

THE STRING FIGURES

OF

NAURU ISLAND

By

HONOR MAUDE

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To
IJAUWE
and my other teachers,
who gave so generously of their time
to preserve for their descendants
this segment of Nauruan culture.

.....

This book
has been published
with the assistance of the
REPUBLIC OF NAURU FUND
of the
Australian National University



Simon Quanijo

one of the younger generation of string figure makers,
 who collaborated with Ijauwe in 1938 in inventing
 the last of the Nauruan classics:
 'Administration Staffs'

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PREFACE

The Cultural Setting

'Rich, but the loneliest in a lonely sea.'

Tennyson, Enoch Arden

It comes as a surprise to the majority of Europeans to learn that the most widespread recreation in the world is not some simplified variant of one of our modern ball games but the making of string figures, in which patterns are formed on the hands with a closed loop of string.

Although many people today regard string figure making as a childrens' pastime, commonly known as cat's cradles, even in Europe this was not always so and both its antiquity and universality are vouched for by a uniquely widespread distribution throughout the world.

With the development of anthropology these patterns began to be collected not only for their own sake, as a recreational activity and therefore part of the local culture, but also as an index of contact between peoples, since the large number of movements in the average figure and the almost infinite variety possible makes the independent invention of such an intricate sequence in two places unlikely, and of a whole complex of similar figures virtually inconceivable.

In the early years of this century Caroline Furness Jayne, while collecting her material for writing what is now recognized as the classic work on the art of string figure making, discovered to her surprise that 'the most elaborate [patterns] that have ever been collected' came not from any of the main centres of population but from a little island 12 miles in circumference situated in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and almost unheard of by the outside world.

Mrs Jayne published illustrations of 15 Nauruan patterns which had been sent to her by her brother mounted on paper, but she had no idea how such intricate designs could be made, and even doubted whether they were actually 'formed on the hands', suggesting that they were 'to some extent, made artificially'.¹ She published her book in 1906 and the following year Nauru became well-known: not, however, for its string figures but for exporting its first cargo of phosphate.

1 Jayne 1906:162, 367.

Much has been written on Nauru both before and after that historic shipment and to help anyone interested in more detailed information on the island and its people a selected list of references is given at the end of this work. In this preface we concentrate on those aspects of the cultural setting of particular importance to the subject matter of the book itself.

To do so we must go back over a century before Jayne's exciting find to 1798, when the era of Pacific exploration was nearly over and that of Western economic penetration had begun with the founding of Britain's first Pacific colony in New South Wales, then just a decade old.

On Thursday November 8 in that year Captain John Fearn of the snow Hunter, en route from Port Jackson to China via New Zealand (where he had gone to get spars), sighted land just before crossing the equator, and called it Pleasant Island 'from its aspect'. Fearn found the several hundred islanders who came out to greet him in their canoes equally congenial, remarking that 'their behaviour was very courteous, and they strongly invited us to anchor on their island'.

This belated discovery accentuates what is possibly for our purposes the most important point about Nauru, as Pleasant Island was called by the approximately 1,300 people who then inhabited it: its extreme isolation. In fact, if we except Easter Island and possibly Rapa, Nauru is the remotest inhabited island in the whole South Seas, alone in the vast ocean wastes of the Central Pacific. The nearest of the 16 Gilbert Islands lay 370 miles to the east, with half-way between the single 1,500 acre dot of Ocean Island (or Banaba).

Nauru is an almost perfect example of the raised coral atoll, with a central plateau averaging 100 feet in height descending abruptly to a coastal plain some 10 feet above sea level and 150 to 400 yards wide, itself fringed by a sandy beach and narrow reef, steep to on its seaward edge. On this flat coastal rim, only 1,375 acres in extent, the Nauruans had their homes, the interior being valueless except as a source of timber.

Another important factor to note is that they had been there for a long time; so long that, unlike most people who lived on the smaller islands and atolls, they had no traditions of ever having arrived - the Nauruans had always lived on Nauru.

Nevertheless racially - in physical characteristics, culture and language - they were typically Micronesian, leading a way of life not basically different from many of their neighbours in the Caroline Islands to the north. In detail there were admittedly differences, but these are in the main attributable to the length of time since their separation from their Carolinian kinsmen and, even more important, to the fact that Nauru was not entirely a world on its own, isolated from all contact with humanity, but rather a dead-end, a terminal

point which permitted immigration from outside but from which no one who landed ashore ever returned.

The easterly trade winds which prevailed throughout most of the year, coupled with the equatorial current setting strongly to the westward, ensured furthermore that this immigration came almost entirely from one area: the densely inhabited screen of coral atolls and reef islands which comprise the Gilbert Group and the little colony of refugee or driftaway Gilbertese on Ocean Island.

Admittedly during the less frequent periods of squally westerly weather the wind might blow from any direction, and particularly from the west, while the current either ceased or set from the east. Yet there is no known case of a canoe reaching Ocean Island or the Gilberts from Nauru, presumably because no canoe would be likely to survive, except by some miracle, in the open ocean during a westerly storm.

Even in the brief historic period we have over 30 authenticated cases of Gilbertese canoes drifting to islands throughout the Western Pacific, from the Carolines to the New Hebrides, and from these it is clear that for the most part they (or at least the ones which survived) were the large inter-island sailing canoes rather than the smaller lagoon or off-shore fishing canoes. The Gilbertese had possessed deep-sea sailing craft since the coming of the Polynesian navigator element in the population (roughly about A.D. 1400) and since then, until inter-island sailing was stopped by the British Government early in the present century, there was a more or less constant traffic from island to island, as a result of which (from an estimate made in the 19th century) hundreds drifted to sea each year. When one adds the many fugitives from inter-island and civil wars and the surplus population compelled by community pressure to migrate or be killed one can gain some conception of the numbers which must have reached some part of Melanesia or Micronesia, even allowing for the fact that the majority no doubt perished at sea.

Of course only a small percentage of Gilbertese driftaways chanced to reach Nauru; yet we have actual records of several in historic times. In 1850, for example, the New Bedford whaler Emily Morgan met a large canoe off Nauru with 22 men, women and children who had been drifting for six weeks, having left Abaiang (presumably for Tarawa) owing to the civil war there and lost their bearings. Four had died and the rest were '...nothing but skin and bones, and scarcely that. In several cases the skin on the joints was broken, and the bones had worked through.' They were landed at Nauru.

When they first came to the notice of the Western world, therefore, the Nauruans were a good-looking, robust and light-coloured people of typically Micronesian appearance, the women being described as 'comely and well-looking'. They were divided into twelve matrilineal,

exogamous and probably totemic clans, the members of which, although unlocalized, regarded the hamlet of the clan head as their focal centre. Rank was important, the temonibe or senior members of the senior branch of the clan being at the apex of the social pyramid, with beneath them the amenengame or junior members and at the base the itsio or serfs, who were prisoners or fugitives and usually landless. Cutting across this clan division the island was also divided into 14 territorial districts, all based on the coastal flat except Buada, which was located around the interior lagoon.

