in $A_{13}$, palm faces backward, $P_2$, fingers in $F_1$,

2) right palm touches chest while fingers of left hand extend to $F_1$ on the beat,

3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5.71. Morphokine M.I.c.8.
M.I.c.9. is the same as M.I.c.8. except that the arm is extended to the side rather than forward. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm is extended to the side, \(A_5\), palm faces forward, \(P_1\), fingers in \(F_2\); the right arm in \(A_{13}\), palm facing backward, \(P_2\), fingers in \(F_1\),

2) fingers of right hand touch chest while fingers of left hand extend to \(F_1\) on the beat,

3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.72. Morphokine M.I.c.9.
M.I.a.10. is similar to M.I.a.9. except the fingers are in a position so that the first finger and thumb are extended while the other three fingers are bent, F₆. As in M.I.c.9. the beat occurs at the time that the fingers touch the chest and the other arm is fully extended to the side. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) palm of one hand faces P₂, arm in A₁, fingers in F₆ touch, T₁, the chest; at the same time fingers of the other hand are in F₆, palm faces forward P₁, arm is extended to the side, A₅.

2) movement repeats symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.73. Morphokine M.I.c.10.
M.I.c.11. is similar to M.I.c.10. except that the arms circle instead of going directly from one side to the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in $A_5$, left arm in $A_{11}$, fingers in $F_6$ point to the right side,
2) arms make a complete circle and come back to the original starting position.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.74. Morphokine M.I.c.11.
M.I.c.12. points to the audience with the fingers of both hands, one slightly in front of the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) fingers of both hands in F₆, palms face P₅, arms in A₁₂, so that one hand is slightly in front of the other,

2) point to the audience.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5.75. Morphokine M.I.c.12.
M.I.c.13. marks the beat with the index fingers while the remaining fingers are folded. The sequence of sinemes is:

1) both hands in $\text{F}_6$ interlock the three flexed fingers (this results in the last three fingers being folded and the index fingers and thumbs being extended),

2) the folded hands move to the front of left shoulder and move slightly forward to mark the beat,

3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:
M.I.c.14. consists of extending one arm to the side and then bending it inward to touch the back of the other hand. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm in $A_5$, with palm facing forward, $P_1$; right arm is flexed in $A_{12}$; fingers of both hands in $F_2$ extend to $F_1$ on the beat,
2) left arm bends to $A_{12}$, palm facing forward, $P_1$, and touches, $T_1$, the back of right hand,
3-4) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.77. Morphokine M.I.c.14.](image-url)
M.I.c.15. is a morphokine in which the arms extend from side to side. This movement often has the narrative meaning 'from here to there.' The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm in A₅, palm faces forward, P₁; right lower arm is horizontal at chest level, A₁₄, palm faces forward, P₁; fingers of both hands extend from F₂ to F₁ on the beat,

2) movement repeats symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.78. Morphokine M.I.c.15.
M.I.c.16. is the fingers of one hand alternating between touching the elbow and the back of the hand of the other nima. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left lower arm in vertical position, $A_9$, palm faces backward, $P_2$, fingers in $F_2$; right lower arm in horizontal position, $A_{11}$, palm facing backward, $P_2$, fingers in $F_2$,

2) fingers extend to $F_1$ and fingertips of right hand touch the left elbow,

3) left arm moves to $A_{11}$, lower arm rotates, $R_1$, palm faces down, $P_4$; right lower arm rotates, $R_1$, so palm faces down, $P_4$,

4) fingers of right hand touch the back of left hand,

5-8) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.79. Morphokine M.I.c.16.
M.I.c.17. is a touching morphokine in which both lower arms rotate. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) arms in $A_{\parallel}$ are crossed in front of the waist, wrists are slightly flexed, $W_2$, palms face backward, $P_2$; second finger (big finger) of each hand touches, $T_1$, the underside of the lower arm about midway,

2) lower arms rotate, $R_1$; palms face forward, $P_1$ (the second fingers have not moved and thus are now on the upper side of the lower arm).

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.80. Morphokine M.I.c.17.
M.I.c.18. is arm in a forward low position, $A_3$, with palm facing down, $P_4$. While the arm is held this way the dancer walks in a circle.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.81. Morphokine M.I.c.18.

M.I.c.19. describes an arc with the hands. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) both arms in $A_{15}$, with palms facing forward, $P_1$, fingers in $F_2$,

2) arms move slightly to the left, down, right, and up, i.e. .

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.82. Morphokine M.I.c.19.
M.I.c.20. consists of moving the arms from side to side at waist level across the front of the body, ending with one palm perpendicular on top of the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right arm in $A_{10}$ moves to $A_{11}$ while palm facing changes from side, $P_3$, to back, $P_2$,

2) left arm in $A_{10}$ moves to $A_{11}$ while palm facing changes from side, $P_3$, to back, $P_2$; at the same time right arm moves back to $A_{10}$,

3) left hand stops by resting perpendicularly (that is, on its edge) on top of right hand and at a right angle to it.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.83. Morphokine M.I.c.20.](image)
M.I.c.21. is called *palu* and is a stylization of squeezing kava with water while it is being prepared. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) palms, facing each other to the sides, $P_5$, are related quite close to each other, right slightly behind left, fingers in $F_1$,
2) right hand moves forward and left backward,
3) both wrists fully flex to $W_2$ until palms both face backward;
4) fingers flex to $F_3$,
5) fingers extend to $F_1$,
6) wrists move back to normal,
7-12) movements repeat symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.84. Morphokine M.I.c.21.
M.I.c.22. is a movement that depicts the arm motions used in the ceremonial mixing of kava. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) both arms begin in $A_{14}$, palms face forward, $P_1$,
2) right hand moves along outside of left arm from hand to elbow (not touching it),
3) back of right hand touches, $T_1$, the outside of left elbow, then by a rotation of the lower arm, $R_1$, it touches, $T_1$, the inner side of lower arm at elbow,
4) with palm now facing backward, $P_2$, the right hand moves along the inside of left arm and continues out to right side high, $A_{15}$, until palm faces to the left side, $P_5$,
5) lower arm rotates so the palm faces the opposite direction, i.e., to side right, $P_5$,
6) right hand returns along the same path (palm begins facing side right, and curves until it faces forward) to the inside of left arm as far as elbow,
7) right palm touches, $T_1$, inside of elbow, lower arm rotates, $R_1$, and right hand touches, $T_1$, inside of elbow with back of fingers,
8) right hand then moves along inside of left arm to just past the hand,
9) right lower arm rotates, $R_1$, so palm faces forward, $P_1$.

This brings the arms back to the starting position ready to begin a second time.
In Labanotation:

Figure 5.85. Morphokine M.I.c.22.
M.I.c.23. involves touching the head. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand, with arm bent upward from the side, $A_{17}$, touches, $T_1$, the top of the head; at the same time left arm extends to the left side, $A_5$, with palm facing up, $P_4$, fingers extend from $F_2$ to $F_1$ (finger extension of left occurs at the same time as right hand touches the head),

2) movement repeats symmetrically opposite,

3) right hand, with arm bent upward from the side, $A_{17}$, touches, $T_1$, the top of the head; at the same time left arm extends forward, $A_1$, palm facing up, $P_4$, fingers extend from $F_2$ to $F_1$,

4) left hand remains in last position; right arm extends forward to $A_1$, and claps the left hand, $T_1$.

In Labanotation:

\[ \begin{align*}
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&c \\
&\text{Figure 5.86. Morphokine M.I.c.23.} 
\end{align*} \]
Morphokines in which the legs are used will be divided into two groups. The first group, which will be abbreviated M.II.a., uses only the legs. The second group, which will be abbreviated M.II.b., uses the legs and the hands together. In this case the hands hit or touch the legs.

Leg Morphokines of Group M.II.a.

The most common leg morphokine in Tongan dance is M.II.a.i. and consists of a side step and a touch in place. The foot is placed diagonally with the toe turned out during the side touches in place. This morphokine is performed by both men and women, however, women take quite small steps that barely leave the floor, while men take larger more forceful ones. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps side left, \( L_4 \),
2) right foot moves side left and touches in place, \( L_{10} \),
3) right foot steps side right, \( L_4 \),
4) left foot moves side right and touches in place, \( L_{10} \).

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.87. Morphokine M.II.a.i.](image)
M.II.a.2. is similar to M.II.a.1. except that another side step is added. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps side left, $S_4$,
2) right foot steps side left to place, $L_3$,
3) left foot steps side left, $L_4$,
4) right foot moves side left and touches in place, $L_{10}$,
5) right foot steps side right, $L_4$,
6) left foot steps side right to place, $L_3$,
7) right foot steps side right, $L_4$,
8) left foot moves side right and touches in place, $L_{10}$.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.88. Morphokine M.II.a.2.
M.II.a.2.a. is a variant of M.II.a.2. and differs only in that the touch in place is in front of the opposite foot in M.II.a.2.a.

The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps side left, $L_4$,
2) right foot steps side left, to place, $L_3$,
3) left foot steps side left, $L_4$,
4) right foot crosses in front of left foot and touches the toe to the left and front of it, $L_{10}$,
5) right foot steps side left, $L_4$,
6) left foot steps side right, to place, $L_3$,
7) right foot steps side left, $L_4$,
8) left foot crosses in front of right foot and touches the toe to the right and front of it, $L_{10}$.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.89. Morphokine M.II.a.2.a.
M.II.a.3. moves forward and back. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps forward, \( L_1 \),
2) right foot moves forward and touches in place, \( L_3 \),
3) right foot steps forward, \( L_1 \),
4) left foot moves forward and touches in place, \( L_3 \),
5) left foot steps backward, \( L_2 \),
6) right foot moves back and touches in place, \( L_3 \),
7) right foot steps backwards, \( L_2 \),
8) left foot moves back and touches in place, \( L_3 \).

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.90. Morphokine M.II.a.3.
M.II.a.4. moves forward in consecutive steps. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps forward, $L_1$,
2) right foot steps forward, $L_1$,
3) left foot steps forward to place, $L_3$.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram 1](image1)

Figure 5.91. Morphokine M.II.a.4.

This may also be done with one forward step, $L_1$, and a second forward step to place, $L_3$. This variant will be designated M.II.a.4.a.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram 2](image2)

Figure 5.92. Morphokine M.II.a.4.a.
M.II.a.5. is a succession of backward steps. The sequence of
kinemes is:
1) left foot steps backward, $L_2$,
2) right foot steps backward, $L_2$,
3) left foot steps backward to
   place, $L_3$.
In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.93. Morphokine M.II.a.5.](image)

This may also be done with one backward step, $L_2$, and a second backward
step to place, $L_3$. This variant will be designated M.II.a.5.a.
In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.94. Morphokine M.II.a.5.a.](image)
M.II.a.6. is simply a stepping in place. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps in place, L$_3$,
2) right foot steps in place, L$_3$.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.95. Morphokine M.II.a.6.](image)

M.II.a.7. is a knee flexion that moves the body down and up. The only kineme involved is L$_6$.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.96. Morphokine M.II.a.7.](image)
M.II.a.8. consists of jumps with both feet forward, backward, sideward, or in place. The variations are the same as those of kineme L₅.

M.II.a.8.a. consists of a jump forward or a jump backward.

In Labanotation:

M.II.a.8.b. consists of side jumps. M.II.a.8.c. consists of a jump in place. In Labanotation:
M.II.a.9. consists of small steps while moving in a circle. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps, $L_7$,
2) right foot steps in place, $L_3$, parallel to left foot,
3-etc.) 1 and 2 repeat until circle is completed.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.100. Morphokine M.II.a.9.

M.II.a.9.a. is a variant of M.II.a.9. In this case the circle is completed with only two steps with each foot.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.101. Morphokine M.II.a.9.a.
M.II.a.10. is used mainly to mark time when there are no other foot movements. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) with feet in a position with toes slightly turned out, the heels move outward, L₉,
2) heels then move inward, L₉.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.102. Morphokine M.II.a.10.

M.II.a.11. consists of a step and a quick flex of the knee, L₉.
The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left foot steps forward, L₁,
2) right knee flexes quickly, L₉,
3) right foot steps forward, L₁,
4) left knee flexes quickly, L₉.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.103. Morphokine M.II.a.11.
M.II.a.12. is a turn on one foot combined with a touch of the other. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps slightly forward, \( L_7 \),
2) right foot touches in front of left foot and parallel to it,
\( L_{10} \),
3) right foot touches to the right side of the left at 90° angle to it, \( L_{10} \),
4) body turns one-half turn right and right foot steps slightly forward, \( L_7 \),
5) left foot touches in front of right foot and parallel to it,
\( L_{10} \),
6) right foot touches to the right side, \( L_{10} \).

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.104. Morphokine M.II.a.12.
M.II.a.13. is a turn to the side combined with two steps in place. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps slightly forward, $L_7$,
2) right foot steps in place, $L_3$,
3) left foot steps in place, $L_3$,
4) body turns one-half turn right and right foot steps slightly forward, $L_7$,
5) left foot steps in place, $L_3$,
6) right foot steps in place, $L_3$.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.105. Morphokine M.II.a.13.
M.II.a.14. is a turn combined with a bend of the knees. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) body turns one-quarter turn left and left foot steps slightly forward, Lω,
2) right foot touches in place, L₁₀,
3) both knees flex and extend, L₆,
4) body turns one-half turn right and right foot steps slightly forward, Lω,
5) left foot touches in place, L₁₀,
6) both knees flex and extend, L₆.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.106. Morphokine M.II.a.14.

M.II.a.15. is the cross-legged sitting position, L₁₁. While in this position the foot of the leg that is crosses in front of the other leg is usually moved up and down to mark time. This position is called tangutu fakataane, 'sit in the manner of a man.'

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.107. Morphokine M.II.a.15.
Leg Morphokines of Group M.II.b.

M.II.b. morphokines combine hand movements and leg movements. At some point in the morphokine the hand touches the leg.

M.II.b.1. consists of the palm, with fingers in F^, hitting the knee while in the cross-legged sitting position, L^.

In Labanotation:

In Figure 5.108, Morphokine M.II.b.1.

M.II.b.2. consists of both palms, with fingers in F_1, hitting the knees while in the cross-legged sitting position, L_1. This is called ha'aki.

In Labanotation:

In Figure 5.109, Morphokine M.II.b.2.
M.II.b.3. consists of the hands hitting the thighs alternately while walking forward. This is often done in groups of three—usually left, right, left.

In Labanotation:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure5_110}
\caption{Morphokine M.II.b.3.}
\end{figure}

M.II.b.4. combines a brush of the hands with a touch of the thigh. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) left arm in $A_{10}$ with palm facing $P_5$; right hand brushes, $T_2$, the left palm from top to bottom,

2) right hand continues down to touch the thigh, $T_1$,

3-4) movements are often repeated symmetrically opposite.

In Labanotation:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{figure5_111}
\caption{Morphokine M.II.b.4.}
\end{figure}
M.II.b.5. consists of the hand hitting, $\text{T}_1$, the inside of the lower leg near the ankle. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand hits, $\text{T}_1$, left hand,
2) right hand hits, $\text{T}_1$, inner side of right ankle,
3) left hand hits right hand,
4) left hand hits inner side of left ankle.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.112. Morphokine M.II.b.5.

M.II.b.6. combines hitting the ankle with a turn of the body. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) right hand hits, $\text{T}_1$, left hand,
2) right hand hits, $\text{T}_1$, outside of right ankle which is bent to the back, $\text{L}_9$,
3) body makes a complete turn on the left foot.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.113. Morphokine M.II.b.6.
M.II.b.7. consists of hitting the open palms, T₁, to both thighs simultaneously in a standing position, often with the knees bent.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.114. Morphokine M.II.b.7.](image)

M.II.b.8. begins with bending one knee and lifting the foot from the ground. The thumb tip then touches the knee, the lower arm rotates, R₁, and the little finger touches the knee.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.115. Morphokine M.II.b.8.](image)
M.II.b.9. combines M.I.a.l. with $A_\perp$ and a touch of the knee in the cross-legged sitting position. The sequence of kinemes is:

1) in cross-legged sitting position, $L_{\perp \perp}$, the hand rests on the knee,
2) the hand moves to $A_\perp$ and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.l.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.116. Morphokine M.II.b.9.](image)

M.II.b.10. combines M.I.a.l. with $A_{\perp \perp}$ and a touch of the knee.

The sequence of kinemes is:

1) in cross-legged sitting position, $L_{\perp \perp}$, the hand rests on the knee,
2) the hand moves to $A_{\perp \perp}$ and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.l.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 5.117. Morphokine M.II.b.10.](image)
Head Morphokine, M.III.

There is only one head morphokine that is emic and it is the kineme $H^1$. This same head movement is used as a M.IV. morphokine, but there it is not emic. When $H^1$ is used as M.III. it is used alone, that is, instead of arm movements. The arm movements stop and the head is moved in a sideward tilt. Thus, it has a definite part in the choreography.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 5.118. Morphokine M.III.

Other Morphokines, M.IV.

Body movements are not emic in Tongan dance and they do not occur alone. I have not listed kinemes for the body because, according to the Tongans, such movements are not significant. Occasionally, however, the body does bend or twist, forming part of the overall environment of the dance, and these movements are necessary for a characterization of the style. When the torso bends it does so from the hips, and the back is kept straight. In the same manner, when the torso twists in a standing dance it does so from the hips.
M.IV.l. has two variants in which the body bends forward from the hips.

M.IV.l.a. bends the torso (in a sitting dance) all the way forward as if in a sleeping position.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.119. Morphokine M.IV.l.a.

M.IV.l.b. bends the torso slightly to emphasize arm movements such as M.I.c.l.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.120. Morphokine M.IV.l.b.
M.IV.2. has two variants in which the body rotates or twists.

M.IV.2.a. is a twist or rotation of the torso from the hips. This is usually done to emphasize arm movements that are performed to the side of the body in a standing position.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.121. Morphokine M.IV.2.a.

M.IV.2.b. is a rotation or twist of the chest. This variant is essentially the same as M.IV.2.a. but is done in sitting dances, where a rotation of the chest is sufficient to follow the movements of the arms.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.122. Morphokine M.IV.2.b.
M.IV.3. is a sideward rotation of the head and is used in conjunction with arm movements. The head follows the arm movements. If the arms are not performing the same movements, the head movement, M.IV.3. follows the arm that is farthest away. Although it is not choreographed, it is understood that M.IV.3. should be included in a performance.

