

# METHOD AND THEORY IN ANALYZING DANCE STRUCTURE WITH AN ANALYSIS OF TONGAN DANCE

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## Prologue 2007. Movement systems and structural analysis: acts, system, and communicative competence

### Introductory statement

The methodology to analyze dance structure that I developed in the mid-1960s had two aims: 1) to develop a method that could be used to analyze any movement system and 2) to analyze specific dances. It is important to note that at the time of my research and development of the method, I was unaware of the similar work being carried out in Europe. The discussions about structural analysis by the IFMC Study Group on Dance Terminology (see previous chapter) were in progress at the same time, but I did not know about the work of this group until the IFMC Conference in Bayonne in 1973 (published in 1974). Nor did the IFMC Study Group know about my work (published in 1972).<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is remarkable that the two studies have so much in common. The basic difference, as I see it, is that the European Study Group took as their primary unit "a dance" or "dances" while I focused on the more abstract concept of "dance" and the structure of the various movement genres used by a specific culture. Although I, too, analyze specific dances (and other movement sequences), I look at them as surface manifestations of underlying structured movement systems [Kaepler 1985].

The differences between the structural analysis of the IFMC Study Group on Dance Terminology (described in the previous chapter) and the structural analysis that I developed, and their analogies with language are summarized in the following diagram:

<b>Language</b> Linguistic theory	<b>"Dance" (Kaepler)</b> Movement theory	<b>"A Dance" (IFMC)</b> Movement sequence realized in practice
<b>Phonemes</b> Significant sounds of a language; have no meaning in them- selves; basic units of a language.	<b>Kinemes</b> Significant movements of a language; have no meaning in themselves; basic units of a language.	<b>Motif-elements</b> Distinctive movements of a language; have no meaning in themselves; basic units of a language.
<b>Morphemes</b> Smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of a language. Put together according to grammar to form:	<b>Morphokines</b> Smallest unit that has meaning in the structure of a language. Put together according to grammar to form:	<b>Motif-cells</b> Distinctive units that have no independent meaning or function. Put together according to grammar to form:

**Words**

Vocabulary of a language. Put together according to syntax to form:

**Language Clause**

Culturally grammatical grouping of words, e.g. a subject phrase or a predicate phrase. Put together to form:

**Sentences**

Often two culturally grammatical phrases, for example, subject and predicate. Put together to form:

**Larger Grammatical Units**

Such as paragraphs, chapters, and so on.

**Specific Instances of spoken or literary linguistic forms**

Such as a specific novel, play, or speech.

**Language Genres**

Literary or spoken forms, such as novels, short stories, plays, orations, or poetry.

**Motifs**

Frequently occurring combination of morphokines that forms a short entity.

[**Motif Paradigm** Small set of related forms with one morphokine common to a set, together with all the morphokines with which it can occur.]

Motifs choreographed in association with meaningful imagery form:

**Choremes**

Culturally grammatical choreographic unit made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and sequentially.

Put together to form:

**Phrases**

Often based on something external to movement, such as poetic or musical phrases. Put together to form:

**Larger Movement Units**

Often based on something external to movement, such as poetic or musical verses. Put together to form:

**Dances**

Specific choreographies. Can be pre-set or improvised/spontaneous.

**Dance Genres**

Prescriptive structural elements from the lower levels of dance structure and elements external to movement form these ethno-semantic categories.

**Motifs**

Smallest significant Form-unit, having meaning for the dancers and the dance system.

Put together through repetition, variation, or grouping to form:

**Phrases**

Often two culturally grammatical groupings of motifs. The simplest compositional unit having sense for the people and by which dance types are identified. Put together according to linking or grouping principles to form:

**Macro-structures**

Culturally determined structural parts, such as sections, strophes, parts. Put together to form:

**Dances**

Structural units are organically integrated with other patterning factors, such as music, poetry, or implements. Often designated by a name.

**Dance types**

Conceptual models made up of motifs and grammatical rules that determine how dances are actualized (pre-set or improvised composition).

Another difference in the theoretical conceptualization of the two methods, is that the European researchers analyzed movement traditions in which they were participants, while I worked with movement traditions that were not part of my dance background. Thus, the Europeans could begin with knowledge about the movement traditions and analyze individual dances of known genres (or types as they are known in European dance research), while I had to first find out what the genres were and how they differed. The European group worked with known material in the folklore tradition. They sought to establish a theory and method for the structural analysis and classification of their own dance traditions. In contrast, my work was anthropological, studying in a society in which I became a participant/observer. I looked for concepts about movement as part of systems of knowledge and did not take for granted that there was such a concept as "dance." My aim was to discover what is involved in having "communicative competence" with regard to movement. That is, how do individuals combine grammatical knowledge with performance knowledge and know how to carry out or understand movement in specific contexts.

The analysis of structure is not an end in itself but can furnish data and tools for further analysis, such as the case study chapters in the second part of this volume on style, improvisation, and so on. As an anthropologist I am interested in socially constructed movement systems, the activities that generate them, how and by whom they are judged, and how they can assist in understanding society. Thus, my aim was not simply to understand the structure of dance in its cultural context, but rather to understand society through analyzing movement systems.

#### METHOD AND THEORY IN ANALYZING DANCE STRUCTURE

During the 1960s, anthropologists became more and more aware of the methodological and theoretical advances of linguists who systematically applied Kenneth Pike's conceptualization of "emic" analysis. According to Pike [1954:8], it was "an attempt to *discover* and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of the particular pattern." He went on to say that "emic criteria savor more of relativity, with the sameness of activity determined in reference to a particular system of activity" [Pike 1954:11].

Such concepts were not really new to anthropology but have their roots in the research of anthropologists who wished to understand the functioning of a society in terms of the participants of that society. Malinowski [1922:25], for example, told us long ago that our goal should be "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize *his* vision of *his* world." And Boas [1943:314] succinctly stated that "if we choose to apply our [Western] classification to alien cultures we may combine forms that do not belong together.... If it is our serious purpose to understand the thoughts of a people the whole analysis of experience must be based on their concepts, not ours." The "post-Bloomfieldian linguists" who emphasized this concept evolved a methodology through which it could be applied and used it to produce grammars that grouped morphemes into classes in a way that was inherent or natural to the languages themselves. One of the crucial concepts was the etic/emic distinction through which it was possible to apply Boas's wish to understand the "thoughts of a people" to the sound (or phonological) element of language. It is important to remember in this context that such analysis is based on minimal contrastive units of sound and how they are combined, according to a particular group of people, into meaningful sequences.

Language, although it can be analyzed separately, is an inseparable aspect of culture and the methodology developed by linguists, based preeminently on contrastive analysis, re-entered broader anthropological thought with what came to be known as the "new ethnography." Conklin, Frake, Gladwin, Goodenough, Sturtevant, and others realized the potential of applying contrastive analysis and other techniques, such as componential analysis, to cultural domains other than sound. Kinship systems, color categories, religion, and botany were subjected to

"emic" analysis in order to make theoretical statements about social structure, color perception, religious systems, and botanical classification that embedded native points of view. The new ethnography had its roots in ethnoscientific analysis that employed linguistic analogies. With this theoretical and methodological background, I used emic analysis to analyze dance in order to make theoretical statements about movement systems that embedded native points of view.

Ethnoscientific analysis as used in anthropology seeks to analyze culture (or parts of it) in such a way that the resulting description is comparable to a grammar, which would enable an investigator to learn to speak a language.<sup>2</sup> Such a description of dance would give a reader the information necessary to operate as a member of the society being studied with regard to any activity that includes or could include dance. Beginning without a priori assumptions that a concept similar to the Western concept of dance even exists in a society, a researcher's cultural notions about what constitutes movement categories and how they are structured must be put aside. In other words we want to know what movements are significant and how they can be combined from the point of view of the holders of the tradition themselves.

The knowledge embedded by tradition holders can be described as "communicative competence." In order to understand movement, performers and observers must have "competence" in an enlarged Chomskyan sense.<sup>3</sup> Competence or knowledge about a specific dance tradition is acquired in much the same way as competence in a language is acquired. Competence relates to the cognitive learning of the shared rules of a specific dance tradition, as Saussure's concept of *langue* is acquired.<sup>4</sup> Competence enables the viewer to understand a grammatical movement sequence never seen before. "Performance" refers to an actual rendering of a movement sequence, *parole* of Saussure, which assumes that the performer has a level of competence and the skill to carry it out. The concept of competence/performance has been refined by sociolinguists and discourse analysts. Dell Hymes posits rules for performance as well as grammar in what he calls "communicative competence" [Hymes 1977] and Mikhail Bakhtin, noting that both *parole* and *langue* are controlled by laws, takes the "utterance" as a unit [Holquist 1983]. Movement sequences are analogous to utterances, and if one does not know the movement conventions, he or she will not have communicative competence and will be unable to understand what is being conveyed. Dance is *not* a universal language. In addition to movement meaning, meaning in a larger sense (such as symbolic, narrative, and so on) is not inherent in movement itself; meaning is attributed to movement by people who are part of the larger activity and depends on knowledge of the cultural system, such as male and female roles in movement, social status, social structure, and access to politics and power.

#### **Analogy with language. Movement and grammar**

Only a small segment of all possible movements are significant in any single dance or movement tradition. These units of movement are put together in a culturally appropriate way that forms a grammar of rules and syntax. These significant units and patterning can be discovered but are valid only in terms of a specific system or dance tradition. The method used to obtain this end, borrowed from structural linguistics, is based on "emic" analysis. Whereas an "etic" difference refers to an actual difference (for example, in sound or movement) that is culture-free, an emic difference refers to differences that are recognized by a particular culture.<sup>5</sup> That is, we need to find what holders of the tradition consider to be the significant elements, just as a linguist does. One can elicit whether a movement is perceived as the same as or different from another movement (that is, does it contrast). It is then possible to make an inventory of the significant movements of the dance tradition.<sup>6</sup> The two basic units of linguistic analysis are phonemes and morphemes. A structural analysis of dance distinguishes movement analogues of phonemes and morphemes, that is, "kinemes" and "morphokines." The concept of "emes" is basic here and can best be illustrated with phonetics and phonemics. When describing languages, linguists first of all may take down in phonetic notation all the sounds they hear – just as a dancer might take

down in a kinetic notation (such as Labanotation), all of the movements they see. A linguist then subjects the phonetic notation to emic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant sounds of a language. Likewise, a dance analyst can subject the kinetic Labanotation to emic analysis to obtain an inventory of the significant movements, which I have termed kinemes.

### **Kinemes**

Kinemes are units treated as comparable or analogous 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 actions and positions which, although having no meaning in themselves, are the basic units from which all dance of a given tradition is built. The first task of a structural analysis of dance is to locate for a specific tradition the basic movement units and define the range of permissible variation within these units.

Linguists deal in sound and have the efficient tape recorder to record and instantly play back to the listener to judge whether sounds are the same or different, whether there is variation, or if the performance was good or bad. For movement there is no comparable mechanical device that is easy and efficient. Modern video technology is one solution, but even with aids of this kind I feel that the movement analyst should also be willing to do "play-back" for native identification and evaluation by performing. Learning to perform a dance tradition accurately, and especially all variations and genres is a time-consuming job and often not possible in the time available for field work. However, one learns quickly what is "wrong," or "unacceptable," or "different" by making mistakes, and the resulting analysis will probably be more credible and accurate.

When faced with a new or unfamiliar dance tradition, the first impression may be of overwhelming complexity, especially when several 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 these smallest significant units, kinemes, and then to analyze what is done with them to build a totality (dance).

In a dance tradition where several parts of the body move at once, the most economic procedure is to analyze each part of the body separately and attempt to discover which are the significant elements for each of these body parts. Eventually an inventory of the kinemes can be made. Such inventories are also 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 questioning and experimenting which differences in movement – etic differences – are recognized as significant – emic differences – by the people themselves and which are considered only variants of the same movement. This can be accomplished by questioning dancers if movements are the "same" or "different," either demonstrating oneself or watching a third party.

In the field, first I 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. While learning I questioned my teachers if movements should be done one way or another. If they said it "didn't matter" or if they did not perceive differences in what I did, I concluded that the movements were only allokinemes of a kineme (comparable to allophones of a phoneme). 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.

In summary, my procedure was to make observations and form hypotheses about what the significant units were. Hypotheses were tested by performing the movements for holders of the dance tradition or questioning them while watching other dancers, thus verifying, modifying, or rejecting them.

The kinemes or significant units of movement include positions as well as small units of motion. The kinemes include only the contour of movement. Timing is not part of their definition. In Tonga, for example, the timing of the 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 one movement is perceived as the same or different as another movement; in other words, if it contrasts. Actual physiological differences which do not contrast (that is, not considered different) can be said to be *allokinemes*. The sum of all the *allokinemes* defines the limits of the kineme and specifies the amount of variation allowable before it becomes a "different" kineme. After an inventory of kinemes has been delineated we can analyze how they are combined to form larger units.