The political structure on Nauru was quite unformalized, a not uncommon feature on small islands in the Caroline Group, the power of a particular temonibe being dependent not only on the status of the clan and his rank within it, but also on the number of his clansmen in the district and his own character and prowess. Throughout most of the historic period, however, the clan Eamwit tended to dominate the island by virtue of its numbers and its possession of a succession of notable warriors.

The iruwa, or Gilbertese who had drifted to the island, had at least by the beginning of the 19th century become of such importance that far from being regarded as itsio they were allocated a clan of their own. Indeed a great part of Nauruan culture is demonstrably Gilbertese in origin, from the art of warfare and the cult of the war-god Taburig, to the technique of farming the Chanos fish ibija and the making of coconut toddy.

From the foregoing account one would expect that during the early 19th century the Nauruan string figure repertoire would have consisted of a few Carolinian patterns brought with them by the autochthones, together with a larger number introduced by driftaways from the Gilberts. The demographic, ethnographic and traditional evidence suggests that the original settlers were not numerous, conceivably only the occupants of a single canoe, and it would seem unlikely that they knew more than a few simple patterns. Even with the recurrent addition of new figures from the Gilberts it would have been an unremarkable collection, not essentially dissimilar from those of a hundred and one other islands, but for the peculiar organization of Nauruan society.

All traditions agree that the island functioned as a social unit with constant inter-marriage, visiting and reciprocal entertainment between the inhabitants of each district, many of whom would in any case belong to the same or related clans. Although warfare was introduced by the Gilbertese it was modified by the inoffensive Nauruans into 'Homeric combats between pairs of champions, each attired in cumbersome armour, and assisted by two "squires"', while the main training of the young men was in wrestling, boxing and other sports, as well as in this specialized form of jousting.

The freedom from serious population pressure on the island's economic resources, except during times of drought, enabled the younger people to spend much of their time and energy in competitive sports and games, often organized on an island-wide footing. Only the older men and women were expected to work at food-getting, house-building and other economic activities:

Instead the young men from the different districts used to go in bands about the island, led by some champion athlete, challenging others to compete against them. Talking with some of the older men and women I gained the impression, indeed, that in days gone by something interesting and exciting was always going on: athletic contests between young men; dancing and singing displays by bands of young men or young women; snipe-fighting contests; kite flying; the racing of toy canoes on the reef at high tide; string-figure displays, accompanied by songs and dances, which lasted for two or three days; story-telling competitions; and, from about July to September, the semi-ritual contests in catching frigate-birds. Serious daily work was left for the most part to the middle-aged; the young passed the bulk of their time in sport, love-making and fighting.²

In the other islands of Oceania the art of string figure making seldom progressed: the same traditional patterns were handed down generation after generation, with only an occasional variation introduced by design or chance, and the number of new importations were limited by the extent of external contacts. Innovation was the exception rather than the rule and the average islander was content to master a dozen or so standard patterns and to repeat them endlessly with at the most minor adaptations and improvements. Indeed it is the very fact that it is a largely static art spread mainly by diffusion which justifies its importance as an index of culture contact.

On Nauru, however, the introduction of string figures into the island Olympics, which tradition asserts took place less than a century and a half ago, changed all this. For many the game became an obsession: 'they rarely separate themselves from their string, which they either wind round their shoulder and hip or around their left wrist. Their leisure time is spent in thinking out new patterns'

The all-island string figure contests, which were known as epu en kauada and, as already quoted, lasted for two to three days, were normally held twice a year. Hambruch has given us a graphic picture of the proceedings:

2 Wedgwood 1936:31.

One after another exhibits to the gathering his latest figure; turning away so that they cannot see his method of construction, and then suddenly holding up the figure in front of all to hear their comment. Others thereupon endeavour to make the new figure themselves as quickly as possible and to hold it up in front of the inventor. It is quite amazing how speedily some of them can reconstruct the technique of making a new figure and copy it accordingly.³

Hambruch adds that to make a single figure might require the assistance of three, four or more people and that hands, feet, neck and teeth were used in constructing the more difficult. He also refers to series which progress from pattern to pattern, showing a number of connected scenes and sometimes taking up to half an hour to complete. On Nauru, he concludes, string figure making has been so perfected that 'it had developed into a special branch of mimic-dramatic art'. Curiously, it was an art performed in public competition by men alone. Women made figures within their family circle and many of them knew, and passed on to their children, as wide a range of patterns as any man: but they did not exhibit in public. It is significant that even in 1937 not one of my wife's informants was a woman.

Hitherto we have concentrated on Nauruans as they were - on what the anthropologist would term the pre-contact and immediately post-contact picture - but once they were discovered by the more dominant, aggressive and technologically superior European they could hardly be expected to remain unchanged.

Between 1821 and 1825 the whole extent of the 'on-the-line' whaling grounds stretching along the Equator from Fanning Island to Nauru became known and by the 1830s more and more whaling vessels began to use Nauru as a centre for supplies and refreshment, despite the lack of a harbour and the consequent necessity for standing off and on. It was the only island in the Central Pacific to possess reasonably adequate supplies of fresh provisions and where the women were both attractive and complaisant.

The 30s, too, saw the arrival of the first European beachcombers, and for the next half century the island was occupied by a succession of vicious and unprincipled scoundrels such as Jack Jones, who in 1841, having eaten all his companions but one on a boat voyage from Rotuma, proceeded to kill off the Europeans who had arrived before him, poisoning seven and shooting four in a single night.

³ Hambruch 1914-15:II:367.

In general the worst type of beachcombers, mostly escaped convicts from New South Wales, spent their time cadging off the islanders, distilling coconut toddy and fighting amongst themselves. Those not under the protection of some leading temonibe soon outstayed their welcome and had to move on. Not being unduly burdened by personal possessions this was not difficult; a typical beachcomber when leaving on the Zotoff in 1847 after four years ashore: 'brought all the riches which he had accumulated during his voyages and travels on board the bark with him - they consisted of one shirt, much worn, and one pair of pantaloons'.

The better Europeans kept apart from such riff-raff and engaged as middlemen with visiting ships, gradually giving way to the regular traders, usually working on a commission basis for one of the main German or British firms, who began to arrive in the late 60s and early 70s. By 1884 there were eight traders on the island, five acting as agents for the German Hertsheim Company, two for the Jaluit Agency and one for Henderson and Macfarlane of Auckland. These included the recognized leader of the local Europeans, William Harris, who had landed on Nauru in 1842, married a Nauruan, and was by then a much respected resident.

Largely as a result of the activities of the beachcombers, coupled with the fact that the Nauruans were quick to resent being cheated, as they often were, by the captains and crews of visiting ships, Nauru acquired an undeservedly bad reputation by the middle of the 19th century, culminating in the looting of the brig Inga in 1852. Although this was subsequently shown to be due to the conduct of the captain, warnings against treachery were inserted in all the Nautical Directories and as late as 1869 local Europeans were lamenting the falling off in ships calling.

By then, however, the whaling era in the Central Pacific was ending and the Nauruans became dependent on the sale of copra in place of the provisioning of ships. Unfortunately the amount of copra which could be prepared from the limited supply of coconuts was small even in the best of years, since the palms would only grow on the narrow coastal fringe, most of the nuts were needed for food, and furthermore the natives had by now acquired a taste for sour toddy from the beachcombers, necessitating the reservation of a large proportion of palms for its manufacture.