In Labanotation:

Figure 5.123. Morphokine M.IV.3.

M.IV.4. is exactly the same movement as M.III., H₁. When used as M.IV.4. this head tilt is used in addition to the arms and is not emic. It is, nonetheless, important. Although it does not have a prescribed place in the choreography, and is used when the dancer feels it should be added, there are certain moments in the dance when dancer and spectator alike 'know' that it should appear. This depends on rhythm, words of the poetry, emotion of the dancer, and mood of the audience. It is of prime importance in distinguishing good dancers from poor ones. For Labanotation, see M.III.

Facial expression, though not emic is also a component in Tongan dance. The facial expression is usually a happy smiling one, however,
occasionally the expression becomes serious reflecting the words or mood of the poetry. The eyes, too, play a part. The eyes 'smile' as an extension of the smiling face—eyes and face are the same word, mata, in Tongan. During the head morphokines, M.III. and M.IV.4., the eyes make a quick side move that corresponds to the side tilt of the head.

**Summary of Internal Structure**

So far in this Chapter the corpus of data has been segmented into morphokines and grouped together into seven classes. In summary, these classes are:

M.I.a. **Nima** morphokines which can be performed in more than one environment (M.I.b.). They are active morphokines.

M.I.b. Position-environment morphokines which co-occur with M.I.a. morphokines. They are usually passive.

M.I.c. **Nima**-environment morphokines which include active nima movements and the environments in which they occur. M.I.c. as a class is equivalent in the amount of information to M.I.a. plus M.I.b.

M.II.a. Leg morphokines which use legs only.

M.II.b. Arm-leg morphokines which consist of touching the hand to some part of the leg.

M.III. Head morphokine which is emic or significant alone.

M.IV. Head and body morphokines which follow the movements of the
hands and occur as part of the environment of groups M.I., M.II. and M.III.

The morphokines and their groupings into classes can now be examined in two ways, each of which tells us something significant about the structure of Tongan dance. First we can examine the classes and make statements about the structural relationships between them. Second we can examine some morphokines individually and make statements about how they form paradigms with other morphokines.

**EXTERNAL DISTRIBUTION OF MORPHOKINES**

Let us begin by stating the structural relationships between the classes of morphokines. We can say, in carrying on our linguistic analogy, that classes are comparable to parts of speech, e.g. verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc. Morphokines that are classed together play similar roles in the structure of the system. Different sets of relationships exist between different morphokine classes.

M.I.a. must occur with M.I.b. (or an arm position kineme which functions as a M.I.b. morphokine) and M.II.a. It may occur with M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.c., M.II.b. or M.III. M.I.b. usually occurs with M.I.a. and must occur with M.II.a. It may occur with M.III. (instead of M.I.a.) or M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.c. or M.II.b. M.I.c. must occur with M.II.a. It may occur with M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.a., M.I.b., M.II.b., or M.III.
M.II.a. must occur with M.I.a.-M.I.b. or with M.I.c. It may occur with M.III. or M.IV. It cannot occur with M.II.b.

M.II.b. may occur alone or with M.IV. It cannot occur with M.I.a., M.I.b., M.I.c., M.II.a., or M.III.

M.III. must occur with M.II.a. It may occur with M.I.b. or M.IV.

It cannot occur with M.I.a., M.I.c., or M.II.b.

M.IV. may occur with any of the other classes and cannot occur alone.

To summarize: 1) a leg morphokine always occurs; 2) co-occurring with leg morphokines there is either a head (M.III.) or an arm morphokine; 3) arm morphokines are of two types—nima morphokines in one of a number of arm positions, or an arm movement in which the arm position is integrally related with the nima; and 4) body morphokines do not occur alone but only to help establish the environment of the arm morphokines.

We can characterize the morphokine groups as follows:

M.I.a. - Important and frequently used nima morphokines that are basic constituents of the dance system. Without this group of movements the dance tradition would not exist. Most of these morphokines do not have narrative meaning, however, their co-occurrence with certain morphokines of group M.I.b. can convey narrative or symbolic meaning. M.I.a. morphokines are also used as fill-in, connecting, beginning, ending, and dividing morphokines, as well as main elements of movement in all dance types.
M.I.b. - Morphokines that are not important in themselves but constitute the environment for the movements of M.I.a. morphokines. M.I.b. morphokines are arm position and palm facing combinations which are usually passive—the action being one of the M.I.a. movement. M.I.b. morphokines have no meaning in themselves, but derive their meaning by combining with the M.I.a. movements. One might call this group the residue left when the meaningful movement of M.I.a. has been subtracted.

M.I.c. - Active morphokines which combine actions similar to those of group M.I.a. with environments similar to M.I.b. The morphokines of group M.I.c. frequently have narrative meaning which interpret the words of the poetry. The narrative meaning is figurative in that one idea can be alluded to by several sets of movements and conversely, one movement can have several sets of meanings. Interpretation is not in terms of realism or pantomime, nor is it symbolical in that one movement always conveys the meaning of one word, phrase, or idea. The narrative element of the dance movement is conveyed mainly through M.I.c. morphokines usually in a subtle and sophisticated manner. They interpret the most apparent level of the poetry by alluding to various concepts in an abstract way. The apparent level of the poetry in turn obscures the deeper meaning of the poetry which is the real reason for its creation. Thus the dance creates a double abstraction. The movements allude to the poetry, while the poetry alludes to the hidden meaning.
Some of the M.I.c. movements are a stylization of movements of everyday or ceremonial life. Particularly important are those derived from the making of kava. M.I.c.21. depicts the squeezing of the kava with water and M.I.c.22. depicts the arm movements of a part of the process of mixing kava. These movements can be used to refer to other actions, but usually are quite specific. I would conjecture that a few of the morphokines of group M.I.a. have a similar derivation and at one time referred to the making of kava, but have since lost their narrative meaning. For example, M.I.a.14., when done with two hands is called milolua which refers to the wringing of the kava strainer. Today it is sometimes used with this meaning and sometimes with other meanings. M.I.a.12. sometimes refers to the twisting of the kava strainer around the hand but sometimes does not. I would conjecture that M.I.a.10., called kako, derived from a stylization of wiping the rim of the kava bowl, although it is not used in that way today. Because these M.I.a. morphokines can have more than one meaning or no meaning at all depending on the arm position environment of group M.I.b., they are quite different in function from the primarily narrative M.I.c. group. Thus, the element of narrative interpretation helps to distinguish the M.I.c. group from the M.I.a. group.

M.II.a. are leg morphokines which function two ways in the structure of the dance. First they help to define the genre (or conversely the genre specifies what M.II. morphokines will be used). For example, a dance which uses mainly or only M.II.a.1. and M.II.a.7.
is an ula. Secondly, the M.II.a. morphokines sometimes, in conjunction with M.I. movements, help interpret the words (for example, M.II.a.3. may be used when referring to walking) or to keep time while the more important movements of the arms are performed.

M.II.b. is a group of morphokines which uses both the arms and legs together, that is, the hands touch the legs. This group of morphokines combines elements from M.I. and M.II.a. in such a way that to separate them would be to destroy their meaning. When a M.II.b. morphokine is performed, no other M.I. or M.II. morphokine co-occurs.

M.III. is the tilt of the head when used instead of active arm movements. When the head tilt occurs as M.III., the arms are in a M.II.b. morphokine or simply at rest. This head morphokine rarely occurs in this way; its more common use is as a M.IV. morphokine.

M.IV. is a small group of head and body movements which are non-emic or non-significant in themselves, but are predictable from the environment. Although these morphokines do not necessarily have meaning, they sometimes help to interpret the words and are essential to the character of the style.

From examining these four classes of morphokines and their relationships we can state in very general terms what components are necessary in any Tongan dance, and what morphokines can and cannot occur simultaneously. For example, in the overall structure of a dance there must be morphokines of group M.II. throughout as a sub-stratum. Each dance type has its characteristic M.II. morphokines,
so that one way of classifying Tongan dance into genres is by M.II. morphokines used. This will be elaborated in Chapter VII. Further, the essential character of Tongan dance derives from the varied arm movements which are the most important part of the dance. Finally, body movements are never used alone but only in addition to arm movements.

We can now examine morphokines individually and state how they are combined with other morphokines. The combination of morphokines into larger entities will be examined in Chapters VI and VII. Characteristic combinations result in higher levels of dance structure.
CHAPTER VI

MOTIFS OF TONGAN DANCE

MOTIF STRUCTURE

Before we go on to the final step in the structure of dance—that is, how the basic units are combined into a totality or whole dance—let us pause to enumerate some of the recurrent combinations of morphokines that form short entities in themselves. I have called these often-used combinations 'motifs' because of their likeness to folklore motifs or motifs in the visual arts. Motifs are dance phrases that combine certain morphokines in characteristic ways and are verbalized by the people as dance movements.

Vahe—Dividing Motifs

Like folktales or songs, dances often have conventionalized ways of beginning, ending, and dividing sections. In Tongan dance, beginning, ending, and dividing is rendered by a group of movements known as vahe, which literally means 'to divide.' Vahe is sometimes qualified with the name of a dance genre, for example, vahe ula, which means 'vahe used in ula.' At other times, the word vahe is not used, rather the name of the movement is used and it is understood that this is the vahe. The three most common vahe are vahe ula, vahe fa'ahiula, and fu e ua, 'fu done two times.'
Vahe ula

*Vahe ula* is the beginning, and ending movement of *ula*, as well as a divider between stanzas. It combines the following sequence of morphokines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left hand</th>
<th>Both hands</th>
<th>Right hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.II.b.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>M.I.b.5.</td>
<td>M.II.b.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. M.II.b.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.I.a.28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>M.I.a.28.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vahe fa'ahiula

*Vahe fa'ahiula* is often used to divide sections in a *fa'ahiula* type of dance. There are two variations, short and long. The short *vahe fa'ahiula* has the following sequence of morphokines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left hand</th>
<th>Both hands</th>
<th>Right hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>M.I.a.16.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.II.b.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>M.II.b.3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The long vahe *fa'ahiula* has the following sequence of morphokines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Left hand</th>
<th>Both hands</th>
<th>Right hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>M.I.a.16.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>M.I.a.5.</td>
<td>M.II.b.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>M.I.a.2.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>M.II.b.3.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td>M.I.a.28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The difference between the two *vahe fa'ahiula* is that the long one has the addition of M.I.a.2./M.I.b.16.

**Fu e ua**

*Fu e ua* consists of *fu* (morphokine M.I.a.29.) done first to the left and then to the right at about chest level. This is done at the beginning and between stanzas of a *lakalaka* and *ma'ulu'ulu* and sometimes at the end. In a *tau'olunga* it divides the verses and may or may not be done at the beginning. At the beginning of a *lakalaka* the dance leader will shout "*fu e ua*" and count "*taha, ua*" (one, two) while the dancers perform their two *fu*. This sets the beat as well begins the dance.
In Labanotation:

![Diagram of Labanotation](image)

Figure 6.1. Fu e ua.

'Haka' (M.I.a.l.) Motif Paradigm

The most common recurring motif in Tongan dance is based on morphokine M.I.a.l. done in any environment from M.I.b.1 through M.I.b.16. There are probably other environments in which M.I.a.l. may occur. M.I.a.l. is usually done with both arms at the same time. Both arms may be in the same M.I.b. position, they may be in different M.I.b. positions, or they may change the M.I.b. position of one or both arms. The word 'haka' (hand movements in its narrow sense) means this group of arm movements. When 'haka' is used in this way, single quotation marks will be used to distinguish it from haka in its more general meaning of any arm movements in Tongan dance.¹ The morphokine M.I.a.l. and all the M.I.b. environments in

¹ Haka in Tongan dance does not demote a genre, although it does so in Maori (New Zealand) dance.
which it can be performed might be called the M.I.a.l. or 'haka' paradigm. A morphokine paradigm includes a small set of related forms in which there is one morphokine common to a set, together with the morphokines with which it can co-occur.

As there are at least 16 environments in which M.I.a.l. can occur for each arm, and any two can be performed simultaneously, thus there are $16 \times 16$ or $1056$ possible variations of this one morphokine. Not all of these variations occur in my corpus of material, but informants say that all of these combinations are possible.

The most common use of 'haka' is as a fill-in movement—that is, it is used between narrative elements or to fill-in or complete a phrase after the narrative section has been completed. In dances in which there is no narrative element, 'haka' is used simply for the beauty of the movement.

An example in Labanotation:

![Figure 6.2. An example of 'haka.'](image-url)
'Haka' can also be used narratively, such as in the following examples:

M.I.c.1./M.I.b.9. can be used to indicate an ear ornament, tekiteki. In this case only one hand performs the 'haka' and the head is turned away from the hand so that the 'haka' is performed near the ear and in view of the audience. Ordinarily the head would face so that the eyes follow the hand doing the 'haka.'

Another example of narrative interpretation by 'haka' is M.I.a.1./M.I.b.14. to indicate kalauni, 'crown,' to refer to the sovereign.

Two 'haka' that follow each other in different positions may indicate 'from place to place.' For example, in sitting dances, M.I.a.1./M.I.b.3. followed by M.I.a.1./M.I.b.7.—'haka' in front of the body followed by 'haka' at the side of the body—interprets from the 'sea to the beach.' A similar example is left arm in M.I.a.1./M.I.b.5. and right arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. followed by right arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.5. and left arm M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. to interpret 'from north to south.'

Some frequently used combinations of 'haka' have no narrative meaning but are used often because the Tongans like them. One of these is often used in sitting dances and consists of M.II.b.9. followed by M.II.b.10.—that is performing a 'haka' in a forward position with one hand while it moves from and back to the knee, followed by a 'haka' in a diagonal position with the other hand as it moves from and back to the knee.
M.I.a.2. Motif Paradigm

Morphokine M.I.a.2. forms a paradigm similar to that of the *haka*. M.I.a.1., however, it is more restricted and much less frequently used. M.I.a.2. is the morphokine, common to a set of M.I.b. morphokines. The environments in which it occurs are diverse so it is not readily apparent that this morphokine is the common element.

M.I.a.2. can be performed with one arm alone, with both arms at the same time, or with both arms one slightly preceding the other. Its most characteristic appearance is in the *vahe ula* dividing motif (p. 213) in which it is performed twice with each hand in the following sequence: right hand alone, left hand alone, both in M.I.b.27.; then both hands moving but right preceding left in M.I.b.26.

M.I.a.2. is performed with both arms in M.I.b.16. with the narrative meaning of *luva*, 'to give.' It is also performed with one arm in M.I.b.10., and one arm in M.I.b.11., which is the essence of one of the variations of *tafi*, 'sweep' (p. 222).

The paradigm is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27.} & \quad \text{first part of } *\text{vahe ula*} \\
\text{M.I.a.2./M.I.b.26.} & \quad \text{second part of } *\text{vahe ula*} \\
\text{M.I.a.2./M.I.b.16.} & \quad \text{*luva* 'give'} \\
\left\{ \begin{array}{l}
\text{M.I.a.2./M.I.b.10.} \\
\text{M.I.a.2./M.I.b.11.}
\end{array} \right\} & \quad \text{*tafi* 'sweep'}
\end{align*}
\]
Other Haka Motifs

Haka in its wider sense includes all arm movements in Tongan dance. These haka are morphokines that are used alone, repeated, or combined with other morphokines. These often-recurring motifs form a pool of movements that are culturally recognized and satisfying, to choreographers, dancers, and spectators alike.

Ha'otā

After the 'haka' motif presented above, probably the next most important motif in Tongan dance is ha'otā. Ha'otā, according to informants and dictionaries has no meaning except the name of a dance movement. Ha'otā is usually performed two or three times in succession in different arm positions. For example, ha'otā, M.I.a.8., will be performed in M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19., that is, on the left side of the body, in front of the body, and on the right side of the body. Or it may be performed in M.I.b.17. followed by M.I.b.19.

A variation of ha'otā is M.I.a.9. which is simply ha'otā with an added rotation of the lower arm which gives it a very different appearance. M.I.a.9. is performed in the same M.I.b. environments as M.I.a.8.

Kako

Kako was given as a term for this dance movement by informants but it is not listed in dictionaries with this meaning. The whole kako motif consists of three parts or three morphokines which follow each other. M.I.a.10., which is the essence of kako, is performed
with left arm in kineme $A_9$ and right arm in kineme $A_{14}$, this is followed by 'haka,' M.I.a.l. with both arms in M.I.b.9., and finally by 'haka' M.I.a.l., with left arm remaining in M.I.b.9. and right arm moving to M.I.b.1.

**Vete**

*Vete* is not listed in dictionaries as the name of a dance movement, nor is it usually given by informants as the name of a specific movement. Rather, it seems to be a description of what the hands are doing. *Vete* means to 'unwind,' 'unravel,' 'scatter,' or 'disperse.' The motion could be interpreted as describing unwinding or similar movements. *Vete* is a combination of two morphokines—*kako*, M.I.a.9., performed in its usual position (left arm in $A_9$ and right arm in $A_{14}$) followed by M.I.a.10.) which is really the first part of *kako* with both arms in $A_{12}$.

**Milolua**

*Milolua* means to prepare kava in a certain ceremonial way. The *haka milolua*, instead of naming the movement, seems to describe what the hands are doing. This is a wringing movement which describes the wringing of the hibiscus strainer (to remove particles of kava or to fill kava cups). The *haka milolua* often is performed three in succession. It consists of M.I.a.14. performed with both hands one on top of the other, in the arm position environments of M.I.b.17. followed by M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. It is also often performed three times in M.I.b.17., followed by three times in M.I.b.19.
Tene

*Tene* consists of M.I.a.21. performed with both hands, one facing to the side the other facing down and resting the fingertips on the first finger of the other hand. It is often performed three times in succession while moving between arm positions of M.I.b.28. *Tene* is not in dictionaries, but was given by informants as a term for this movement. The name *tene* may interpret the resting of one object on another.

Toli

*Toli* means to pick (either flowers or fruit) and again describes the movement rather than naming it. Flowers are very often used to symbolize chiefs. More specifically, the symbolism is often in terms of necklaces of flowers made in special ways, 'kakala hingoa.' When referring to chiefs in dance poetry, it is usually in terms of allusions to picking flowers to make chiefly flower garlands. The dance movement which alludes to this allusion is often *toli*. In the *toli* motif, the *toli* or picking part usually follows after a 'haka' in the same arm position in which *toli* will be performed. The *toli*, M.I.a.20., morphokine, when it means *toli*, is usually performed with the lower arm in a vertical position such as A_9 or A_15.

