2. Duna ancestral music

In any system of language or music, the components have order and arrangement. (Chenoweth 1969:220)

In this chapter, I aim to provide an overview of Duna ancestral musical practices and the vocabulary associated with them. As discussed in Chapter 1, the term awenene ipakana can be used to describe ancestral song forms (Kipu Piero, Personal communication, 30 March 2005), which would be expressed in Tok Pisin as ‘tumbuna singsing’. Hapia ipakana (‘songs from before’) is another way to identify the musical genres that belong to pre-contact times (Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 7 March 2007). This general category is distinct from khao ipakana or ‘white songs’ that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Due to the lack of ethnomusicological research into Duna music to date, it is important in this chapter to provide a comprehensive overview of Duna musical organisation. And as the Duna do not have a word for ‘music’, it is important to acknowledge at the outset what exactly is under discussion in this book.

In this chapter, I first consider some general points about Duna music—some reflections on its origin and the role of the ‘musician’. I present observations on Duna musical structures, drawing on the work of Vida Chenoweth. Since studying the vocabulary of a language has long been recognised as a key to understanding a culture (cf., for example, Wierzbicka 1997), I examine the vocabulary used to talk about Duna ancestral music. I explore the categories for organising Duna music, giving a brief description of the genres within these categories that I will be drawing on later as examples within my argument. I then turn to consider verb usage in relation to these genres and how this reflects the music categories established. I point out important language features in Duna song texts, but leave the discussion of introduced musical forms and instruments for the next chapter.

The origins of music

At Mburulu Pango, close to the Strickland River, there was a big house in which lived many people. There came a time when the house fell down, and the population scattered. They all went to different regions and started speaking different languages. Bogaya went and spoke their own language, Oksapmin went and spoke their own language, Hewa went and spoke their own language, Huli went and spoke their own language,
Enga went and spoke their own language, whites went and spoke their own language...All left except the Duna, who stayed put and looked after the site, which is in Duna country. When they left they all took many common things, including the *luna*, *alima* and *kuluparapu*. Thus, all these neighbouring language groups share [knowledge of] the same instruments. An exception though is the Hewa—whilst all the others took the small kundu drum, the group that became the Hewa took the big drum, and that is why their drum that you see now is bigger. (Sane Noma, Personal communication, translated by Petros Kilapa, 14 March 2005)

To consider the origins of musical practices is a valuable approach in the study of another culture. Seeger (1987:52) writes: ‘Ideas about the origin and composition of music provide an important indication of what music is and how it relates to other aspects of the lives and the cosmos of a community.’ Although my research into this aspect of Duna music history did not yield a definitive version of Duna ideas about the origin of musical practices, I was able to gather some information that has influenced my way of thinking about this topic.

The origin story (*malu*) of Mburulu Pango describes the beginning of language differentiation—and the specific cultural practices of language groups—in the Duna region. Simultaneously, this story gives reasons for the common aspects of instruments in the immediate region and for their variation. It also raises the prospect of continuity between the music of Europeans and the Duna from the earliest period.

According to the above telling of the story of Mburulu Pango (and consistent with stories of this kind that are found all over Melanesia), the white man once lived with the Duna and other neighbouring language groups as their brother, often described as their first (or oldest) brother. They all shared knowledge and objects and when the time came when they no longer lived together, the different brothers (including the white brother) each took particular knowledge and objects away when they left. Once away from Mburulu Pango, the white brother developed the technology he now displays, building on the skills and items he took with him when he left (for example, the sound of the engine of an aeroplane is said to originate from within the Duna bamboo jew’s harp, the *luna*, shown in Figure 2.5). When first contact occurred, some people therefore saw whites as ancestors returning from the dead. The Duna coveted items the whites

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1 Haley (1996:280–2) has documented the story of Mburulu Pango and described in brief the rituals performed there (Haley 2002a:64), labelling the site an ‘ancestral dancing ground’ (Haley 2002a:159). Haley (2002a:144) also provides a map showing this site in relation to surrounding parishes.

2 It is important to note that Duna stories are constantly under revision—the story of Mburulu Pango would most likely have existed in the pre-contact period without a reference to white people—and that Sane Noma is considered to be one of the most adept at such ‘revisioning’ of the past (Haley 1996:282).
2. Duna ancestral music

had, but also the Duna might have considered these items as part of their own heritage, things to which they also had a right, because of the shared history between the brothers (cf. Brutti 2000).

Similar processes assimilating introduced phenomena into indigenous belief systems have been reported in other cultures. Of the Yolngu people of Indigenous Australia, Magowan writes:

> When material goods such as money, flags and ships arrived from the Macassans and balanda [seventeenth-century visitors from Asia and Europe respectively], Yolngu incorporated these into their song cosmology since they considered they must have emerged from ‘inside’ the Ancestral Law rather than appearing from nowhere. These things had simply not been revealed to them in dreams. In Yolngu thought, all new ideas and objects are veiled or revealed from this foundation. (Magowan 2005:68)

The tale of Mburulu Pango was told to me using musical instruments as the focus of the discussion, in order to explain why some instruments were more prominent than others in different language groups, but also why there were similarities present. We could, however, extend this belief in shared history into the realm of song. The older Duna could have, under these conditions, considered that songs introduced by white people were also rightfully theirs. This might explain the seemingly easy, or at least enthusiastic, adoption of Christian and secular songs by the Duna. Such possibilities are worth reflecting on.

The ‘musician’ in Duna society

There is no social classification of ‘musician’ in Duna society as such. The reason for this can be explained from a social standpoint. Green (2003:263) writes: ‘The more highly specialized is the division of labour generally, the more likely it is that music will also become a specialized sphere of action: listened to and enjoyed by many, but practiced only by a few.’ As the division of labour for the Duna is not generally highly specialised, music is created and performed by a great proportion, if not the entire proportion, of the Duna community. Having said that, there are people in the society who are recognised as being better than others at performing particular genres, though all can aspire to such skill; there does not appear to be any firm belief in inherited musical skills.

The following describes one young Duna man’s journey in learning the epic storytelling tradition known as pikono. Teya Hiyawi, then in his early twenties, went out hunting for a few days with his friend Kenny Kendoli and others.
One night, while camping out in the bush, Kenny asked Teya to try to sing a *pikono* story for their entertainment. Teya tried but faltered and did not get very far. After the hunting trip, back in his home parish, Teya attended *pikono* performances by various performers in the men’s houses in the area. He practised singing *pikono* to himself by a nearby waterfall so that no-one could hear him. When he felt accomplished enough, he sang a complete *pikono* for performance and from then he was known as one of the performers of this genre. A few years later (in 2004), Teya was invited by colleagues of mine on the Chanted Tales project to attend and perform at a workshop in Goroka in the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea. It was his first time to leave his home community (Teya Hiyawi with Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 16 February 2004).

Teya’s story tells us several things about Duna musical practice. First, we are reminded that Duna music is not documented and taught, as music is in the West, in a written form; it is a culture of oral dissemination. Furthermore, people learn by example; there are no instructors as such, no apprenticeship to make the transition from non-performer to performer. Compositions are generally not fixed but spontaneous creations. His story tells us that gender plays an important part in the musical expressions available to Duna people (to both listen to and perform). It also suggests that the performer enjoys status through his skills, being identified as skilled in his home community and sometimes outside as well, and that such skill brings opportunities not otherwise accessible.

This kind of progressive learning through performance without rehearsal is widespread among largely non-literate societies. Perhaps not coincidentally, such societies appear to value sung text first and foremost (see, for example, Tunstil [1995:61] on the learning of songs for the Pitjantjara of Central Australia). Learning by copying (that is, without direct tuition) opens the way for a large—almost infinite—number of styles to be incorporated by the Duna. It also often makes it difficult to establish a song’s origins.

Having given an outline of the role of music in Duna society, I now provide some observations of Duna musical structures. As with some other areas of study presented in this book, I first introduce key concepts that I will then draw on in later chapters, making these concepts more apparent to the reader as the pages are turned.