Competition between the traders was consequently intense and when in 1878 a dispute occurred at a marriage feast the ensuing vendetta was encouraged by several of them in order to unload their stocks of guns and ammunition, until it became a civil war which embraced the whole island and only ceased with the declaration of the German Protectorate in 1888. The first census taken the following year showed a total population of 1,294, a decrease of 200 compared with the estimate of 1,500 made in 1846. The fact that although there were as many boys as girls the adult population comprised only 435 men

to 573 women suggests that the decrease was due more to the Ten Years War than to introduced disease.

The German Protectorate (1888-1914) was a period of strict but on the whole benign rule, its highlights being the Christianization of the population and the development of the phosphate industry. Though Gilbertese evangelists had been placed on the island in 1887 by the American Protestant Mission which worked throughout Micronesia, Christianity had little success until the arrival in 1899 of the Rev. P.A. Delaporte and in 1902 of the Catholic Mission, up to World War II in charge of Father Alois Kayser.

Even more important in its ultimate effect on the Nauruan community was the discovery of phosphate deposits on the hitherto almost useless central plateau in 1900 and their exploitation by the Pacific Islands Company (later the Pacific Phosphate Company and after 1919 the British Phosphate Commission) from 1907.

Only seven years later the Germans surrendered Nauru to a British force after the commencement of World War I, and at its close it was given to the British Empire as a mandate, Australia acting as the administering power by agreement with the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

The Australian government of Nauru, which lasted for 50 years, or just twice that of Germany, may be epitomized as a benevolent paternalism which essayed to keep the islanders quiet and contented with their status quo while their phosphate deposits were exploited by the Phosphate Commission, which sold at under world prices to the Australian and New Zealand farmer (estimated at a hidden subsidy of over £67 million for the 15 year period 1949-1965).

The period was interrupted by the Japanese occupation of Nauru from 1942 to 1945, when two-thirds of the community were deported to Truk and the population reduced from 1,848 to 1,369, the ranks of the older generation being especially depleted.

Fortunately for the Nauruans their island continued after the war to be administered under mandate from the United Nations, thus enabling them to obtain political support from the Trusteeship Council for their claims for more equitable treatment and ultimately for independence. This was eventually obtained and on 31 January 1968 the Republic of Nauru came into being, thus terminating the relatively brief period of colonial rule; in fact there were still Nauruans alive who had been born before the German occupation.

It should perhaps be again stressed that this brief sketch of Nauruan history is intended to be no more than an aid to our understanding of their unique string figures. We have already considered the probable origin of their basic repertoire of patterns

and shown that it would in all probability have continued to resemble those of other Micronesian islanders, both in construction techniques and final designs, had it not been for the fact that the favourable physical environment facilitated the organization of competitive recreational activities.

It is true that inter-district competitions of various kinds - model canoe racing, kite flying and the like - were a familiar feature of pre-Christian Micronesian life, but the fact that on Nauru it was possible to hold them regularly and on an island-wide basis must, I suggest, be attributed to low population pressure and relatively adequate natural resources. These conditions have on other islands been found to result in minimum individual and group aggressiveness, and on Nauru any such tendencies were in any case channelled into institutionalized forms of individual combat which did not disrupt community harmony.

The inclusion of string figure making into the Nauru Island games resulted in a proliferation of new designs and a refinement of technique probably unique in history. All that now remains is to consider the subsequent development of the art during the period of post-contact acculturation outlined above.

In the first place it seems clear that while the beachcombers succeeded in disorganizing the solidarity of the Nauruan community from time to time they never destroyed it. For much of the period the ascendancy of the clan Eamwit under the so-called Queen of Nauru was a powerful coalescing factor. When an expatriate, such as Jack Jones, became a menace to group cohesion, he was first ostracized by the whole island and finally, if necessary, deported.

It seems unlikely that any European introduced a string figure into Nauru for not one in a thousand would have known any other patterns than the standard Cat's Cradle, which was unknown to the Nauruans in 1937. They were, however, learnt from the many Pacific Islanders who visited the island on one of the whaling, trading or mission ships to call there. These visitors, several of whom stayed temporarily or permanently, came from all over the Pacific, and particularly from the Carolines, Marshalls and Ellice Groups, while the Nauruans themselves went to Ponape, Kusaie and many other islands. Hundreds of Caroline Islanders came to work in the phosphate fields, and were succeeded by Gilbertese and Ellice Islanders.

The result was a varied addition to the islanders' stock of patterns, for such enthusiastic devotees were eager learners. The original derivation of most of these importations, like the former acquisitions from Gilbertese driftaways, were soon forgotten, but others were still recognized in 1937 to be exotics, while in one instance, that of Wawu [Oahu], the name of the figure serves to perpetuate its origin, which in any case was remembered to have come from Hawaii.

Of even more significance, perhaps, is the fact that the Island Games still functioned, with interruptions, right up to the disruption of Nauruan cohesion as a result of the Ten Years War of 1878-1888, and that new figures continued to be invented and learnt at least until the discouragement of indigenous amusements following the conversion of the islanders to Christianity in the early years of the present century.

The best testimony to the vigorous growth of string figure making on Nauru in post-contact times is the fact that if we exclude introduced figures and those with names the meaning of which has been forgotten, the majority of patterns are named either after persons, such as Eigamoia, who are identifiably historical characters alive during the 19th or 20th centuries, or after artifacts, such as an umbrella, introduced from outside the island and no doubt exciting attention owing to their novelty at the time. It appears to have been a compliment to name a newly invented figure after some well-known person or, alternatively, some favoured relative, if one may judge from the number of patterns concerning which nothing more could be discovered in 1937 than the fact that it had been called after some celebrated warrior, some particularly beautiful woman, or merely the maker's grand-children.

When my wife visited Nauru in 1937 string figure making had fallen into decay, together with much of the Nauruan culture, as a result of culture change caused by Christianization and the phosphate industry. There were a number still alive, however, who remembered the art, as evidenced by the fact that nine out of the 15 figures illustrated by Mrs Jayne could still be made, and that the combined repertoire of her informants totalled no less than 107 figures.

At the time the visit did much to revive an interest in Nauruan arts and crafts; the fact that such things were considered of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the outside world was in itself a stimulus. More particularly, of course, it revitalized the dying prestige of string figures as the former major creative art of Nauru, and when a second visit was paid the following year (unfortunately only for a day) a number of new patterns had been invented, some of them, such as 'Administration Staffs', of a beauty and technical skill equal to the finest examples of the Nauruan classical tradition.

The quality in which Nauruan string figure making has differed from that of the rest of the world is its creativeness. Instead of endlessly repeating traditional patterns exhibiting features of the traditional culture the Nauruans have possessed the originality and expertise to construct entirely new patterns, often both attractive and appropriate, to depict what interested them in their changing environment. This imaginative genius is perhaps best shown in some of their series. Hambruch, for example, mentions a figure seen by

him, but since forgotten, called 'Madrin' after a Chinese who built several houses for the Phosphate Company: as it progressed from pattern to pattern one saw the wooden boards assembled, then put together, the house erected and the furniture put in place.⁴

I have little doubt that the Nauruans would still be producing new masterpieces in their particular medium of graphic art but for the tragedy of the Japanese occupation and deportation, during which so many of the older people died of starvation or privation, including every one of my wife's informants five years previously. Although we are informed that there are no experts now alive it is our earnest hope that the publication of this book may not only serve as a tribute to the master artists of the past but also as a stimulus to the Nauruans of today to revive and again excel in the one skill in which they once led the world.