Tafi

*Tafi* is both the name of a dance and a term used for a movement. Single quotation marks will be used to designate 'tafi' as a movement.
The word *tafi* means 'to sweep,' and the *'tafi'* motif is used mainly in the dance called *tafi*, which has to do with sweeping the *mala'e* (village green). *'Tafi'* describes the movement. Two quite different movements can be called *'tafi'* and both interpret sweeping. The more usual *'tafi'* movement is M.I.a.2. performed with both hands close together in a low position, usually right arm in M.I.b.11. and left arm in M.I.b.10. or vice versa (see M.I.a.2. paradigm, P. 218). It is usually performed twice, either both on one side or once on the left side and once on the right side, close to the ground. This kind of *'tafi'* is a movement that can also be used in different ways with other narrative meanings.

The second kind of *'tafi'* is M.I.a.27., brushing the little finger of one hand over the palm of the other. It is usually performed twice on one side of the body and twice on the other side. The most obvious meaning of this movement is 'to sweep' but the movement can be used in other ways with other meanings.

**Tuhu**

*Tuhu* means 'index finger' and *tuhu ki* means 'to point to.' Thus *tuhu* as a *haka* describes the pointing of the fingers rather than naming a movement. *Tuhu*, M.I.c.10., is usually performed by pointing first to one side and then to the other. A variation of the *tuhu* motif is M.I.c.11. in which the arms circle instead of going directly from side to side. Occasionally *tuhu* points to the spectators,
M.I.c.12., but not often for it is considered rude to point to people, and it is especially rude to point to chiefs.

Sina vai tafae

This term does not specifically designate a dance movement. When referring to this movement, my informants would sometimes call it 'Sina vai tafae' because this motif is always done first in the ula of that name. Informants would call it this because they knew I would understand what movement they were referring to. I could elicit no name or description for this motif. The motif consists of M.I.c.13. performed first on one side of the body about shoulder level and then on the other side of the body.

Si Sia

Likewise this is not the name of a movement but is used in a particular fa'ahiula whenever si sia si sia occurs in the poetry. Some informants called it si sia when using words to describe it. M.I.a.20. is the essence of this movement. In the fa'ahiula where si sia si sia occurs in the poetry, it is performed with one hand in the morphokine M.I.b.30. It can also be performed with both arms in M.I.b.30., the hands alternately above and below each other.

Tui

Tui in dance poetry usually means 'to thread' (flowers) to make chiefly garlands or 'to prepare for.' As a haka, tui describes the
movement of threading flowers. Where 'tui' in a poetic text does not refer to or mean threading flowers, the same movement can be used. Conversely, where other words with similar meanings occur in a poetic text, the same movement may be used—for example, *fig.* 'to mix,' followed by a flower name. *Tui,* M.I.a.18., is usually done so that the lower arm moves upward or forward, for example M.I.b.30.

**Tapa**

*Tapa* sometimes means 'to flash.' *Tapa* describes flashing by moving the hands back and forth in opposition to each other. *Tana* as a haka is used when *tapa* appears in the poetry or when something referred to in the poetry has a flashing or sparkling quality. It can also be used with no meaning at all simply because the dancer or choreographer likes the movement. The motif consists of M.I.a.15. in arm positions M.I.b.22. or M.I.b.24.

**Sideward Tapa**

This is a similar movement to *tana* but the hands move to the sides in a horizontal plane. This motif is sometimes used to convey motion, such as the moving of the waves, or change of any sort. This motif is morphokine M.I.a.16. in environment M.I.b.25. Sideward *tapa* is my designation for the motif as I could elicit no name or description.
Teunga

This motif is usually used when teunga meaning 'garments' or wearing apparel, are referred to in poetry. Teunga consists of a performance of M.I.c.6. with one arm and then M.I.c.6. with the other arm.

'Ofa; Loto

'Ofa means 'love' and loto is the seat of one's affection. In the Tongan view of the world both of these concepts center on the chest. When either 'ofa or loto in poetry is to be expressed by haka, it is done by touching the chest. This can be done in a variety of ways, but perhaps the best liked is to touch the chest first with one hand, then the other, and finally with both. The touch is a touch of the first pad of the fingers, and may be two, three, or four fingers. 'Ofa or loto do not name the movement. If I would demonstrate the movement, however, and ask for a term, the answer would often be 'ofa or loto meaning that this movement sometimes interprets these poetic concepts. The motif consists of M.I.c.8. followed by M.I.c.5.

Touching Motifs

Touching motifs consist of various combinations of clapping or touching the hand to other parts of the body. The two kinds of clap have different kinds of sound, thus the type of clap may depend on the kind of sound that is desired or it may depend on the kind of
movement that is wanted. The pasi clap has a sharp sound while fu has a more sonorous hollow sound. In some dance genres, for example, ma'ulu'ulu, the sound is important. In other genres, for example, fa'ahiula, the sound is not audible.

Ki'i pasi'i

Ki'i pasi'i, 'clap for a short time,' describes a series of pasi, M.I.a.28. This is not just a series of M.I.a.28. done repeatedly, however. After the first pasi the hands do not participate equally in the hitting movement. In ki'i pasi'i the left hand retains its position and the right hand by a rotation of the lower arm, moves so that the palm faces backward, then rotates again and the right hand hits the left hand.

In Labanotation:

Figure 6.3. Ki'i pasi'i
Teuteu

Teuteu, 'to get ready,' is a series of *fu* claps, M.I.a.29. performed in M.I.b.25. As in *ki'i pasi'i* this is not just a series of repeated *fu*, for after the first *fu*, the hands do not participate equally. The left hand remains in the same position while the right hand, by a quarter rotation of the lower arm, moves so that the palm faces backward, or upward, then rotates again and the right hand hits the left hand. As its name indicates, this motif is often used at the beginning of a dance to get ready for the more complicated *haka* to follow.

In Labanotation:

![Figure 6.4. Teuteu](image-url)
Pasi, Fu Combinations

Another common clapping combination and one that is often used to start or end a phrase is pasi, au, fu, M.I.a.28., M.I.a.4., M.I.a.29.; or just au, fu, M.I.a.4., M.I.a.29.

In Labanotation:

Combining pasi and fu is an often recurring motif. Pasi, M.I.a.28. and fu, M.I.a.29. can follow each other in the same arm environment or they can be performed as follows: Pasi to the front, fu to the left side, pasi to the front, fu to the right side. Another common combination which is liked because of the sound variation is pasi, fu, pasi, pasi, fu—counted pasi fu pasi pasi fu.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & + & (4) & 1 \\
\end{array}
\]
An example of *pasi, fu* in Labanotation:

[Diagram]

Tunotuna

*Tunotuna* is a clapping motif which is referred to by the name of the dance from which it comes. An *ula* known as *Tunotuna* is characterized by this movement which consists of turning in a circle, M.II.a.9. while clapping the hands, M.I.a.28. During this motif the torso is bent forward from the hips, M.IV.1.b., so that the hands clap at almost knee level.
Papātenga

Repeated hitting the knee with the hand is a common beginning in the sitting dance type called fa'ahiuia. This is morphokine M.II.b.l. repeated in a series. It is sometimes called papātenga 'slap the thigh' because women do this when angry, or for emphasis.

Pāpāuma

Another common touching motif in sitting dances is the touching of the shoulder of the adjacent person. This is done by a rotation of the lower arm in M.I.b.30. touching first the front of the shoulder and then the back. It can be called pāpāuma, 'touch the shoulder,' which describes the movement.

In Labanotation:

![Diagram](image)

Figure 6.7. Papāuma

Motifs and Interpretation

These are some of the common motifs in Tongan dance. They are not, however, equally frequent to the several genres. The terms I
have applied to the motifs are certainly not universally recognized in Tonga. Some are well known, for example, ha'otō and haka. Others are not, although the movements themselves are part of the dancers' movement inventory. Indeed, except for haka and ha'otō, motifs designations are descriptions of movement or of the words of poetry that these motifs can interpret.

One may question my presentation of the foregoing motifs with names, on the grounds that if the Tongans do not name these movements and this is an ethnoscientific analysis that attempts to see movements as the Tongans see them, why have I named them? My presentation is aimed at emphasizing that the Tongans do not name them but they do associate certain movements with certain words, concepts and ideas. This is not, however, a one-to-one relationship, for one movement motif can interpret many concepts and conversely one concept can be interpreted by many motifs. Finally, dance motifs may have nothing to do with interpretation of poetry whatsoever.

The motifs could simply be numbered, but it is easier for me to remember them if I can associate them with a word or idea rather than a number. The Tongans find it easy to convey the correct information about a movement by associating words with it. Tongans often allude to concepts or ideas with words without associating the meaning of the word with the concept or thing. When the Tongans want to convey by words the idea of a movement, they use terminology
that is either descriptive or word-associated. At the same time they deny that the movement necessarily means or even interprets the described or associated idea. In the Tongan language one word may have many meanings. It follows, that if a movement motif is associated with a word, all the diverse meanings associated with the word could be transferred to the motif. Several people may have the same motif in mind but the ideas associated with it can be completely different. The association of words with motifs is an example of an 'organization of diversity,' to use Wallace's term (1962, p. 28). The word conveys a stimulus for action, but the meaning associated with the word differs from individual to individual.

I have presented the motifs the way in which the Tongans presented them to me and the way in which they refer to them among themselves. A word conveys what movement is wanted, but neither the movement nor the word necessarily conveys one specific meaning of the word.

There seem to be two main concepts associated with Tongan dance, that is, movement as interpretation and movement as beauty, and these can best be illustrated with motifs.

Interpretive Movements

The first of these concepts is that dance interprets, illustrates, or alludes to poetry. The motifs of movement on one level correspond to poetic motifs. Allusion is the essence of Tongan poetry. A poet does not refer to people or their deeds in realistic terms--that is,
one would not state someone's name or tell in words what he did. Instead, the person is symbolized by a flower or type of flower garland, or a bird (or since European contact a Lion). Deeds are referred to in poetic terms in a round-about way. The ability to create poetry of this kind is highly admired and sometimes even considered to be supernatural. A poet is called pulotu which is also the indigenous name of the afterworld.

Allusion is also the essence of Tongan dance. Movement motifs do not interpret in a realistic manner. One would never allude to a flower by holding the hands to look like a flower or a bird by moving the arms to look like wings (as might be done in Hawaiian dance for example). Instead, the movement would suggest a flower or bird in an abstruse way.

To illustrate the double abstraction that dance creates, I will use one stanza of a lakalaka known as Kalauni from Lapaha, Tongatapu. The stanza of poetry and its literal translation are as follows:

Kulukona 'o tavake fai'ana
Na'e toli he matangi mafana
Kohai 'o Ofo he 'ene ngangatu
Fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu
He 'oiaue fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu. Oh yes, double canoe of Monotapu.

Kulukona flower of the tropic bird created
Plucked by the warm breeze
Who is surprised at his fragrance
Double canoe of Monotapu
Oh yes, double canoe of Monotapu.

This stanza of poetry refers to Prince Tungi (now King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV) and tells us that he was born of the two highest chiefs in the land. Tungi is referred to as the Kulukona flower (a variety of
a flowering tree) who was created by the tropic bird. Tavake, 'tropic
bird,' symbolizes the highest male chief in the land, in this case
Tungi Mailefihi. He was the highest direct descendant of the Tu'i
Ha'a Takalaua—which is a higher blood line than that of the present
line of Kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu (see Chapter II). The nature
symbolism continues in the second line with Tungi being plucked by
the warm breeze. A warm breeze is sometimes equated with Tonga.
The line of poetry says that Tonga, the land of warm breezes, has
picked Tungi for their next King. Fragrance is considered desirable
and good, and the next line of poetry says that no one is surprised
at Tungi's greatness (fragrance because he is a kulukona flower)
because he is of double chiefly parentage. Fakatoukatea is a double
canoe with both sides equal and this poetically refers to chiefly
descent on both sides. Tungi is also sacred which is suggested by
the place name Monotapu—tapu meaning 'sacred.'

The allusions, phrased in terms of nature symbolism, refer to
Tungi and his genealogy, though neither of these concepts is mentioned
in words. The dance motifs, in turn, allude to these allusions, and
not to Tungi or his ancestry.

The choreography of the words is as follows: Kulukona is
choreographed by M.I.a.2./M.I.b.27. (of the M.I.a.2. paradigm, p.

2 'Choreography' will be used in this paper to refer to a pre-set
arrangement of dance movements. In Tonga these exist only in the oral
tradition and are in no way represented by signs as the dictionary
definition of choreography implies.
performed with both hands; fai'ana by vete—here interpreting 'create;' Tavake, 'tropic bird,' by adding the quick side head movement, M.IV.4., which re-creates the head movement of a bird; toli by toli (in this case it means toli, 'to pick'); matangi mafana by vete; kohai, 'who,' by 'haka,' M.I.a.1., in M.I.b.9.; ngangatu, 'fragrance,' by vete; fakatoukatea, 'double canoe,' by M.I.c.14. which extends the hand to the side. On repetition of this final phrase of poetry, the hand extends to the side again in a repetition of the movement. These two phrases are completed with au, fu, at the end because M.I.c.14. does not fill the whole phrase of poetry.

In this example vete interprets 'create,' 'breeze,' and 'fragrance.' Notice how all of these concepts can be conveyed by the agitation of air which vete re-creates. Toli is the most obviously narrative movement in this group with its depiction of picking. Kulukona conveys 'beautiful flower' with a beautiful movement. Kohai, 'who,' is conveyed by a 'haka,' which one could say looks as if it asks a question.

Two sidedness is created in two ways in this stanza. First it is conveyed by two motions to the side with the arm. Second it is created by the formation of the dancers. In a lakalaka the men and women are usually ranged in two or more rows facing the audience, the women on the left (from the observer's point of view) the men on the right. During the performance of this stanza, the men and women
walk toward each other and the two lines become four (‘0’ symbolizes woman, ‘X’ symbolizes man):

1st formation

0000 XXXX
0000 XXXX

2nd formation

XXXX
0000
XXXX
0000

(audience)

The men then move to the front of the women and then all go back to their original two lines. This intermixes men and women and then reemphasizes two distinct groups in an additional reference to ancestry and Tungi’s equal chiefliness on both male and female sides.

Movements also interpret words by using a movement that sounds like the word it interprets. For example, when the word Tatakamotonga (the name of a village) is used, the movements can be pasi, pasi, M.I.a.28., fu, M.I.a.29. Pasi, pasi, two sharp claps, fall on ta ta, and fu, the crosswise hollow-sounding clap, falls on tonga.

The ability to choreograph poetry is highly admired and again considered partly supernatural, hence the term for a choreographer, pulotu haka.

Beautiful Movements

The second concept associated with Tongan dance is beauty of movement for its own sake. Some dance genres do not interpret the
poetry that the movement accompanies. This is not because present
day Tongans do not understand the words, although in some cases they
do not. In the ula, one or two phrases of poetry are repeated over
and over. Many different dance motifs are used to accompany these
verses. The movements do not interpret the words and there seems
to be no association between words and movements in this dance. The
emphasis of this dance is on the beauty of movement. It is not the
dancer's interpretation of the words that is admired, but rather her
skill in the interpretation and performance of the dance motif. The
movement motifs are known to the spectators and the dancer is judged
on the execution of the movement. This judgment is usually phrased
in terms of gracefulness, softness, and the proper use of the head.

Some of this beauty-of-movement concept is carried over to
dances which interpret poetry. But in these latter, the emphasis is
on interpretation of the words rather than interpretation of the
dance motif.

There seems to be a cultural preference for interpretation by
allusion rather than statement. This may be the explanation for the
lack of names of dance movements or motifs. To name a motif is too
obvious; a name might limit motif use to one concept. Or the move­
ment, if associated with a name, might convey that named concept
when no meaning is wanted. Movements, then, in Tongan dance, are
not named. But movements can be brought to mind by words.
Movements either interpret poetry or create beauty. They present an abstraction to which dancer and spectator alike may attach meaning of their own choosing or which they can enjoy aesthetically as movement. Dance is a physical, mental, and aesthetic activity to be enjoyed at one or more levels simultaneously. Some dance genres aim primarily at one or another of these possible levels. But even those that begin as an intellectual activity, often create an intense emotional atmosphere and can become an aesthetic experience for both dancer and spectator. When verbalizing this emotional aspect of dance, the Tongans say that they feel mafana—that is, 'inwardly warm or exhilarated.' Spectators also feel mafana, especially during the performance of their favorite dance motifs which they say they can feel kinesthetically. It is common to see spectators move their heads along with the dancers, and quite often spectators will stand up and join the performers, even though they do not know the dance, because of their inner feeling of mafana.
CHAPTER VII
DANCE GENRES

The highest level of structure in Tongan dance is that of whole dances. In Chapter I a Tongan dance was defined as a totality in which the structural elements have a standardized chronological order. The Tongans recognize six genres or types of Tongan dance and each has a different combination of structural elements.

The kinemic and morphokinemic levels of dance structure were stated mainly in terms of movement contour with little reference to music, text, or timing. Even motifs were stated almost entirely in terms of movement. At this higher level of organization the differentiation of Tongan dance genres depends on three factors external to movement as well as movement itself. Type of music, the association of poetry, and the occasion of performance influence movement and must be taken into account when whole dances are considered. All four elements are also necessary to understand the role of the dance in Tongan society.

This explanation of Tongan dance structure will briefly consider all four elements for each of the six genres. Besides those to be discussed here, other dance types exist in Tonga but they are recognized as not Tongan; these are kailao, eke (soke), mako, meke faka-Fisi, and are said to have come from Uvea and Fiji. Ancient dance forms that are no longer performed such as liku, me'elaufola, me'etafoe, me'etaki, or hea will not be discussed; nor will the
tau faka-Niua which is a dance local to Niuafo'ou that I have never seen.

The six genres that will be discussed are all still performed today in Tonga. Lakalaka, ma'ulu'ulu, and tau'olunga are 'living' dance genres—that is, they are still created today, and are known to all Tongans. Fa'ahiula and ula are quite widely known, though by no means universally, especially not to the younger generation. Although sometimes re-choreographed there are no new creations within these genres. The me'etu'upaki is an ancient dance type known only by a select few. It is neither created nor re-choreographed today, but performed only as it has been passed down from generation to generation. I have called these last three genres 'dead but extant' because they are still performed but no longer created.