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3 This is not so surprising: ‘All of us who grow up in culture and acquire its traditions do so only partly as a result of direct, pedagogical intervention of the sort commonly associated with scolding parents, teaching by teachers, or informing by informants; culture and its traditions are also acquired by observing, mimicking, and embodying shared practices’ (Rice 1997:108).
2. Duna ancestral music

Duna musical structures

Chenoweth makes some astute observations on the nature of the musical structures employed in Duna music, based on recordings collected by others. She (1969:222) declares: ‘A scale as such does not exist in Duna music. What is sought instead is an emic vocabulary of musical pitches, i.e. a stock of pitches relevant to the system.’ Rather than identifying a scale of fixed pitches, Chenoweth (1969:219) instead focuses on the intervals between pitches and discovers that ‘the unison, major seconds and minor thirds are most prevalent; minor seconds and major thirds are common; and larger intervals are infrequent’. Most pertinent is her observation that

Duna melodies are basically what Sachs calls ‘one-step’; that is, most of the melodic interplay is between two tones, in this case between tonal centre and a major second above it. When the ‘one-step’ adds a tone below tonal centre the melody becomes ‘two-step’ with both poles gravitating toward centre. (Chenoweth 1969:223)

The melodic feature that Chenoweth describes here is the key structural element to most Duna genres (and also, it seems from Pugh-Kitingan’s analyses, for the Huli). This structural element will become apparent when each Duna genre is described shortly. At this point, though, it should be made clear how I am using music terminology here. In an effort to avoid Western tonal music concepts (though admitting such a task is nearly impossible in this forum), I am describing intervals by their tonal make-up, a tone being 200 cents (and accepting that a tone is an identifiable unit in Duna music, though also a Western concept). Intervals are therefore described as being, for example, a (whole) tone above the tonal centre instead of a ‘major second’, as Chenoweth does above; a perfect fifth (700 cents) is described as three and a half tones; an octave is six tones (1200 cents). However, to assist the reader with familiar Western musical analysis, I provide the Western equivalent to these intervals in brackets as is appropriate.

Terminology exists for the Duna, as it does for the Huli (Pugh-Kitingan 1998), which describes the registers of ‘high’, ‘middle’ and ‘low’. In Duna, these terms are yakota, arakota and sopakona (Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 22 June 2006).4 I had theorised that these could be used to label the pitch above the tonal centre, the tonal centre itself and the pitch below it, as these are such important—and often the only—pitches employed in most genres. On later examination, however, these terms appeared to relate more to actual

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4 It should be noted that these terms consist of more than one morpheme. Yakota and arakota are composed of the locative marker -ta (San Roque 2008:185–9), added to the spatial nouns yako (‘top’) and aroko (‘middle’). Sopakona is composed of the deictic sop (‘below’) and kona, which has emphatic meaning (Lila San Roque, Personal communication, 23 February 2007). It therefore might be best to translate these terms as ‘on/at the top’, ‘on/at the middle’ and ‘down below’, respectively.
melodic register or range—a clear example being that in part-singing (which occurs only in introduced musical forms; there is no form of vocal harmony in Duna ancestral music): the person singing highest would be singing yakota, the middle register part arakota and the bass sopakona (Richard Alo, Recorded conversation, 2 July 2006).\(^5\)

Somewhat less helpful than her comments on pitch is Chenoweth’s (1969:223) description of vocal rhythm: ‘Duna melodic rhythm flows in a smooth, running-style with dotted patterns almost non-existent, except in the sing-sings. Ballads are sung legato piano in diametric contrast to the sing-sing renditions inducing hysteria.’ Italian prescriptive directions aside, what we can determine from these comments is that rhythm for purely vocal genres (what I understand Chenoweth means by ‘ballads’)\(^6\) is more flexible than rhythm that features in performances that incorporate vocals, dance movements and drums (‘singsings’). Much later, she more succinctly summarises this difference: ‘Ballads follow speech rhythm whereas singsings…follow the rhythm of the dance’ (Chenoweth 2000:179).

Before moving on to consider the organisation of Duna music through vocabulary, it is necessary to pause and contemplate briefly the relationship between Duna speech and song. Duna is recognised as a tonal language, using a ‘word-tone’ system (Donohue 1997) with three or possibly four alternative tonal contours that extend across the length of a single word, regardless of how many syllables it has. These are: a fall, a rising tone, a level tone and possibly also a convex tone (San Roque 2004). A neighbouring language to the Duna (see Figure 1.2), Huli is also a tonal language, with much the same word-tone system as in Duna. The relationship between Huli language and music is an integral part of the research of Pugh-Kitingan (1984), who presents an argument that the two spheres are related. The relationship between speech tone and musical form is not under examination here. It is fair to suggest, however, that because of the tonal nature of the language (and considering the close relationship between the languages of Duna and Huli), the relationship between speech tones and melodic contour is a close one. Michael Sollis (2010) has explored the relationship between Duna speech and song and has identified a tune-tone relationship in the genre of pikono. The idea that a strong relationship exists between Duna speech and song is consistent with the fact that for the Duna, speaking and singing share

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\(^5\) Additional terms were given for yakota and sopakona by Richard Alo and these were terms that often are used to describe positions in the physical landscape: romakona (‘above’) and rindita (‘on the ground’).

\(^6\) Stewart and Strathern choose to describe one Duna genre, pikono, as a ‘ballad’ (cf., for example, Stewart and Strathern 1997); however, it is clear that Chenoweth (1969:225) is more inclusive with her use of this category, especially as she describes that the length of ballads ‘differs widely’ with one song ‘having one long musical phrase with 4 lines of text’, which is more suggestive of a courting song genre than the epic story of a pikono. That Chenoweth groups such diverse genres together is suggestive of the common musical structures that they share.
the same verb (ruwa, to be discussed below). Further supporting the argument are the descriptions that at least some Duna melodies are akin to speech, as Chenoweth suggests above when discussing ‘ballads’.

**Vocabulary: organisation of ‘music’**

The Duna language does not have one overarching term that encompasses all oral performance genres English speakers would classify as ‘music’. Their neighbours, the Huli, also do not have such a term (Pugh-Kitingan 1998:538). Recently, however, the Tok Pisin term ‘musik’ has been adopted for this purpose—pronounced musiki or misiki by some older Duna speakers such as Sane Noma.

Duna musical genres are distinguished primarily by their melodic structure. No two genres share the same melodic structure, though they might share some structural elements, such as descending lines or range. There are said to be ‘different songs [with] different ways of singing (ipakana angu)’ (Richard Alo, Personal communication, 18 June 2006). It follows that no two ancestral song genres share the same text structure either, as text and melody are for the Duna inseparable (Duna song genres are rarely hummed, for example), with the possible exception of some mourning songs. There is, however, one example of a genre being identified by its textual content rather than melody. The genre pikono, whose texts tell a story, can be either sung or spoken—either way they can be identified as pikono (though it is the sung pikono that is most prized). No such flexibility in performance style has been observed for other Duna song genres.

Duna performance genres are usually identified individually, by the name of the genre, rather than collectively, under a categorical name. Since missionisation, however, a category for song, ipakana, has developed and the origins of that category will be discussed next. Duna usually discuss instrumental music too using the name of the individual instrument, although a general category name, alima, does exist, named after one of the more prominent instruments. There does not appear to be a generic category name for performance genres that

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7 Feld (1982:174) reports that this is also the case for the Kaluli.
8 Adding *i* to introduced words is typical of the Duna language. According to Lila San Roque, ‘Duna does not allow “closed” syllables (that is, those that end in a consonant). Words borrowed from English or Tok Pisin that end in a consonant commonly have a vowel added to them…The choice of vowel is generally predictable, for example *i* is added to words that end in an alveolar consonant (for example the English/Tok Pisin ‘school/skul’ becomes *sukuli*) and words that have *i* in their last syllable (for example ‘sick/sik’ becomes *siki*)’ (Lila San Roque, Personal communication, 23 February 2007; see also San Roque 2008:54–5; Cochrane and Cochrane 1966:24). Both of these rules can be seen to apply to Duna indigenisation of the Tok Pisin ‘musik’.
9 This is also the case in some other (and culturally quite different) parts of Papua New Guinea—for example, southern New Ireland (Wolfram 2006:113).
incorporate bodily movements as a structural component of the performance (what in the West would be called ‘dance’). Each of these categories is worth examining in more detail.