Research School of Pacific Studies,
Australian National University,
1 February 1969

H.E. Maude

4 Hambruch 1914-15:II:367.

INTRODUCTION

The String Figures of Nauru

Towards the end of 1937 I was able to fulfil a long felt wish by spending six weeks on the island of Nauru collecting string figures; an ambition originally inspired by the illustrations of unique and complicated patterns in Caroline Furness Jayne's book String Figures, published in 1906 and given to me by my husband in 1931. These illustrations had been made from original string figures collected by an Australian, Ernest Stephen, who as a youth was left stranded on the island in 1880 by a hard hearted ship's captain. There he married an islander and settled down and it was some years before his father, who had sent him on a voyage for his health, discovered where he was.

Ernest Stephen must have realized the unusual quality of Nauru's string figures for he attached 15 of the most intricate patterns to pieces of paper and gave them to Dr W.H. Furness, an American visitor to Micronesia, who in turn handed them on to his sister, then engaged in writing the book on string figures from different parts of the world mentioned above. Mrs Jayne described the Nauruan figures as 'the most elaborate that have ever been collected'; and fifty years later I think that this is still true.

In addition the German anthropologist Hambruch visited Nauru for six weeks in 1910 and although he did not collect any figures while on the island he returned to Germany with a Nauruan informant, Eodebu, from whom he obtained 27 simple figures which he recorded in an ingenious and amusing terminology invented by himself, and reproduced in his book.

I arrived on Nauru fearing that the art might have died with the disruption of the islanders' way of life owing to the discovery of phosphate and the influx of Europeans, Chinese, money and trade goods, with the consequent development of a totally different range of interests. At first it seemed that my fears were well founded but gradually a group of expert string figure makers was formed, at first all of them elderly men but augmented later by one or two of a younger generation. The absence of women was explained to me as being due to their taking a subsidiary role in string figure making: they shared the men's interest in the art and where there was no surviving adult male they transmitted the family repertoire to the next generation. It would, however, have been considered indecorous for them to have exhibited their skill in public.

In Nauruan the fingers are named as follows: itungab (thumb); ikujuj (index); itingabangab (middle finger); itirugirug (ring finger) and itiru (little finger). String figures are called kawada and a

string of very finely plaited human hair, e dedi or itubwitara, was used for their construction. The hair could be taken from live people, cut off the head of a sick person or taken from the dead in remembrance of them. Three lengths of hair string were used, about 15 feet for the complicated figures, 9 feet for the simpler figures and a very short one for catches and tricks. An even longer string was used for Deiroa, a figure (or series of figures) since forgotten which depicted the story of Degabe, a legend of Gilbertese origin.

There was much conferring together and exchanging of advice as my informants endeavoured to remember and reconstruct half forgotten figures. As each pattern was made, approved and named I had to learn it and jot down a few notes to be written out in full at the end of the session. Without the tuition I had received in the Gilbert Islands, where I had already collected over 100 figures, and the consequent dexterity achieved it would have been much more difficult to master the Nauruan figures. Apart from the fact that in many patterns there were four or five loops instead of the usual three on each hand, making ten strings instead of six to be manipulated, my teacher would call out amwangiyo or eongatubabo at the end of a figure, and both terms include a number of intricate movements. Fortunately the first sequence was used in the Gilberts, not as a method of finishing off a figure but in the main working, and the second was used on Ocean Island in the same way. On Tikopia 50% of the figures collected by Raymond Firth were made with the eongatubabo sequence, known there as tao and ta, again often comprising the complete making of a figure but with variations in the number of strings held down and picked up and also in the number of times the first few movements were used.

The Nauruans insisted that they had been making string figures for only one hundred years, whereas in other communities the art is as old as their traditions. Though none of the legendary names which appear in Camilla Wedgwood's notes are perpetuated in the names of string figures, the story of Egigu (who went to the moon) and Debenori me Dabamadoa were certainly legends.

New figures were being invented as late as the first years of this century, e.g. 'Dogida', the German doctor depicted as he braces himself in the boat preparatory to boarding a ship to give pratique, and 'Delaporte', the first missionary to live on the island. After I had left Nauru in 1937 the men evidently continued to make string figures and produced another 23, of which 16 were new inventions, one of these being very complicated indeed. The Administrator, Captain R.C. Garsia, had these figures pinned to a board and photographed; these he left on the island for me, together with notes on their names and who made them, but unfortunately I was only able to record 9 figures during my brief visit in 1938. Illustrations of the remainder will be found at the end of this book.

Whenever Hambruch has recorded a figure identical, or nearly

identical, with one obtained by me I have given a reference. Any figures recorded by Hambruch but not seen by me have been rewritten and reproduced, with due acknowledgement, using the terminology employed throughout this work.

26 figures had accompanying chants, some being old ones not understood and untranslatable and others more recent, such as the one describing the stopping of a war by Eigamoia, known as the peacemaker, and another of the wonders of an umbrella. The chants were sung by the person making the figure and the onlookers then joined in.

A chant was often made before the figure itself, for example to commemorate some person or event, and the experts then called in to illustrate it with a new figure. Eidenamo and Eidebara were the wives of Chief Agoijarug of Aiwo of the tribe Eamwit and I was informed that a great, great granddaughter, Tabita, was alive in 1937 aged about 40. Her genealogy went thus: Agoijarug - Euemer - Abudotor - Eidogae - Tabita. Dogobea, depicted with his two wives, was a High Chief and the brother of Eigamoia's mother, and Eidigouw possessed the first umbrella on the island.

According to tradition string figures were first made in Buada by two men, Derangabua (whose great, great grandchildren were alive in 1937) and Anako. These two men lived at the same time but apparently did not collaborate. 'Eruen' was said to be the first figure made: it is actually well known in the Gilbert Islands and throughout the western Pacific. Simple patterns were first made as a pastime and shown in public, then competitions were held which everyone on the island attended, young and old, expert and novice.

As well as chants one story or legend was given to me, that of Dabamadoa and Debenori, which will be found in the Appendix together with the story recorded by Hambruch of the girl who went to the moon and stayed there for ever.

Jayne gives a Caroline Islands figure 'Carrying Money' which is almost identical with the Nauruan 'Amen Ranga Ekwan'; however in the former figure the central diamond is a continuation of 'Ten Men', the figure is laid down, the loops made and the strings threaded through them while the figure is off the hands. Mrs Jayne suggests that the Nauru figures may also 'to some extent be made artificially'; I am glad that after all these years her conclusion has been disproved. It is interesting to note that these small loops also form part of some rather difficult patterns on Malaita, in the Solomon Islands.