### **Morphokines**

The second level of structural organization of dance movement is here termed the morphokinematic level and is analogous to the morpheme level in language structure. A 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 or pictorial meaning (although they sometimes do), but only that they are recognized as movements (kinemes, like phonemes, being largely unconscious as separate entities to the people who perform them). Morphokines are combinations of kinemes and only certain combinations are meaningful. These may be linear sequences of kinemes (like a linear sequence of phonemes in language) but also frequently include two or more kinemes performed simultaneously. Morphokines combine kinemes – motions and placement in space – into flowing movements that have a beginning and end. A morphokine may consist of single kineme, repeated one or more times, or a combination of kinemes. These units cannot be divided without changing or destroying their "meaning." These combinations are recognized as movements by holders of a specific dance tradition and may be given names. Morphokines can be analyzed in two ways:

- 1) With regard to their internal structure (that is, their kineme composition – the kinemes that are used and in what sequence) – only certain combinations of kinemes are meaningful – and grouped into categories or classes.
- 2) With regard to their external distribution or syntax. The number of possible morphokines in a given dance tradition is theoretically unlimited, just as the number of morphemes of a given language is unlimited.

Some linguistic concepts, such as *lexemes* or *sememes*, were not found to be useful in the analysis of dance structure, but larger forms, such as words, clauses, and sentences, were. Instead, morphokines (which have meaning as movement but do not have lexical meaning) were found to be organized into a relatively small number of motifs, which, when ordered simultaneously and sequentially (that is, choreographed), form dances.

There may, of course, be disagreement within the society about which differences are *emic*, and the analyst with the help of cultural movement specialists will have to decide how to deal with disagreements. The system may include subsystems for various movement genres or on levels of formality and/or context. The analyst cannot simply observe; *ethnoscience* analysis is based in participation and questioning. As Edward Sapir noted in 1927, a person

who simply observes will be guilty of all manner of distortion. His emphasis will be constantly askew. He will find interesting what the natives take for granted as a casual kind of behavior worthy of no particular comment, and he will utterly fail to observe the crucial turning points in

the course of action that give formal significance to the whole in the minds of those who do possess the key to its understanding [Sapir, in Mandelbaum 1949:546].

This method has been used to analyze the structure of Tongan dance. It must be emphasized that the levels of organization are specific to, and valid for, the Tongan tradition alone. The kinemic and morphokinemic levels, I suggest, are the most universal and can be derived for any movement system – further levels of organization being more dependent on the external cultural system (see diagram at the beginning of this essay).

This essay presents the entire kinemic system derived for Tongan dance and important examples from the morphokinemic and motif levels. The genre level has been the subject of other papers.

## THE STRUCTURE OF TONGAN DANCE

### Kinemes

From all the physiological possibilities of movement the Tongans employ a constellation produced by three parts of the body: legs, arms, and head have significance in the Tongan movement system. These three body parts are not of a similar order or of equal importance. The pattern and variation of leg movements is quite simple. The head is used mainly for style. Arm movements are intricate and varied and are the most significant movements and are most important for the storytelling function of Tongan dance. Torso and hip movements are not considered significant. We will look at the body parts separately and delineate the kinemes.

### Head

The first part of the body to be considered for emic significance is the head. Head movement adds style to a dance, makes a dance more aesthetic, and differentiates good dancers from poor dancers. It is an accepted fact that head movements should be included and that the use of the head makes a rendition different from one that does not use the head. There is only one head kineme that has significance in the Tongan movement system and this is a tilt where the head moves quickly to the side – usually the right side. Kinemes for the head will be labeled H. Kinemes will be designated by a capital letter followed by a number. The letter designates the body part while the number designates the specific movement or position.

### Legs

The second part of the body with emic significance is the legs. The letter L will designate leg kinemes. In Tongan dance only a small number of leg movements and positions are significant. It is mainly the leg movements that contrast between genres. There are eleven leg kinemes.

These are:

L1 Forward step.

- a. regular step (see Figure 1);
- b. forward to "place."

L2 Backward step.

- a. regular step;
- b. backward to "place."



Figure 1.  
Tu'imala Kaho performs a choreme from the dance "Hala Vuna" (see below). She steps forward in L1 and performs a fū clap (M.I.a.22).

## L3 Side step.

- a. regular step (Figure 2);
- b. sideward to "place."

L3 a. and b. form the primary leg movement of the *lakalaka*<sup>8</sup> genre.

Figure 2. The men of the village of Lapaha perform a choreme from the *me`etu`upaki* dance. They step sideward in L3 and perform a motif with the *paki*, paddle.



In L1, L2, and L3 the length of the step is not emic and can vary from a walking-size step to one of only a few inches. Men take larger steps than women.

L4 Jump with both feet in which one foot slightly precedes the other.

- a. forward;
- b. backward;
- c. sideward;
- d. in place.

In variations a, b, and c the upper legs are kept together. These movements are usually done by women, who are the performers of the *ula* genre in which these movements are used. Today they are also used in the *tau`olunga* genre. Occasionally men will do a larger version of these jumps. Variation **d** is a jump from a closed to an open position in low level and is done only by men.



## L5 Bend the knees low in place (Figure 3).

This movement is also from the *ula* and done by women. The knees should be bent as far as possible while keeping the feet flat on the floor and the back straight. The ability to do this movement properly separates those who traditionally perform the *ula* (that is, women of Lapaha village or who are associated with the Tu`i Tonga line of chiefs) from those who have learned it by copying and do not realize the importance of the straight back.

Figure 3. Lātūfūipeka Tuku`aho performs a choreme from a *tau`olunga*. She performs L5, bend the knees low in place, and an arm motif using F6. Photo Tulua Brothers, Nuku`alofa, Tonga.



L6 Turn

- a. quarter turn (Figure 4);
- b. half turn;
- c. whole turn.

Figure 4. The village of Kanokupolu performs a lakalaka. Men and women perform L6a, a quarter turn.

Variation **a** is a pivot around one's own axis and is accomplished by turning the body one quarter and then stepping forward. Variation **b** is a half pivot with weight on both feet, one in front of the other.

Variation **c** is a full 180-degree turn done simultaneously with a step, the opposite lower leg being raised to the back (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Tu'imala Kaho performs a choreme that includes L6c.



L7 Rotation of the lower legs. With feet flat on the floor, the heels move slightly out and in to mark time when no other leg kinemes are used. This is important for feeling the pulse of the dance (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Queen Sālote College teachers perform a tau'olunga with a choreme made up of an upper body movement from the M.I.a.1. motif paradigm and L7.

L8 Quick lift of the foot by a bend of the knee (Figure 7, right).



*Figure 7. Two girls perform movements from a tau'olunga. The girl on the right performs L8, the girl on the left performs L1.*

L9 Touch of the foot without shifting weight

- a. to the front (men in Figure 8);
- b. to the side;
- c. to the forward diagonal, crossing in front of the opposite foot.



*Figure 8. Men of Lapaha perform a me'etu'upaki. They perform L9a, touching their left foot to the front without shifting weight.*

L10 Kneeling position

- a. on both knees;
- b. on one knee.

In variation **a** the dancer kneels on both knees with the body upright. Variation **b** has one knee on the floor and one foot on the floor and is done only by men (Figure 9).



*Figure 9. The end of a phrase of a lakalaka from the village of Kanokupolu. The men end their virile movement with fisted hands and kneel in the L10b position. The women are ready to perform the final pasi clap, M.I.a.21.*

L11 Cross-legged sitting position.

In the Tongan version of sitting cross-legged, for women the upper legs should be nearly parallel (Figure 10).



*Figure 10. Tu'imala Kaho in the cross-legged seated position L11 considered correct for women. Her left palm is in P1.*

Men (see Figure 15) and young girls need not keep their upper legs parallel, although they may do so. While in this position the foot may mark time by moving up and down. This position is called *tangutu fakata`ane*, sit in the manner of a man, even when it is done by women. Ideally, the only time a woman may sit in this way is when she is performing a sitting dance – the formal position for women is *faite*, with the legs bent to one side. Some girls and women sit *faite* when performing a sitting dance, especially if they are of high rank, or if their costume does not permit a cross-legged position.

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 to the front, back, or side, and the flexing of the knees. Leaps, that is, jumps from one foot to another, and large steps are not significant categories for Tongan women. 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, especially for women. 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 only between the waist and the knee. Still today it is not considered in good taste to expose or noticeably move this part of the body. Women, especially, who move this part of the leg are considered to have very poor taste and are, indeed, even vulgar. In Tongan dance terminology the upper leg does not exist. Movements of both the upper legs and hips are repressed, the traditional costume of a tightly wrapped skirt-like covering making it difficult to move this part of the body. This is relaxed in the dancing of young girls and men. If a dancer at a very informal occasion wishes to be risqué, however, she does so by moving the upper legs and the hips.

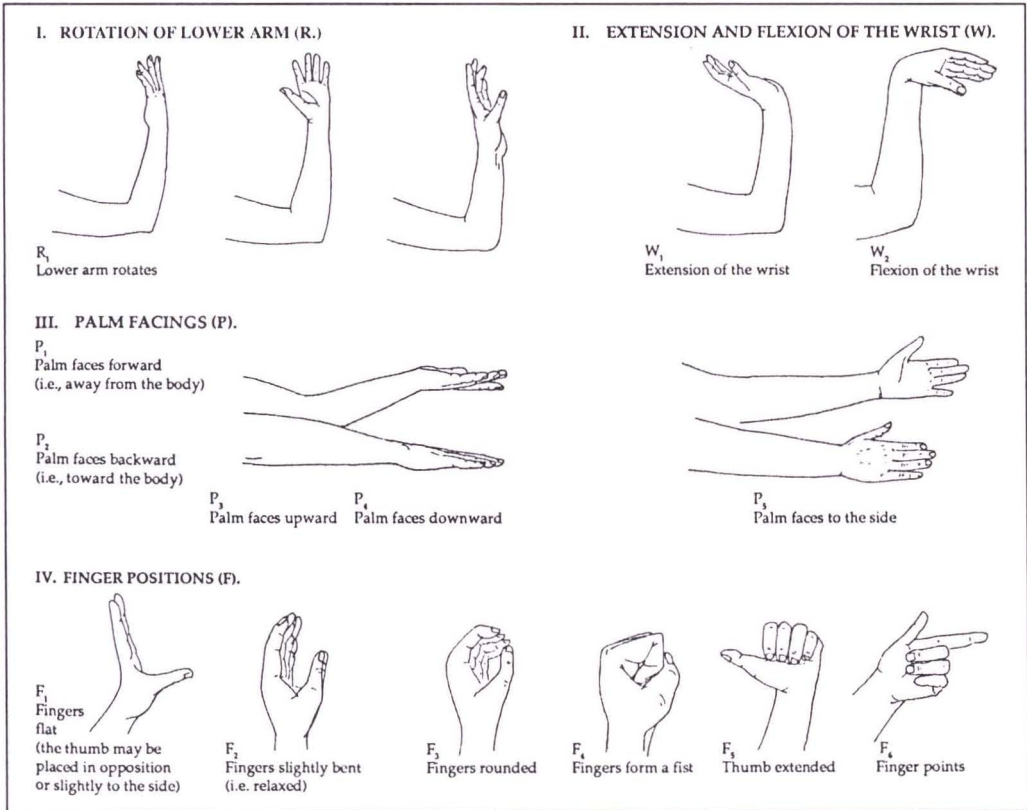
### Arms

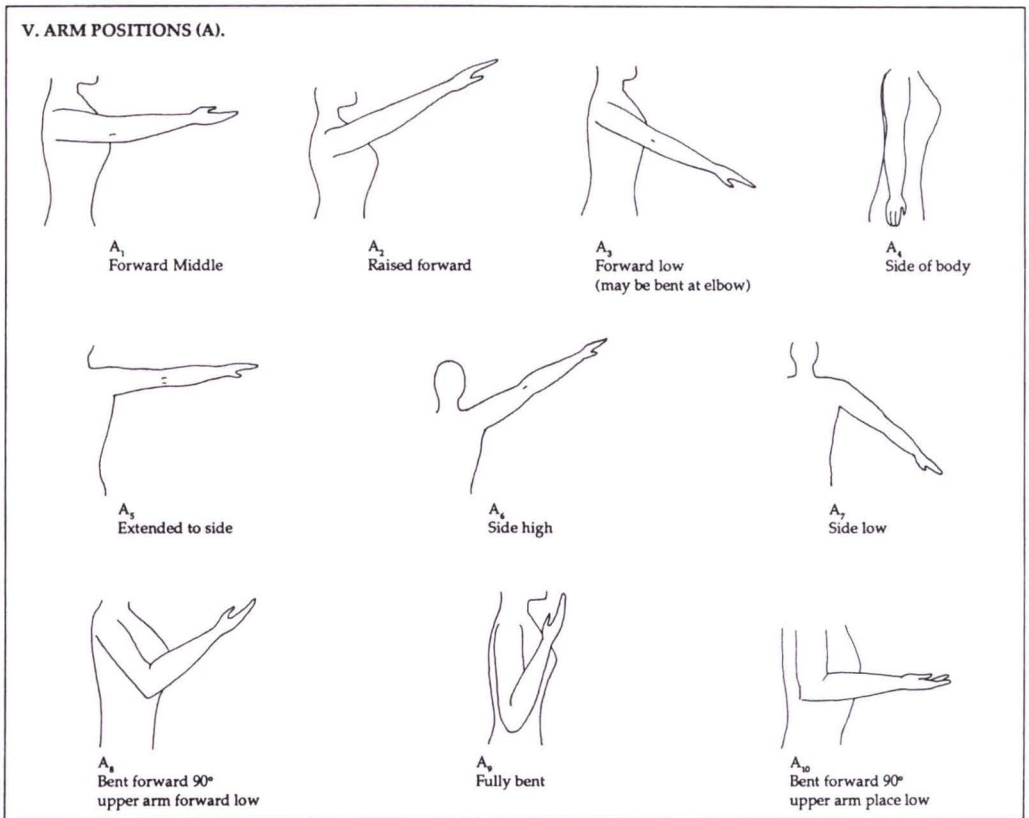
The third and most important part of the body emically significant in Tongan dance is the arms. The arm movements, intricate and complex as they seem, can be broken down into six basic groups of kinemes. These groups are I) rotation, or turning, of the lower arm; II) bending and flexing of the wrist; III) five directions for the facing of the palm; IV) six finger positions; V) seventeen arm positions; and VI) touching and brushing. It is the combination of these 34 kinemes that form Tongan arm movements. Arm kinemes are (see drawings):