**Ipakana (‘song[s]’)**

The term *ipakana* translates to mean ‘song’, singular and plural. In the introductory pages of her PhD thesis, Haley (2002a:6–7) presents *ipakana* as a word made from the uniting of two separate words: *ipa* (water/fluid) and *kana* (stone/solid forms). In these pages, Haley defines *ipakana* as a verb ‘to sing’ and also as ‘mourning songs’. She explains:

> Through these laments, the female composers seek to capture and map the lives of the dead kin by naming the places with which they were associated during their lifetime…The performance of these laments is properly referred to as *ipakana yakaiya*—‘counting/naming rivers and mountains’—mapping the landscape. (Haley 2002a:7)

In my research, I have not found any evidence of *ipakana* itself being used as a verb. In conjunction with *yakaya*, however, as in the above comment by Haley, the phrase has a verb function: *yakaya* acting as the verb of the construction (*yakaya* being derived from the root *yaka*, meaning ‘name, count/read’, and inflected with the verbal suffix -ya). The process of reciting features of the landscape is, as Haley indicates, known as *ipakana yakaya* and this process is integral not only to laments, but to most other ancestral genres such as *pikono*, *selepa*, *yekia* and also *mali* (Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 7 March 2007).

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10 To use the word as a command by adding the suffix -pa—that is to say, ‘*ipakanapa*’—results in a command to dig a drain for water (Richard Alo, Personal communication, 27 June 2006), though it is said that *ipakana* refers to a naturally formed waterway and not one made by humans, which would instead be known as *mbekakana* (Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 7 March 2007). The second word in this compound, *kana*, can be translated as ‘stone’, as Haley identifies, but also as ‘drain’ (as Lomas suggests below in regard to the etymology of the Huli *iba gana*). These two words differ in tone, but because of the positioning of *kana* as the second within this compound, it is difficult to tell the difference between them. San Roque (Personal communication, 23 February 2007) explains: ‘There are two Duna words “stone” and “ditch” which are distinct in tone (“stone” is convex…“ditch” is rising) and (in at least the Kelabo dialect) in aspiration (stone is aspirated, *khana*…and ditch is not, *kana*). However, if we are positing that *ipakana* is a compound in which the first word is *ipa* “water”, this is not conclusive, as aspiration contrast is lost between vowels, and we would also expect some tonal changes of the two lexical elements when they are combined as a single word. A more advanced phonological analysis of the Duna tone system could perhaps resolve this.’ Discussions with Duna speakers have not yielded a definitive answer to the origins of the word *ipakana*, but that is not surprising; as San Roque adds, ‘it is fairly clear that a lot of the time “folk etymology” of words bears little relation to their historical origin (although folk etymologies are no less interesting for that)’.

11 I choose to spell this term without the ‘i’ in accordance with the orthography used by San Roque (2008).

12 Haley has written that the *ipakana yakaya* process—which she first introduces as being associated with lament performance—also precedes ‘the actual performance’ of *pikono*: ‘A central and significant feature of *pikono* is that, although the stories themselves are held to [be] imaginary, they take place in the “real” landscape, that is at specific and named and known locations. These, I must stress, are not always named in the
Although laments play a prominent role in the musical soundscape of the Duna (see Chapter 4), the term *ipakana*, in its current usage, is not confined to this particular genre of singing.\textsuperscript{13} Songs of foreign origin are also known as *ipakana*. We can examine what has been said of the origin of the Huli word *iba gana* (understood to have the same meaning—‘song[s]’—as Duna *ipakana*) to understand how this category could have come about.\textsuperscript{14}

In the Huli language, the term *iba gana* is described as the meeting of two words: *iba* (water) and *gana* (ditch). Gabe Lomas, a linguist who spent many years working with the Huli and the Duna between the 1960s and 1980s—a period of great change—describes how this term emerged:

Transliterating *iba gana* from Huli yields ‘water ditch/drain’. I’ve always understood this to refer to a ditch made to drain off water and, by association, to the sound that comes from it as the water runs along—anything from a tinkling and gurgling noise to the full rush of heavy rain water. This same label was used for humming, musical burbling, snatches of songs, and so forth. In fine, it seemed to be used as a label for music or songs outside the more easily categorised genres.

Its application to songs used in church services was logical enough, since these didn’t fit any traditional genres. What happened at Hoiebia, and later in the Catholic Church, was that the traditional *u* (courting song) structure and formulae also became used in church services, and these church service *u*-type songs, together with introduced melodies and formulae, became grouped under the catch-all phrase *iba gana*.

I think that among the Koroba-Kelabo Duna the phrase *iba gana* is probably a Huli loan term...If this is the case, there’s probably a good chance that in Duna the label *ipakana* has undergone the same process of application as *iba gana* has in Huli. (Gabe Lomas, Email communication, 18 July 2006)

In essence, then, according to Lomas, *ipakana* was a term used for sounds outside any identifiable ancestral genre. This came to include new musical styles

\textsuperscript{13} Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern (2000a:90) recognise *ipakana* as the general term for ‘songs’ in Duna.

\textsuperscript{14} Although the languages of Huli and Duna are not closely related (Huli is classified as a member of the Engan language family; Duna as a member of the Duna-Bogaia language family), they do share a significant amount of vocabulary.
introduced by the missions. Once ancestral genres such as u were performed in church, they too came under the grouping ipakana. It is fair to surmise that this grouping was eventually extended to other ancestral genres, resulting in a broad category of ‘song’ that encompasses both introduced and ancestral vocalisations.

Pugh-Kitingan supports the idea that ipakana is a neologism, writing:

The Huli say that the term iba gana is a recent invention created in the last twenty-five years or so to cover newer genres, such as Christian songs and European songs, which they consider to be singing. Before this, the only genre which the Huli regarded as singing was the dawanda u ['courting song']. (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:285)

She goes on to say: ‘Although it originates from one person, iba gana is group music’ (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:302).

For the Duna whom I questioned, however, there was no acknowledgment of ipakana as an introduced concept or category. Younger generations of Duna, at least, denied the term as exogenous. Ancestral forms of music, such as yekia (the Duna equivalent of the u courting song, and also sung by a group) were classified to me as ipakana.\textsuperscript{15} There was also no discussion of ipakana being only for forms of music sung in groups; pikono, a solo tradition (which also incorporates regular audience interjections) was also classified as ipakana. Regardless of its origins, the term ipakana has now become a category for songs in contemporary Duna language use.

The following is an overview of each of the ancestral genres that can be classified as ipakana and that will be discussed to varying degrees over the course of this book, where further description will be provided that includes song texts, translations, explanations and corresponding sound files. The genres are presented now in alphabetical order, each with an indication of the chapter in which it will be more fully discussed.\textsuperscript{16} A basic description of the typical melodic contour of each genre is given in notation inspired somewhat by music theorist Heinrich Schenker—stripping the melodic content back to reveal its basic core intervals. The aim in doing this is to show the distinctive melodic (specifically, intervallic) patterns that characterise each genre.

The notations have been made with C as the tonal centre for reading clarity. It should be noted that some variability does occur between performers and

\textsuperscript{15} Note that the verb used in combination with the word yekia is undua, or ukundua, meaning ‘to go into’ and this could also be related to the word u.

\textsuperscript{16} It is important to note the different spellings, and sometimes different terms, used by scholars in the past when discussing Duna genres. I have compiled all the various terms known to me in the discussion of each genre, to save the reader any confusion.
between song texts and this notation is meant to provide a rough indication of what is common to all of them. I have divided distinct sections of phrasing or patterning with a bar line and repeated sections are indicated accordingly. Double bar lines indicate the completion of the song, or song section in the case of pikono.