All Tongan dance is performed in conjunction with poetry. Dances without poetry—for example, the kailao which is said to have come from Uvea—are recognized as not Tongan. Although at times there may be instrumental music only—for example during a tau'olunga, --it is understood that the text was there originally and that the music was derived from accompanying poetry. Thus, instrumental music can be said to be 'wordless' or 'nonvocalized' poetry. However, some genres have a prelude consisting of haka and drumming only.
Phrases\(^1\) of poetry are the basis for music and dance movement. The combining of morphokines and motifs is always determined by the phrase of poetry. Whole dances are built with poetry phrases as their basic units and even when the movements do not interpret the words, they follow the phrase structure of the poetry. Phrases are combined into groups, which here will be termed stanzas.\(^2\) Stanzas are recognized by the Tongans to have a definite beginning and end.

**FA'AHIULA**

Fa'ahiula is an ancient women's sitting dance. Fa'ahi means 'two sided' and ula is a different dance genre. However, fa'ahiula does not simply mean an ula done by two groups, because ula is a standing dance and has other differences from fa'ahiula. Ula and fa'ahiula are similar in that they use the same type of arm movements and the same type of music. Fa'ahiula is also called 'otu haka which means 'row of haka' (arm movements).

Fa'ahiula is performed by a single row of seated women. The women are usually elderly or a mixture of young and old, but usually not exclusively young girls or young women. The row is usually curved,

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\(^1\) 'Phrase' is used in this paper to mean a short group of words which conveys a single thought. It is used instead of 'line' because most of the poetry exists only in oral tradition.

\(^2\) 'Stanza' is used in this paper as a neutral term to designate a group of two or more phrases; it does not imply that these sub-sections or sections have the same melody or the same number of phrases.
although a modern innovation is to form a wide angled 'V'. The musicians sit inside the curved row of dancers. Traditionally the associated music consisted of singing and beating on a tafua, that is, a mat which had bamboos rolled inside. The tafua was struck with two sticks to establish the pulse for the singing and haka. Today the fa'ahiula is often performed without tafua percussion.

The singing, however, is not dispensible, because in many cases the movements are really an accompaniment to poetry. Melodic pitch range is quite small and the pulse organization is often 4 or 8. In some cases there are several phrases with 8 pulses followed by a phrase with a different number of pulses. Singing is done by the dancers and those who beat the tafua. Sometimes men and women will sit behind the performers and sing, but they are not a necessary part of the performance.

The dancers sometimes divide physically into two or more groups (fa'ahi) which sing alternately or polyphonically, and their movements also differ. Much of the poetry of the fa'ahiula has been handed down from generation to generation and is no longer understood. In such cases the Tongans rationalize that the words are Samoan, which is the usual explanation of something that the Tongans do not know.

There are three types of structure of fa'ahiula poetry. The first type has one standard phrase repeated alternately with each of

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3 'Pulse organization' is used in this paper to avoid implications of the Western concept 'meter.'
the other phrases—that is, \( t_1^1 t_2 t_1 t_3 t_4 t_1 \), etc. \(^4\) In the second type of fa'ahiula structure each successive stanza of a poem alternates with a recurring refrain. The third type of fa'ahiula is division into sections.

In poetry of the first type, \( t_1 \) is usually "tuli tuli tuli e." Tongans say they do not understand the meaning of the phrase but it implies 'pay attention to what I'm going to tell you.' In this structure the phrases are not grouped into stanzas and the poetry usually tells a tala tupu'a, 'legend,' of Tonga, such as the creation of the skies. Choreography is very simple. During \( t_1 \) the performers do pasi, fu, or some combination of pasi and fu. During \( t_2 t_3 t_4 \), etc., the performers simply hit their right thigh or knee repeatedly, as in the papatenga motif on page 230.

In the second type of fa'ahiula there are two kinds of stanzas called kupu and tau which alternate. Kupu and tau might be compared with the Western concept of verse and refrain. Each kupu has the same melody but different words, the tau has the same melody and the same words. The structure of the stanzas is A B A C A D etc. \(^5\) In the two examples in my collection with this type of structure, the hand movements during the kupu consist of the repeated hitting of the knee.

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\(^4\) The letter \( t \) abbreviates 'text phrase'; the superscript indicates phrases in order of their occurrence. The text phrase numbers refer to one stanza only; each stanza beginning with \( t_1 \).

\(^5\) The capital letters designate stanzas which are sub-sections of the overall structure.
papatenga motif. During the tau interludes the movements interpret the poetry. The two examples in my collection tell legends.

The third type of fa'ahiula is divided into stanzas, each of which may be different in length, melody and movement. This third type can be said to be through-composed. To illustrate this type, I will use an example known as "Si sia si sia." This fa'ahiula is divided temporally into three sections. It is divided spatially into two groups. During the first section the two groups sing different phrases alternately; during the second the two groups sing together; and during the third they sing a round. See Table 3.

Present-day Tongans are unable to translate the poetry of this fa'ahiula. The movements have been passed down from generation to generation and are performed as learned without intentional change or re-choreographing. Other fa'ahiula have been composed in the past 100 years and could be re-choreographed today by a dance specialist, such as Vaisima Hopoate, who understands the words and knows how to add the haka. Some of these recent fa'ahiula were said to have been composed by his paternal grandfather. I do not know of any fa'ahiula that Vaisima has re-choreographed. Instead, he uses the movements he learned from his father. However, he said that he could add haka to some fa'ahiula where he has forgotten the movements.

The Tongan view of the structure of fa'ahiula is that first there is a section of haka to draw attention of the spectators before the main part of the haka begins. This section has movements such as pasi, fu, and papatenga, and may be performed without singing. Or this
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Group of Performers</th>
<th>Text phrase</th>
<th>Poetry</th>
<th>Haka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>t₁</td>
<td>Vili vili o</td>
<td>No movements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>t₂</td>
<td>'A'ue 'ue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>t₁</td>
<td>Vili vili o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>t₂</td>
<td>'A'ue 'ue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>1 and 2</td>
<td>t₁</td>
<td>Si au ta vilevila</td>
<td>Papatenga motif, p. 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t₂</td>
<td>Si au ta vilevila</td>
<td>M.III., left, right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t₃</td>
<td>'Oua, 'oua, 'oua, 'oua</td>
<td>M.II.b.9., left, right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t₄</td>
<td>Mia namea na mia namea</td>
<td>M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9., left, right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t₅</td>
<td>Si au ta mo ta vilevila</td>
<td>Papatenga motif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t₆</td>
<td>'O teine 'o le fa tai sa Samoa</td>
<td>Tapa motif, p. 224, with touching leg, M.II.b.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t₆a</td>
<td>Le tata'a uai'a</td>
<td>Pasi,2 left, 2 right, 2 middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t₃</td>
<td>Tata 'a uai'a, 'a uai'a, 'a uai'a</td>
<td>Fisipa, M.I.a.25./A₈-A₉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Groups 1 and 2</td>
<td>t₁</td>
<td>Si sia si sia tuli muli atu</td>
<td>Si sia motif, p. 223, 4 times with right hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sing t₁ and t₂</td>
<td>t₂</td>
<td>Tuli atu tuli mai tuli atu tuli ke ma'u</td>
<td>With body bent forward, M.IV. l.b., First tafi motif, p. 222, 2 times left, 2 times right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as a round.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Section C is repeated as many times as the choreographer wishes.)
section may be singing only with no haka. The second section then relates a story through singing and haka. The example given above conforms to this norm, however, not all in my collection do. It may be that I do not have the entire composition, or that it would be understood by Tongans that the first part should be included.

The fa'ahiula cannot be said to be a living dance type because no new creations are added to the repertoire today. Few people are familiar with the fa'ahiula and only a very limited number of women perform it. This is in part due to historical circumstances that associated this dance, along with the ula and me'etu'upaki, with the Tu'i Tonga line of kings, their village Lapaha, and the Catholic Church. The fa'ahiula was preserved and used by the Catholic Church. Dances of this type were composed using Catholic concepts and performed at Catholic gatherings.

The performance of fa'ahiula today is almost exclusively at gatherings of the Catholic Church, for example, at feasts or entertainments for visiting Catholic dignitaries; at the end of year exercises of the Catholic school; or if either the Catholic school or the village of Lapaha are requested to dance at a concert entertainment. The girls of the Catholic high school performed a group of fa'ahiula at the end of year ceremonies in 1963 and they were asked to do them again at an entertainment for the Pan Pacific Women's Conference in 1964 by Princess Mata'aho who arranged the program. Fa'ahiula are also performed at money raising programs of the Catholic
Church either by the girls of the Catholic school who are instructed by Tongan nuns or by the women of Lapaha.

Perhaps the most knowledgeable exponents of the fa'ahiula genre are Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate. Vaisima is one of the few Tongans to write down dance poetry and both he and his sister, Ana Malia, have a remarkable memory for haka. Their father, Hopoate, who died in 1966 at the age of 80 was a son of a composer of fa'ahiula. Hopoate was a very high chief and a classificatory tamai, 'father,' of the late Queen Salote Tupou III and thus kui, 'grandparent,' of the present King. Hopoate was known as one of the few people who was an authority on this dance genre.

Another of the few who know the tradition well is Sister Mary 'Okostino, a Tongan nun who was taught by Malia Toto and Kolotele who were said to have performed for the immediate descendants of the last Tu'i Tonga, and who were known for their knowledge of fa'ahiula and ula. Sister 'Okostino teaches fa'ahiula to the girls of the Catholic schools.

Finally, it should be noted that fa'ahiula are not performed during official government katoanga, 'celebrations,' probably because they are not considered a formal dance genre today and because of the association with the Tu'i Tonga line of Kings and the Catholic Church. The official government is presently under the Tu'i Kanokupolu line of Kings which is associated with Wesleyanism.
ULa

Ula is an ancient women's standing dance. Ula is probably the same word as hula in Hawaiian and we can postulate that ula and its sitting variant, fa'ahiula, were early Polynesian dance forms. Ula uses the same haka that is used in the fa'ahiula. The Tongans consider the two genres closely related, and I was told that the reason one could borrow movements from the other was that they are tokoua'aki, 'related like siblings of the same sex,' which implies reciprocal borrowing.

Ula is performed by 2, 4, 6, or 8 women (or occasionally today as a solo), one half entering the dance space from each side. It should be performed by young women, but today not many young women are skilled in the ula, so middle age women perform it. Informants say that traditionally the fa'ahiula was performed by the older women and then a number of young women performed in front of the seated kau fa'ahiula, 'dancers of fa'ahiula,' who then became the singers, kau langi, for the ula.

The small melodic intervals of the ula are quite similar to the fa'ahiula. The pulse organization of the ula usually has 6 pulses rather than 4 or 8 as in the fa'ahiula. In contrast to fa'ahiula, the ula does not interpret the words, instead ula is more important for beauty of movement and displaying the beauty and dignity of women and their movements. One reason young women should do this dance is that it is they who are beautiful.
The poetry of the ula is not very important for movement, except for the length of the phrase. Although words are always associated, it is not imperative to the dancer that they be sung. As a case in point, when practicing ula, if we were tired of singing we would stop singing and carry on with only the beating. During a practice of fa'ahiula we couldn't stop singing because our movements had to follow the words, even though we didn't understand what we were saying. The structure of an ula is a single stanza consisting of two phrases, repeated over and over. Thus, the text phrase structure is \( t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1 \), etc., while the stanza structure is simply A A A A A etc. Sometimes the first phrase of the stanza is sung by the chorus of singers, and the second phrase of the stanza is sung by the dancers or vice versa. The only example of an ula that is translatable is:

\[
\begin{align*}
Fai mai se langi ula \quad & (t^1) \quad \text{Do for me the words of ula} \\
Fai mai se tau'olunga \quad & (t^2) \quad \text{Do for me the dance.}
\end{align*}
\]

This is no doubt a recent example, first because it is translatable and second because the word tau'olunga is used. Tau'olunga is a recent dance type said to have come from Samoa in recent years, which is probably historically valid because old Tongan dictionaries do not list the word and tau'olunga is a contemporary Samoan dance type. Even though the above example of ula poetry is recent we can postulate that the untranslatable ula also referred to the dance itself, its performers, and its spectators. There are frequent references in texts to Sina, Vaea, Maleipo, who were mythological and historical figures known for their beauty and handsomeness, and references to
mana'ia which refers to a man who is irresistible. The ula poetry may refer to either the dancing of, or the dancing for, these kinds of people.

The movement structure has \( X^1 X^2 X^1 X^3 X^1 X^4 X^1 \) form. Each \( X \) here is equal to one stanza, that is, two phrases of poetry. The association of words and movement is as follows:

- **Text phrase structure**: \( t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 t^1 t^2 \)
- **Melodic phrase structure**: \( m^1 m^2 m^1 m^2 m^1 m^2 m^1 m^2 \)
- **Stanza structure**: A A A A A A
- **Movement structure**: \( x^1 x^2 x^1 x^3 x^1 \)

In the movement structure \( X^1 \) is always the vahe ula motif (p. 213). Vahe ula alternates as \( X^1 \) with other haka motifs as \( X^2 X^3 X^4 \), etc., selected from the following: 'haka,' for example, motif notated on p. 216; milolua, p. 220; tene, p. 221; kako, p. 219; si sia, p. 223; tuhu, p. 222; Sina vai tafae, p. 223; pasi, fu. for example, the variation on p. 229; and Tunotuna, p. 229. The structure of the ula never deviates from this, however, the order in which the haka motifs come in the \( X^2 X^3 X^4 X^5 \) slots is up to the choreographer or the dancer.

The use of the va'e, 'feet and lower legs,' in the ula is very limited but very important. During the \( X^2 X^3 X^4 \) phrases, M.II.a.7. is invariably used. During the \( X^1 \) phrase, M.II.a.l. is usually used.

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6 The letter 'X' will be used to designate a movement phrase.
The only change in foot movement occurs when one of the **haka** requires an integrally associated foot movement, such as **tuhu** with a jump, M.II.a.8.; or **Tunotuna** with a turn of the body.

The use of the legs is most important in showing the excellence of the dancer. In M.II.a.7., used during the $x^2 \times x^3 \times x^4$ phrases, the feet are to be placed close together, side by side, flat on the floor; the knees are to be bent as far as possible with the back straight (not bent forward from the hips) which according to Tongans causes great pull in the upper legs. This bending of the legs is called **taulalo**; and must be very **faka'eie'eiki**. 'dignified.' There should be no moving of the body or swaying of shoulders or legs. It is also necessary to look alive in the face and move the head, **fakateki**, as a M.IV.4. movement at appropriate times, which are not prescribed but are expected.

Dancers of the **ula** are chosen because they are good dancers, which contrasts with the **fa'ahiuula** in which dancers are placed according to social status. Three points are looked for in choosing dancers of the **ula** in the following order:

1. the 'correct' posture of the body, i.e., feet close together, back straight, knees far bent,

2. looking alive in the face and moving the head properly,

3. physically attractive in facial features and body proportions.

Note that hand movements are not mentioned because it is assumed that women who try to do this dance can perform the **haka** properly. Although
the haka are most important in the general performance of Tongan dance, it is the use of the rest of the body which distinguishes good dancers from poor ones, and this is especially true in the case of ula.

Each ula text, that is, one stanza of two phrases of poetry, is complete in itself and is sung over and over again throughout the dance. However, two ula (and perhaps more) can follow each other without an interval. When this is done, the second one is usually Sina vai tafae, because in this ula the two groups of dancers move away from each other and then return to the center of the dance space. Though some ula have a characteristic arm movement, for example, Tunotuna often uses the motif called Tunotuna of clapping the hands and turning the body in a circle, all of the other movements can also be performed in each ula.

The ula cannot be said to be a living dance type, nor can it be said to be completely dead. It is uncommon to have poetry created for ula today, however, I did find one that the dance experts told me they had never heard before. The poetry may be a misremembered version of the example quoted earlier. This version is:

\[
\begin{align*}
Fai mai se tau'olunga, Io \quad (t^1) & \quad \text{Do a dance for me} \\
Fai mai se langi, Io. \quad (t^2) & \quad \text{Sing the song for me.}
\end{align*}
\]

I imagine that this ula was created by a person who does not usually perform ula. Wishing to do so, she used the song as she remembered it and used movements she remembered. This ula, incidentally, is the one now performed by Tongans in Honolulu.
An innovation seen in ula in Tonga was the substitution of the si sia motif (p. 223) performed with both hands simultaneously, instead of M.I.a.2. at the beginning of the vahe ula. The ula experts, however, are quite contemptuous of the adapted vahe. The only 'approved' changes are those of changing the order in which the ula motifs are done in the $X^2 X^3 X^4$ phrases; and the addition of some 'haka' of the M.I.a.l. paradigm that were not previously used in the ula. Some of the 'haka' were traditionally part of the ula and fa'ahi-ula, but in recent times more of these 'haka' are added to make it more colorful.

The ula like the fa'ahiula, due to historical circumstances, was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, and the Catholic Church. This is, however, no longer exclusively the case, for a number of women from Lapaha married men from the village of Kolonga and the ula is occasionally done there. Another reason that ula is done by 'outsiders' is that it, along with fa'ahiula is taught in Catholic schools and the students come from many villages. In their own villages it is easy to do an ula because it may be performed by only one or a few women; while the fa'ahiula should be done by a large number. It is not difficult to tell which ula performers have grown up with the tradition. The Lapaha people are still the experts in the tradition, secure in their superiority, although others may perform it. Those who have learned it in school do not know what are the essential features of the ula and they carry over features of the tau'olunga.
which is the widespread dance type. In Lapaha, children begin dancing when very young. They watch the adults practicing fa'iva, they stand behind them and dance, they then run off, form their own line and play at fa'iva.

Performances of the ula today are at the same occasions as the fa'ahiula. On these formal Catholic occasions an ula can follow after a fa'ahiula, or an ula may be performed alone. Ula are also performed on occasions where it is important to demonstrate traditional 'Tonganness.' For example, at the opening of a private school in 1965, which was outside the governmental realm of the Tongan educational system, the headmaster of the school wanted to impress the Tongans with the traditional nature of the curriculum adapted to modern society. In the dance program following the dedication feast a lakalaka was performed, and then, instead of the usual tau'olunga, an ula was substituted. It was done with the si sia vahe ula rather than in the 'correct' way.