- I. Rotation of the lower arm (R).
  - R1 Lower arm rotates or turns
- II. Extension and flexion of the wrist (W).
  - W1 Extension of the wrist (Figure 11).
  - W2 Flexion of the wrist (Figure 12)
- III. Palm facings (P).
  - P1 Palm faces forward (that is, away from the body) (see Figure 10).
  - P2 Palm faces backward (that is, toward the body) (see Figure 6).
  - P3 Palm faces upward
  - P4 Palm faces downward
  - P5 Palm faces to the side

IV. Finger positions (F).

- F1 Fingers flat (the thumb may be in opposition or slightly to the side).
- F2 Fingers slightly bent (that is, relaxed)
- F3 Fingers rounded
- F4 Fingers form a fist (Figures 9 and 18)
- F5 Thumb extended
- F6 Finger points (see Figure 3)





V. Arm positions (A).

A1 Forward middle

A2 Raised Forward

A3 Forward low (may be bent at elbow)

A4 Side of body

A5 Extended to side

A6 Side high

A7 Side low

A8 Bent forward 90 degrees, upper arm forward low

A9 Fully bent

A10 Bent forward 90 degrees upper arm place low

- A11 lower arm in front at waist (see Figure 6).
- A12 Crossed diagonally to shoulder or front of chest with upper arm close to body.
- A13 Crossed diagonally to middle of chest with upper arm raised.
- A14 Horizontal at chest level<sup>9</sup> (Figure 13).
- A15 Lower arm vertical from shoulder level
- A16 Hand on hip
- A17 Hand on head

VI. Touching and brushing (T)

- T1 A touch (Figure 14)
- T2 A brush (Figure 15)

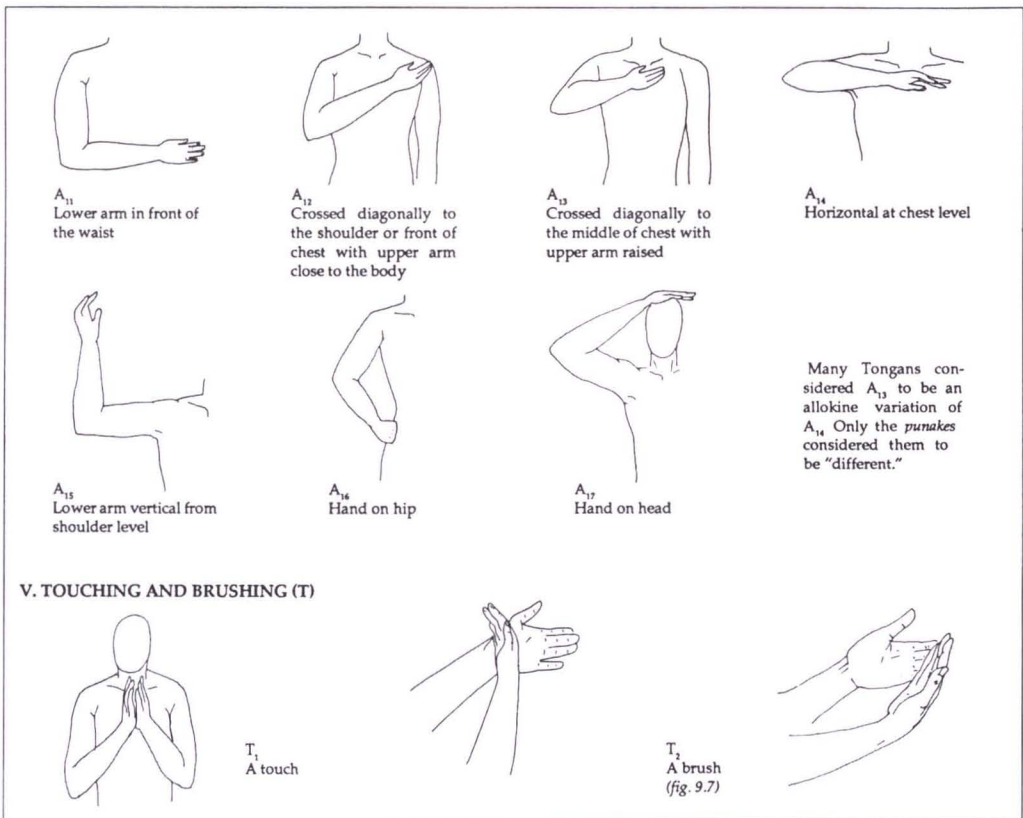




Figure 11.  
Tu'imala Kaho with her wrist extended in W1.



Figure 12.  
Tu'imala Kaho with her wrist flexed to W2



Figure 13. The women of Tatakamotonga perform a lakalaka.  
Most of their arms are in the "correct" position of A14, as choreographed by Malukava.



Figure 14.  
*Tu'imala Kaho performs morphokine M.II.b.5.,  
which includes a touch, T1.*



Figure 15. Hou Koula, dance leader of the "Tafi" of Fua'amotu,  
performs the tafi motif based on T2.

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 perform the lower arm 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 it, as there is in moving the upper leg. When movements are made with the arms close to the body they are called *haka nonou* (Figure 16) and are considered difficult to do and therefore are more applauded. These movements contrast with *haka loloa* – movements with the arms extended – that is, with the upper arm away from the body. Extended arm positions that take the upper arm away from the body are used more often by men than women (Figure 17).

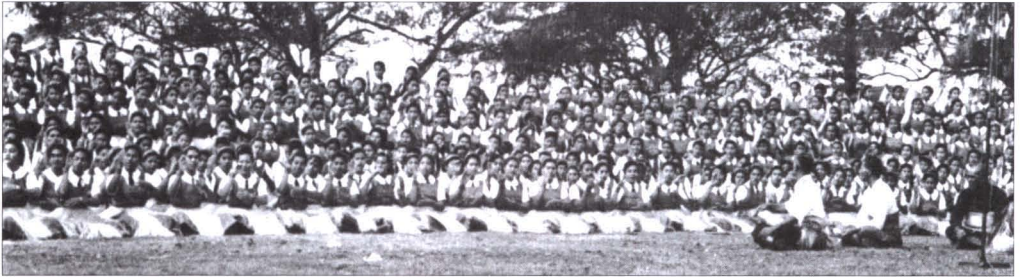


Figure 16. Queen Sālote College students perform a mā`ulu`ulu. Their arms are close to their bodies, *haka nonou*.



Figure 17. The men and women of Foa, Ha`apai, perform a lakalaka. The men perform with outstretched arms, *haka loloa*, while the women have their arms closer to their bodies.

### Torso

Occasionally in Tongan dance the torso bends or twists but this is not considered significant or emic to Tongans, which is shown by the fact that when I performed for my teachers and varied only the rotation or bending of the torso, they would say that the performances were the "same." On the other hand, if I varied foot or arm movements, I was corrected immediately. Movements of the torso may make the performance more aesthetically pleasing, but they do not make it right or 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 difficulty trying to make Tongans understand to what I was referring. Perhaps this movement is not recognized as significant because it

is not part of the more older movement genres. The torso may be bent or turned in the contemporary *tau`olunga* genre, but these movements are considered style rather than structure [Kaepler 2002]. Indeed many Tongans do not consciously perceive torso movements, just as Americans are seldom conscious of the sound of glottal stops.

### 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. Absence of exaggerated movement of the hips is considered significant. In fact, when a Tongan contrasts Tongan dance with other Polynesian dances, one of the principles or dimensions of contrast is hip movement.

### Summary of the kinematic level of Tongan dance

An inventory of Tongan dance kinemes enumerates 46 that are significant in the movement system. Many of these have various physiological possibilities or allokinemes, which are variations of Tongan kinemes.

### Morphokines: meaningful movements

The second level of structural organization of dance movement is here termed the morphokinematic level and is analogous to the morpheme level in language structure. As noted above, the number of possible morphokines in a given dance tradition is theoretically unlimited, just as the number of morphemes of a given language is unlimited. Only a small number of Tongan morphokines will be given here to illustrate the method.

Tongan morphokines (M) can be grouped in four large classes which can be internally subdivided. These classes are:

- M.I. morphokines of the hands and arms.
- M.II. morphokines of the legs.
- M.III. morphokines of the head.
- M.IV. other morphokines.

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.) that can be performed in a number of different environments. This was verbalized by Tongans who said, for example, "you can do this movement in this position or that position." 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 movement (M.I.a.1.) can be varied in several hundred ways, but by classing the morphokines in the system devised it was possible to include all the variations in only fifteen morphokines (that is, M.I.a.1. can occur in the arm kineme placements A1 - A15) and still account for all the relevant data. The third subclass is a group which combines lower arm movements and the environment in one morphokine (M.I.c.) – 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 one head kineme (M.III.). This side head tilt is meaningful as a movement and, in addition to being spontaneous, may be choreographed with, or instead of, arm movements in prescribed places in a dance.

The fourth class of morphokines consists of body movements that are not significant at the kinemic level but are important at the morphokinemic level (M.IV.). These movements do not occur alone but are part of the bodily environment, that, along with other morphokines and/or motifs, form choremes (see below).

### ***Nima* morphokines, M.I.a.**

A morphokinemic analysis of my Tongan data has delineated 23 important M.I.a. *nima* (hand and lower arm) movements that can be performed in more than one arm position environment.<sup>10</sup> These movements are done by both men and women; however, in the women's versions there is a greater emphasis on the flexibility of the wrists.

M.I.a.1. is the most common and characteristic morphokine in Tongan dance, and co-occurs in any environment from M.I.b.1. through M.I.b.15. M.I.a.1. is the essential movement of what is called *haka*, hand and lower arm movements. It is a combination of five kinemes – rotation of the lower arm, R1, extension of the wrist, W1, and three finger kinemes, F1, F2, and F3. The sequence of kinemes is:

- 1) From kineme F1 or F2 (depending on where the previous movement ended) fingers begin to flex or bend (this flexion starts with the little finger; the index finger is last to bend and does not bend as far);
- 2) When fingers are almost to kineme F3 the lower arm begins to rotate, R1, while the fingers complete their flexion to F3 and the wrist moves to W1;
- 3) Immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation (so that the palm is facing the opposite direction from which it began), fingers open to F1 with an accent while the wrist moves back to its neutral position;
- 4) After the completion of 3 in this sequence, the lower arm rotates in the opposite direction, bringing the palm facing back to the position in which it began.

Rhythmically, this morphokine usually begins on an upbeat so that 3 falls on the beat. This sequence of kinemes constitutes M.I.a.1. which may now be used to refer to the entire action.

M.I.a.2. is similar to M.I.a.1., but is not so frequently used. The emphasis is on the flexion of the wrist. It co-occurs with M.I.b.10., M.I.b.11., M.I.b.16:

- 1) With fingers in F1 or F2 and palm facing P2, wrist begins to flex;
- 2) When wrist is partially flexed, the lower arm begins to rotate, R1, and wrist completes its flexion to W2;
- 3) Immediately after the lower arm finishes rotating, wrist returns to its neutral position and palm faces in a different direction from which it began (usually P1 or P4);
- 4) Fingers extend to F1 with an accent.