Heya (‘crying’), khene ipakana (‘death songs’), keneowa ipakana (‘sorry songs’)

The term heya is used to refer to the sound of crying, both stylised and not. In referring to the stylised crying, the term heya—or ipakana heiya (Stewart and Strathern 2000a:92)—is interchangeable with khene ipakana and also with keneowa ipakana (though this term can be generally extended to cover all songs that elicit sympathy, which, as we shall see in Chapter 6, is a very common trait in Duna courting songs). Khene ipakana is a song category that includes stylised heya and also songs of an introduced style (for example, guitar-based songs) that mourn for the deceased. Chapter 4, which discusses the death of one particular young woman, examines the elements of heya and khene ipakana in detail. Stylised heya and ancestral khene ipakana are essentially the same genre, characterised by a limited melodic range of three pitches, two based either side of an emphasised tonal centre (see the section of Example 2.1 marked as repeated). Repetition of textual lines, based on the recitation of kẽiyaka (‘praise names’, discussed further at the end of this chapter), is another feature, though this is shared by many other Duna song genres, so is not by itself a distinguishing element. Stylised heya, and all kinds of khene ipakana, is considered a women’s genre, though close male relatives of the deceased are also known to sing in this way. It is the ancestral performance genre most available to women.

Example 2.1 Basic pitch structure of stylised heya or ancestral khene ipakana.

Khene ipakana typically begin with a short descent from about three and a half tones (a fifth) above the tonal centre, but the body of the melody is a clear illustration of Chenoweth’s two ‘poles gravitating toward centre’: the tonal centre with steps above and below it, always returning back to the tonal centre between these movements and to conclude the singing.

17 Another Duna term for crying—nuya—can apparently also be used to describe sung laments (Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 7 March 2007); however, this term was not used to label or describe lamentations in my discussions in the field.
Mindimindi kão

Mindimindi kão—also known as mini mindi kão (Stewart and Strathern 2000a:96) and gao (Haley 2002a:xxix; Modjeska 1977:161)—are songs that function as spells. Their performance context is within the haroli palena (bachelor cult), a social practice belonging to the pre-contact period in which boys lived and learnt from older men in the isolation of the bush, away from the women of the community. Boys might live within this cult for several years, with little to no contact with the females of their clan, until they had fully developed in body and in skills and were considered ready for marriage. As such, mindimindi kão are a male genre, in which the singing was led by the older men of the bachelor cult and sung by the boys generally as a group, in unison. Due to the cessation of the cult, the spells are not practised in this context anymore, but rather as examples of a practice from times past. The consequences of the cessation of this cult from a social and a musical point of view will be examined in the penultiomate chapter of this book.

Haroli palena initiate Sane Noma describes mindimindi kão as follows:

It was cooking sweet potatoes in the ashes and eating them, it was going to fetch cold water from the pandanus leaf water-tubes and drinking it, and on the body the hair would grow like bird feathers, like animal fur, and over the shoulders and all parts of the body the hair would flow down. At this time, people would tell the boys secret things to make them grow. These secret things belonged to the haroli palena... they count and speak and they sing these particular things. (Sane Noma, translated by Petros Kilapa and Lila San Roque, 22 February 2005)

Mindimindi kão hold a great amount of information for boys concerning their engagement with their natural environment. Songs tell the boys what feathers to decorate themselves with, where to hunt the bird that has these feathers, which plant leaves to clean their faces with, where and how to obtain good water for washing themselves, all in order to encourage them to stay within the haroli palena and make themselves into handsome men.

Mindimindi kão (Example 2.2) are characterised by the repetition of sound and text and a restricted melodic range of three tones, which is a feature of other

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18 Note that the use of the tilde indicates nasalisation. According to San Roque, ‘there is a “phonosthemic” element in Duna…words that reference activities that have a strong auditory component (e.g. whine, bark, snore) often have a nasalised vowel, and commonly begin with k or kh’ (Lila San Roque, Personal communication, 23 February 2007; see also San Roque 2008:41). This is relevant to the terms mindimindi kão and kẽiyaka.

19 The only time I heard mindimindi kão performed was for my benefit as a researcher. I am not aware of any other contexts in which it is sung in contemporary times.
Duna song genres. And again, a vital element of the structure of the *mindimindi kāo* is the use of *kēiyaka*. When the act of performing these songs is referred to, the verb *ruwa* (speak) is utilised, which aligns this song genre with speech.

**Example 2.2 Basic pitch structure of *mindimindi kāo*.

Similar to the *khene ipakana* shown above, *mindimindi kāo* focus on the tonal centre and step up and down from it; however, they often (but not always) include a step up of two pitches as shown here, bypassing the tonal centre, which is uncommon in *khene ipakana*. Also, *mindimindi kāo* are typically metric (perhaps due to their didactic purpose). An example of *mindimindi kāo* is contained in Chapter 7.

**Pikono**

This form of epic storytelling is the only male ancestral genre that is performed solo, though the audience is crucial to a performance and contributes to the soundscape by giving verbal affirmations and comments on the storyline and the telling of it, and occasionally providing additional information for the singer to incorporate into their performance. Performances are given at night, typically in men’s houses, and can range in length, though usually they are between three and six hours (with breaks). Although the general *pikono* melodic contour does include repetitive sections based on the typical three-pitch motif and the recitation of *kēiyaka* (the process of which is called *ipakana yakaya*), the overall melodic range is much wider, encompassing sometimes a range of six tones (an octave) or more (Example 2.3). Much of the storytelling is improvised at the moment of performance (in accordance with the genre characteristics) and, as such, there is some stylistic variation between performers.

**Example 2.3 Basic pitch structure of a *pikono* ‘verse’.

From this sketch it can be seen that the entry point of the phrase is often about four and a half tones above the tonal centre, though certainly not always; one of the defining elements of this genre is its relatively flexible and spontaneous melodic structure, particularly in the initial section of the verse, which is
characterised by an extensive melodic descent (or descents). Like the repetitive sequencing within *khene ipakana*, *pikono* verses close with repeated lines based on the tonal centre, with steps above and below it, before finally alighting on a prolonged tonal centre to mark the verse’s end.

*Pikono* is typically sung (and by ‘sung’ I mean intoned to a sequence of deliberate pitches); however, it can also be told as a spoken narrative. This is particularly the case when women present the genre, which happens in a private setting, mostly for the entertainment and/or moral education of children. These performances can include sung sections, particularly when a praise name sequence is to be recited or when a particular musical or sonic episode is described (see Gillespie and San Roque forthcoming).

*Pikono* is considered to be an extremely important source of social and other information and the knowledge evident in the texts has been used in contemporary land disputes. It has been a topic of research for other anthropologists (see, for example, Stewart and Strathern 2005). This book presents an example of male *pikono* only: an excerpt of one performance, in Chapter 5 on land and song.20

**Selepa**

The *selepa* courting songs are a male group genre, though women can participate to a limited degree. A solo male initiates the singing and then the remainder of participants join in once the text for that song has been established. Verses are usually of three or four lines in length, so the first line is sung solo and the remaining two or three lines, which are repetitions of the first line but using different praise names for each repetition, are sung in unison.21

The *selepa* melodic contour features just three pitches: the tonal centre, a pitch two whole tones above the tonal centre and a tone and a half below the tonal centre (Example 2.4). It also has a distinctive vocable sequence that finishes each *selepa* ‘verse’: *ee ai ai*.

**Example 2.4 Basic pitch structure of selepa.**

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20 Koskoff (1998:198) notes, in the context of the study of gender and music in Europe, that ‘the most important men’s genre within agrarian and village contexts is the epic, or historical narrative song’. *Pikono* too appears to be the most highly prized Duna male song genre.

21 It should be noted that ancestral Duna song does not feature harmony (though, in group performances of individual *khene ipakana*, the effect of harmony can be created—see Chapter 4, Example 4.5).
The distinctive intervals of *selepa* are larger than most other purely song genres in the Duna repertoire (the genre of *mali*, discussed later in this chapter, features the largest regular intervallic steps). It should be noted that *selepa* songs can begin at any pitch in the repeated sequence.