The most knowledgeable exponents of the ula are the same as for the fa'ahiula—that is, Ana Malia and Vaisima Hopoate who learned from their father. They have a repertoire consisting of six ula. Sister 'Okostino is another well known exponent of ula. Her repertoire consists of eight ula, four of which are different from Vaisima's.

Ula, like fa'ahiula, are normally not performed during official government celebrations. During formal Catholic celebrations, only
those who have been brought up in the tradition perform. Thus there is little incentive for young women of other villages to learn the tradition. Even if one would want to learn, however, it would be difficult to find a teacher. The women of Lapaha usually only teach their own daughters or relatives. If someone from another village did learn, she would probably not be taught the essential features of body movement or might not be given the 'correct' vahe ula.

ME'ETU'UPAKI

Me'etu'upaki is an ancient man's standing dance in which the performers use paddles called paki. The name, me'etu'upaki, translates as dance (me'e) standing (tu'u) with paki. Paki has been translated by Churchward as "paddle or flat club" (1959, p. 399). Thus me'etu'upaki describes the dance as well as names it. The me'etu'upaki arm movements will not be elaborated here because the emphasis is on the movement of the paki. Suffice it to say that the paki is often used as an extension of the lower arm. The blade of the paki can be compared with the face of the palm and recurrent movements consist of the hitting of one hand to the blade in a manner similar to performing a pasi clap. The movements are bigger but always graceful and dignified. The paki is often twirled by rubbing the hands together much like the movements of morphokine M.I.c.21., palu.

Me'etu'upaki is performed by men ranged in several rows who sometimes move as one group or who may divide into two or three groups.
While performing a number of expert turns and twirls of the *paki*, they rearrange themselves so skillfully that one must see several performances to understand what movements each person makes to take him to his new position. In the sections where the dancers divide into two or three groups, each group sings a different set of words and melody simultaneously, all of which have different lengths and different sets of movements. The movements are very graceful, which is striking because modern Tongan men's dance movements are expected to be virile to contrast with women's graceful movements. The foot movements include steps in place, M.II.a.6.; small steps around in a circle, M.II.a.9.; small jumps, M.II.a.8.c.; and touching one toe in front of the other foot, M.II.a.2.a.

The *fakateki* head movement, M.III. is performed in prescribed places in the dance and it is also expected to be added when the dancers feel it should, M.IV.4. The *paki* movements are graceful and I would hypothesize that they represent movements of a canoe paddle and not movements of a war club as previous writers on Tongan dance have claimed. Tongans say that they do not know what the movements mean nor if they interpret the poetry because they cannot understand it. Although I cannot give a satisfactory translation of the poetry, some of it seems to refer to canoes, directions, and island names. Thus, I feel that the movements of the *paki* interpret the poetry which tells of ocean voyages.
The performers accompany their movements with singing and a group of men called lolongo also sing. Two or three hollow log gongs called nafa are beaten. The nafa was a log hollowed out in various thicknesses so that when hit in the middle or near the edges different tones were obtained. It is said that the Tu'ï Tonga himself beat the nafa while the lesser chiefs danced. During the first half of this century it was often Hopoate (p. 247) who beat the nafa.

Today the word nafa is used in two ways. Nafa is translated by Churchward as "drum" (1959, p. 374) and refers to the skin drum used in ma'ulu'ulu. The indigenous nafa should not be called a drum because it does not have a skin. Most Tongans today do not associate the word nafa with a hollow log gong, but rather with the skin drum used in ma'ulu'ulu. The hollow gong used today in Tonga, mainly as church 'bells,' is called lali and is the Fijian style of log gong.

Me'etu'upaki poetry is untranslatable by present day Tongans, who say that the words are Uvean, Futunan, and Samoan. It is through-composed in several stanzas. Each stanza is performed two or more times and there is usually a short interval between the stanzas. Before each stanza begins the dance leader, who stands at one side, says, "Tu ki hoki" which signifies that the stanza is to begin. Most stanzas end with a shout "tu!" at which time paki are raised with a flourish. The poetry structure of a performance of a me'etu'upaki that I witnessed is as follows (for text see Appendix B):
In stanza A the dancers divided into three groups and sang different poetry phrases, all three of which were of different length. Group 1 sang their phrase 18 times, two of these preceded actions by the other two groups. Groups 2 and 3 sang their respective phrases enough times so that they all finished together. During the rest of this *me'etu'upaki* the performers all sang together. The beginning formation was of eight columns, three men deep (that is, three rows, each with eight men) who were located at the rear of the dance space. Thus:

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Beginning Formation -  X X X X X X X X
                        X X X X X X X X
                        X X X X X X X X
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During stanza A each of the three groups moved separately: Group 2 (middle 4 columns) remained in place while groups 1 and 3 (outer 2 columns) moved to the front of the dance space. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanza A - First</th>
<th>X X X X</th>
<th>X X X X</th>
<th>X X X X X X X X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>change in formation</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
<td>X X X X</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Then groups 1 and 3 remained in place and group 2 moved forward.

Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanza A - Second</th>
<th>X X X X X X X X X X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>change in formation</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During stanzas B and C the dancers remained in this position. During stanza D the whole group moved to the right. Stanzas EF began with the dancers as a single group. They divided into two groups each with four columns, three men deep. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanzas EF - First</th>
<th>X X X X X X X X X X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>change in formation</td>
<td>X X X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X X X X X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Each set of four columns then moved to become two columns. Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanzas EF - Second</th>
<th>X X X X X X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>change in formation</td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>X X X X X X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Each pair of two columns moved toward each other to become a single group of four columns, six men deep. Thus:

| Stanzas EF - Third       | X X X X |
| change in formation      | X X X X |
|                          | X X X X |
|                          | X X X X |
|                          | X X X X |
|                          | X X X X |
|                          | X X X X |

Finally they returned to their original starting position of a single group of eight columns, three men deep. Thus:

| Stanzas EF - Final       | X X X X X X X X |
| change in formation      | X X X X X X X X |
|                          | X X X X X X X X |

There was no interval between stanzas E and F.

The stanzas used and the number of their repetitions is at the discretion of the choreographer. He arranges the performance according to the desired duration and how many men will participate. Teachers of the *me'etu'u* apaki are members of the *falefa* matapule, the ceremonial attendants of the Tu'i Tonga. One of these attendants, Kavapele, usually teaches the dance today as, in his forties, he is still of dancing age. Another of the *falefa* matapule, Mailau, is well known for his knowledge of *me'etu'u* apaki. Mailau is now 74 years old and leaves the dance teaching to the younger men, but he still helps with remembering the poetry. The poetry is not written down, but reconstructed from memory each time it is to be performed. Mailau remembered six sections of *me'etu'u* apaki. Kavapele, who taught the *me'e-tu'u* apaki I saw and also taught me to perform the dance, remembered six stanzas, four of which were the same as Mailau's. Vaisima, though
not a falefē matapule, is also known for his knowledge of the me'etu'u-
paki. He learned the poetry from his father Hopoate (who was mentioned
earlier as having played the nafa at me'etu'unaki performances) and
has written down what is reputed to be 'all' of the me'etu'unaki.
Vaisima's example includes all of the stanzas of Kavapele and Mailau
and several more. Some of these stanzas are quite long, one of them
having over 20 phrases of poetry (in some cases it is difficult to
tell where one phrase stops and the next begins). The movements of
all the stanzas in Vaisima's repertoire are not remembered, and he
does not know when they were last performed. The stanzas usually
performed today are those of Kavapele's repertoire, because he is the
one who usually does the teaching.

The me'etu'unaki is not a living dance genre. The choreographer
decides which stanzas will be performed on a given occasion, what
order they will be in, and what the number of repetitions will be. No
new creations are added to the repertoire and there is no remembrance
of anyone composing in this genre. Rather, this is a fossilized
dance genre, passed on as learned for many generations without conscious
deviation. This dance, according to living Tongans, has come down from
ancient times and was performed for the Tu'i Tonga on ceremonial
occasions such as the 'inaisi, first-fruits, ceremony at which time the
people brought quantities of food to the sacred King to insure abundant
harvests in the future. Tribute was also brought from Uvea, Futuna,
Samoa, and Fiji, all of which were at one time subservient to Tonga.
The me'etu'upaki was associated with the Tu'i Tonga, even more strongly than the ula and fa'ahiula. With changes in the societal structure of Tonga, that resulted in the Tu'i Kanokupolu becoming the ruling dynasty, and the institution of Wesleyanism almost as a State religion, the me'etu'upaki fell into disuse. Today it is associated with the Tu'i Tonga line, the Tu'i Tonga's village, Lapaha, and Catholicism. On the rare occasions of its performance, it is done mainly by Lapaha, Tu'i Tonga line, Catholic men. The last such performance is said to have been in 1945 at the 100th anniversary of the birth of George Tupou I. The me'etu'upaki today may also be performed by the boys of the Catholic high school at the end of the school year ceremonies. The dance is a difficult one, and it will probably not be many more years before it, too, will be dropped from the extant genres of Tongan dance. (For a more complete treatment of the societal aspects of the me'etu'upaki, see Kaeppler 1967b.)

We come now to the living Tongan dance genres of which there are three, lakalaka, ma'ulu'ulu, and tau'olunga.

LAKALAKA

Lakalaka is the contemporary dance type presented for formal occasions, whether they be government, church (especially Wesleyan), village, or family. On a government occasion lakalaka are performed by 'all' the men and women of a village, which is often over 100. On smaller specialized occasions there may be only about 30 dancers.
There is also a special dance group of the Palace known as 'Kava Tonga,' which dances for formal occasions.

I have argued elsewhere (Kaeppler 1967b) that the lakalaka is an evolved form of the ancient dance type me'elaufola. Innovations were dispensing with indigenous musical instruments of bamboo stamping tubes and bamboos struck with sticks, and changes that were necessary for men and women to take part in the same performance, which was mainly that both should do the same foot movements. In the Tongan view the lakalaka is a recently created dance genre, and it is credited to Tuku'aho, chief of Tatakamotonga, and a punake, 'composer and instructor of dances and their poetry,' known as Malukava. The official view of the government in regard to lakalaka is that it originated after the first missionaries started schools in Tonga. "The teachers would rise and repeat some of their nursery rhymes and at the same time demonstrate with their hands the various actions depicted by the rhymes. The children would follow suit and gradually this action song evolved" (Premier's Office, 1962, p. 17). It is said that Tuku'aho, when he heard of the children's recitations, decided that a dance built on the same principles would be appropriate.

Lakalaka is performed by men and women together who stand in two or more rows facing the audience, the men on one side the women on the other. The two groups do different sets of movements. The men's are virile and vigorous while women's are soft and graceful. The men's movements are bigger, looser and freer, and quite often the arms are
more extended, while the women's movements are smaller, more restrained and there is limited use of the upper arm. Although the basic movements are very much the same, their differences lie in the order and the manner of performance and are more apparent than real.

Foot movements for men and women are basically the same, that is, allo-kinemic, the men's steps being larger than women's. There are usually only three foot movements: morphokines M.II.a.1., M.II.a.2., and M.II.a.3. The most common morphokine, M.II.a.1., could be used throughout the dance. Lakalaka means to 'walk' or 'step it out' and M.II.a.1. is simply that—a step-touch alternately to each side. M.II.a.3. is forward and backward walking steps that are added either for the sake of variation or to interpret walking elements of the poetry.

Arm movements for both men and women are based first on the 'haka' M.I.a.1. paradigm and pasi, au, fu, clapping combinations; second on 'other haka' motifs, and third on a number of M.I.c. morphokines.

Music associated with the lakalaka is singing only. Singing is provided by a chorus called langitu'a which stands behind the dancers, and the dancers themselves. The langitu'a is a necessary part of the performance because it is considered that the dancers cannot dance and sing simultaneously as loud as is necessary. The dance leader who has taught the dance usually stands behind the dancers and sets the tempo by calling commands and counting. The exception to this practice is a punake who holds the title Malukava who may direct from
a position in front of the dancers. It is because of the title that he is permitted to stand in front of the dancers and not necessarily because of the ability of the individual who holds it. This title descends from the Malukava, who along with Tuku'aho originated the lakalaka. The dance leader calls, "Nima ki 'olunga," at which time the dancers measure the space between them by stretching their right arms to the side and touch the shoulder of the adjacent person. The dance leader then calls "fu e ua," which is the vahe, dividing motif, for the lakalaka (p. 214), and counts, "taha, ua," "one, two." He then begins to sing the song and after a few words the whole group joins in. Sometimes, especially if there is a large number of performers, the dance leader may beat the time on two sticks so that the whole group can hear. It is said that if they cannot hear the beat the singers go faster and faster until finally the dancers, especially the men doing vigorous movements, are so tired that at the end of the lakalaka when they should do their best movements, they are too fatigued to do so. There is no instrumental accompaniment except that the performers from a few villages wear seed anklets, which is said to be a borrowing from the Uvean dance kailao.

A lakalaka typically lasts fifteen minutes or more. Usually there are three sections and these may be divided into sub-sections which, in turn, are divided into phrases. Within the overall structure there may be one or more sub-section known as tau or tau ngahaka, which is a stanza in which the performers are particularly mafana,
'inwardly warm or exhilarated,' and do their best haka. In addition, some lakalaka have a special ending called sipa, which is characterized by the dancers turning around and moving to the rear of the dance space, then facing the audience and advancing forward again. The melody and some of the words of the sipa are taken from the me'etu'u-paki.

The most fundamental division is a tripartite one which divides the poetry into three sections. These sections are fakatapu, lakalaka proper and tatau.

Fakatapu

Fakatapu is the stylized beginning of a speech. It is also the beginning section of a lakalaka. In both cases it recognizes chiefs and important people present and in effect asks their permission to speak. It may recognize the chiefs of various large societal divisions, the King or Queen, the individuals that the celebration honors, honored guests, the heads of churches, or the Christian God. Sometimes these people are named in the poetry but usually they are alluded to in symbolism. The fakatapu can be more or less elaborate depending on the poet.

One of the fakatapu written by the late Queen Salote recognizes only the 'crown of the land' and then goes on to tell of the happiness of the people with their Tongan traditions under the Tongan government.
An example of a fakatapu not written by the late Queen recognizes the 'sun on high' to refer to the Queen; the 'lion in the royal tombs' to refer to the Tu'ii Kanokupolu line of the Queen's ancestors; the 'two Ma'afu lines' to refer to two great societal divisions; and the chiefs of Fiji and Samoa who had come to the celebration.

Sometimes the fakatapu section does not have dance movements. Instead, the dancers stand with one hand on the chest and recite the fakatapu. In such case it is called fakalaulausiva. There is usually only one stanza, but can be more.

Lakalaka Section

The lakalaka proper is the main part of the composition and tells the story. It may introduce the dancers or give the attitude of the people toward the celebration on which it is being performed. It usually alludes to the village or island from which the lakalaka comes by referring to historical events, famous sceneries or people from that area. The lakalaka proper is usually divided into several stanzas, though occasionally it is a single long section.

Tatau

Tatau is the ending section and often a closing counterpart of the fakatapu. In this section the lakalaka says goodbye and again defers to the chiefs. It may also end with the thought that no matter
where in the world one may travel, his love will always bring him back to Tonga. The *tatau* is usually only one short stanza.

*Lakalaka*, then, consists of three parts: 1) to recognize the chiefs and ask their permission to speak, 2) to tell a story, trace a genealogy, etc., and 3) to defer again to the chiefs. Within this general outline the composer is free to improvise and use his creative imagination. Each section and often each stanza has a different melody and rhythm. Phrases within a stanza may be the same length or may vary. The movements not only interpret the poetry by allusion, but their overall character varies according to the melody and tempo—those of the *tau* stanzas being especially lively.

To illustrate the structure of a *lakalaka*, I will use the *lakalaka* known as *Kalaunl* that was used above in the discussion of motifs. This *lakalaka* is from Lapaha, a village reknowned for dancing. The *ta'anga*, 'poetry,' was composed by Queen Salote Tupou III, who was a reknowned virtuoso of *lakalaka* ta'anga. The *fasi*, 'melody,' and *haka*, 'hand movements,' were composed by Vili Pusiake who was particularly reknowned for his ability to choreograph *lakalaka*. The structure of the *lakalaka* is as follows (for text see Appendix B):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section or stanza</th>
<th>Text phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section I. Fakatapu</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanza A</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 t^7 t^8 ) (repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanza B</td>
<td>( t^1 t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 ) (repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section II. Lakalaka</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanza C</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 ) (repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanza D</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^4 ) (repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanza E</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^5 ) (repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanza F</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 ) (slowly) (repeat at a faster tempo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Section III. Tatau</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanza H</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 ) (repeat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The movement phrases are determined by the text phrases which they interpret. At the beginning, between each sub-section, and at the end, the *lakalaka vahe, fu e ua*, is used.

Few *lakalaka* have such an elaborate structure, but it is this kind that is most admired with its varied repetitions of phrases and stanzas. The pulse organization of the phrases changes with some
stanzas and sometimes within a stanza. If the poetry of a phrase is felt to be too short, there may be repetition of a word within a phrase. This is done in stanza C of the above example. A text phrase can also be lengthened by adding tones to extend a word.

The movements depend on the repertoire of the choreographer. Choreographers from Lapaha are particularly well known and are invited to other villages and islands of the Tonga group to choreograph lakalaka and teach them to their dancers. The large lakalaka movement inventory of the Lapaha choreographers is partly due to the fact that it is their village which has preserved the three earlier dance types. Choreographers who know only lakalaka have no other dance genres from which to 'borrow' movements. The best choreographers usually use only one interpretative or haka motif per text phrase, fitting the motif to the phrase in two or three M.I.b. environments and completing the phrase with a variation of the pase, au, fu, motif. Another common movement phrase structure is an interpretive movement from M.I.c. group completed with a movement of the M.I.a.l. 'haka' group or carefully selected motifs from the other haka group of motifs. An example of this latter type was the stanza illustrated in the Chapter on motifs, where the first part of each phrase used interpretive motifs (M.I.a.2., toli, and M.I.a.1.) in three successive phrases, and each was completed with vete. Another means of variation is repetition at a faster tempo, as in stanza Fl above.
Lakalaka are performed on all formal government katoanga, 'celebrations,' unless dance is tapu because of death or mourning. In fact, performance of lakalaka is one of the main parts of a government katoanga, and perhaps can be thought of as taking the place of speeches that would be appropriate on a formal occasion. New lakalaka are composed several months before any large scale government function and practiced every night (except Sunday) in the village often for two or three months. The last large-scale government katoanga was in 1962 which celebrated 100 years of freedom under the Tu'i Kanokupolu dynasty of Kings. During this katoanga there were two full days of lakalaka in Tongatapu, there was one day of lakalaka in the Ha'apai group of islands and two days of lakalaka in the Vava'u group of islands.