M.I.a.3. partially circling the hands around each other, is another important movement in Tongan dance and is the essence of a motif called *ha'ota* (see below). M.I.a.3. is a half circle of the right hand around the left hand and co-occurs with M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., M.I.b.19., and A9-A12:

- 1) Hands with fingers in a slightly flexed position, F2, palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, P2 and right palm facing forward, P1 (in actual performance the palms do not really face each other squarely at the beginning, but the right palm begins above the left);
- 2) Right hand circles over, and in front of, the left hand by a rotation of the lower right arm, R1, while the arms open slightly to the sides.

- M.I.a.3.a. is the essence of a motif called *kako* (see below) when performed in a vertical arm position at either shoulder in A9-A12. It is a combination of M.I.a.3. and M.I.a.1. In *kako* the right hand continues around the left to its starting position and fingers extend to F1, after a rotation of the lower arms, R1.
- M.I.a.4. is the reverse of M.I.a.3. and is a movement called *ao*, its usual environment is M.I.b.18. but can occur in other environments:
- 1) With right hand below left and fingers in F2, right palm facing up, P3, and left palm facing back or down, P2 or P4;
  - 2) Right hand circles in front of, over and behind the left with a rotation of both lower arms, R1, bringing the palms to face each other after the circling movement.
- M.I.a.5. is similar to M.I.a.3.a. except that the fingers form a fist, F4. It can co-occur with M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., M.I.b.19., or A9-A12;
- 1) Fingers in F4, palms face each other, left in P2, right in P1;
  - 2) Right circles over, and in front of, left with a rotation of the lower arm, R1, continuing until the right hand is behind the left, both palms facing P2;
  - 3) The lower arms rotate and wrists extend to W1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.6. is similar to M.I.a.4. except that the fingers are fully flexed to form a fist. It usually co-occurs with kineme A11 (which functions as a morphokine);<sup>11</sup>
- 1) With fingers in F4, palms facing the chest, with right hand in back of (that is closer to the chest) left hand;
  - 2) Right fist circles under and entirely around left fist, back to its starting position (the left fist also moves slightly but the emphasis is on the movement of the right fist);
  - 3) Wrists extend to W1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.7. is similar to M.I.a.3. but ends with the palms facing forward. This is accomplished by adding another rotation of the lower arms, R1. M.I.a.7 co-occurs with M.I.b.17.a., M.I.b.18.a. and M.I.b.19.a:
- 1) With fingers in F2 palms face each other, left palm facing the chest, P2, right palm facing forward, P1;
  - 2) Right hand circles, over, and in front of left with a rotation of the lower arm, R1;
  - 3) Both lower arms rotate, R1, so that palms face forward, P1, wrists extend to W1, and fingers to F1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.8. is the essence of a motif called *toli* and often has the narrative meaning of "to pick:"
- 1) Starting from F1 the fingers flex to F3 while wrist extends to W1 with an accent.
- M.I.a.9. is the essence of a motif called *milolua* (see below) when performed with both hands, one above the other:
- 1) With fingers in F4 the wrist flexes to W2;
  - 2) Wrist then extends to a W1.
- M.I.a.10. consists of moving the lower arms in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with A8 or A10:
- 1) With fingers in F2, palms face opposite directions (either P1 and P2, or P3 and P4), lower arms are moved in the directions of the palm facings;
  - 2) Lower arms rotate, R1, so that palms face in opposite directions from where they started;
  - 3) Lower arms are moved in the directions of palm facings.
- M.I.a.11. is similar to M.I.a.10 except that the hands move from side to side and together rather than in opposition to each other. It usually co-occurs with A10:
- 1) Right palm faces up, P3, left palm faces down, P4, fingers are in a slightly bent position, F2;

- 2) Lower arms rotate and move to the left, fingers extend to F1;
  - 3) Fingers relax to F2;
  - 4) Lower arms rotate and move to the right, fingers extend to F1.
- M.I.a.12. is similar to M.I.a.10 except that the hands both face forward. It usually occurs with A8:
- 1) With fingers in F2, both palms facing forward, right lower arm moves forward and left lower arm backward and fingers extend to F1;
  - 2) Fingers relax to F2 while left lower arm moves forward and right lower arm backward, and fingers again extend to F1.
- M.I.a.13. is a circling of the hands around each other with palms facing forward, and is sometimes called *teki*. It usually occurs in A13:
- 1) With fingers in F2 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 F1 (usually with an accent on the beat);
  - 3) Fingers relax to F2 while left hand circles behind right hand until left hand is above right hand and fingers extend to F1.
- M.I.a.14. is the essence of a motif called *tui* (see below) and involves rubbing or brushing the backs of the hands together and rotation of the lower arms. It co-occurs with A10 or A13:
- 1) With fingers in F2 and palms facing in opposite directions (for example, right hand facing backward and left hand facing forward), the backs of the hands are brushed together, T2, by moving one upward or forward and the other hand downward or backward;
  - 2) Both lower arms rotate, R1, 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, T2, by moving one hand forward (the opposite one that moved forward previously) or up and the other hand backward or down.
- M.I.a.15. is a combination of M.I.a.1. and M.I.a.14. It differs from M.I.a.14 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:
- 1) With palms facing upward, P3, and arms crossed right over left at wrist, the fingers from F2 begin to bend;
  - 2) Lower arm rotates, R1, and the fingers complete their flexion to F3;
  - 3) Immediately upon finishing the lower arm rotation, the fingers open to F1 with an accent and palms face down, P4;
  - 4) Right arm moves forward and left arm moves backward brushing little fingers, T2;
  - 5) Lower arms rotate in the opposite direction, R1, bringing the palm facings back to the position they began, P3, this time with left hand on top of right, and fingers from F1 begin to flex in preparation for a repeat of the movement.
- M.I.a.16. derives its character from the extension and flexion of the wrist. It usually occurs moving from A13 to A9:
- 1) Starting from a relaxed or neutral position of the wrist and fingers in F1;
  - 2) Wrist bends forward, W2, and fingers flex to an oval allokine of F3;
  - 3) Wrist extends backward to W1 and fingers extend to F1.
- M.I.a.17. is a side movement of either arm with the elbow leading. It co-occurs with A11 or A14:
- 1) Fingers are fully flexed, F4, palm faces down, P4;
  - 2) Elbow extends with an accent by a quick shoulder extension.

- M.I.a.18. is a snapping of the fingers. This is called *fisipa* in Tongan. While the fingers are snapping, T3, the lower arm is usually rotated, R1. It can occur in nearly all environments.
- M.I.a.19. is a morphokine in which the hands brush each other:
- 1) Fingers in F2, palms face each other to the sides, P5;
  - 2) Hands brush together, T2, starting with the fingertips of the right hand at the heel of the left hand and end with the fingertips of the left hand at the heel of the right hand.
- M.I.a.20. brushes the edge of one hand, T2, over the palm of the other hand. The movement involved is an extension of the wrist, W2, which changes the palm facing.
- 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 environments.
- M.I.a.21. 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:
- 1) Hands in finger position F2 and palm position P5 strike each other, T1, with an accent.
- M.I.a.21.a. is a variation of *pasi*, M.I.a.21., that opens the hands so the palms face forward:
- 1) Fingers in F2, palms in P5, hit each other, T1;
  - 2) Hands open forward by rotating the lower arms, R1, so that palms face forward.
- M.I.a.22. is a clap called *fū*. In this clap the hands hit each other diagonally. The fingers are held tightly together and the palms are cupped. The sound is a hollow one, that is, low pitched:
- 1) Left palm faces backward, P2, right hand faces forward, P1, fingers in F2 (the thumb may be held in the usual way, or it may be touching the fingers);
  - 2) Hands hit each other, T1, with an accent.
- M.I.a.23. is a clapping movement in which the back of the hand hits the other open palm:
- 1) Right hand in F4, left in F2, palms both face backward, P2, right hand behind left (that is, closer to the chest);
  - 2) Back of right hand hits palm of left hand, T1, with an accent.

### Environment morphokines, M.I.b.

The morphokines so far presented can be performed in a number of arm position environments. The arm position is 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 morphokines of group M.I.a. The significant feature is the placement of the upper arm. The morphokine that can occur in the largest number of environments is M.I.a.1., which co-occurs with M.I.b.1. to M.I.b.15.

Many morphokines of group M.I.b. alternate only the direction in which the palm is facing, while the arm position remains the same. Others change both arm position and palm facing. Some environments consist of a single kineme – in such cases the kineme designation will be used instead of giving it a M.I.b. designation. This group of position morphokines is not equal in importance to group M.I.a.

Nineteen of the most important M.I.b. morphokine environments are given here. Most of the other environments can be simply noted by their kinemic designations.

- M.I.b.1. is a morphokine in which the arm is extended forward in middle level, A1, with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4. Thus, a *nima* morphokine in its environment may be written, M.I.a.1./M.I.b.1.(r).
- M.I.b.2. is arm extended forward high, A2, with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.

- M.I.b.3. is arm forward in low level, A3, with palm facing alternating between forward, P1, and back, P2.
- M.I.b.4. is arm in place low, A4, with palm facing alternating between forward, P1, and back, P2.
- M.I.b.5. is arm in side middle, A5, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.6. is arm in side high, A6 with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.7. is arm in side low, A7, with palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.8. is arm bent forward in A8, with palm facing alternating between backward, P2, and forward P1.
- M.I.b.9. is arm bent in A9, with palm facing alternating between backward, P2, and forward, P1.
- M.I.b.10. is arm bent in A10, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.11. is arm bent in A11, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.12. is arm crossed diagonally to shoulder in A12, with the palm facing alternating between up, P3, and down, P4.
- M.I.b.13. begins in A12, with palm facing backward, P2, and moves to A9 with palm facing forward, P1.
- M.I.b.14. begins in A12 with palm facing backward, P2, and moves through A15 with palm facing forward, P1, and finally ends in A9, the palm remaining forward.
- M.I.b.15. begins in A12 with palm facing backward, P2, and moves to A1, with palm facing forward, P1.
- M.I.b.16. begins in A9, with palm facing backward, P2, and moves to A1 with palm facing forward, P1.
- M.I.b.17., M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. are three environments used for performing several M.I.a. morphokines in two or three positions--left side, in front of the body, or right side.
- M.I.b.17. is the environment for the left side of the body. The left arm is in A10, the right arm in A11, left palm faces backward P2, right palm usually begins facing forward, P1, and ends facing backward, P2. Performing some M.I.a. morphokines (for example, M.I.a.7.) may require an additional change in palm facings so that they end facing forward, P1, which we can call M.I.b.17.a.
- M.I.b.18. and M.I.b.18.a. are the environments for performing in front of the body. Both arms are in A11; palm facings are the same as in M.I.b.17. and M.I.b.17.a.
- M.I.b.19. and M.I.b.19.a. are the environments for performing on the right side of the body. The left arm is in A11, the right arm in A10; palm facings are the same as in M.I.b.17. and M.I.b.17.a.

### **Narrative morphokines, M.I.c.**

M.I.c. morphokines include *nima* movement and arm position environment in one morphokine. They are performed primarily in only one environment and are joined in such a way that to separate them would destroy their meaning. These morphokines frequently have narrative qualities that interpret words of poetry. Some of the M.I.c. movements are a stylization of movements of everyday or ceremonial life and have a pictorial quality. Only 14 will be presented here.<sup>12</sup> It is this category especially that has almost unlimited possibilities for creation of new movements.

- M.I.c.1. consists of the palm of one hand hitting the elbow of the opposite arm:
- 1) Right hand in F2 and left hand in F4, right arm in A11, left arm in A9;
  - 2) Palm of right hand hits, T1, left lower arm at elbow;
  - 3-4) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.3. consists of the fingertips of one hand touching the other arm:
- 1) Left arm extended, A1, right lower arm horizontal in front of chest, A14, palms face down, P4, fingers in F2;

- 2) Fingertips of right hand touch, T1, inner side of left arm at elbow;  
3-4) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.4. consists of touching the tips of the thumbs to the chest:  
1) With fingers in F5 and arms in A13 tips of the thumbs touch the chest, T1, one above the other;  
2) Hands alternate so that the second time the thumb tips touch the chest the other one is above.
- M.I.c.5. consists of touching the fingers of both hands to the chest one above the other:  
1) Fingers in F1, palm facing backward, P2, arms in A13;  
2) Fingers are touched, T1, to chest one hand above the other;  
3) Hands remain in this position and move slightly up and down to keep time.
- M.I.c.8. consists of touching the palm of one hand to the chest while the other arm is extended forward:  
1) Left arm is extended forward in A1, palm faces down, P4 and fingers in F2; right arm in A13, palm faces backward, P2, fingers in F1;  
2) Fingers (especially middle two fingers) of right hand touch chest, T1, while fingers of left hand extend to F1 on the beat;  
3-4) Movements repeat symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.10. consists of pointing to alternate sides:  
1) Arm moves to A14, palm in P2, fingers in F6; at the same time the other arm moves to A5, palm in P1, fingers in F6;  
2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.  
In performing this morphokine the hands may touch the chest.
- M.I.c.13. marks the beat by moving extended index fingers of folded hands from shoulder to shoulder:  
1) With arms in A9-A12, the three flexed fingers of F6 are interlocked, a movement of the lower arms moves the hands slightly forward to mark the beat;  
2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- 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:  
1) Left arm in A5, with palm facing forward, P1; right arm in A11, fingers of both hands in F2 extend to F1 on the beat;  
2) Left arm bends to A11, palm facing down P4, and touches, T1, the back of right hand;  
3) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- 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:"  
1) Left arm in A5, palm faces forward, P1, right arm in A14, palm faces backward, P2, fingers of both hands extend from F2 to F1 on the beat;  
2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.16. is the fingers of one hand alternate between touching the elbow and the back of other *nima*:  
1) Left arm in A9, palm facing backward, P2, fingers in F2; right arm in A11 palm facing backward; P2, fingers in F2;  
2) Fingers of left hand extend to F1 and fingertips of right hand touch the left elbow;  
3) Left arm moves to A11, right arm rotates R1, so that both palms face down, P4;  
4) Fingers of right hand touch back of left hand;  
5-8) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite.