The movement I have called 'Nauru Ending' would seem to have originated there, it has been found on only one island in the Gilberts and nowhere else that I know of. This ending opens up the figure and gives a wider extension.

The method by which the upper loops on index fingers are transferred to thumbs before being turned over on to little fingers seems unnecessarily complicated at first but it is in fact a much easier movement than a direct one from index to little finger.

When making little loops in the course of a figure they should stand upright, or away from the player; and when a 'sun' is mentioned in the working of a figure a diamond with double strings is meant and is the same as 'Ekwan', the sun, No.53.

In turning round the Hawaiian figure 'Wawu', the Nauruans made it more like their own patterns and I was sceptical about the interpretation 'Oahu', until I found it in Dickey's String Figures from Hawaii. Using their own ideas again they made their own version of a well known series, from another widespread series, in 'Emor II'. 'Amet Dedogo Oeron', on the other hand, would seem to be an example of an independent invention, using simple little loops, of a figure found in Polynesia and Melanesia where the construction is very complicated. The only difference in the finished figure is the crossed central strings on Nauru.

Most of the figures in Part III need to be arranged by a second person and a nylon string is essential, if a hair string is not available, for the intricate construction.

Only 26 of the figures found on Nauru are known elsewhere, by far the majority coming from the Gilbert Islands, though half of these are also known elsewhere. No.16, 'Etegerer me Etogarita', though known from one side of the Pacific to the other, is identical only in the Loyalty and the Tuamotu Islands.

All the figures illustrated in this book are made with a nylon, and not a hair, string; this is because all Nauruan hair strings are plaited from black hair and a white string makes a clearer photograph.

Without the hospitality and co-operation of the late Captain and Mrs R.C. Garsia these string figures would not have been recorded, and I am most grateful to them for all the trouble which they took both during and after my visit to Nauru.

To Mr J. Aroi, who kindly checked the names and the chants for me, I owe my sincere thanks and also my apologies, for although I have made many corrections as suggested by him the Nauruan orthography has been changed since my notes were made and some words still retain the old spelling. The names of the men who taught me are written as they were given to me; and where Hambruch is quoted his spelling has been preserved, as also the spelling in Miss Wedgwood's notes.

In preparing the final text I am indebted to Dr Thomas Storer, then in the Department of Mathematics at Princeton University, who patiently checked my descriptions by making each figure and commenting on any difficulties experienced. My thanks are also due to Mrs Dorothy Moore, for her interest and help; to Mrs R.M. Emmerly, who translated passages from Hambruch; to Mrs Jean Jackson, who drew the diagrams; and finally to Mrs Anvida Lamberts, who typed the whole text from my draft, no easy task.

NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

Strings - The strings used are always closed loops. To make a short string use about 7 feet of a soft nylon cord and for a long string use 11 or 12 feet; knot or sew the ends together.

Palmar and Dorsal - The part of a string which lies across the palm of a hand is described as palmar, the part lying across the back of a hand is dorsal.

Near and Far - Anything on the thumb side of the hand is called near, anything on the little finger side is called far. Since a string passing round a finger or fingers forms a loop, each loop possesses a near and a far string.

Upper and Lower - Of two strings or loops on the same finger, the one nearer the palm of the hand is called lower, the one nearer the tip of the finger is called upper.

Extend - Draw hands apart until strings are taut.

Twisting Loops - A loop may be twisted in two directions, either towards you or away from you. If towards you the finger is rotated towards you, down, away from you and up again, taking care not to get entangled with any other strings. If away from you the movement is done in the opposite direction.

Position 1 - Put tips of thumbs and little fingers of each hand together and then insert into loop of string, separate thumbs and little fingers and extend hands (the strings must not be crossed).

Opening A and B - Position 1, then pick up palmar string of each hand from below on back of index of opposite hand, right index first and then left index (through right index loop from above) for Opening A; in Opening B the right palmar string is picked up first.

Murray Opening - Hold string between thumbs and indices with hands about 6 inches apart and the loop hanging down; make a small hanging loop with the 6 inches of string by bringing hands together, right over left, insert indices towards you into this small loop and continue the

movement towards you until indices are upright; draw hands apart keeping a lower and an upper loop on each index. Near strings should be parallel and far strings crossed.

Navaho - When there are two strings on a finger or thumb, one lower and the other upper, the lower string is lifted over the upper string, over the tip of the finger and dropped on the other side.

Caroline Extension - Insert indices from below into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and, pressing thumbs against indices to prevent these strings from slipping, turn palms away.

Nauru Opening I

1. Opening A.
2. Transfer index loops to middle fingers and thumb loops to indices; bringing hands together insert left thumb from above into right index loop, pick up right near index string, draw hands slightly apart then insert right thumb from below into left thumb loop and extend.

Nauru Opening II

1. Opening A.
2. Insert ring fingers from below into index loops and return with far index strings.
3. Insert right middle finger from below behind string at base of left middle finger and extend; pass left middle finger from above through right middle finger loop, then insert from below behind string at base of right middle finger and extend.

Eongatubabo

1. Insert thumbs from above into index loops and hold down near index strings.
2. Insert indices from above into little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings (also ring and middle finger strings if any) and far index strings, then with indices still pointing down bring them towards you over all remaining strings, hook back near thumb strings away from you and straighten indices (do not release thumbs); pass thumbs under far little finger strings then bring them back on backs of thumbs; release little fingers; transfer

upper index loops to thumbs, insert little fingers from above into upper thumb loops and transfer these loops to little fingers; release index loops (also middle and ring finger loops if any).

3. Insert indices from above into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, then insert into index loops also from below, and release indices.
4. Caroline Extension.

Amwangiyo

1. Transfer thumb loops to indices.
2. Pass thumbs from above through lower index loops, (under middle and ring finger loops if any), insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and release little fingers.
3. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs.
4. Pass the four fingers of each hand over index and thumb loops, insert them from above into lower thumb loops, pick up on their tips lower near thumb strings and release thumbs from lower loops.
5. Insert thumbs from below into loops over the four fingers and transfer these loops to thumbs.
6. Repeat 4 and 5.
7. Twist thumb loops towards you.

Right hand -

8. With middle finger push near index string from above through thumb loops and hold between teeth; pass far index string over thumb loops and also hold between teeth; release index.
9. Transfer thumb loops to little finger; insert thumb from below into mouth loops and release strings from mouth.

Left hand -

10. Repeat 8 and 9 with left hand.
11. Insert indices from above into little finger triangles, pick up near little finger strings after they have passed through loop formed by far thumb strings; extend by turning palms away and releasing thumbs.

Nauru Ending

Right hand -

1. There are now two far index strings, one passing straight across to opposite index and the other going down to form part of the figure; with thumb pick up string which forms part of figure, then with middle finger push string which crosses directly to other hand towards you, under string on thumb, hold between teeth and release thumb and index.
2. Similar strings will be seen forming far little finger strings; insert index from above into little finger loops, pass under string which forms part of figure and over string which crosses directly to other hand, hook up this string towards you and release little finger; transfer index loop to Position 1 on thumb and little finger; insert thumb from above into mouth loop, and release string from mouth.