*Selepa* can also be defined by its accompanying movements. In the typical performance context, men in lines of about three or four, with their arms over each other’s shoulders, walk around in a circle as they sing (see Figure 2.1). A physical gap is left between each line of men and in this gap a woman may elect to walk behind the man of her choice. She may also join in the unison singing, but her vocals are very much in the background. Performances utilising these movements are no longer common, due in part to restrictions on courting events that were applied to the Duna from the period of missionisation. More commonly now, *selepa* is sung at night around a fire by a group of men as a form of night-time entertainment for them. The performance in the photograph (Figure 2.1) was more or less a ‘mock-up’, performed for my benefit as a researcher but also as a display for my friend Tim Scott who was visiting me at Hirane parish for the first time. The participants took the performance with varying levels of seriousness, which is reflected in part by their dress.

In her book, Stürzenhofecker (1998:24) writes of a dance that is labelled *tsole tse*, which she describes as ‘a circular dance performed by men and women together’. From this description, *tsole tse* appears to be the same genre as *selepa*. Furthermore, *tsole tse* is said to be interchangeable with the term *yake* (Stewart and Strathern 2002a:84). *Yake* is the verb used in conjunction with *selepa*, so this further strengthens the hypothesis that *tsole tse* and *selepa* are one and the same (the variation in terminology is likely to be attributed to the different dialects/areas where Duna is spoken). Examples of *selepa* are presented in Chapter 5 on land and song.

**Yekia**

*Yekia* is another courting song genre. Like *pikono*, it has been a subject for examination by some anthropologists of Duna culture, largely because of the important and complex nature of the ritual of which *yekia* song is a part. More than simply ‘courting parties’, which is how missionaries perceived them, the rituals surrounding *yekia* ‘carried deeper resonances of religious action towards spirits and life force’ (Stürzenhofecker 1998:29). In contemporary times, however, ‘the religious aspects have been elided and the sexual aspects exaggerated’ (Stürzenhofecker 1998:29). It is said that during a performance of *yekia* in the *yekianda* (*yekia* house) of times past, men would sit in the laps of the

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22 Stürzenhofecker (1998:218) has described *yekianda* (she spells it *yekeanda*) as a ceremony. I, however, understand *yekia* to represent the song genre, and more generally the ceremony, and *yekianda* to represent the location for the ceremony (*anda* meaning ‘house’).
Steep Slopes

seated women as they sang, thus showing their interest in the woman on whom they sat (a similar, if more intimate and in a sense inverted, function to that of the women walking behind their man of choice in a performance of selepa). Stürzenhofecker (1993:403) explains that this imbalance in the representation of the various facets of yekia was generated by the Duna people themselves in order to protect the religious elements of yekia from ‘unsympathetic outsiders, such as mission personnel’; however, the exaggeration of the sexual in fact defeated this purpose of protection as it was used as ‘justification for prohibiting it’. The song genre that remains, now that the ancestral performance context for it does not, is associated almost exclusively with courting.

Figure 2.1 Selepa performance.

Like selepa, each yekia consists of three or sometimes four lines of text, with the first line introduced by one man and the remaining repetitive lines sung in unison by the whole group. Once again, as with selepa, here women can join in the unison singing but should never instigate a ‘verse’ (for women it is said to be ‘hat long stat’—that is, hard to start it off [Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 24 June 2006]). Also, like selepa, yekia’s melodic contour is distinctive and somewhat fixed (Example 2.5).

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23 The prohibition of Duna ancestral musical practices by various missions will be discussed shortly.
Essentially, then, *yekia* comprises three or four lines (three in Example 2.5) that begin fluctuating between the pitches of one and two whole tones above the tonal centre before arriving at it. The penultimate line closes on this tonal centre, while the ultimate line raises itself to the tone above before the whole *yekia* closes with a vocable marker on the tonal centre. When there are four lines of text, the first closes on the tonal centre and the second line closes on the tone above; however, here, in a three-line example, the first line closes on the tone above, the second line closes on the tonal centre, the third and final on the tone above again, followed by the tonal centre vocables. *Yekia* lines always alternate in this way between closing on the tone above and closing on the tonal centre.

When considering the textual structure of *yekia* (and *selepa*), one can see similarities with some features of other Papua New Guinean courting songs such as those of the Ipili-Paiela, a neighbouring but generally culturally distinct group (or groups) of people whose songs have been described by Ingemann (1968). In particular, the similarities that can be drawn are the use of just a few repetitive text lines based on alternating praise names and a vocable ending (Ingemann 1968). Ingemann represents the Ipili-Paiela (spelt ‘Ipili-Paiyala’) courting song vocable ending as ‘ao ae’, which appears remarkably close to the vocable ending of *yekia*, which I spell as aiyo ai.

*Yekia* is often spelt *yekea* by other scholars (for example, Stewart and Strathern 2002a:77). Sometimes *yekea* and *yekenda* (the location for *yekia*) are used interchangeably (see Stürzenhofecker 1993:355). It is also known as *yekia auu* (Niles and Webb 1987:76), due to its verb association (see the later section of this chapter detailing genres and their verbs). *Yekia* has been likened to *dawe*, a Huli courting song genre (Stewart and Strathern 2002a:77).24

*Laingwa* is another term for *yekia*, referring specifically to the song form rather than also to the whole ritual (Kenny Kendoli, Personal communication, 7 March 2007). Stewart and Strathern (2000a:94, 2002a:80–4) discuss the song form as *laingwa*. In my discussions with Duna people, however, the term *yekia* was always used, so I reproduce their labelling here.

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24 Other terms sometimes used for *dawe* are *dawenda*, *tauwenda* and *rawenda*, which represent different spellings/pronunciations and incorporate the term for the building (*anda*/*house*) that is the location for the ritual.
Alima (‘instrument[s]’)

Although instrumental music is not the central focus of this book, instruments are referred to in some of the following chapters and, considering this, plus the paucity of information available on Duna music, it is important to describe here the nature of the instruments used. The Duna use several musical instruments. Instruments of ancestral origin include the alima, kuluparapu, luna and uruwaya (the drum known in Tok Pisin as ‘kundu’). Instruments introduced by European contact and now used regularly by Duna people include the luna khao (metal jew’s harp), ngita (guitar) and ngulele (ukulele), which are discussed further in the next chapter.

From the descriptions of Duna song genres in the previous section, it is clear that gender features as an important organising principle in Duna musical practice. This is typical of Papua New Guinea, particularly of instrumental music, as Lutkehaus writes:

> As distinctions of gender and the division of labour by sex are fundamental principles of culture and social organization in New Guinea, so the performance of music is structured by principles of gender… In many New Guinea societies, men and women sing, but instrumental music has long been predominantly the purview of men, and it remains so. (Lutkehaus 1998:245–6)

Musical instruments are understood in many cultures across the world to be inherently sexual and for this reason women are said to be discouraged from playing them (cf. Petrovic 1990:73). This may or may not be the case for the Duna. It is, however, true to say that Duna musical instruments sit firmly in the domain of men and this has largely to do with the performance context for instruments in the past (being associated with the haroli palena bachelor cult).

I will now briefly describe the Duna instruments alima, kuluparapu, pilipe, luna and uruwaya.

Alima (mouth bow)

In the Duna language, the term alima covers the general category of instruments (including both old and introduced), but also refers to a specific instrument. The alima proper is made from a branch bent into an arc, with two strings between the two ends of the branch holding the branch in position and thus making a musical bow. These strings are traditionally made from tree vine, but can be made of synthetic materials in the present day. The two strings of the alima are played with a pick held in the right hand of the player. This pick is traditionally a small section of tree vine but can also be substituted with other materials. The two strings are struck together in the same stroke. The outer string is always
left open, but the inner string is regularly stopped with the thumb of the left hand, which is holding the instrument at the bottom (the top of the instrument is held in the mouth). The thumb stops only the inner string at one place on the string, thus there are only three pitches available to the *alima*: the lower pitch of the outer open string (which is slightly longer than the inner string); the middle pitch of the inner open string; and the higher pitch of the stopped inner string (see Example 2.6 and Figure 2.2).