- M.I.c.19. describes an arc with the hands, and often has the narrative meaning of "rainbow:"
- 1) Both arms in A8 (right slightly higher than left), with palms facing forward, P1, fingers in F2;
  - 2) Arms move slightly to the left, down, right, and up.
- 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 hand perpendicular on top of the other:
- 1) Right arm in A10 moves to A11 while palm facing changes from side, P5, to back, P2;
  - 2) Left arm in A10 moves to A11 while palm facing changes from side, P5, to back, P2; at the same time right arm moves back to A10;
  - 3) Left hand stops by resting perpendicularly (that is, on its edge) on top of right hand and at a right angle to it; left palm faces back, P2, right palm faces side, P5.
- M.I.c.21. is called *palu* and is a stylization of squeezing kava with water while it is being prepared:
- 1) Arms in A3, the palms face each other, P5, almost touching, right slightly behind left, fingers in F2;
  - 2) Right hand moves forward and left backward;
  - 3) Both wrists fully flex to W2 (until palms both face backward) while fingers flex to F3;
  - 4) Fingers extend to F1 while wrists move back to neutral position;
  - 5-8) Movements repeat symmetrically opposite.
- M.I.c.23. involves touching the head:
- 1) Right hand, with arm in A17, touches, T1, the top of the head; at the same time left arm extends to the left side, A5, with palm facing up, P3, fingers extend from F2 to F1, (finger extension of left occurs at the same time as right hand touches the head);
  - 2) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite;
  - 3) Right hand repeats 1) above while left arm, extends forward, A1 palm facing up, P3, fingers extend from F2 to F1;
  - 4) Left hand remains in last position; right arm extends forward to A1, and claps the left hand, T1.

### ***Va`e morphokines, M.II.a.***

*Va`e* (foot and lower leg) morphokines, M.II.a., function in two ways in Tongan dance – it is mainly *va`e* movements which differ between genres and *va`e* movements may help interpret words of poetry. In many cases lower body motifs are repetitions of *va`e* morphokines. Five important morphokines of this group are enumerated here.

M.II.a.1. is the most important leg morphokine in Tongan dance and consists of a side step (L3a) and a sideward step to "place" (L3b), see Notation 1. This latter step need not take the weight and is placed slightly diagonally with the toe turned out (Figure 18).



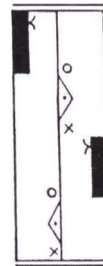
Figure 18. The women of Kanokupolu perform their *lakalaka*. They use morphokine M.II.a.1. made up of a side step (L3a) and a sideward step to "place" (L3b). This latter step need not take the weight and is placed slightly diagonally with the toe turned out.

This morphokine is the main lower-body movement used in *lakalaka* and is performed by both men and women; however, women take quite small steps that barely leave the ground, while men take larger more forceful ones:

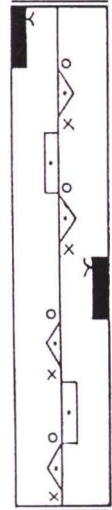
- 1) Left foot steps side left, [l] L3a(l);<sup>13</sup>
- 2) Right foot moves side left to touch in place, L3b (r);
- 3-4) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite, that is, [r] L3a (r); L3b (l).

Notation 1. Morphokine M.II.a.1.

Notation 2. Morphokine M.II.a.2.



Notation 1



Notation 2

M.II.a.2. is similar to M.II.a.1. except that another side step is added, see Notation 2:

- 1) Left foot steps side left, [l] L3a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps side left to place, L3b(r);
- 3) Left foot steps side left, L3a(l);
- 4) Right foot moves side left and touches in place, L3b(r);
- 5-8) Movement repeats symmetrically opposite, that is, [r] L3a(r) L3b(l); L3a(r); L3b(l).

M.II.a.2.a. is a variant of M.II.a.2. differing in that the fourth step is a touch to the forward diagonal:

- 1) Left foot steps side left, [l] L3a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps side left, to place, L3b(r);
- 3) Left foot steps side left, L3a(l);
- 4) Right foot crosses in front of left foot and touches the toe to the left diagonal L9c(r);
- 5-8) Movements repeat symmetrically opposite, that is, [r] L3a(r); L3b(l); L3a(r); L9c(l).

M.II.a.3. moves forward and back:

- 1) Left foot steps forward, L1a(l);
- 2) Right foot moves forward to place, L1b(r);
- 3) Right steps forward, L1a(r);
- 4) Left foot moves forward and touches in place, L1b(l);
- 5) Left foot steps backward, L2a(l);
- 6) Right foot moves back to place, L2b(r);
- 7) Right foot steps backwards, L2a(r);
- 8) Left foot moves back to place, L2b(l).

M.II.a.4. moves forward in consecutive steps:

- 1) Left foot steps forward, L1a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps forward, L1a(r);
- 3) Left foot steps forward to place, L1b(l).

M.II.a.4.a. is a variation performed with one forward step and a step to place, L1a(l); L1b(r).

M.II.a.5. moves backward in successive steps:

- 1) Left foot steps backward, L2a(l);
- 2) Right foot steps backward, L2a(r);
- 3) Left foot steps backward to place, L2b(l).

M.II.a.5.a. is a variation performed with one backward step and a step to place, L2a(l); L2b(r).

Many M.II.a. morphokines are single kinemes or repetitions of single kinemes such as L4, jumps; L5, bending of the knees; L6, turns; L7, rotation of the lower leg; L10, kneeling; or L11, sitting cross-legged. In such cases we may simply use the kineme designation. In the relatively modern *tau`olunga* the foot movements are sometimes more complex, but in the more traditional dances the M.II.a. morphokines are quite subdued, especially for women.

### Leg-touch morphokines, M.II.b.

M.II.b. morphokines combine leg movements, and a touch of the hand.

- M.II.b.1. consists of one palm, with fingers in F1, hitting the thigh either while in the cross-legged sitting position, L11 (where it is called *pāpātenga*), or in a standing dance.
- M.II.b.2. consists of both palms, with fingers in F1, hitting thighs simultaneously either while in the cross-legged sitting position, L11 (where it is called *ha`aki*) or in a standing dance.
- M.II.b.3. consists of the hands hitting the thighs alternately while walking forward. This is often done in groups of three – that is, left, right, left, L1a(l); L1a(r); L1b(l).
- M.II.b.4. combines a brush of the hands with a touch of the thigh:
  - 1) Left arm in A8 with palm facing P5; right palm brushes, T2, the left palm from top to bottom;
  - 2) Right hand continues down to touch the thigh, T1.
- M.II.b.5. combines a brush of the hands as in M.II.b.4. with a touch of the inside of the opposite lower leg near the ankle (see Figure 14).
- M.II.b.6. combines a brush of the hands as in M.II.b.4. with a touch of the outside of the ankle and L6c, and full turn (usually right hand and right ankle).
- M.II.b.7. consists of M.I.a.2./A8 followed by the open palm in F1 hitting the thigh while in L5. This may be done with one hand or both simultaneously.
- M.II.b.8. consists of raising the foot from the floor by a bend of the knee, L8, and touching the knee first with the thumb and then with the little finger.
- M.II.b.9. combines M.I.a.1./M.I.b.1. with a touch of the knee in the crosslegged sitting position:
  - 1) In cross-legged sitting position, L11, the hand rests on the knee;
  - 2) The hand moves to A1 and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.1.
- M.II.b.10. combines M.I.a.1./M.I.b.11. with a touch of the knee:
  - 1) In cross-legged sitting position, L11, the hand rests on the knee;
  - 2) The hand moves to A11 and back to touch the knee while performing M.I.a.1.

### Head morphokine, M.III.

There is only one head morphokine that is emic and it is the kineme H1. This side head-tilt, *fakateki*, may be used in two ways. It may be used alone, that is, instead of arm movements, as part of the choreography, for example, after M.II.b.7. (l & r). More importantly, however, it is used in addition to the pre-set choreography as an aesthetic element, when the dancer feels the spontaneous urge to do so. This arises from the dancer's internal feeling of *māfana*, inward warmth, which is aroused in the dancer because of participation and, in turn, arouses the

spectators' *māfana* by empathy. It is by the *māfana* use of the head that an excellent dancer compels the spectators to focus attention on him or her. Skill in use of the *fakateki* is the most important single element for choosing the individual to fill the position of best dancer, *mālie taha*, in large group dances. Today the head is occasionally bent forward – apparently a recent innovation used primarily in *mā'ulu'ulu*.

#### 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 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. These movements may help interpret poetry and are usually modern.

M.IV.1. has two variants in which the body bends forward from the hips.

M.IV.1.a. bends the torso forward (in a sitting dance) as if in a sleeping position.

M.IV.1.b. bends the torso slightly forward from the hips. This is used in the modern dance genre *tau'olunga* and takes the place of L5 in traditional dance forms.

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.

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.

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 identical movements, the head movements, M.IV.3. follows the arm that is farthest away from the body. Although it is not choreographed, it is understood that M.IV.3. should be included in a performance.



Figure 19. Women of Lapaha perform a *mā'ulu'ulu*. Their facial expression is happy, smiling, and "alive."

Facial expression, though not emic is also a component in Tongan dance. The facial expression is usually a happy smiling one. Occasionally the expression becomes serious to reflect the words or mood of the poetry. The eyes, too, play a part. The eyes 'smile'; as an extension of the smiling face (Figure 19) – the same word, *mata*, means both eyes and face in Tongan. During the head morphokine, M.III., the eyes may make a quick side move that corresponds to the side tilt of the head.

### Summary of 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 movements, as well as main elements of movement in all dance types.
- M.I.b. Morphokines that are not important by 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 associated M.I.a. movements. 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 meanings which interpret words of the text. 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 symbolic, in that one movement does not always convey the meaning of one word, phrase, or idea. The narrative element of dance movement is often conveyed through M.I.c. morphokines, usually in a subtle and sophisticated manner. Tongan dance movements usually interpret the most apparent level of 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 (*heliaki*).

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*; for example, M.I.c.21. depicts the squeezing of the *kava* root with water. These movements can be used to refer to other actions, but often 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.9., 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 at other times with other meanings. M.I.a.5.; M.I.a.6. in A9-A12 environments may refer to the twisting of the *kava* strainer around the hand. It may be that M.I.a.3, called *kako*, derived from a stylization of wiping the rim of the *kava* bowl, although it is not used in that way today. 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., and thus are quite different in function from the primarily narrative M.I.c. group.

- M.II.a are leg morphokines that 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 that uses mainly or only M.II.a.1. and M.II.a.7. belongs to the *ula* genre. Secondly, the M.II.a. morphokines sometimes, in conjunction with M.I. movements, help interpret poetry (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 in which the hand touches 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.
- M.III. is a tilt of the head that may have a prescribed place in the choreography or is used at the discretion of the dancer. 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.
- M.IV. is a small group of body movements that are non-emic or non-significant in themselves, but are predictable. Although these morphokines do not necessarily have meaning, they sometimes help to interpret poetry and are essential to 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. For example, in the overall structure of a dance there must be morphokines of group M.II. throughout as a substratum and each dance type or genre has its characteristic M.II. morphokines. Further, the essential character of Tongan dance derives from the varied arm movements that are the most important part of the dance. Finally, body movements are never used alone, but only in addition to arm movements.

When notating Tongan dance emically it is possible to do so with morphokines. Notating a dance, one need only note the morphokine designation and add r or l for right or left. The notes can be made directly on a music staff to show timing for a particular dance or they can be rendered into Labanotation.

We can now proceed to examine how morphokines are combined into larger entities.

## Motifs

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. I have called these often-used combinations "motifs" because of their likeness to motifs in folklore or in the visual arts. Some motifs are named, but those that are not are often associated with certain words and illustrate the Tongan cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than by straight-forward statement.