Left hand -

3. Repeat 1 and 2 with left hand.
4. Caroline Extension.

Small Amwangiyo

1. Pass thumbs from above through index loops, (under middle and ring finger loops if any), insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
2. Pass little and ring fingers (under ring and middle finger loops if any) through index loops from below, grasp far thumb strings between these fingers and return allowing far thumb string to slip over little fingers.
3. Release index loops (also middle and ring finger loops if any).

Right hand -

4. Insert index from above into little finger triangle, pick up on its back the far string which goes to centre of figure, hook up the other far string towards you and release little finger from all strings; transfer index loop to little finger.

Left hand -

5. Repeat 4 with left hand.

6. Arrange near thumb strings so that the string which runs from hand to hand becomes the upper string; Navaho thumbs.
7. Insert indices from above into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, then into index loops also from below and release indices.
8. Caroline Extension.

Note - The Nauruan Openings and Endings are repeated on loose pages inserted in the end pocket for easy reference when making figures.

1. EADETO

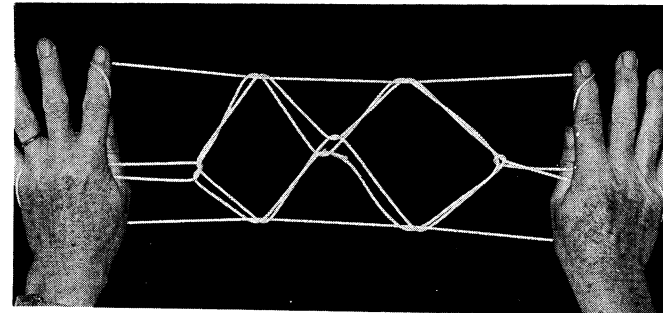
Short String

(Two female noddies)

Learnt from Ijauwe

Hambruch, No.10, p.355, is identical.

1. Opening A.
2. Twist index loops by rotating fingers away from you.
3. Eongatubabo.



This figure is identical with the Banaban 'Uoua ni Maniba'.¹

Chant (from Hambruch):

Eadet, eadet, eadet, re menau, re menau, a barar, ar ion ma
ar ion ma ar eo baiuoten na aniuuin, ueron ne ituro! Itur
me gup me gup arar.

Two swallows, two swallows, two swallows, they dream, they
fly aimlessly about, the two birds, they cry and cry for
they cannot reach the border of heaven, not even when it
is dark O! When it is dark both of them blink, blink.

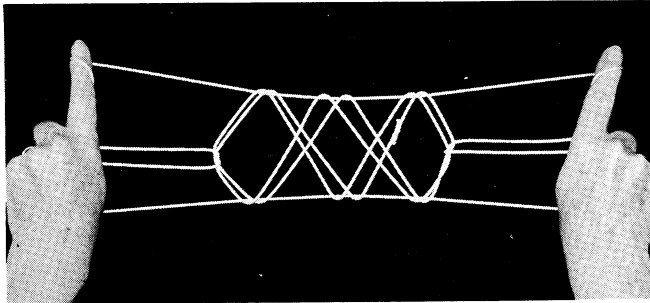
¹ Maude 1958:37.

2. IBURINGIJO I Short String

(The blossom of the 'calophyllum')

Hambruch, No.4, pp.350-1.

1. Opening A.
2. Twist all loops once (i.e. rotate index and little fingers away from you and thumbs towards you).
3. Eongatubabo.



This figure is identical with the Banaban 'Tenua ni Maniba' It is almost identical with the Tikopia 'Vai Ngutu Toru', the only difference being that fingers as well as thumbs are rotated towards the player on Tikopia.²

Chant (sung repeatedly whilst making the figure):

I bur in ijo me eman in ijo.

Bud of the 'ijo' and leaves of the 'ijo'.

² Maude 1958:35; Firth and Maude 1969:No.5. For another translation of Iburingijo see No.67.

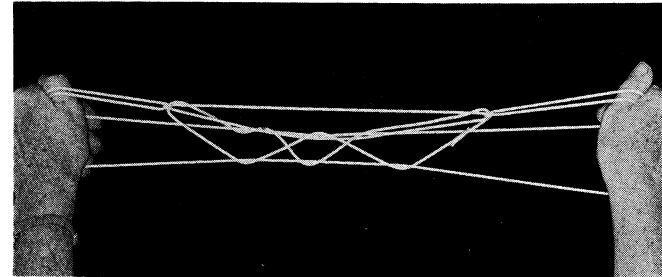
3. BARABARAIMOR Short String

(Hunch-backed man-eating shark)

Learnt from Etibaa

Hambruch, No.8, p.353, is identical.

1. Opening A.
2. Twist right little finger loop by rotating little finger away from you; twist left thumb loop by rotating thumb toward you.
3. Eongatubabo.
4. Bend indices down away from you and the hunch-backed shark appears.



This figure is identical with the Banaban 'Te Bareaka' and the Tikopia 'Niu Tako Toru' except that on Tikopia it is extended as a flat figure.³

Chant (from Hambruch):

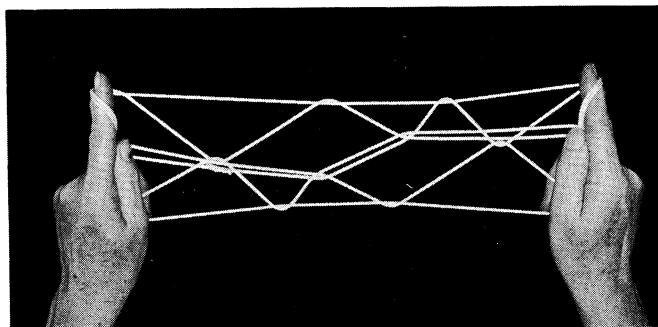
Barabaraimor O jimijimadoa, Barabaraimor O jimijimadoa

Shark O come and bite, Shark O come and bite.

³ Maude 1958:32; Firth and Maude 1969:No.7.

4. IWINBAWO Short String
 (A species of jelly-fish)
 Learnt from Degane

1. Opening A.
2. Amwangiyo.

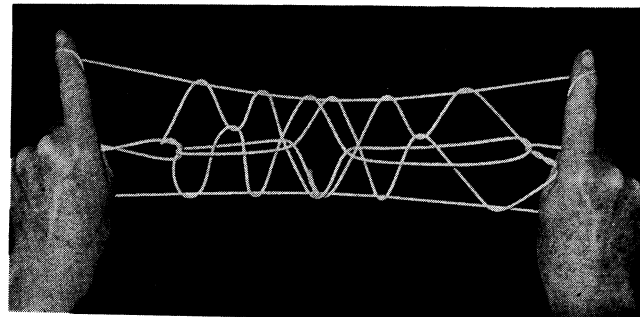


This figure is identical with the Gilbertese 'Te Kain Tamarake'.⁴

5. AMWANGIYO Long String
 (Branched)
 Learnt from Mweiija

1. Opening A.
2. Twist thumb loops by rotating thumbs towards you; twist index and little finger loops by rotating first indices and then little fingers away from you.
3. Amwangiyo.
4. Nauru Ending.