Lakalaka is the most important living dance genre in Tonga. Its structure, although 'created' in historic times, is similar to ancient genres such as me'etu'upaki. The main foot movement, M.II.a.l., is the same as that in the recurring \( t \) phrase of ula. The majority of the hand movements are the same ones used in ula and fa'ahiula. Through lakalaka the Tongans show their allegiance to the King and reinforce the socio-political system that is based on a hierarchical ranking of persons. The structure of the dance space reinforces this ranking, as the placement of dancers is according to social status (see Chapter II). In addition, there is a reinforcement of values,
such as the appropriate rolls of men and women as reflected in the character of their movements.

MA'ULU'ULU

Ma'ulu'ulu is a dance that may be presented on formal and on semi-formal occasions. It can take the place of a lakalaka when one or more of several criteria are present:

1) all men or all women will be the performers,
2) performers are too young or too old for lakalaka,
3) performers are too few or too many for lakalaka,
4) when a ma'ulu'ulu pulotu haka, 'choreographer,' is available,
5) a group prefers to do a ma'ulu'ulu rather than lakalaka,
6) if they are requested to do ma'ulu'ulu (by the Queen for example).

Although a ma'ulu'ulu may replace an individual lakalaka in a katoanga, the whole dance program of a katoanga would not consist entirely of performances of ma'ulu'ulu (whereas it could consist of of lakalaka only). This may be one reason why ma'ulu'ulu is recognized as a semi-formal dance. Other reasons are that ma'ulu'ulu is incomplete because it may have only one sex, and it is said to have diffused from Samoa, while the origin of lakalaka is historically associated with the ruling line of Tongan Kings.

Ma'ulu'ulu differ from lakalaka in several ways, the most obvious observed difference, and the immediately verbalized one, is that ma'ulu'-ulu is a sitting dance and lakalaka is a standing dance. Though in
general this distinction holds, there are exceptions. In some lakalaka there are stanzas in which the dancers are seated, as in the lakalaka of Kolovai where the dancers depict the making of kava. In a ma'ulu'ulu with more than one row of dancers only the first row is seated. Other important differences between ma'ulu'ulu and lakalaka are those of musical accompaniment, overall structure, movements, and origin.

The ma'ulu'ulu dance type is said to have come from Samoa toward the end of the 1800's. It was well liked by the Tongans and the first one that the Tongans performed was sung in the Samoan language. As performed in Tonga today, the ma'ulu'ulu is a combination of Tongan dance concepts and Tongan-adapted Samoan and Western concepts.

The formation of a ma'ulu'ulu is one or more curved lines. The front row sits cross-legged, M.II.a.15. on the ground. The remaining rows are elevated in various ways—by kneeling, sitting on chairs or benches, and standing. When the performers of the back row are standing, they move slightly from side to side using the main step of the lakalaka, M.II.a.1. The arm movements are the most varied of any of the Tongan dance genres and use any of the morphokines of the M.I. group. Like fa'ahiula, the ma'ulu'ulu can be described as 'otu haka, 'row of haka' because the aim of the group is to perform with such precision that all the individuals in a row move 'as a machine' giving an impression of a row of haka.
Music for the ma'ulu'ulu is singing, together with the beating of a modern nafa. This nafa is a section of a metal barrel with both sides covered with cowhide. It is hit with sticks covered on the ends with tapa. From one to four nafa may be used and sometimes they are beaten on both ends. The drummers do not all beat the same rhythm and are free to improvise within a 4-pulse framework, particularly during the section where no singing occurs. Usually one drummer begins and the others join with different rhythms resulting in an intricate-sounding beating. The rhythm produced is similar to that of several women beating tapa. When the drums accompany singing they beat a more regular 4-pulse rhythm.

Singing is done by the dancers. If there is only a small group, a chorus may join in singing, but this is not a necessary part of the performance.

The structure of ma'ulu'ulu is different from lakalaka, although it, too, is divided into three sections. Whereas in lakalaka the three sections are internal divisions in the ta'anga, in ma'ulu'ulu a further three sections are differentiated by singing and not singing.

The first section of ma'ulu'ulu is called haka fakalongolongo, 'silent haka.' The silent here means no singing, for it is during this section that the drums only, in very loud intricate beating, accompany the haka. This vigorous beating and haka lasts for five minutes or more. Haka fakalongolongo uses vigorous staccato movements
that reflect the precise beating of the nafa. In this section the creativity of the pulotu haka is greatly admired. This section uses haka from both M.I.a. and M.I.c. groups, usually repeating each morphokine four times in rapid succession. Occasionally this section may be based on movements from daily life, for example, the haka fakalongolongo of one ma'ulu'ulu was based on lena, a children's game where two children face each other and hit each other's open palms. The haka fakalongolongo strives to excite both dancers and spectators to the inner exhilaration, mafana, ideally created by dance.

The second section, haka hiva, consists of haka, softer drum beating, and singing. During this section the haka, by allusion, interprets the words of the ta'anga. The ta'anga is strophic in form—that is, verse and refrain, verse and refrain. The verses need not all have the same melody or even the same number of phrases per verse. Usually the first verse corresponds to the fakatapu of a lakalaka and the last verse to its tatau. There seem to be two models for ma'ulu'ulu ta'anga: verse-refrain form from church hymns, and the through-composed form found in fa'ahiula and lakalaka.

The refrain is called tau in Tongan or 'chorus' in English, and it fulfills both functions. It is a chorus in the English sense in that it is repeated after each verse. And it is a tau in the Tongan sense in that it is this section where the performers do their best haka and are particularly mafana. The haka of the second section is
more restrained than in the haka fakalongolongo section and is fit to
the poetry phrases in the same ways as in lakalaka choreography.

The third section is a haka fakalongolongo, which is a similar
but shortened version of the first.

I will give two examples of the structure of ma'ulu'ulu. The
first is the ma'ulu'ulu of Queen Salote College (a secondary school)
for girls. The ta'anga was composed by Queen Salote and the fasi
and haka by Peni Tutuila who is the individual of greatest reknown
for ma'ulu'ulu choreography. Often the ma'ulu'ulu is performed by all
the girls of the school which number over 500. The following descrip­
tion is from a performance for Queen Salote in the Palace grounds on
October 29, 1965. On this occasion all the girls of the school
brought food to the palace as a going away gift to the Queen and then
performed for her. In attendance were only the Queen and her
ceremonial attendants (matapule). The girls had practiced daily for
several weeks in order to make their movements as perfect--'as one'--
as possible. The dance lasted about half an hour and had the following
structure (for text see Appendix B):
Section I.  **Haka fakalongolongo** (haka and drumming)
Lead drummer used three drums, second drummer used one drum, third drummer used opposite end of one of the drums used by the lead drummer.

Section II.  **Haka hiva** (movements, singing, drumming)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stanza</th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 ) (the first time through was fakalaulausiva---singing with no haka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(repeat--with haka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 d t^7 t^8 d ) (d here symbolizes drumming and haka without singing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>( t^1 t^2 t^3 t^4 t^5 t^6 ) (repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>(repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(repeat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>same as above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(repeat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section III.  **Haka fakalongolongo** (shortened version of Section I).

Movement phrases are determined by text phrases.

---

7 Verse 1 takes the place of a **fakatapu** by saying that it will leave the **fakatapu** to the **matapule**.
At the end of this performance, the Queen sent a message by her matapule to ask them to do it over again "because it warmed her heart."

The second performance lasted about 15 minutes and had the following structure:

Section I. Haka fakalongolongo

Section II. Haka hiva

Stanza A Verse 1 (fakalaulausiva) (haka and singing)
   A
   C Verse 2
   B Tau
   D Verse 3
   D
   E Verse 4
   B Tau

Section III. Haka fakalongolongo (shortened version)

The second example is the ma'ulu'ulu of Pilolevu College for girls—the Ha'apai counterpart of Queen Salote College which is in Tongatapu. The ta'anga, fasi, and haka were composed by teachers of Pilolevu College, some of whom had been students at Queen Salote College, and were familiar with the ma'ulu'ulu there. This example was composed for the 1962 katoanga celebrating 100 years of freedom and has been performed on later occasions. I did not see a formal performance, but four girls did the dance for me, and described the performance. The structure is as follows (for text see Appendix B):
An abstraction of the essential elements of the structure of ma'ulu'ulu shows it to be a haka fakalongolongo, followed by haka hiva, followed by a shortened version of haka fakalongolongo. The essential structure of the ta'anga is one or more kupu, 'verse,' followed by one or more tau, and usually internal divisions into fakatapu, body of the poetry, and tatau.
If we compare the structure of these *ma'ulu'ulu* with the structure of the previous Tongan genres, we can see that *ma'ulu'ulu*, though supposedly brought from Samoa has prototypes in indigenous Tongan genres for most of its essential features. *Fa'ahiula* can be said to be the main prototype for the *ma'ulu'ulu* genre.

*Ma'ulu'ulu* like *fa'ahiula* is primarily a women's sitting dance. Men and women occasionally perform the *ma'ulu'ulu* together, and it is also said that men sometimes joined in the *fa'ahiula* (I have not seen this). Performers of *fa'ahiula* sit in a single curved row. When there is a small number of performers in *ma'ulu'ulu*, they, too, sit in a single row. When more performers are added, more rows are added and the dance space resembles a combination of *fa'ahiula* and *lakalaka* performance. Music associated with both *fa'ahiula* and *ma'ulu'ulu* consists of singing by the performers and beating time by one or more musicians who sit within the curve of the dancers. The *nafa* has replaced the *tafua*, and serves the same function. The pulse organization of both genres is usually in groups of 4. The *ma'ulu'ulu* is more regular and tends to have a larger pitch range, probably due to the influence of Western music. In both genres the movements interpret the poetry and are based on the text phrase structure.

The structure of *fa'ahiula* are quite diverse and include the strophic, verse-refrain structure of the *ma'ulu'ulu* as well as the through-composed structure which has stanzas of different lengths and melodies as some *ma'ulu'ulu* do. In both cases the function of the
poetry is to tell a story and the movements to interpret the story. Preceding the poetry of both genres there may be a section of haka and drumming without singing. This section is called tafua in the fa'ahiula. Tafua refers to the rolled mat, which is struck to keep time, as well as the haka without singing. In ma'ulu'ulu this section is called haka fakalongo longo which refers to being verbally silent. I would conjecture that both of these terms were originally the dance leader's directions to the dancers—"tafua" would be a reminder that the section is with drum only; "haka fakalongo longo" would be a reminder that the section is without singing, which of course, is the same. In both genres the haka hiva can be preceded by a section called fakalaulausiva in which there is singing but no haka.

The second section of both genres is haka which interprets poetry. The third section of ma'ulu'ulu is haka fakalongo longo. It is said that the third section of fa'ahiula could be tafua, but this may be a reverse borrowing from ma'ulu'ulu.

After a fa'ahiula or ma'ulu'ulu is performed, the dancers often remain seated and become the langitu'a for a succeeding dance based on beauty of movement rather than poetry interpretation—the ula and the tau'olunga respectively.

Finally either genre may, but need not, be performed on formal occasions. During the era in which fa'ahiula was frequently performed the me'etu'upaki was the more formal dance type. Today, the era of ma'ulu'ulu, the lakalaka is the formal dance type.
Ma'ulu'ulu, like other Tongan genres, has its well known choreographers. The most famous is Peni Tutuila, who choreographs the Queen Salote College ma'ulu'ulu. This dance has been seen throughout the world in the Cinerama production, "South Seas Adventure." Students of Peni have choreographed ma'ulu'ulu in his style and others have 'stolen' his routines. Peni comes from the island of Uiha in the Ha'apai group of islands, the son of a renowned female choreographer.

Another exponent of ma'ulu'ulu is the Honorable Ve'ehala, noble of Fahefa who is recognized throughout the Kingdom for his knowledge of Tongan traditions including dances—especially lakalaka and ma'ulu'ulu. Several of the Lapaha pulotu haka also choreograph ma'ulu'ulu.

Tafi

A subdivision of ma'ulu'ulu is a dance called tafi. That is, it is classified as a ma'ulu'ulu by many Tongans. The only people I found who do not classify it as a ma'ulu'ulu are the people of Fua'amotu village, and it is they who perform the tafi. They say that tafi is a 'real Tongan dance' and not a ma'ulu'ulu which came from Samoa. They also say it was originated by Tuku'aho who also originated the lakalaka. Tuku'aho was chief of two villages and after he gave the lakalaka to Tatakamotonga he gave the tafi to Fua'amotu. When the dance was originated in about the 1890's it is said to have consisted
only of drum beating and haka. The haka dramatized the sweeping (tafi) of the mala'e. The tafi should be performed first on a dance program to prepare the mala'e for the dances which follow. In 1918 Tuku'a'ho added the words to the tafi. The poetry is hiva fakananivi, 'song of fondness or love to a child,' and was written for Tuku'a'ho's son, Tungi Mailefihi, for the occasion of his marriage to Queen Salote. There are two short stanzas of poetry. Stanza A has 6 phrases of 4 pulses each, and stanza B has 5 phrases of 8 pulses each. They are performed as A A B B, the B stanza being known as the tau ngahaka. The overall structure is the same as ma'ulu'ulu. That is, first there is a section of haka fakalengolongo which dramatizes the tafi, 'sweeping of the mala'e.' Second there is haka hiva consisting of movements, singing, and drumming. Third there is a repetition of the haka fakalengolongo section.

Tafi can be performed by all men, all women, or both—usually the latter, who sit alternately. It is usually performed by 30 or 40 people sitting in one or two curved rows with the drum in front. In the tafi all the performers sit on the ground even if there is more than one row.

The performance of tafi is not only to tafi the dance mala'e. The last performance of tafi was in 1965 when the present King's oldest son came home for school holidays. The tafi was performed at the airport to tafi the mala'e vakapuna (green where the airplane lands) for the Prince.
In the absence of tafi as the first dance of a formal occasion, a ma'ulu'ulu is often substituted. During the 1962 katoanga the first dance on each of the two days was a ma'ulu'ulu—the first day, that of Queen Salote College; the second day that of St. Andrews Secondary School. If there is no ma'ulu'ulu or tafi to perform, the first lakalaka of the day is called tafi mala'e.

TAU'OLUNGA

Tau'olunga is the informal dance genre, although occasionally it is elevated and performed on semi-formal occasions. It does not, however, take the place of the formal dance type, lakalaka.

Tau'olunga is an acculturated dance form consisting of Western, Samoan, and indigenous Tongan elements. Its music is adapted from Western musical traditions. Its name and manner of performance are borrowed from Samoa. Its movements and role are Tongan.

In Samoa the tau'olunga is performed by the village taupou and a tulafale, 'talking chief ceremonial attendant.' The girl's graceful movements contrast with the vigorous male movements. The first tau'olunga was brought to Tonga from Samoa at the beginning of this century and the words were sung in Samoan. Some of the first performers of the dance in Tonga were Sioape Kaho (son of the noble Tu'i Vakano) and a group under his aegis. Tongan tau'olunga is performed

8 Tau'alanga in the Samoan language.
by one or more female dancers and one or more male dancers known by the Samoan name, tulafale. Tulafale in Tongan has no other meaning than that of a male dancer of tau'olunga.

Samoan tau'olonga use much more leg movement than indigenous Tongan dances. Samoan movements include quick short running steps that bend the knee after lifting the foot from the ground, and a leg rotation to keep time. Tongan kinemes $L_9$ (the quick bending of the knee) and $L_8$ (leg rotation) are probably borrowings from Samoan movements that diffused with this dance. $L_8$ and $L_9$ are used in Tongan tau'olunga, but in no other Tongan dance genres.

In Samoan, tau'olunga designates the last dance on a program. In Tongan, tau'olunga is the name of a dance genre based on Samoan dance concepts that are broader than just tau'olunga. The word tau'olunga in Tongan has a meaning of its own. Tau'olunga contrasts as an antonym with taulalo. Tau'olunga connotes something high in space, while taulalo connotes something low in space. Taulalo was used in this paper to describe the position of the legs during the $t^2 t^3 t^4$ phrases of the ula genre which uses morphokine M.II.a.7. In contrast to taulalo, tau'olunga can be used to describe the usual position of the legs in the tau'olunga dance genre—that is, the legs are not bent and the body remains high in space. Thus, though tau'olunga as a dance name was borrowed from Samoa, it makes sense in the Tongan language when describing the dance genre. Tongan dances
are usually not spoken of as individual compositions. Rather, the names of dance genres are usually used as verbs to describe kinds of dance.

Arm movements used in *tau'olunga* are basically Tongan and, for the most part, are the same as used in other Tongan dance genres. It should be noted, however, that many Samoan and Tongan arm movements are quite similar. There are some arm movements, mainly from group M.I.c. that are not usually used in other Tongan genres, for example, M.I.c.23. The movements are not as diverse as those used in *ma'ulu'ulu*. The movement emphasis in *ma'ulu'ulu* is the precise performance of many movements as a team, whereas the emphasis in *tau'olunga* is on beautiful, graceful movement and on individual interpretation. All the movements used in *ula* may be used in *tau'olunga*. The group of movements most frequently used is that of the 'haka,' M.I.a.1., paradigm. Movements that are admired because of precise simultaneous performance such as M.I.c.16. are not necessarily admired in a *tau'olunga*. Rather, graceful, soft movements based on rotation of the lower arm, $R_1$, and the flexible extension and flexion of the wrist, $W_1$ and $W_2$, have their most characteristic expression in the *tau'olunga*.