### *Vahe*, dividing motifs

Like folktales or songs, dances often have conventionalized ways of beginning, ending, and dividing sections. In Tongan dance, beginnings, endings, and divisions are rendered by a group of movements known as *vahe*, which literally means "to divide." *Vahe* is sometimes qualified with the name of a dance type, such as *vahe ula* (*vahe* used in the dance type *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 a *vahe*. The two most common dividing motifs are *vahe ula*, and *fū e ua* (*fū* done two times).

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

left hand	both hands	right hand
1.		M.II.b.7.
2. M.II.b.7.		
3.	M.I.a.7./M.I.b.18. (r slightly preceding l)	
4.		M.II.b.1.
5. M.II.b.1		
6.	M.I.a.21.	

*Fū e ua* consists of *fū* (morphokine M.I.a.22.) done first to the left and then to the right at about shoulder level, A9-A12. This is often done at the beginning and between stanzas in *lakalaka* and *mā`ulu`ulu*, and sometimes at the end. In dances of the *tau`olunga* genre it often divides the verses, and may or may not be done at the beginning. At the beginning of a *lakalaka* the dance leader will shout "*fū e ua*" and count "*taha, ua*" (one, two) while the dancers perform their two *fū*. This sets the beat as well as begins the dance.

#### "Haka" M.I.a.1. motif paradigm

The most common recurring motif in Tongan dance is based on morphokine M.I.a.1. done in any environment from M.I.b.1. through M.I.b.15. and perhaps other environments as well. M.I.a.1. is usually done with both hands at the same time. Both arms may be in the same M.I.b. position, or in a different one, or the M.I.b. position of one or both arms may change while the motif is being performed. The word "*haka*" (arm movement in its narrow sense) means this group of arm movements. When "*haka*" is used in this way, quotation marks will be used to distinguish it from *haka* in its more general meaning of any arm movements in Tongan dance.<sup>14</sup> The morphokine M.I.a.1. and all the M.I.b. environments in which it can be performed can be called the M.I.a.1. 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 all the morphokines with which it can co-occur. There are at least fifteen environments in which M.I.a.1. can occur for each arm, and many can be performed simultaneously.

The most common use of "*haka*" is as a fill-in movement – that is, it is used between narrative elements or to fill in 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. "*Haka*" can also be used narratively, such as the following examples:

M.I.a.1./M.I.b.9. can be used to indicate an ear (or hair) ornament, *tekiteki*. In this case one hand performs the "*haka*" near the ear and the head is turned away from the hand. Ordinarily the dancer's eyes would follow the hand doing the "*haka*".

Another example of narrative interpretation by "haka" is M.I.a.1./M.I.b.14. to mean *kalauni*, (crown), to refer to the sovereign. Here a "haka" is performed with the right *nima* while moving from M.I.b.14. and with the palm facing forward the *nima* moves to the top of the head (where a crown would be worn) and describes an arc from left to right.

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." This is not, however, a one-to-one relationship. "From north to south" can also be expressed in movement by a motif that moves the arms alternately from A5 to A14 along with changes in palms facings by rotations of the lower arms (Figure 20). Many frequently used combinations of "haka" have no narrative meaning but are used simply because the Tongans like them.



Figure 20. Expressing "from north to south" in movement during a *tau'olunga*.

### M.I.a.2. motif paradigm

Morphokine M.I.a.2. forms a paradigm similar to that of "haka" M.I.a.1.; however, it is more restricted and less frequently used. M.I.a.2. is the morphokine that is common to a set of M.I.b. morphokines. The environments in which it occurs are diverse and it may not be 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 one arm slightly preceding the other. Its most characteristic appearance is in the *vahe ula* dividing motif in which it is combined as M.II.b.7.

M.I.a.2. can be 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).

M.I.a.2. can also be performed in A15 to interpret *tue* (hooray).

The paradigm is:

M.II.b.7.(r);M.II.b.7.(l)	dividing motif of <i>vahe ula</i>
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.16.(r)	<i>luva</i> (give)
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.10 (r)	
M.I.a.2./M.I.b.11.(l)	<i>tafi</i> (sweep)
M.I.a.2./A15	<i>tue</i> (hooray).

### Other haka motifs

*Haka* in its wider sense includes all arm movements in Tongan dance. *Haka* motifs 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 are satisfying to choreographers, dancers, and spectators alike.

### **Ha`ota**

After the *vaha* and paradigms presented above, the next most important motif in Tongan dance is *ha`ota*. *Ha`ota*, according to Tongans and dictionaries has no meaning except the name of a dance movement. *Ha`ota* is usually performed two or three times in succession in different arm positions. For example, *ha`ota*, M.I.a.3., 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`ota* is M.I.a.7., which is simply *ha`ota* with an added rotation of the lower arms that gives it a very different appearance.

### **Kako**

*Kako* was given as a term for this dance movement by some Tongan dancers but is not listed in dictionaries with this meaning. The whole *kako* motif consists of three parts or three morphokines that follow each other. M.I.a.3.a., the essence of *kako*, is performed with left arm in A9 and right arm in A12. This is followed by ("*haka*"), M.I.a.1., with both arms in M.I.b.9., and finally by M.I.a.1. with left arm remaining in M.I.b.9. and right arm moving in M.I.b.1. It may also begin at the right shoulder, A9(r)-A12(l).

### **Vete**

*Vete* is not listed in dictionaries as the name of a dance movement, nor is it usually given by Tongans as the name of a specific movement. Rather, it seems to describe 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* can be performed in two ways. M.I.a.3., (the essence of *kako*) performed in its vertical position, A9(l)-A12(r), followed by M.I.a.3. performed with both arms in A13. Or *vete* can be interpreted by M.I.a.3./A9(l)-A12(r) followed by *ha`ota*, M.I.a.3., performed while moving to its usual position of M.I.b.18.

### **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 that describes the wringing of the hibiscus strainer (to remove particles of *kava* root or to fill *kava* cups). The *haka milolua* often is performed three times in succession. It consists of M.I.a.9. performed with both hands one above the other, in M.I.b.17., followed by M.I.b.18., and M.I.b.19. It may also be performed three times in M.I.b.17., followed by three times in M.I.b.19.

### **Tene**

*Tene* consists of extending the fingers of both hands from F2 to F1, while resting the fingertips of one hand on the side of the first finger of the other hand, that is, one palm faces down and the other faces to the side. It is often performed three times in succession while moving from M.I.b.17., to M.I.b.18., to M.I.b.19. *Tene* is not in dictionaries, but was given by Tongans 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 that 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. *Toli*, M.I.a.8., when it means "to pick," is usually performed with the lower arm in a vertical position such as A8 or A9.

### ***Tafi***

*Tafi* is both the name of a dance and a term used for a movement. 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 a dance called *tafi*, which has to do with sweeping the dancing ground. "*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 A10 and left arm in A11 or vice versa (see M.I.a.2. paradigm). It is usually performed twice, either both on one side or once on the left side and once on the right side. 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.20., brushing the little finger of one hand over the palm of the other (Figure 15). 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 again the movement can be used in other ways with other meanings.

### ***Tuhu***

*Tuhu* means "index finger" and *tuhu ki* "to point to." Thus *tuhu* as a *haka* describes the pointing of the index finger rather than naming a movement (Figure 3). *Tuhu*, M.I.c.10. is usually performed by pointing first to one side and then to the other. In a modern variation of the *tuhu* motif the arms describe an arc in front of the body instead of going directly from side to side. Occasionally the dancer might point to the spectators, 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, Tongans would sometimes call it "*Sina vai tafae*" because this motif is always done first in the *ula* of that name. 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***

Again, this is not the name of a movement but is used in a particular dance where "*si sia si sia*" (a set of nonsense syllables) occurs in the poetry and some Tongans called it *si sia* when using words to describe it. M.I.a.16. is the essence of this movement. In the dance, where *si sia si sia* occurs in the poetry, it is performed with one hand in an environment which moves from A13 to A9. It can also be performed with both arms in A13, the hands alternately above and below each other. When F3 occurs in this motif an *allokine* in which the fingers are in an oval rather than rounded position is used. Rather than a separate *kineme*, this *allokine* usually occurs in *morphokines* which do not include rotation of the lower arm, R1.

### ***Tui***

*Tui* in poetry usually means "to thread" (flowers) or "to prepare for." As a *haka*, *tui* describes the movement of threading flowers. *Tui* can also be used with other meanings or simply as a beautiful movement with no narrative meaning. *Tui*, M.I.a.14., is usually done so that the lower arm moves upward or forward, for example, A10 or A13.

### ***Tapa***

*Tapa* sometimes means "to flash." *Tapa* describes flashing by moving the hands back and forth in opposition to each other. *Tapa* 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.10. in arm positions A8 or A10.

### Sideward *Tapa*

This is a movement similar to *tapa*, but the hands move from one side to the other in a horizontal plane. This motif is sometimes used to convey motion, such as the moving of waves, or change of any sort. This motif is morphokine M.I.a.11. in environment A10. "Sideward *tapa*" is my name for the motif, because I could elicit no name or verbal description.

### *ʻOfa; Loto*

*ʻOfa* means love and *loto* is the seat of one's affection. In the Tongan view both of these concepts center on the chest because of their association with *māfana*, inner warmth. When either *ʻofa* 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 fingers to the chest, in the environment of A13, first with one hand, then the other (with the opposite arm stretched forward), and finally with both. *ʻOfa* or *loto* do not name the movement. If I would demonstrate the movement, however, and ask for a term, the answer would often be *ʻofa* or *loto* meaning that this movement sometimes interprets these poetic concepts. The motif often 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 (*pasi* and *fū*) have different kinds of sound; thus the type of clap used may depend on the kind of sound that is desired, or on the kind of movement that is wanted. The *pasi* clap has a sharp sound while *fū* has a more sonorous hollow sound. In some dance genres, for example, *māʻuluʻulu*, the sound is important, whereas in other genres the sound may not be audible.

### *Kiʻi Pasiʻi*

*Kiʻi pasiʻi*, clap for a short time, describes a series of *pasi*, M.I.a.21. This is not just a series of M.I.a.21. done repeatedly, however. After the first *pasi* the hands do not participate equally in the hitting movement. In *kiʻi pasiʻi* 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 hits the left hand.

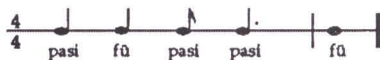
### *Teuteu*

*Teuteu*, to get ready, is a series of *fū* claps, M.I.a.22. As in *kiʻi pasiʻi*, this is not just a series of repeated *fū*; after the first *fū*, the hands do not participate equally. The left hand remains in the same position while the right hand, by a 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 prepare for the more complicated *haka* to follow.

### *Pasi, Fū combinations*

Another common clapping combination, and one that is often used to start or end a phrase, is *pasi, ao, fū*, M.I.a.21., M.I.a.4., M.I.a.22.; or just *ao, fū*, M.I.a.4., M.I.a.22.

Combining *pasi* and *fū* is an often recurring motif. *Pasi*, M.I.a.21. and *fū*, M.I.a.22., can follow each other in the same arm environment or they can be performed as follows: *pasi* to the front, *fū* to the left side, *pasi* to the front, *fū* to the right side. Another common combination is liked because of the sound variation--*pasi, fū, pasi, pasi, fū*, in the following rhythm:



### ***Tunotuna***

*Tunotuna* is a clapping motif that 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 walking in a circle in a series of L6a turning steps while clapping the hands, M.I.a.21. During this motif the torso is bent forward from the hips, M.IV.1.b., so that the hands clap at almost knee level.

### ***Pāpātenga***

Repeated hitting the knee with one hand is a common beginning in sitting dances. This is morphokine M.II.b.1. repeated in a series. It is sometimes called *pāpātenga*, "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 (Figure 21). This is done by the rotation of the lower arm in A5 touching first the front of the shoulder and then the back. It can be called *pāpāuma*, "touch the shoulder," which describes the movement.



Figure 21. The men of Tatakamotonga's *lakalaka* perform the *pāpāuma* motif.

## **Choremes**

Motifs, culturally grammatical sequences of movement, can be choreographed in association with meaningful imagery. I call such combinations of motifs a "choreme," that is, a culturally grammatical choreographic unit made up of a constellation of motifs that occur simultaneously and sequentially. For example, motifs of the upper body and motifs of the lower body together may form a choreme. Motifs and choremes are put together to form phrases of a dance, that is, they are choreographed.<sup>15</sup> Choreography can be pre-set or improvised/spontaneous, according to the rules or syntax of a specific genre, having prescriptive structural elements from the lower levels of dance organization. These structural elements and elements external to dance movement are named according to ethno-semantic categories or genres.