4. Maude 1958:29-30.



Except for the Nauruan end movements this figure is known in the Gilbert Islands, New Zealand, Mangareva and the Marquesas Islands.⁵

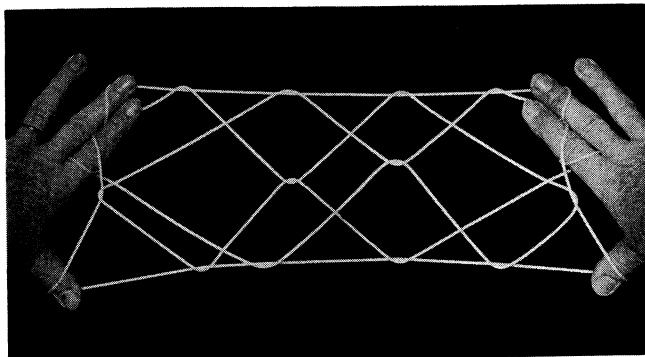
6. THE TEN MEN Long String

Hambruch, No.20, p.362.

1. Opening A.
2. Release thumbs.
3. With mouth pick up from above the far little finger string and pull towards you.
4. Insert left index towards you into mouth loop, pass it to right between your body and right mouth string, pick up this string on back of index and return to left, so that what is now left near index string crosses left mouth string close to mouth; pass right index between your body and left mouth string, return to right with string on back of index. Release string from mouth and extend.
5. Pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below; return with near little finger strings.
6. Insert thumbs, from below, into upper index loops and Navaho thumbs.

5 Maude 1958:28; Andersen 1927:77-91; Emory and Maude unpublished MS:No.79; Handy 1925:19-20.

7. Release indices from upper loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
8. Repeat 5 and 6.
9. Insert middle fingers, from above, into index loops and pick up lower near index strings on their backs.
10. Release little fingers and extend by turning palms outwards.



This figure is known throughout the Pacific.⁶ The name is the same as that given in the Caroline Islands.

7. OERON

Short String

(Rain)

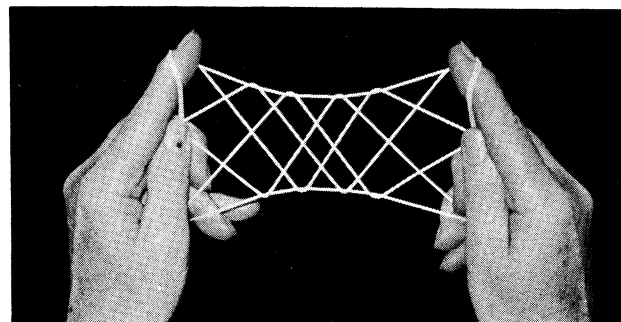
Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below then rotate away, down, towards you and up, underneath all strings, and release little fingers.
3. With middle finger of right hand push near index string, from

6 Andersen 1927:25-6; Compton 1919:218-9; Handy 1925:29-32, 67-72; Hornell 1927:45-7, 67-70; Jayne 1906:150-7; Maude 1958:102-4; McCarthy 1960:464; Stanley 1926:80; Jenness 1920:306-7; Davidson 1941:844-5; Firth and Maude 1969:No.30.

above, down through thumb loops and hold between teeth; push far index string over thumb strings and also hold between the teeth; release index; transfer thumb loops to little finger, insert thumb, from below, into mouth loops and release strings from mouth.

4. Repeat 3 with left hand.
5. Caroline Extension with central strings.
6. Release thumbs, then insert them away from you into loops depending from palmar strings.



The following chant is sung and at the end indices and little fingers are released and the figure disintegrates.

Chant:

Eden meyang, eden meyang. Edetatarar, edetatarar, edetatarar.
Eden me eang, me eang, me eang.

The rain falls and stops, the rain falls and stops. The rain falls gently, the rain falls gently. The rain falls and stops, and stops, and stops.

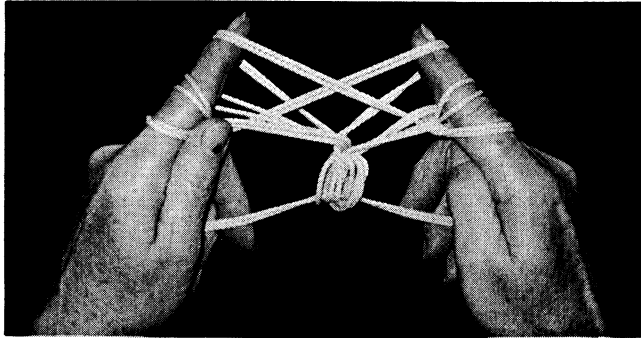
There are two ways of extending this figure (see also No.16) and it is widely known throughout the Pacific (in Micronesia, Polynesia and Melanesia).⁷

7 Handy 1925:11-12, 57-8; Hornell 1927:49-50; Maude 1958:98; Firth and Maude 1969:No.40.

(A house post)

Learnt from Dube

1. Murray Opening with string doubled.
2. Insert thumbs, from above, into lower index loops and return with lower far index strings; then insert thumbs, also from above, into upper index loops and return with upper far index strings.
3. Pass little fingers over upper near index strings, under lower near index strings and return with lower near index strings.
4. Insert indices, from above, into little finger triangles and pick up upper near index strings where they cross little finger loops.
5. Exchange upper index loops and release thumbs.



An identical figure is found in the Gilbert Islands and New Guinea, whilst the figure at movement 4 is found in the Torres Strait Islands, the New Hebrides and New Caledonia.⁸

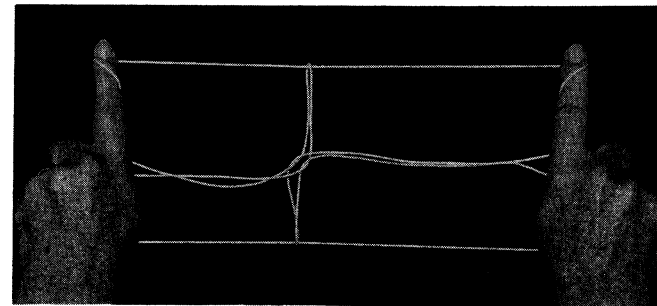
⁸ Maude 1958:152; Rosser and Hornell 1932:41; Jenness 1920:318; Jayne 1906:233-6; Dickey 1928:161-2; Compton 1919:229-30.

(A male dancer)

Learnt from Adumweor

Hambruch, No.2, p.348: Amen Nibek (The little one of Nibek).

1. Position 1.
2. With right thumb and index finger take hold of left near thumb string and twist it once round left thumb.
3. The left thumb now has a loop encircling it, insert right index finger, from below, into this loop and pull to right.
4. Pass left index finger, from above, through right index loop, insert it, from below under right palmar string and extend.
5. Pass right index finger, from above, through left index loop, insert it, from below, under left palmar string and extend.
6. Bend right hand over so that the palm faces downwards and release left hand from all strings.
7. With left thumb and index finger pull out the two strings on the back of right index finger so that they form two upright loops. Insert left little finger, from left to right, into upper index loop and pass left thumb also through the same loop then passing it to the far side of the lower loop, insert it into this loop from right to left, and return through upper loop. Release right index finger and extend.
8. With right thumb and index finger take hold of left far thumb string and left near little finger string close to left hand. Release left thumb and then insert, away from you, into loops held between right thumb and index. Release strings held by right thumb and index finger.
9. Repeat 8 with other hand.
10. Caroline Extension.