The arm movements of the *tulafale* are vigorous and virile. They consist almost entirely of slapping and clapping motifs and movements such as M.I.a.24. In addition the *tulafale* may bend the body forward, hit the ground with the hands or even roll on the ground.
Music for the tau'olunga is Western acculturated. Guitar and 'ukulele, using chords derived from Western music, form the musical background for the singing, which also employs Western intervals and harmony.

Though originally the model for tau'olunga songs may have come from church hymns, a more recent model is rock-and-roll songs. Tongans take great delight in fitting tau'olunga poetry to melodies heard on the radio. These melodies may be heard only once or twice and the remembered version that is eventually fitted to a tau'olunga often has little resemblance to the original, especially when added to the Tongan preference for singing harmony rather than melody. In music as in poetry, the obvious is hidden—that is, they allude to the melody by singing the harmony. Perhaps we can compare the result to the 'silent theme' tradition or 'bebop' school of American jazz—though we do not hear the melody, we can 'feel' that the melody is there. On one occasion I was taking a rather long time to learn a tau'olunga song. One of my informants told me that she couldn't understand why I had so much trouble when the melody was an American rock-and-roll song called "Honey, Honey." She then sang what she considered to be an English rendition of the song—which I admit could have been a rock-and roll song, but, unfortunately, I didn't know it.

Songs that are associated with tau'olunga dancing are called hiva kakala, 'sweet songs,' and are composed for singing rather than
dancing. Such songs are sung at informal kava parties or on any informal occasion when people get together. **Ta'anga**, the word used for lakalaka and ma'ulu'ulu poetry implies that the poetry is meant to be sung and accompanied with set actions. This word is not used for hiva kakala. Similarly, **fakafasi** which is the verb which describes the adding of the tune to lakalaka poetry, is often replaced by **fakatu'ungafasi** when applied to hiva kakala. **Fakatu'ungafasi** refers to writing music in the Tongan form of the tonic sol-fa. It is recognized by Tongans that hiva kakala can be written this way. The fasi of a ta'anga, however, cannot be so written because it is not based on Western melodic intervals. The mention of hiva kakala does not denote dancing.

When tau'olunga first came to Tonga it was associated with a particular Samoan song which is still remembered. Songs were then written in Tongan that were integrally associated with tau'olunga. Today any hiva kakala can be accompanied by tau'olunga. Occasionally a song will be written primarily for tau'olunga. These, however, still conform to hiva kakala type and all are also performed without dancing.

**Tau'olunga**, like all Tongan dance, is determined by the phrase structure of the poetry. Even in hiva kakala the poetry is the most important. The poetry is composed and then a melody is sought that will go with it. Almost without exception the structure follows the strophic form of verse-refrain of some church hymns. Each verse
has the same number of lines, the same pulse organization, and the same melody. Until quite recently the dancer was also the choreographer. The dancer choreographed as she danced using the pool of Tongan recognized dance motifs, that of the movement inventory of every Tongan dancer. These motifs were either learned as tau'olunga motifs or as motifs learned and used in other Tongan genres, and adapted to the rhythm of hiva kakala.

The structure of a typical hiva kakala-tau'olunga performance is as follows (an example of tau'olunga, Hala Wuna is included in Appendix B):

Section I. Introduction (Usually this is the tau performed as instrumental music only and used as an entrance for the dancer.

Section II. Haka hiva (music, singing, and haka)

Stanza A Verse 1
A repeat

Stanza B Tau
B repeat

Stanza C Verse 2
C repeat

Stanza B Tau
B repeat

Stanza D Verse 3
D repeat

Stanza B Tau

Section III. Fakataupasi

Stanza B Tau (considerably faster)
The tulafale is not a necessary part of a tau'olunga performance in Tonga, but when included, his vigorous movements throw the graceful movements of the female dancer into sharp relief because of their contrast. When a tulafale is part of the performance, usually Section I is his solo. In such case, the tulafale enters the dance space and performs his virile movements usually for one or two repetitions of the tau. The female dancer enters during Section II, sometimes after the singing has already started. The māfana movements of the tulafale makes the female dancer also māfana and makes it easier for her and the spectators to enter into the spirit of the dance.

By the end of the dance, even the female dancers are so māfana that they no longer perform their graceful haka. Section III, the fakataupasi, is a section where just slapping and clapping movements are performed. Although slapping and clapping movements can be performed during any part of tau'olunga, they are particularly characteristic of the last section.

When there is no pre-arranged tulafale, one or more men (or women who act as tulafale) may enter the dance space at any time. They may join in for two reasons—either to encourage the dancer or because the dancer has made them, as spectators, so māfana that they, too, must physically join in.

Until about the last twenty years the tau'olunga did not have set movements. Instead the dancer choreographed as she danced. Most
tau'olunga at the informal level are still performed in this way. The dancer just dances 'making up' the movements as she goes along, choosing movements from her own dance-movement inventory. Some dancers are recognized as being particularly creative in the use of a large inventory of movements. These dancers are usually those who have taken part in other dance genres.

Within the past twenty years it has become increasingly popular to choreograph tau'olunga, and some of these pieces have been elevated to semi-formal status. This has occurred for three reasons:

1) the lack of knowledge about Tongan dance among the younger generation,

2) the increasing popularity of the dance,

3) the patronage of the dance type by Queen Salote.

Knowledge of Tongan dance has attenuated to such a degree among the younger generation that many have never heard of fa'ahiula, ula, or me'etu'upaki, much less seen any. Those who have seen these dance types say they are too slow and uninteresting. They also dislike the chant-like quality of the accompanying music that is associated with the ancient genres, preferring instead the fast, Westernized music of the tau'olunga. Because the younger generation do not know the old dance genres they do not know the movements that are characteristic of them. I have seen some tau'olunga dancers perform a whole dance using only 'haka' M.I.a.l., paradigm movements and slapping and clapping movements characteristic of the fakataupasi third section.
Although these are tau'olunga movements par excellence—variation as well as personal interpretation are the marks of a good tau'olunga. This small movement inventory of recall of most younger dancers has led to the practice of choreographing the tau'olunga. Choreographed tau'olunga are recognized as the easiest type of Tongan dance, because there are usually no more than six short sections to learn. These are:

1) the entrance into the dance space, which is usually one or two arm motifs such as M.I.c.4. and M.I.c.8. with forward walking steps, M.II.a.4.,

2) the tau or chorus, which is repeated alternately with the several stanzas,

3-5) movements for three (more or less) stanzas,

6) fakataupasi slapping clapping motifs for the last repetition of the tau.

A well choreographed tau'olunga can make a poor dancer appear to be much better than she is because of the varied and appropriate movements taught to her by the choreographer.

Tau'olunga has become more and more popular because it is easy to do and it leaves a wide latitude for personal interpretation—which can range from grace and beauty to wantonness. Children grow up with the tau'olunga and thus it is not necessary to consciously 'learn' anything except the sequence of movements. In recent years Tongans have picked up the idea that time is money, and the less they must
practice, the better they like it. They prefer to do tau'olunga which requires little practice rather than lakalaka or ma'ulu'ulu which require a great deal.

The late Queen Salote was a great supporter of all Tongan dance including the tau'olunga. She was one of the first to choreograph tau'olunga with set movements. One of the most famous hiva kakala, Manu 'o Palataise, 'Bird of Paradise,' was composed by Queen Salote specifically for tau'olunga. The Queen used tau'olunga as a form of entertainment for dignitaries visiting Tonga. When traveling abroad the Queen often took with her a dancer of tau'olunga to perform for "cultural" events in other countries. Thus the tau'olunga has become equated with 'Tongan dance' in other countries and with 'entertainment' to the Tongans. The entertainment can vary from a very informal level to a level befitting a head of state. Tau'olunga, like ballroom dancing are forms of entertainment which one can either join or watch. Other Tongan dance genres are faiva—that is, performances that have a deeper meaning than just entertainment. Tau'olunga is classified as faiva when 'performance with haka' is meant. However, if faiva is used at a more specific level to mean 'performances which uphold and reflect Tongan traditions,' tau'olunga must be excluded in most cases. Ma'ulu'ulu and even lakalaka are occasionally used as entertainment for people who are not familiar with Tongan traditions, but to the Tongans these genres have a deeper meaning.

The most reknowned choreographers of tau'olunga are the late Queen Salote, the Honorable Ve'ehala, Peni Tutuila, Kefu and his son
Tu'ialo, Vaisima, and several other Lapaha pulotu haka. Most of these individuals are also known for their choreography of other dance genres. Except for Queen Salote, all of these choreographers are men. All work according to the words of a hiva kakala. As in lakalaka and ma'ulu'ulu, the movements of tau'olunga interpret or allude to the poetry at its most apparent level. When setting the movements for a tau'olunga, however, the choreographer also takes into consideration who will perform the dance. Tau'olunga are usually choreographed with specific people, or specific occasions, in mind. A choreographer may re-choreograph a tau'olunga if it is to be performed by a different person. The same hiva kakala can also be choreographed by different choreographers using quite different movements. For example there are many haka versions of the hiva kakala, 'Hala Vuna.'

The original version of Hala Vuna was composed for Tu'imala, one of the five best contemporary tau'olunga dancers, and the sororal niece of Vaisima. Tu'imala is well known for her unchoreographed renditions of tau'olunga, and she has also choreographed tau'olunga. When Tu'imala choreographs, she uses mainly tau'olunga motifs, but when Vaisima choreographs he also uses 'classical' motifs characteristic of ula. When such a tau'olunga is performed by Tu'imala, the result is a combination of beautiful movements that interpret poetry in the traditionally accepted way, with the personal interpretation of an individual skilled in interpreting motifs in the dignified and yet risqué manner so admired by the Tongans for this dance genre. The
poetry of 'Hala Vuna' tells of the sights to see, hear, and smell in Nuku'alofa and implies that Tu'imala is a representative of the females of that village. The overall structure follows the example on page 289. Many of the M.I.c. group of movements are used in a narrative manner in Vaisima's haka version, interspersed with ula motifs used to complete the phrases of poetry. Only a few of the movements of the 'haka,' M.I.a.l. paradigm are used in this dance.

The occasions of tau'olunga performance run the gamut of all Tongan social occasions. There may be a risque rendition at a moonlight picnic leading to a love meeting of dancer and a mafana spectator; there may be unchoreographed tau'olunga at an informal gathering to drink kava; there may be choreographed examples at a concert to raise money for a church (in such case the money is tucked in the dancer's clothing or hair while she dances); a dancer personally chosen by the Queen may perform after a feast for a visiting dignitary. The movements express joy and exhilaration and seek to excite the hearts of the spectators.

SUMMARY

Tongan dance can be divided into six genres, three of which are 'living' and three of which are 'dead but extant.' The six genres differ from each other in that each has a different combination of
at an abstract level and summarize them in chart form. Needless to say, these are not hard and fast categories.

The type of dance to be presented depends mainly on occasion of performance. Fa'ahiula, ula, and me'etu'upaki can be called 'dead but extant' genres and are performed only on special occasions. Their performance serves to isolate symbolically the Tu'i Tonga, Lapaha, Catholic division of the society. Besides celebrations peculiar to this group of people, the only other time the 'dead but extant' genres are performed is by special request usually to display the traditional nature of Tongan dance.

On formal occasions the characteristic dance genre is lakalaka. Lakalaka, with formal speech making components, functions as a speech, the dancers delivering the speech together. The speech orally pays allegiance to the established socio-political order of Tonga, and visually reflects and sanctions the hierarchical ranking of persons based on social status. On formal occasions ma'ulu'ulu, too, may serve this speech making function. Or the performance of a ma'ulu'ulu as the initial dance on a formal occasion may serve to 'tafi the mala'e' in preparation for lakalaka to follow.

On occasions in which the significant dimension is entertainment the tau'olunga dance genre is most frequently used. When ma'ulu'ulu are used on such occasions, the entertaining feature derives from the perfect execution of the precise, varied movements.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Fa'ahulu</th>
<th>Ula</th>
<th>Lakalaka</th>
<th>Ma'ulu'ulu</th>
<th>Tau'olunga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Overall structure of a total performance</td>
<td>Varied through-composed</td>
<td>One stanza of two</td>
<td>Through-composed in</td>
<td>Usually verse-refrain</td>
<td>Verse-refrain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) sections</td>
<td>verses-refrain by phrases</td>
<td>phrases repeated</td>
<td>stanzas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) stanzas</td>
<td>First section may be tafua</td>
<td>First section corresponds</td>
<td>First section may be</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) phrases</td>
<td>Second section may be</td>
<td>to fakatapu and may be</td>
<td>fakalaulausiva</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fakalaulausiva</td>
<td>fakalaulausiva</td>
<td>Second section tells story</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Third section corresponds</td>
<td>to tatau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Associated music</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) instruments</td>
<td>Tafua (rolled mat)</td>
<td>Tafua</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>String band</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) pitch range of vocal music</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) pulse organization, tempo</td>
<td>4 or 8, slow</td>
<td>6 or 8, slow</td>
<td>Varied, medium</td>
<td>4, medium and fast</td>
<td>Varied, fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Relation of movements to poetry</td>
<td>Interprets words</td>
<td>Does not interpret</td>
<td>Interprets words</td>
<td>Interprets words</td>
<td>May interpret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Movement</td>
<td></td>
<td>base that movements for</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) prescribed-prescribed morphokines</td>
<td>M.I.A.1.</td>
<td>Definite inventory</td>
<td>M.I.A.3. only for legs</td>
<td></td>
<td>Variation admired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) choreography</td>
<td>Some prescribed</td>
<td>Others prescribed</td>
<td>Specially choreographed</td>
<td>Specially choreographed</td>
<td>None prescribed or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Traditional</td>
<td>Aim to move 'as one'</td>
<td></td>
<td>prescribed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Performers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Choreographed or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) number</td>
<td>Many</td>
<td>Many (all of specified</td>
<td>Many (all of specified</td>
<td>Many (all of specified</td>
<td>Usually 1 to 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) sex, age</td>
<td>Usually women, old or</td>
<td>group)</td>
<td>group)</td>
<td>group)</td>
<td>Women and male tulafale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) arrangement of dancers</td>
<td>middle aged</td>
<td>Women, young</td>
<td>Men and woman</td>
<td>Usually women, occasionally</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) position (sitting or standing)</td>
<td>Curved row</td>
<td>One row</td>
<td>All adults</td>
<td>men and women; all ages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Occasion of performance</td>
<td>Catholic gatherings</td>
<td>Standing</td>
<td>Standing (special</td>
<td>Curved rows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special request</td>
<td></td>
<td>sections may be seated)</td>
<td>Sitting (back rows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>gradually elevated)</td>
<td>Formal</td>
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From the explanations in this chapter and their summary in chart form, it is possible to isolate the essential and distinctive features of Tongan dance genres. It can also be seen that the 'living' dance genres, lakalaka, ma'ulu'ulu with its variant tafi, and tau'olunga, although reputedly created by Tongans or diffused from Samoa during the past century, are closely related to fa'ahiula, ula, and me'etu'u-paki. We can postulate that there is a close genetic relationship between the 'living' and the 'dead but extant' genres. The new dances are merely creative recombinations of structural elements from the kinemic, morphokinemic and motif levels of dance organization and their association with music and poetry. Such recombination of existing elements is perhaps most basic to all Tongan dance innovation.
CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

THE STRUCTURE OF TONGAN DANCE

Tongan dance structure can be analyzed by division into four levels of organization—kinemic, morphokinemic, motif, and genre. One could argue, especially from the Western point of view, that I have skipped the important level of the individual composition. This level, however, is not relevant in Tongan dance. An individual's repertoire typically consists of one example from two or three dance genres. They do not speak of performing a particular composition and they seldom use the genre name as a noun. Rather, using the name as a verb, they would speak of performing the genre. The Tongan way of separating individual compositions is by the village or the individuals who perform them.

Kinemic Level

The first level of Tongan dance organization is the kinemic. This level has been shown to have 47 units which are the basic components in the dance tradition of Tonga. These units, which are positions or small units of motion, can be divided into three groups based on the part of the body which produces them—arms, legs, and head. The movement or position of other body parts such as torso or hips are not significant at this level of analysis of Tongan dance. Each of the 47 kinemes may have several allo-kines which may vary
physiologically but are considered the 'same' or a 'variant' by 'native speakers' of the dance tradition. Individually the kinemes do not have meaning, the requirement for their isolation is that they are considered to be 'different' by Tongans.

Morphokinemic Level

The second level of Tongan dance organization is the morphokinemic. Morphokines are unique sequences of kinemes that are recognized by the Tongans to have 'meaning' as movement. 'Meaning' at this level does not imply that morphokines are narrative or interpretive. Tongan morphokines can be grouped in four large classes which can be internally subdivided.

The first large class of morphokines uses arm kinemes and can be divided into three subclasses. The first subclass is a group of active hand and lower arm (nima) movements (M.I.a.) which can be performed in a number of different environments. The second subclass is a group of the environments (M.I.b.) in which the lower arm movements occur and consists of combinations of arm positions and palm facings. This was found to be an economic way to treat these morphokines, for if the two groups were combined into one class it would have been necessary to delineate several thousand morphokines. One morphokine alone was found to vary in 1056 ways, but by classing the morphokines in the system devised it was possible to delineate only 17 morphokines and still account for all the 1056 variations. The
third sub-class is a group which includes lower arm movements and the position in which they occur—these morphokines cannot be subdivided without destroying their meaning.

The second large class of morphokines uses leg kinemes, and can be divided into two subclasses. The first subclass uses leg kinemes only (M.II.a.). The second subclass consists of various combinations of leg, hand, and touching kinemes (M.II.b.).

The third class of morphokines is a single head movement, which is the lone head kineme. This side head tilt is meaningful as a movement and used instead of hand movements in prescribed places in Tongan dance.

The fourth class of morphokines consists of a group of body and head movements which are not significant at the kinemic level but are important at the morphokinemic level. These movements do not occur alone but are part of the bodily environment of a dance performance.

The four morphokine classes co-occur in only specified ways. Each morphokine has a unique internal structure based on a sequential combination of kinemes. The external distribution of morphokines for Tongan dance is most economically handled in terms of morphokine classes and subclasses.

**Motif Level**

The third level of Tongan dance structure is the motif level. A motif is a frequently occurring combination of morphokines that forms a short entity in itself. Motifs, although not named, are
word-associated, and can be used either to interpret poetry or to create beauty. The Tongan cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement is manifest in dance motifs.