Motifs and choremes are the building blocks of dances and are implicated not only in structure but style. Motifs are culturally structured pieces of movement tied to a specific dance tradition or genre. They are not interchangeable from one dance tradition to another, although they may occur in more than one genre or dance tradition. Motifs are carried in memory as templates for reproduction to be used spontaneously or in a pre-set choreography. As frequently occurring combinations of smaller elements, movement motifs/choremes are similar to motifs in other visual arts and folklore. They are recalled and reembodyed in dances, and through this embodiment they acquire meaning and become images that take on cognitive status. When a new dance is produced, it is not only the motifs and their sequencing into a choreographic form that are of interest. In addition, who performs, how many performers there are, how the

performers interact with each other and the audience (if there is one), and how they use vertical and horizontal space, can tell us a great deal about the social and cultural context – and the culture itself.

### Motifs, choremes and interpretation

These are the most common motifs in Tongan dance. They are not, however, equally frequent in the different genres. The terms I have applied to the motifs are certainly not universally recognized in Tonga. Some are well known, for example, *ha`otā* and *haka*. Others are not, although the movements themselves are part of the dancers' movement vocabulary. Indeed, except for *haka* and *ha`otā*, motif designations are descriptions of movement or relate words in poetry that these motifs can interpret. Tongans do not name all motifs 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 convey or interpret many concepts and, conversely, one concept can be conveyed or interpreted by many motifs. Finally, some dance motifs may have nothing to do with interpretation of poetry whatsoever.

Tongans find it easy to convey the correct information about movement by associating the movement with words. They often allude to concepts or ideas with words without equating the meaning of the word with the concept or thing. When Tongans want to convey by words the idea of 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. A word conveys what movement is wanted, but neither the movement nor the word necessarily conveys the meaning of the word.

Two main concepts associated with Tongan dance, that movements convey poetry or create beauty, can best be illustrated with motifs.

#### Interpretative movements

The first of these concepts is that dance conveys, interprets, illustrates, or alludes to poetry. On one level, movement motifs 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 mention someone's name or tell in words what an individual 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 roundabout way. The ability to create poetry of this kind is highly admired and sometimes even considered to be supernatural. A poet is called *pulotu*, expert, which is also the name of the indigenous afterworld.

Allusion is also the essence of Tongan dance. Movement motifs do not interpret in a realistic manner. One does not 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, one stanza of a *lakalaka*, known as "Kalauni" from the village of Lapaha will be used. The stanza of poetry and its translation are as follows:

*Kulukona `o tavake fai`ana  
Na`e toli he matangi māfana  
Ko hai `e ofo he`ene ngangatu  
Fakatoukatea `i Monotapu  
He `oiaue fakatoukatea `i 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 five poetic phrases refers to Prince Tungī (later King Tāufa'āhau Tupou IV) and tells us that he was born of the highest male and female chiefs in the land. Tungī is referred to as the *kulukona* flower (a variety of a flowering tree), who was created by the tropic bird. Tavake, the tropic bird, symbolizes the highest male chief in the land, in this case Tungī Mailefihi (Prince Tungī's father). He was the highest direct descendant of the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua line of kings, which is a higher blood line than that of the present line of Kings, the Tu'i Kanokupolu. The nature symbolism continues in the second line with Tungī being plucked by the warm breeze. Warm breeze is sometimes equated with Tonga. The line of poetry refers to Tonga, the land of warm breezes, which has picked Tungī for their next King. Fragrance is considered desirable and good, and the next line of poetry says that no one is surprised at Tungī'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. Tungī is also sacred, which is suggested by the place name Monotapu-tapu meaning "sacred." The allusions, phrased in terms of nature symbolism, refer to Tungī and his genealogy, though neither of these concepts is mentioned in words. The movement motifs, in turn, allude to these allusions, and not to Tungī or his ancestry. The choreography, of motifs put together as choremes that follow poetic phrases, is as follows:

*Kulukona* is choreographed by a choreme made up of M.II.b.7. (M.I.a.2. plus touching kineme) that touches the leg while it steps forward, performed first with the right hand as the right foot steps forward and then with the left hand as the left foot steps forward. *Tavake fai'ana* is choreographed by *vete* – here interpreting "create." *Tavake*, tropic bird, is conveyed by adding the quick side head movement, M.III., which recreates the head movement of a bird. The word *toli* is choreographed by the motif *toli*, in this case meaning "to pick." *Matangi māfana* is choreographed by *vete*; *kohai*, who, by "*haka*," M.I.a.1., in M.I.b.9.; *ngangatu*, (fragrance), by *vete*. *Fakatoukatea*, double canoe, is choreographed by a choreme that consists of M.I.c.14., in which the right hand extends to the right side and then touches the back of the left hand, which has been held in A11, with the palm facing down; this is repeated to the opposite side in the repetition of the line of poetry, the hand extends to the side again in a repetition of the movement; the two lines are completed with *ao, fū*, at the end of the phrase 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 that *vete* recreates. *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 by its placement at the side of the head with the face slightly turned to the opposite side.

Two-sidedness is created in two ways in this stanza. First it is conveyed by the choreme in which the arms move to the right and then to the left. 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.

1st formation

O O O O X X X X  
O O O O X X X X

During the performance of this stanza, the men and the women walk toward each other and the two lines become four:

2nd formation	XXXX
	OOOO
	XXXX
	OOOO
	(audience)

The men then move to the front of the women

3rd formation	OOOO
	XXXX
	OOOO
	XXXX

and then all go back to their original two lines.

Ending formation	OOOO XXXX
	OOOO XXXX

This intermixes men and women and then re-emphasizes the two distinct groups as an additional reference to ancestry and Tungī's equal chiefly descent on both male and female sides.

Other movements can emphasize words by using a movement which produces a sound that resembles the word it conveys. For example, when the word *Tatakamotonga* (the name of a village) is used, the movements can be *pasi, pasi*, M.I.a.21., *fū*, M.I.a.22. *Pasi, pasi*, two sharp claps, fall on *ta ta*, and *fū*, the crosswise hollow-sounding clap, falls on *tonga*. The ability to choreograph allusive poetry is highly admired and, as noted above, considered partly supernatural hence the term for a choreographer is *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 lines of poetry are repeated over and over. Many different movement 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. The emphasis is on the beauty of movement. It is not the performer's interpretation of the words that is admired, but rather her skill in the interpretation and performance of the choreme (in this case made up of a hand/arm motif and a lower body morphokine). The choremes 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. In addition, men maybe judged on the projection of strength.

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

There is a cultural preference for interpretation by allusion rather than statement. This may be the explanation for the lack of names for movement motifs. To name a motif is too obvious; a name might limit motif use to one concept. Or the movement, if associated with a name, might convey that named concept when no meaning is wanted. Movements, then, in Tongan dance, are not named, but they can be brought to mind by words.

Movements either interpret poetry or create beauty. They present an abstraction to which performer and audience member alike may attach meaning or which can be enjoyed aesthetically as movement.<sup>16</sup> 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 dancers and spectators. When verbalizing this emotional aspect of dance Tongans say that they feel *māfana* – that is, "inwardly warm or exhilarated." Spectators also feel *māfana*, 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 occasionally they get up and join the performers, even though they do not know the choreography, inspired by their inner feeling of *māfana*.

### Genre level

The broadest level of dance organization in Tonga is the structure of dance types. A Tongan dance is a totality of structural elements that 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. Today there are six Tongan dance genres, each of which has a different combination of structural elements. The three "living" Tongan dance genres (within which new dances are still created), although reputedly created or diffused in historic times, are closely related to three traditional dance genres that are still performed but are no longer created. Indeed, the living genres seem to be mainly recombinations of kinemic, morphokinemic, and motif elements of the older dance genres.<sup>17</sup>

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 older traditional genres (*me'etu'upaki*, *'otu haka*, and *ula*) are performed on special occasions peculiar to a single village, societal division, and religion; or when especially 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. *Mā'ulu'ulu* may serve the speech-making function or may "sweep the *mala'e*" (village green) 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 *mā'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.

### Summary

The aim of this paper has been to present a method of analyzing the structure of dance and movement systems. Ethnoscience 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 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 1950:753], in the method used here a motif is built up out of smaller movement units. Choremes are combinations of motifs and/or morphokines put together in such a way that they convey "meaningful imagery," that is, they are recognized as grammatical movement sequences. Choremes, sometimes in association with other morphokines, are put together

(choreographed) to form phrases. How movement phrases are formed is culturally determined. In Tonga, movement phrases are usually dependent on poetic phrases.

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

The method presented seeks to ascertain the basic movement units and the ways in which they can be combined. Descriptions of dances and movements as seen from the ethnographer's point of view can be given an added dimension by deriving culturally recognized units and descriptions from the point of view of participants themselves. Only by using both points of view can we achieve any real understanding of dance as intentional human behavior.

### A TONGAN *TAU'OLUNGA* AS A CASE STUDY

To end this essay, and to illustrate how morphokines are combined into motifs, choremes, and phrases, I use as an example the entrance and first verse of a *tau'olunga* called "Hala Vuna" including Labanotation with the choremes, motifs, and morphokines marked on the score.<sup>18</sup>

"Hala Vuna" was composed for Tu'imala Kaho in the late 1950s to honor the port town Nuku'alofa through Tu'imala. Although essentially a song of endearment for Nuku'alofa, which is symbolic of all that is modern in Tongan society (halls for dancing western style, money economy, modern buildings, and modern women), Nuku'alofa still has all the attributes of paradise, including women with flowers, rainbows, and scented trees. Nuku'alofa is the modern paradise of the Tongan islands and the modern woman Tu'imala, like Nuku'alofa, combines both old and new. The poetic text was composed by Semisi 'Iongi and the musical setting and movements were composed by Tu'imala's uncle Vaisima Hopoate. When conceptualizing the choreography, Vaisima used the poetic phrases as the basis to combine motifs and choremes into flowing movement phrases. The whole song includes three stanzas and a chorus, each with four phrases of poetry.

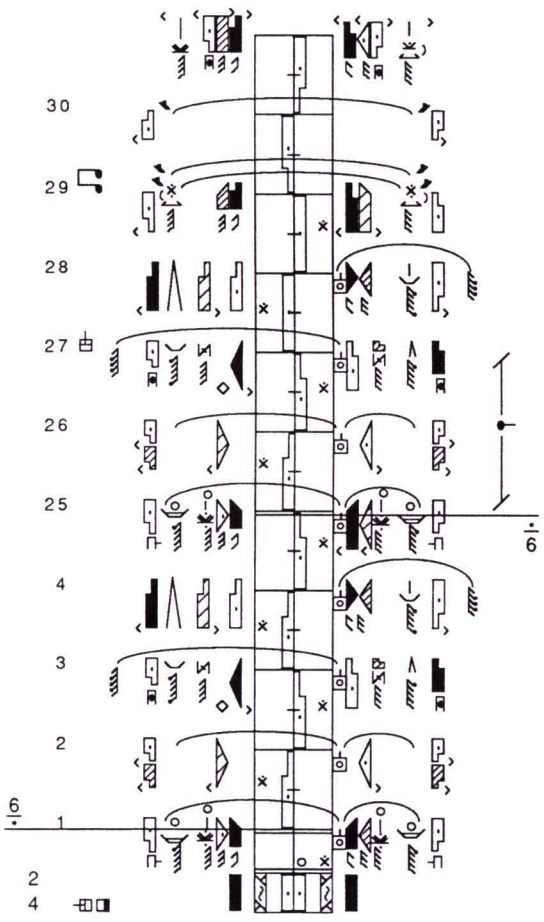
1	<i>Hala Vuna `oku tapa sio`ata</i>	I. Hala Vuna [Vuna Road] is like a sparkling mirror
2	<i>Fetaulaki `anga ia e folau vaka</i>	Meeting place of boats [Vuna road runs along the sea front]
3	<i>Loka nunu ai e pou `umata</i>	Astir with waves and rainbows
4	<i>Sia `a Hina mo `ene kato kakala.</i> <sup>19</sup>	Weaving of Hina and her basket of sweet-smelling flowers.

In the most apparent level of the poetry, this first stanza sets up Nuku'alofa as the modern paradise of Tonga. It is *the* place to see; people come from all over Tonga to see the new and old sights. Tu'imala is the epitome of the modern woman, a beautiful woman of high rank who can walk appropriately in both worlds.

Included here is a prescriptive movement notation of the entrance and first verse of the dance. The Labanotation was done by Judy Van Zile from my 1964 Labanotation notes and from my recollection of the dance as taught to me in 1964 by Tu'imala and Vaisima. The movements were reviewed with me by Tu'imala in 1990 and a video was made of Tu'imala at that time. The Labanotation is prescriptive, in that it preserves Vaisima's original choreography. Each time it is performed, however, it can be slightly modified to suit the occasion.

NOTATION 3.  
 Labanotation of the entrance and first verse of "Hala Vuna"  
 as composed by Vaisima Hopoate.