**Example 2.6 (▶ Audio 1) Alima.**

This is one of the few instruments that women are said to play (see also Stewart and Strathern 2002b:81). Pugh-Kitingan (1981:175) documents the Huli equivalent of the *alima*, the *gawa*, as a popular instrument for women.

![Alima being played by Sane Noma.](image)
Kuluparapu (*bamboo panpipes*)

The *kuluparapu* is made of seven bamboo pipes of varying length. They are arranged with the longest pipe in the centre and the six other pipes in a circle around it. The pipes are bound together in two places: close to the mouthpiece of the instrument and again further down its body (holding only three or so pipes together at this second point). Binding is traditionally with bush materials, however, more recently other types of binding can be seen, such as strips of rubber from a car tyre. The instrument is blown lightly, with the lips never touching the pipes. There are two sizes of instrument: the *kuluparapu puka* (big *kuluparapu*) and the *kuluparapu kete* (little *kuluparapu*). Of the two models I examined, made by Sane Noma, the bigger was approximately 70 cm in length; the smaller approximately 55 cm (see Example 2.7 and Figure 2.3).

Example 2.7 (Audio 2) *Kuluparapu.*

Figure 2.3 Two *kuluparapu*, held by Sane Noma.

Pilipe (*end-blown notched flute with finger holes*)

I first came across the *pilipe* in a textual reference within a *pikono* performance. Although I once saw this instrument being carried around Kopiago, I never heard it played. San Roque recorded a sound sample for my benefit on a later trip to the field (see Example 2.8 and Figure 2.4).
The *pilipe* is typically an open bamboo tube with two finger holes towards the base of the tube. It is blown through the open top. There has been mention of a second variety of *pilipe*, made from a closed bamboo tube—that is, one cut at either end at the bamboo nodes. This variety is said to be side-blown, with two finger holes at its base. Pugh-Kitingan (1981:284) reports a side-blown *pilipe* played by the Huli (known as the *honabi pilipe* or ‘white person’s flute’) as something modelled on the European flute, which can be found in trade stores. The existence of only two holes in either version restricts the range of the instrument to primarily three pitches, plus an extended overtone series.

**Luna (bamboo jew’s harp)**

Like the *kuluraparu* and the *pilipe*, the *luna* is made out of bamboo. A single piece of bamboo is cut and fashioned to create a thin inner strip that vibrates when the weighted end of it is tapped against the base of the closed hand. The mouth, placed over the cutaway section of the bamboo, provides a cavity for this vibration to resonate. There is essentially only one pitch created by the
luna; however, in the positioning of the mouth there is a variation in timbre. The performer shapes words with his mouth against the instrument and in this way stories are told (see Example 2.9 and Figure 2.5).  

Example 2.9 (Audio 4) Luna.

Figure 2.5 Luna being played by Sane Noma.

25 The people of Bosavi, also of the Southern Highlands Province, have a similar term for the bamboo jew’s harp: uluna (Feld 1984:391). The similarity of the terms could be more than coincidental and could function as a clue to understanding the dissemination of the instrument across the province (the languages of Duna and Bosavi are not closely related).
Uruwaya

Uruwaya (see Figure 2.6) is the Duna name for the Tok Pisin ‘kundu’, a drum that is widespread throughout Papua New Guinea and is open at one end, enclosed with skin at the other and beaten with one hand (see also Niles 2006). Uruwaya is also the name of the tree from which the drum is made in the Kopiago region. It is used by the Duna to accompany dances such as mali mapu (see Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.6 Uruwaya.
Photo by Tim Scott

Similarities with Huli instruments

It is important to note (remembering the story of Mburulu Pango) that Duna musical instruments, in more or less their exact form, are also used by the Huli, albeit known by different names. The Huli alima is called gawa (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:183); the larger kuluparapu is called gulungulu (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:227); and the smaller kuluparapu is called gulupobe (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:220). The Huli have the pilipe, too, known by the same name, and they also have two models: an end-blown flute—though, unlike the Duna version, apparently without finger holes (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:272)—and an identical side-blown closed bamboo tube with finger holes (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:283–4). The Huli version of the luna (which Pugh-Kitingan refers to as a ‘jaw’s harp’) is the hiriyula, which is similar to the luna but incorporates a piece of string (the Duna also used this instrument in addition to their luna) (Pugh-Kitingan 1981:199–217). The Huli ‘kundu’ drum is known in that language as tābāge (Pugh-Kitingan 1998:541).
Table 2.1 Duna instrument and corresponding Huli instrument names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DUNA INSTRUMENTS</th>
<th>HULI INSTRUMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alima (mouth bow)</td>
<td>gawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuluparapu puka (large bamboo panpipes)</td>
<td>gulungulu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuluparapu kete (small bamboo panpipes)</td>
<td>gulupobe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luna (bamboo jew’s harp)</td>
<td>hiriyula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uruwaya (drum)</td>
<td>tâbage</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other instruments**

The Duna do not often use rattles (nor do the Huli for that matter), unlike groups in other areas of the Southern Highlands Province (Weiner 1991:167; Feld 1982:171–4). Only the Duna genre of rawe, which features dance movements, is said to involve the use of rattles, called irasole, made of dried seed pods (Richard Alo, Personal communication, 18 June 2006). A brief description and an image of Duna men performing this genre with these rattles have been published by Stewart and Strathern (2000b:54, 85).

**Mouth instruments as ‘speech surrogates’**

The kuluparapu, alima and luna are instruments played with the mouth. As such, when they are played, it is said that they communicate stories or direct verbal communication. Niles has made the following general observations of the susap (the Tok Pisin term for jew’s harps):

In Papua New Guinea, as elsewhere, the mouth harp often acts as a ‘speech surrogate’. Performers use it to imitate speech patterns and phonemes in order to create the illusion of speech in a musical context. The sounds of the mouth harp are often considered to be speech that is ‘disguised’, in order that it not be understood by eavesdroppers… the susap is considered to possess love-controlling magic that men can use to attract a woman’s affections. By using the instrument as a speech surrogate, the man is able to ‘say’ things to the woman that might otherwise be considered inappropriate. The instrument also provides impunity from rejection. (Niles 2005:83)

These qualities can be extended to the Duna alima and luna. These instruments are traditionally used as courting devices. The word alima also means ‘friend’ or ‘friendship’ in Duna—as in the Tok Pisin ‘pren’, denoting a romantic relationship—for precisely this reason. Within the haroli palena bachelor cult,

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26 Stürzenhofecker (1993:378) labels the same dance as tawe—as do Stewart and Strathern (2002a:79)—and refers to the rattles used as puru sole.
boys were taught to play the *alima* and the *luna* in order to form a ‘bridge’ (*soko*) between themselves and their intended on their graduation from the cult (in addition to courting women at the *yekia* ritual).

The *kuluparapu*, *alima* and *luna* had particular roles within the *haroli palena*, related to this ability of the instruments to ‘speak’. The *kuluparapu* is said to have had the function of waking up the bachelor cult boys in the morning. This seems paradoxical, considering the very soft and airy timbre of the instrument. It is also the *kuluparapu* that is said to ‘open the door’ to the *haroli palena*. The two different sizes of *kuluparapu* each had different functions in this respect. Sane Noma explained that the bigger instrument opens the door to allow a grown man to leave the cult, while the smaller instrument calls back the boys who are not yet ready to leave the cult (Sane Noma, Personal communication, translated by Petros Kilapa and Lila San Roque, 22 February 2005).

All three instruments were able to convey ‘stories’ to the bachelor cult members, most commonly in the form of morality tales. Interestingly, former bachelor cult leaders have played some of these morality tales on metal jew’s harps to me for recording; however, they maintained that such an introduced musical instrument would not be able to be used in the context of the bachelor cult (in effect, the ancestral could come out into the modern arena, but the modern could not enter the ancestral in this case).