**Genre Level**

The fourth level of dance organization in Tonga is the structure of dance types. A Tongan dance is a totality of structural elements in standardized sequential order which differ according to genre. At the genre level it is necessary to speak of the overall structure of a performance, the association of poetry with movement, the accompanying music, and the occasion of performance in addition to dance movement itself. There are six Tongan dance genres, each of which has a different combination of the structural elements. The three 'living' Tongan dance genres, although reputedly created or diffused in historic times, are closely related to the three 'dead but extant' genres. Indeed, the living genres seem to be recombinations of elements from the kinemic, morphokinemic and motif levels, and their association with music and poetry.

The six genres that are performed today are of three main types based on their occasion of performance—that is, whether it be special, formal, or for entertainment.

The three 'dead but extant' genres are performed only on special occasions peculiar to a single village, societal division, and religion or if specially requested.
Formal occasions call for lakalaka, which, in effect, take the place of a speech. Lakalaka today are the embodiment of Tongan traditions and express them both audibly and visually. Ma'ulu'ulu may serve the speech-making function or may sweep the mala'e in preparation for the lakalaka 'speeches.'

Tau'olunga is the informal dance genre used for entertainment, for small groups of friends, for the King and Queen of Tonga, or for visiting dignitaries. Occasionally ma'ulu'ulu is also used as entertainment because its appealing combination of indigenous Polynesian and Western elements, coupled with its precise varied movements, makes it at once familiar and yet exotic to Tongan and foreigner alike.

METHODOLOGICAL APPRAISAL

The aim of this dissertation was to devise a method to analyze the structure of dance. Ethnoscientific in orientation, the further requirement was set that it should reflect dance movements as known and performed by the carriers of the dance tradition themselves. The method devised borrows from several disciplines. The first two levels of analysis, kinemic and morphokinemic, are based on structural analysis as used in linguistics, which by induction seeks to discover units and patternings valid in terms of a particular system. The movement units isolated at these two basic levels were derived by contrastive analysis comparable to methods used to isolate phonemes and morphemes in speech.
The units derived at the third, motif, level are similar to motif components as used in folklore and the visual arts. Their method of derivation, however, is different. Whereas, in folklore, for example, a motif is "any one of the parts into which an item of folklore can be analyzed" (Thompson 1950, p. 753), in the method used here a motif is built up out of smaller movement units.

The final level of Tongan dance was based on ethno-semantic categories. These named categories, or genres, were found to be different combinations of structural elements from the lower three levels of dance organization and elements external to dance movement.

These four levels were found to account for all the relevant data in Tongan dance, but it must be emphasized that these levels of organization are specific to, and valid for, this system alone. Each dance tradition must be analyzed in terms of itself. It is conceivable that a dance tradition could have only two levels or five levels or more. The kinemic and morphokinemic levels, I suspect, are the most universal and can be derived for any movement system, but the higher levels of organization are more dependent on the external cultural system.

Though I have claimed that the movements presented are known to the Tongans themselves, I do not imply that I have presented what goes on inside the natives' heads. The information was not derived by asking hypothetical questions, and in many cases was not verbal at all. Movements were derived mainly in terms of motion, the
verbalized level being only if movements were the same, different, or variants, and how they could be designated.

I have not presented all Tongans' view of dance, or one Tongan's view of dance, or even an agreement of several Tongans' view of dance. Any of these three would be impossible in Tonga. Very few Tongans have seen all dance types and even fewer can perform all of them. Those who know the most about dance are the people who live in Lapaha where all six types of dance are performed—but not by all the people. This method can be criticized on the grounds that I have used so-called 'well-informed informants,' and it is true that I have. But this was necessary, as only individuals who were sufficiently familiar with a genre were able to tell me what dimensions were emically relevant within it.

The method does not disregard ambiguity, but emphasizes that ambiguity exists. There is variation in all the kinemes, and the boundaries between some are arbitrary. This is complicated by the fact that, especially for arm positions, what contrasts in one dance genre might not contrast in another dance genre.

The units were derived by observing what dancers did, asking them what they did, forming hypotheses about what was significant, and testing the hypotheses by performing. The elements that were claimed by Tongans to be insignificant, however, were not disregarded, but an attempt was made to present them without violating the Tongans' concepts about their dance as far as these could be ascertained,
hence the 'non-emic' categories and the complications of the head movement existing in both emic and non-emic categories.

The method does not oppose 'etic' and 'emic' analysis, but shows that they complement each other. The existence of non-emic movements shows that the two forms of analysis must proceed side by side. For even though some aspects of dance are judged to be non-significant to the holders of the tradition, they are important for an objective description of the dance from an observer's point of view and essential for any cross-cultural comparison. It is easy for an observer to divide a ma'ulu'ulu into sections because the sections are differentiated by singing and not singing. But it is not easy to divide the ta'anga into sections because the divisions are not visually or audibly apparent—-the sections instead being differentiated by internal divisions in the poetry that are culturally defined. As Edward Sapir has noted, an outside observer, "will utterly fail to observe the crucial turning points in the course of action that give formal significance to the whole" (1949, p. 547).

Descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethno­grapher's point of view can be enriched by a description of the same events from the point of view of participants themselves. Only by using both points of view can we achieve any real understanding of dance as human behavior.

The analysis of Tongan dance presented here is methodological in that it develops a method for the analysis of dance structure. It
is ethnoscientific in that it seeks to isolate and describe what the Tongans recognize as significant in their dance. And it is theoretical in that it presents a model for understanding Tongan dance and my theory of Tongan dance.

Analyses of this sort suggest several future possibilities. We can state precisely how one movement (or motif or genre) differs from any other. We can make a componential analysis of morphokines using kinemes as components. We can analyze whole dances of the several genres statistically and state precisely how each genre differs from others by the relative frequency of kinemes, morphokines, or motifs used. Analyzing several related dance traditions, we can state in which dimensions they are the same or different. For example, many of the arm movements in the dance traditions of Tonga and Samoa are quite similar. I would hypothesize that one difference is the relatively greater frequency of the rotation of the lower arm in Tongan dance as opposed to a greater frequency of the flexion and extension of the wrist in Samoan dance. Perhaps even studies similar to linguistic glottochronology can be made using the basic inventories of dance movements in related cultures. This, in turn, can be used as independent evidence in studies of culture history, which is presently based mainly on archaeology, linguistics, and botany. Most important, however, it makes it possible to say something precise about dance with terms and concepts that are meaningful to anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and others who are
interested in dance as human behavior, instead of using imprecise, impressionistic language which adds little to an understanding of a complex social phenomena.

Analyzing dance with this method necessitates a knowledge of anthropology, linguistics, ethnomusicology, dance notation, and possession of moderate performing ability. Gertrude Kurath found in 1960 that, "an adequate course in training—which should include courses not only in anthropology but also in kinesiology or 'modern' dance (not ballet), folk dancing, dance notation, and music . . . does not exist" (1960, p. 247). Since 1960 course offerings at American universities have multiplied and the University of Hawaii does offer all the background courses necessary for the training of dance ethnologists. It is hoped that anthropologists will look to human movement analysis as an aid, not only in the interpretation of dance itself, but also in what it can tell us about broader social phenomena of interpersonal relations and societal structures.
APPENDIX A.

GLOSSARY OF TONGAN TERMS

This glossary of Tongan words lists only those words and meanings which are used frequently in the text. The glottal stop ' is listed as the last letter of the alphabet. Where one word is used with generalized and specific meanings, the generalized meaning is listed first, followed by the more specific in single quotation marks.

\textit{faiva}, to perform, performance

\textit{fakalaulausiva}, singing without arm movements

\textit{fakatapu}, stylized opening section of a speech; first section in a \textit{lakalaka}

\textit{fakateki}, head tilt used in Tongan dance

\textit{falefa matapule}, ceremonial attendants of the Tu'i Tonga

\textit{fasi}, melody

\textit{fa'ahiula}, Tongan dance type

\textit{fu e ua}, dividing motif for \textit{lakalaka}, \textit{mā'ulu'ulu}, and \textit{tau'olunga}

\textit{haka}, hand and arm movements used in Tongan dance

\textquote{haka}, group of hand and lower arm movements of the M.I.a.l. paradigm

\textit{haka fakalongolongo}, first section of a \textit{mā'ulu'ulu} in which there is \textit{haka} and drumming, but no singing

\textit{haka hiva}, \textit{haka} with singing

\textit{kailao}, Uvean dance frequently performed in Tonga

\textit{kātoanga}, formal celebration which usually includes dances

\textit{lakalaka}, Tongan dance type
langitu'a, chorus for lakalaka
lolongo, chorus for me'etu'upaki
māfana, inwardly exhilarated
mala'e, village green
matāpule, ceremonial attendant
mā'ulu'ulu, Tongan dance type
me'etu'upaki, Tongan dance type
nafa, slit gong when used for me'etu'upaki; skin drum when used for mā'ulu'ulu
nima, hand and lower arm
paki, paddle used in me'etu'upaki
pulotu, composer of poetry, sometimes known as pulotu ta'anga
pulotu haka, choreographer
punake, composer and instructor of dance poetry and haka
tafi, Tongan dance type
'tafi,' dance movement which dramatizes sweeping
tafua, mat with bamboos rolled inside, used to mark time in fa'ahiula
tatau, ending section of lakalaka
tau, section of dance where performers do their best haka; sometimes corresponds to a chorus
tau'olunga, Tongan dance type
ta'anga, poetry for lakalaka or mā'ulu'ulu and perhaps me'etu'upaki
ta'ofi-vāhenga, position next to vāhenga in Tongan dances
Tu'i Tonga, highest ranking line of chiefs in Tonga
ula, Tongan dance type
vahe, dividing motifs in Tongan dances

vahe fa'ahiula, dividing motif for fa'ahiula

vahe ula, dividing motif for ula

vāhenga, highest position in a Tongan dance

va'e, foot and lower leg

'otu haka, row of haka, descriptive name for fa'ahiula or mā'ulu'ulu
APPENDIX B.
TONGAN POETRY REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

Ta'anga Me'etu'upaki

He 'oie 'oie e kama'ua ka mau e kau savoli mo tuiloluia (t^)

'I o e o nai valu e o nai valu e, (t^)
Fotu mai falike tolua e ia ka se ie kase (t^)

He kau sa tuu uli e i e au e (t^)

'O latu latu e
Pei tonga mu'a kae tokelau ia
'I i a, 'I i a. (t^)
Paleki pala puileva
Kae liua manu oleva
Kae takoi e lenga'uta ia
'I i a, 'I i a. (t^)

'O tapu tea tapu tea mai uia mala maile tai (t^)
'ou sulu ia lau penga tuia uia mala maile uia. (t^)

Lau ta e lauta e lauta e, siki poi e, he siki poi e, he siki poi e (t^)
Si ke 'olunga ma'a tu foe ma'ua e tata malie, he siki poi e, siki poi e (t^)

Anu mai fai mai tapu la e maile tai (t^)
He velo e sila, talava e, Vaka e suva, kite fana, (t^)
Tafe a mai fea he fusi e lanumea (t^)
Tafea ki Uvea 'o akatu. (t^)

Tomu mo tekau ke tu'a tafa faka hakea 'i ai tevaka (t^)
He tapu mo si mo longo te vai fa lonai ae (t^)
Fakapakupaku pasipasi mai futuna katoa e 'i a 'o e. (t^)
Lakalaka 'ae Lomipeau

This example of lakalaka is known as Kalauni. It is from the village of Lapaha.

Fakatapu

Tapu moe Kalauni e Fonua
'Oku fakamalu 'a Lalo mo'uta
Laukau'anga o Tonga ki tu'a
He ai 'etau fatungamotu'a
'O tukunga tonu 'ete fiefia
Kei tangitangi 'ae mo'onia
'O moto 'a 'ofa 'i he maheni
Ko hoto kahoa fakataukei.
Ne'ine'i ā taka ē matangi
'O fakahohaiasi e 'Otu Langi
He mafola 'a hono ongoongo
Lea 'ae Toa vaha'a-kolo.

Ta'ahine tu'u hake 'o teu
Kae taku keu luva 'eau
'Ae faka'ilonga Tuitu'u
Metali 'e pitoi ngalau
He teunga ki ha po fetau
Lafitani 'oe Lomipeau.

'Isa 'oku hanu 'a 'Ana-matangi
Mo Kolongahau hono li'aki.

Ta ku ngalo 'apē kinaua
He naua 'oe Uafu ko Vuna.

Lakalaka Proper

'Uoi 'Uoi 'Uoi he koe folau
'Oku hua liliu 'i Hakau-tapu
'Oku 'ai lā fakamanumunu
Angina he afu 'oe Tokelau
Mapaki e Hea tongi ehe Manu
Lui'a 'i Longolongo folau.

Ta ku ngalo 'ape kinaua
He naua 'oe Uafu ko Vuna.

Lauoan pe he'ena 'o faa
Ka he puli e Kava 'i Atata
'Oku Fotu 'o hangē kae la'ā
Fai'anga 'oe Patapata.

Tatau

Pei'eva he funga 'o māmani
Ka ko 'o faa te tau fehokotaki.

Kulukona 'o tavake fai'ana
Na'e toli he matangi Mafana
Kohai 'e Ofo he 'ene ngangatu
Fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu
He 'oiaue fakatoukatea 'i Monotapu.

He 'Oku 'ilo 'eha fine Fuoloa
'Ae fā he liku 'o Maluhola
Fio Heilala Tatakamotonga
He Kaloni 'oe Manu launoa
He fakama'unga 'o Nuku'alofa.

(tthis verse continues
in the next column)
Ta'anga Mā'ulu'ulu 'a e Kolisi ke Kuini Salote

Tukuange pē tala 'a Lo'au
Ki he fakafeangal 'o e Hau
Hehenga si'ete fakakaukau
'O fekumi na'a ma'u ha feau
'O e loto kuo kafo he manatu
He 'aho ni mo hono feingatau
He 'aho ni mo hono feingatau.

Ko e si tenga 'a e fefine
Faka'anau ki he mo e
Kia Hikule'o mo hono fale
Mo e ivi 'o Fai mālie
Ke fetaki nima he 'aho ko e
Tu'u ai e palā tavake
Tu'u ai e palā tavake.

Nafualu e hoko mo Toloa
'Ae hikihiki atu e fononga
Kumi e mafua tuha e kuonga
Kate nofo pē 'o le'o koloa
Fetu'utakinga 'o Nuku'alofa
Nunu'anga 'o e kakala hingoa
Nunu'anga 'o e kakala hingoa.

Pilolevu e Siu'ilikutapu
To'o ualulu mo e laulau
Ha'ofia 'a e hema mo mata'u
Kano e hala tuku kia au
Ka li ha pulu pea hapo atu
He ko 'eku kai fakatalutalu
He ko 'eku kai fakatalutalu.

Tau ngahaka

Hake 'a tahi na 'o hifo mo'uta
'Eva he laka 'o matafonua
Fuifui afe 'i Halaevalu
Fotuaki mai e ta'u teau
'Ise'isa e 'ete mafana
Tukupaninga e fakahuafa
'Oku tuku ko 'ete fakama'unga.

This verse is a fakatapu by implication rather than statement. It says in effect, that Queen Salote (who composed it) is not going to bother with a fakatapu, but leave that to her matapule.
Mā'ulu'ulu 'a Pilolevu College

Fakatapu

Tulou he takafalu he Lupe
Mo e 'Aloua 'i he mala'e
Pupunga fo'ou ne hopo hake
Māhangalei 'a Felenite
Fai'anga la 'o e vakē
'A e tangata mo e fefine.

Mā'ulu'ulu proper

Holo e matanga kau lea atu
'Ete fiefia he fakamanatu
'Ae kakato ta'u e teau
'Ae Tau'atāina mei hono fa'u
Be fiaju ;e he 'Uluaki Hau
'I he tahavalu ono ua 'oe ta'u
Lave ai koe lave ai au
'Ofa ke tolonga ki he pā'anga ngalu.

Ake e manatu ke kuonga mu'a
He kuonga 'o e nofo popula
Nofo hopoate ki he ma'olunga
Pule 'i he nofo 'i fale mo tu'a
Tangi lo'imata ai sī'i tu'a
Ko hou'eiki mo hono tu'unga
Ko e 'ofa eni ne kilukilua
Faka-Tohitapu mo Faka-'Otua.

'Otu Ha'apai tefua ki Pangai
'Epoki Kōula kuo ta 'iai
Senituli 'eni ne tuku ki Langi
Ko e ma'alali ki he fonua ni
Tau'atāina kuo ta 'iai.
Tukulaumea Tu'i Ha'apai.
Na'e to 'i he 'Otu Ha'apai
'Ae poto na'e fakalangamai
He langafonua 'ae 'Uluaki
Lotu mo e Ako ko hono fungani
'O 'alaha 'i hotau fonua ni
Taufa'ahau 'oku e'a mai
Pilolevu 'ena 'oku ne sila'i
Koe tūkunga ke fa'aiteaki.
Hala Vuna (this is an example of hiva kakala used for tau'olunga)

Hala Vuna 'oku tapa sio'ata
Fetaulaki 'ai e folau vaka
Loka nunu ai e pou 'umata
Sia'a-Hina mo 'ene kato kakala.

Evenui ko Hala Tupoulahi
Fenukesu ki he vunga moe ahi
Pongia i he Fasimoeafi
Hengihengi pea matala masani.

Tulituli mai mu'a ke to o
O 'eva i he hala Vaha'akolo
Tu'u si'i ke ha fakahano
Fu'ifu'i 'oku kapa i Moheofo.

Tau

Teki puna siete Tavake oma
A nakita pea te fakanonoa
Faka'amu 'ae Tokelau Tonga
Ke po tatala i loto Nuku'alofa.
APPENDIX C.

GLOSSARY OF LABANOTATION SYMBOLS

Direction is indicated by the shape of the symbol.

The three levels are distinguished by the different shading of the symbol.

Circular path

Weak accent

Strong accent

Slightly flexed
Medium flexed
Fully flexed
Slightly extended
Fully extended

Touch
Related
Release
Return to normal
Read from body
Palm facing
Back of hand
Tips of fingers
Heel of palm
Little finger side of hand
Spread
Touch of toes
Touch of ball of foot
Touch of whole foot
Limb of lower arm
Upper side of thigh
Stage direction pins
On top of
Below
In front of
In back of
Repeat the same
Repeat to the other side.
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