Labanotation by Judy Van Zile

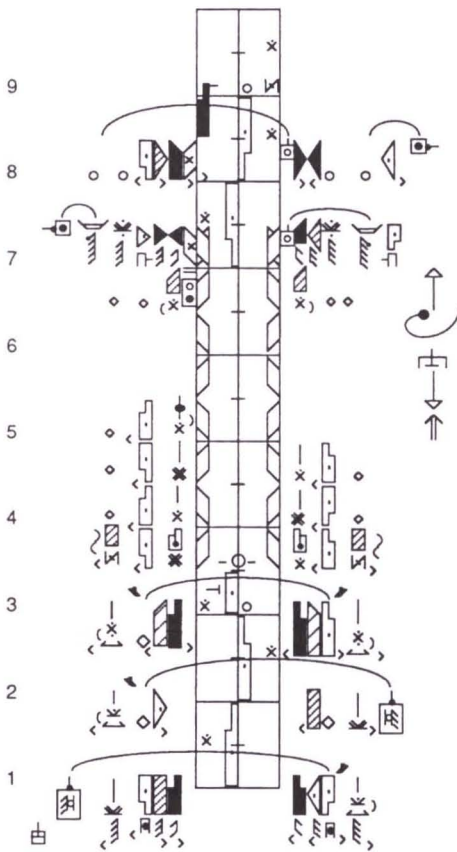


Dividing motif. A choreme made up of three  
*fū* claps, M.I.a.22. and leg kineme L2.



A choreme repeated  
 6 times, made up  
 of two arm morphokines,  
 M.I.c.4. followed  
 by M.I.c.8., and  
 repetitions of leg kineme L1.

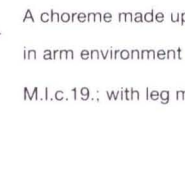
ENTRANCE



DANCE



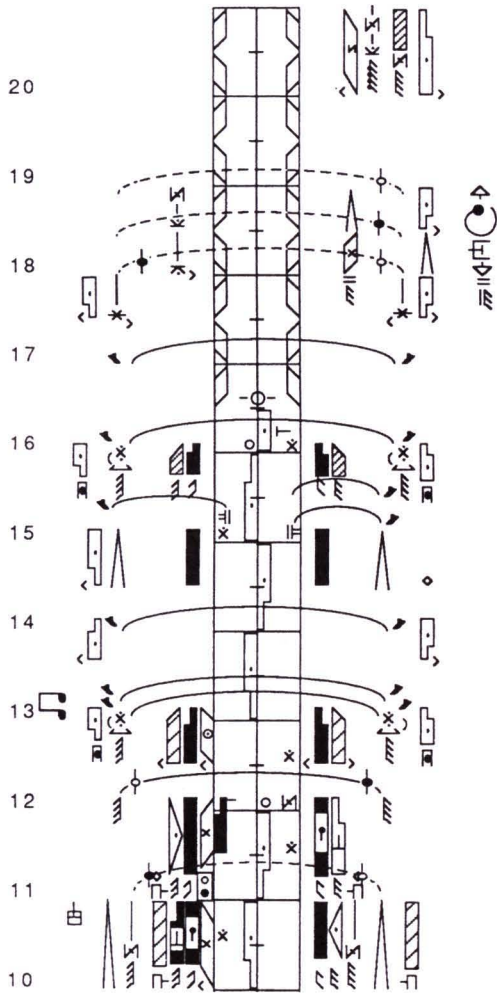
A choreme made up of M.I.c.4. in A16/F5, and leg morphokine M.II.a.5.



A choreme made up of *tapa* motif (M.I.a.10. in arm environment A8 or A13), followed by M.I.c.19.; with leg morphokine M.II.a.10.



A choreme made up of M.I.c followed by *fu*, M.I.a.22., and leg morphokine M.II.a.4.



A choreme made up of *ao*, *tue*, and a continuation of leg morphokine M.II.a.10.

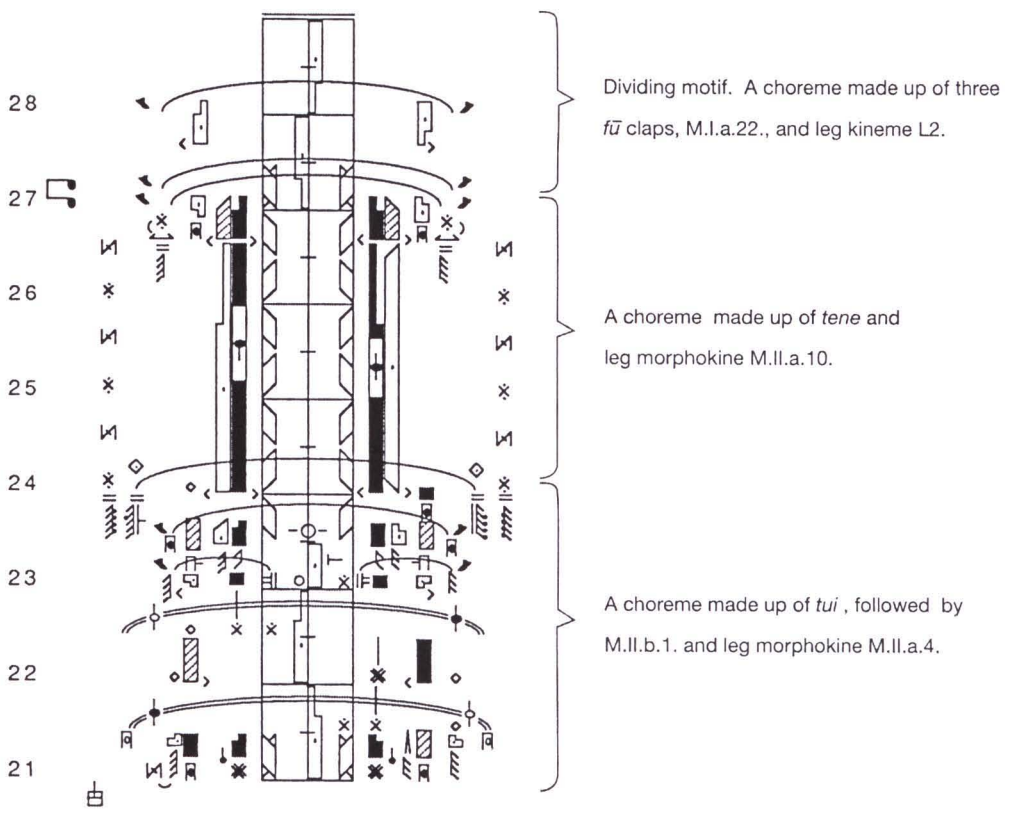


A choreme made up of M.II.b.1./L1, followed by two *fū* claps (M.I.a.22) and leg morphokine M.II.a.10.

Dividing motif. A choreme made up of three *fū* claps, M.I.a.22. and leg kineme L2.



A choreme made up of M.I.c.20. with a continuation of M.II.a.5.



## Analysis

The entrance is a choreme made up of two arm morphokines, M.I.c.4. followed by M.I.c.8., and repetitions of leg kineme L1 (see Figure 1). This choreme is repeated six times (or until the dancer is at center stage). On the sixth repetition the dancer turns to face the audience and arms move to the position to get ready for the following choreme, which is a dividing motif. The dividing motif is a choreme made up of three *fū* claps, M.I.a.22., and leg kineme L2.

Each verse is made up of four poetic phrases. Each poetic phrase is made up of two main choremes, with a dividing motif after each two phrases – as follows:

Phrase 1,

Choreme a. Made up of M.I.c.1., followed by *fū*, M.I.a.22.; with leg morphokine M.II.a.4.

Choreme b. Made up of *tapa* motif, M.I.a.10. in arm environment A8 (or A13), followed by M.I.c.19.; with leg morphokine M.II.a.10.

Phrase 2,

Choreme a. Made up of M.I.c.4. in A16/F5; with M.II.a.5.

Choreme b. Made up of M.I.c.20.; with a continuation of M.II.a.5.

Dividing motif – a choreme made up of three *fū* claps, M.I.a.22.; with leg kineme L2 (same dividing motif as counts 29-30 of entrance).

Phrase 3,

Choreme a. Made up of M.II.b.1./L1, followed by 2 *fū* claps (M.I.a.22); with M.II.a.10.

Choreme b. Made up of *ao*, *tue*, and a continuation of M.II.a.10.

Phrase 4,

Choreme a. Made up of *tui*, followed by striking legs with open palms (M.II.b.1.); with M.II.a.4.

Choreme b. Made up of *tene*; with M.II.a.10.

Dividing motif, same as dividing motif after Phrase 2, choreme b. (same dividing motif as counts 29-30 of entrance and counts 13-14 of dance).

This example has provided a Labanotation score for the entrance and first verse of a Tongan *tau`olunga* as well as a choremic analysis of the structure of a Tongan dance based on meaningful emic movements from the Tongan point of view.

## APPENDIX

## Labanotation Glossary by Judy Van Zile

The dance notation was carried out by Judy Van Zile, with graphics produced on a Macintosh computer using Labanwriter 3.0 software. It has been checked for accuracy by Lucy Venable and meets the standards established by the Dance Notation Bureau, New York City for a Labanotation score. Notation practices follow those established by the International Council of Kinetography Laban as of 1991.

The dance was learned by Adrienne Kaepler in Tonga in 1964. The version notated is based on Kaepler's Labanotation notes made in 1965 and her 1992 demonstration of the dance.

The dance is performed in bare feet in a very relaxed manner. Carriage of the torso should be easy, and if precise arm positions notated cannot be achieved with ease, they should only be approximated.

The contraction of the knee in the middle of most weight transferences is slightly abrupt, causing a gentle bounce. No accent mark has been used because the abrupt timing causes the emphasis, rather than any conscious effort to punctuate the action.

Except when the legs continually rotate in and out (as in measures 3-6, 16-20, and 23-26), they are in an approximately parallel position.

The movements done while entering the performing area and the dance itself are treated as two separate entities here. Hence, measures for each are numbered independently.

Two distinctive hand-claps are used in Tongan dance. In one, the hands are held in a very flat position, are parallel to each other, and produce a crisp slapping sound as they strike each other (see measure 23 of the dance). This is known in Tongan as *pasi*. The other clap is known in Tongan as *fū* (see measures 27-28 of the dance). It is achieved by placing the cupped hands perpendicular to each other (rather than the more usual parallel placement). The little-finger-surface and the thumb-surface of one hand contact the palm-surface of the fingers and the heel of the other hand respectively.



(The same pattern may be performed with the hands crossing each other in the opposite way.) The sound comes from the 'cup' formed between the two hands, and the configuration causes a muffled sound rather than the crisp slap usually associated with a hand-clap.

The meter is 2/4. The tempo is generally brisk, but may vary depending on the formality of the performance (the more formal the occasion the slower the tempo).

$$\square = \text{♩} = \text{MM 120-180 approx.}$$

## ENDNOTES

1. My dissertation was completed in 1967; essays based on it were published in 1972 and 1986.
2. See, for example, Conklin 1955, 1962; Frake 1961, 1964; Goodenough 1951, 1956, 1964; Lounsbury 1956, 1964, and Kealiinohomoku 1976. Just as an adequate grammar of a language may be considered a theory of that language, an adequate grammar of dance may be considered a theory of that dance tradition. The school of linguistics that set forth this theoretical position is usually known as "post-Bloomfieldian linguistics."
3. Noam Chomsky (1928- ) is a theoretical linguist (United States) noted for expounding the theory of generative grammar.
4. Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) was a Swiss linguistics scholar. As one of the founders of modern linguistics, his work is fundamental to the development of structuralism.
5. For a discussion of this differentiation, see Sturtevant 1964:101-103.
6. This is comparable to a listing of phonemes used in a specific language.
7. The groups may be different for each dance tradition just as the grammar of every language may be different. The groupings presented here represent the end result of the morphokinemic analysis.
8. Definitions of the Tongan words used in this paper can be found in Churchward, 1959.
9. Many Tongans considered A13 to be an allokin variation of A14. Only the *punake*, dance specialists, considered them to be "different."
10. The original list (Kaepler 1967) has been revised and renumbered.
11. When M.I.b. environments consist of a single kineme, the kineme designation will be used.
12. The original numbering is used in Kaepler 1967:160-182.
13. [r] and [l] = prefixes meaning "to the right" and "to the left." (r) and (l) = suffixes meaning "right foot" and "left foot."
14. *Haka* in Tongan dance does not denote a genre, although it does so in Maori (New Zealand) dance.
15. "Choreography" in this essay refers to either a pre-set arrangement of dance movements or an improvised/spontaneous arrangement of motifs. In Tonga, choreography exists only in the oral tradition and is not represented by signs or notation, as some dictionary definitions of choreography imply.
16. See Kaepler 1971.
17. See Kaepler 1970.
18. For an analysis of the whole choreography, as well as the music and poetry, see Kaepler 1995.
19. *Sia`a hina* is a spider web, *Hina* is a legendary beautiful woman. Thus, the hidden meaning is that Nuku`alofa is like a spider web woven by Hina (Tu`imala) to attract (and trap) Tongans to its charms.

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