‘Dance’

As with the term ‘music’, there was no collective Duna term for ‘dance’ in the time before Tok Pisin; dances, like songs, were referred to individually by the term for the particular genre. The Tok Pisin term ‘danis’ (‘to dance’) has, however, been adopted and is often pronounced *ndaniti* by Duna speakers. Usually though, ‘danis’ refers to Western styles of dancing, such as those introduced through the modern ‘disco’. The more typical Tok Pisin term for traditional dances is ‘singsing’, which includes the entire performance, not just body movement.

Genres performed by the Duna that include body movement that I have recorded are *mali* and *selepa* (*yekia* in its traditional context also included body movement). *Selepa* can be, and is often, performed without movement and, as such, it has been classified as *ipakana*. *Mali* on the other hand is rarely performed without movement (I have heard it performed only once without movement, by a group of seated children, which was greeted with much amusement from surprised adults nearby).
This is partly because the vocal text for this genre (if utilised, and it often is not) is minimal and includes vocables that complement the body movements. I have therefore chosen to describe *mali* separately below. Stewart and Strathern (2002a:79) have briefly described other Duna dances—namely, *tawe* (or *rawe*), *komea*, *heka kiliapa* and *pilaku*, which were reported to be performed as part of the *yekia* ritual.

**Mali**

There are two types of *mali* that the Duna perform. *Mali mapu* is a circular dance (*mapu* meaning ‘encircle, go around’) performed by men, who jump up and down in the circle, facing inwards and gradually moving in an anticlockwise direction (see Figure 2.7). The *uruwaya* is used as accompaniment and the number of drums varies from just one being played to all performers playing one, according to availability. The short song text is sung by one man and a chorus of men, in two parts, follows this line of verse with unison vocables—one group calling out the first vocable, the second responding with a falsetto vocable six tones (an octave) higher. This jump makes this form radically different to other Duna genres whose melodies move predominantly in steps (Example 2.10).

Chenoweth (2000:178–9) provides a transcription of a ‘singsing’ genre that she calls *pe* and translates as meaning ‘finish’. From this transcription, and the description of its performance context as being ‘sung in the big annual sing-sing’, it appears to be a representation of *mali mapu*.

**Example 2.10 Basic pitch structure of *mali mapu* based on Chenoweth’s notation.**

![Example 2.10 Basic pitch structure of *mali mapu* based on Chenoweth’s notation.](image)

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27 The Duna word *pe* is in fact a question marker and features prominently in lament texts, which will be seen in Chapter 4. It is unclear to me how Chenoweth came to this understanding of the word *pe* and how she came to label *mali mapu* as such.

28 In the absence of my own recording of a *mali mapu*, I have re-presented Chenoweth’s data here.
Mali *mbawa* is the other kind of *mali* that is performed by the Duna; however, it is generally acknowledged to be a genre indigenous to the neighbouring Huli. In this genre, men stand in two even lines facing each other rather than a circle. Once again, the *uruwaya* is used for accompaniment, but the vocals are vocables only and are sung in unison. This could be a relatively recent addition to the Duna repertoire, as David Hook, one of the first colonial administrators at Kopiago and resident there in the early 1960s, reports that he did not witness a performance of *mali mbawa* during his time there, though *mali mapu* was common (David Hook, Personal communication, 22 November 2007).

Since missionisation, the word *mali* has been used by the Duna to also mean ‘year’ (it is used in this context in song Example 6.11). It appears that the term was given this additional meaning by missionaries who were keen to mark the end of the year—that is, Christmas—with celebrations showcasing performances of genres including *mali* (Lila San Roque, Personal communication, 10 July 2006). Modjeska (1977:xv, plate following 296) presents a photograph of *mali mapu* being performed to celebrate Christmas in 1973.
Vocabulary: genres and their verbs

San Roque (Personal communication, 4 December 2007) explains that the terms given for Duna performance genres are not simple nouns, but ‘in a sentence each term must be used in construction with a particular verb (or set of verbs) in order to be fully meaningful’ (see also San Roque 2008:245–50). Therefore, in any discussion of musical genres it is important to consider these accompanying verbs, how the verbs used distinguish different genres and how they can show a relatedness between those genres that share the same verb.

A difference in verb association can represent another way of classifying performance genres besides that made by the noun or verbal-adjunct-like words. Here, however, one can see that the verb-based classification somewhat mirrors those categories of ipakana and alima as previously presented (and by default, suggests a category of ‘dance’ outside these first two groupings). That is, songs and instrumental music are classified into two according to the different verbs used. The exception is the genre of yekia, which, as previously mentioned, is associated with a verb particular to it.

Ruwa (‘to sing’, ‘to speak/articulate’, ‘to voice’)

Ruwa is the verb associated with song genres.29 For example, when one is instructed to sing, they would be told ‘ipakana ruwa’ (‘sing a song’) or ‘ko ruwa’ (‘you sing’). The latter command, however, is also the instruction for one person to speak to another (‘you speak’). The particular meaning, then, is determined largely by the context in which the word is used. To be inclusive of these two meanings, ruwa might be best translated as ‘to voice’, meaning something that is communicated verbally by a human being.

Examples

- ipakana ruwa (‘sing ipakana’)
- kāo ruwa30 (‘sing kāo’)
- pikono ruwa (‘sing pikono’)
- mali ipakana ruwa (‘sing mali’)
- selepa ruwa (‘sing selepa’)

29 San Roque notes that ‘ruwa can also be used to express thoughts and desires’ (Personal communication, 23 February 2007).
30 An example has been given of the construction kāo haka; however, in this combination haka is not a verb; rather, a noun. To have a verbal construction one must say kāo haka ruwa (essentially ‘sing the kāo language’), where ruwa is the verb (Richard Alo, Personal communication, 27 June 2006).
Haka (‘to talk’, also ‘language’, ‘word’)

Like ruwa, the verb haka is used to indicate speech. It has some similarities to the English word ‘talk’ as it can be used as either a noun or a verb (see San Roque 2008:79). This speech appears, however, to be reserved mainly for non-human subjects, such as musical instruments or birds. As the word for ‘language’, though, haka relates to human beings—for example, ‘Yuna haka’ (‘Duna language’).

Examples

• luna haka (‘luna talk’)
• alima haka (‘alima talk’)
• kuluparapu haka (‘kuluparapu talk’)
• pilipe haka (‘pilipe talk’)
• heka haka (‘bird talk’)

Sa (‘to hit/affect’)

Instruments that are held in the hand and struck rather than associated with the mouth—for example, the uruwaya and the guitar—are referred to by the verb sa, meaning ‘to hit/affect’.31

Yake (‘move around’)

When referring to a selepa performance that incorporates the traditional circular movement of men and women, the verb yake is utilised. Thus, one could command one to ‘selepa yakepa’ (‘move around to the selepa’). As most selepa performances now incorporate only the vocal element of the genre, it is fair to classify it as ipakana/ruwa.

Kuru (‘jump up and down’)

This verb has been translated generally as ‘dance’; however, it is used specifically with the genre of mali when dance movements are incorporated (which they usually are, for reasons given above). As a command to perform mali, one would say ‘mali kurupa’ (‘jump up and down with the mali’).

U (‘to do’), uku (‘to go into’)

The term u is, as mentioned above in describing the origins of ipakana as a category, associated only with the genre of yekia and describes the act of

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31 This term can be heard as a command in the recorded performance of Example 5.15.
performing this genre.\textsuperscript{32} One can announce their imminent performance of \textit{yekia} by saying ‘\textit{yekia unda}’ (adding the intensive future suffix -\textit{nda} to \textit{u}) meaning ‘(I am) going to do a \textit{yekia}’. To mark past tense, the suffix -\textit{u} would be added—an example is the construction ‘\textit{anoaka yekia uu}’, which would translate to mean ‘the men have finished doing the \textit{yekia}’.

\textit{Uku} is an idiomatic construction also peculiar to \textit{yekia} and it is best described as ‘to go into’ or ‘to go inside’ \textit{yekia}. For example, to command someone to perform a \textit{yekia} using this verb, one would say ‘\textit{yekia ukupa}’. One could also announce one’s performance of the genre by saying ‘\textit{yekia ukunda}’, using the same future suffix as above. Also, as above, past tense can be represented with this verb, such as the construction ‘\textit{yekia anoaka ukuu}’ (Richard Alo and Lila San Roque, Personal communication, 27 June 2006).

From the above exploration, it should be evident that the vocabulary surrounding genres and the verbs that are utilised when discussing them are very important in the understanding of, and the classification of, performance genres. Now the language within Duna \textit{ipakana} will be discussed.

\section*{Language features of Duna song}

\textit{Kêiyaka} and repetition

All Duna ancestral performance genres that incorporate song texts use \textit{kêiyaka} as an integral part of their textual structure. \textit{Kêiyaka}, or ‘praise names’ as they are here translated (following Haley 2002a:123–4),\textsuperscript{33} are additional, alternative names for the regular names for places, features of the physical landscape, flora, fauna, material objects, people and parts of a person, such as their hair. They are used not only in songs but also in other kinds of stylised speech.\textsuperscript{34} They are not used in everyday communication; as Richard Alo once explained in Tok Pisin, ‘Taim nating, ol i no save toktok [when nothing is happening, people don’t say them]’ (Richard Alo, Workshop presentation, Goroka, 22 June 2006)—though

\textsuperscript{32} The Huli term \textit{u}, as discussed in comments by Gabe Lomas and Jacqueline Pugh-Kitingan cited earlier in this chapter, is likely to be related to the Duna term.

\textsuperscript{33} Haley does not use a tilde over the \textit{e} to indicate nasalisation when she discusses this language feature; however, it is consistent with the work of San Roque. Though pronounced (and thus spelt) a little differently, \textit{kêiyaka} is likely to be a compound of the words \textit{kêi} and \textit{haka} (considering other speech genres also use this root; see below), though \textit{yaka}—‘to name’—is also equally plausible, and is favoured by Haley (see 2008:215). It is not clear what \textit{kêi} signifies on its own.

\textsuperscript{34} Compound words for other speech genres include \textit{rambaka} (‘compensation talk’), a compound of \textit{ramba} and \textit{haka}.  

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they are often used as greetings (Haley 2002a:123–4). Song is, however, a very important way to consolidate—and even create\(^{35}\)—keiyaka in Duna culture through repetition.

Keiyaka are an important feature of many Duna song texts, both ancestral and introduced, but the actual listing of keiyaka (the process known as ipakana yakaya, which was introduced earlier in this chapter) is vital to the structure of most ancestral song genres. Inevitably, such keiyaka listing, or ‘counting’, involves textual repetition, which, because of the consistent musical settings of this textual repetition, extends to musical repetition. This is evident in the musical examples that appear in this book. Keiyaka usually appear at the beginning of textual lines in the ipakana yakaya process and are sometimes preceded by a line of text with the regular name for a given feature/object/person in the first line of the song in order to provide a reference for the keiyaka to come (Example 2.11).

**Example 2.11 Keiyaka sequence (with keiyaka terms underlined).**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>keiyaka sequence</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singayaroko</td>
<td>arriving there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anoa ingini malu liliwale peli po horaka ndu raua rita-o</td>
<td>she saw a son of a man sitting there straightening his tangled malu hair it’s said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matialu liliwale peli po horaka ndu raua rita-o</td>
<td>saw him sitting there straightening his tangled matialu hair it’s said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nepero liliwale peli po horaka ndu raua rita-o</td>
<td>saw him sitting there straightening his tangled nepero hair it’s said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saiyawa liliwale peli po horaka ndu raua rita-o</td>
<td>saw him sitting there straightening his tangled saiyawa hair it’s said</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Taken from a pikono text sung by older woman Pokole Pora, and translated by Petros Kilapa and Lila San Roque.

Keiyaka are multiple and a fixed order of keiyaka appears to exist, so performers know in which order they will be recited. This is particularly important for those genres that are performed as a group, such as kão, selepa and yekia, in which one leader introduces a line of text and the rest follow his lead (these genres, as with most the Duna practise, are generally not rehearsed before a performance). The hierarchy of keiyaka appears to take into account the syllabic length of each term when they vary; it is my observation that keiyaka with two syllables will precede those with three. I have not established any other determinants of the order in which they are recited other than convention.

If this repetition, both musical and textual, is so prominent in Duna ancestral song genres, one is tempted to ask what the function of this repetition really is. Repetition is redundant in terms of meaning (as the audience has already heard

\(^{35}\) New keiyaka for new things, such as aeroplanes, are said to be able to be created by performers of pikono. Once they have introduced a term to listeners, that term can be adopted by other performers of pikono, and eventually it is introduced into other contexts.
and taken in the literal meaning), so it must offer more. Repetition provides, for one thing, space and time for reflection, both for the performer and for the audience. Certainly, the repetitive sequences within the ipakana yakaya process provoke the most emotional responses from the audience who listens—for example, the khene ipakana that ‘really breaks the heart of a man’ (Richard Alo, Personal communication, 30 June 2004) or the pikono that provokes an excited audience interjection such as the declarations ‘home koné!’ or ‘hame koné!’ (‘exactly so!’).

In this book, I present kēiyaka in the song text translations alongside the regular word for the place/object/person. For example, when the parish of Hirane is given the kēiyaka of pakura, I have written pakura Hirane. In the song texts, praise names are distinguished from other words by an underline. This is also consistent with the translations of my colleague working with Duna language, Lila San Roque.

**Metaphor**

Although the successful use of kēiyaka in song can determine great performers and great performances, another poetic feature is just as important, and this is the use of metaphor. 36 ‘Metaphor’, as Love (1998:336) writes, ‘abounds in Oceanic lyrics’. More specific to this context, one could say that metaphor abounds in Papua New Guinean lyrics, as several studies have testified (Feld 1982:142–3; Weiner 1991; Doherty 1995). Richness in metaphor certainly extends to Duna ancestral songs (and also to introduced song styles, as will become apparent). The texts of these songs are not often straightforward and literal. More commonly, they are clothed in metaphor in order to encode knowledge and to be valued as more artistic.

Metaphor occurs often in the Duna courting genres of selepa and yekia. This is not surprising. Love (1998:336) writes that metaphors ‘safely convey… references to illicit behaviour because their meaning is inferential and therefore unprovable, protecting composers and performers from retaliation’. In this way the function of metaphor in song is similar to the function of Duna alima as speech surrogates: one is protected from an unfavourable response to the musical communication by hiding behind the indirect nature of it. Metaphor is also used in other Duna song genres—in particular, khene ipakana and pikono. Examples of metaphor are illustrated in the discussion of particular songs in later chapters of this book.

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36 Of course, metaphor can be understood as a feature not only of poetry, but of all language (Friedrich 1986:23).
Language is arguably the most important aesthetic element in Duna performance. This is one of the reasons why song forms are the focus here, as distinct from instrumental and dance forms of expression. It is also why I have paid close attention to the meaning and expression of text in song in the research that follows.

**Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter has been to provide a comprehensive, introductory outline of Duna ancestral performance practice. This is a necessary framework for the orientation of this publication. As no previous ethnomusicology sources exist that detail Duna music in its entirety, it has been necessary to be inclusive in this outline. I began with some reflections on the origins of Duna music, touched on the ‘musician’ in Duna society and commented on the nature of Duna melodic structures and the Duna language as tonal. Examining the vocabulary surrounding Duna musical practice is a focus of my research, so I introduced the concept of the Duna musical categories of songs (*ipakana*) and instruments (*alima*) and described the Duna approach to what might be called ‘dance’. I described the genres that I will be examining under the categories that they best fit, providing some information about the ancestral Duna practice of *haroli palena* (‘bachelor cult’) that is vital to the understanding of the performance context for musical instruments in particular. The importance of considering Duna verbs in relation to genres was established and verb groupings were proposed as another (parallel) way of classifying genres. Finally, language features **within** Duna ancestral song texts were explored—in particular, the use of *kēiyaka* (‘praise names’) and metaphor. A focus on language is also evident in the introduced musical styles that are performed by the Duna, the history and essence of which we will now consider.