Identical figures are found in the Caroline and Gilbert Islands, Fiji, Australia, New Caledonia and Papua.⁹

Chant:

Ame, Ami ewararangaragada me ewararangaragada.

Ame, Ami shoots up and shoots up.

Chant (from Hambruch):

Ame ami, ame ami, ame ami O! e naran, naran, nata, me
naran, naran, nata!

Man man, man man, man man O! may he grow a little, a little,
quite big, may he grow a little, quite big.

10. WAWU

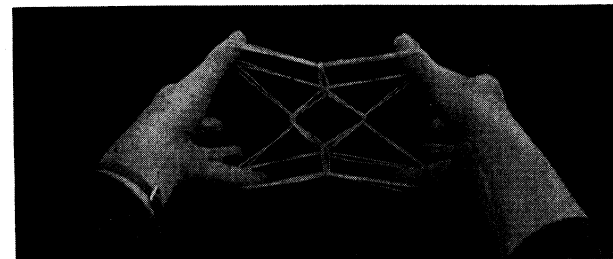
Long String

(Oahu)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Double loop and Opening A.
2. Twist all loops.
3. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops and insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings.
4. Pass little fingers, from below, through index loops, insert into thumb loops from below and return with far thumb strings.
5. Release indices.
6. Remove loops from left thumb and hold between teeth; transfer left little finger loops to left thumb, right little finger loops to left little finger, right thumb loops to right little finger and mouth loop to right thumb.

⁹ Jayne 1906:253-9; Maude 1958:105-6; Hornell 1927:19-20; Davidson 1941:809-10; Compton 1919:228-9; Jenness 1920:316.



When showing me this figure Ijauwe stressed that it was not a Nauruan pattern but came from Hawaii: hence its name 'Oahu', the island on which Honolulu is situated. It is illustrated in Dickey, but the Nauruans have turned the figure around on completion.¹⁰

11. MWITEREMAREMAO

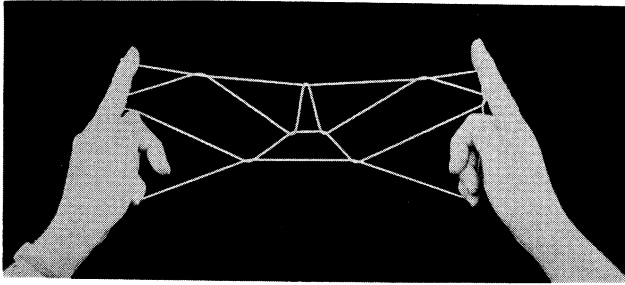
Short String

Learnt from Aku

1. Murray Opening.
2. Insert right thumb, from above, into lower index loop and return with lower and upper far strings.
3. Insert left thumb, from above, into lower index loop and return with lower far string then insert, from above, into upper index loop and return with upper far string.
4. Pass both little fingers over upper near index strings, under lower near index strings and return with lower near index strings.
5. Insert indices, from above, into little finger triangles, hook up towards you upper near index strings and release thumbs.
6. Bring middle fingers towards you through figure, under hanging loop and return to position with hanging string on backs of middle fingers; gently release little fingers then insert them, from above, into middle finger loops, hook down far

¹⁰ Dickey 1928:90.

middle finger strings and release middle fingers.



There is an identical figure in the New Hebrides up to movement 5.¹¹

Chant:

Mwiteremaremao mwiteremaremao baedo baedo bwa A ta nangang
ukwena ma dapiuer dapiuer dawok dawadawok - untranslatable.

12. EADUM

Short String

(Crayfish)

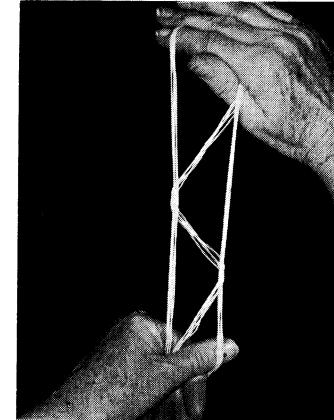
Hambruch, No.25, p.365.

1. Double loop on little fingers.
2. Pass right thumb to left, over left little finger loops, then pick up these loops from the far side and return.
3. Pass left thumb to right, over left little finger loops, then pick up, from the far side, the right little finger loops and return.
4. Pass thumbs under little finger loops and return with both strings of these loops on back of thumbs.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and pick up on their tips the far thumb strings.
6. Press middle fingers against indices to hold far index strings in place, turn left hand down and towards you and the figure

¹¹ Dickey 1928:162-3.

appears.

7. A second player is asked to put something, or his fingers, into right and left index loops; all fingers except little fingers are released and the strings drawn tight, thus the fingers are caught.



There is an identical figure in New Guinea.¹²

13. BIRI

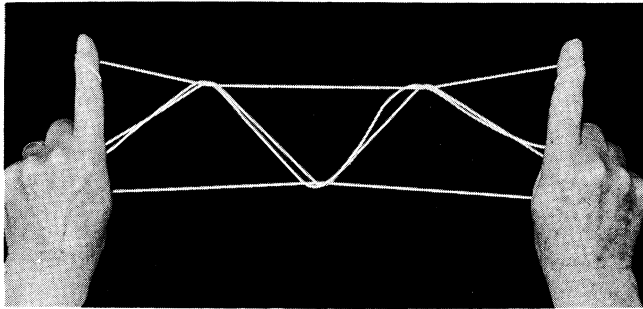
Short String

Hambruch, No.7, p.352.

1. Opening A.
2. Release little fingers.
3. Pass little fingers over index loops, insert into thumb loops from above and transfer thumb loops to little fingers.
4. Pass thumbs under index loops, and little finger loops, return with both little finger strings, then insert into index loops from below; twist thumbs away, down, towards you and up, carrying with them far index strings, and release indices.

¹² Landtmann 1914:223.

5. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
6. Caroline Extension.



Although the final result of this figure is the same as the following figure Erū, the working is totally different. Two other methods are found in Australia.¹³

Chant (repeated several times):

Amen Biri o roeta.

The people of Biri are like birds.

Biri was a mythical country in which the inhabitants had such big ears that they could fly with them.

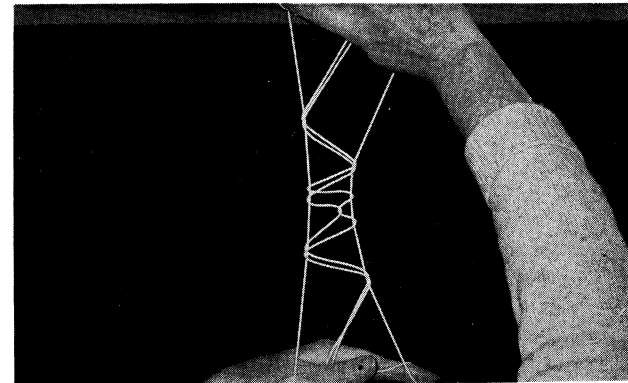
14. ERU

Short String

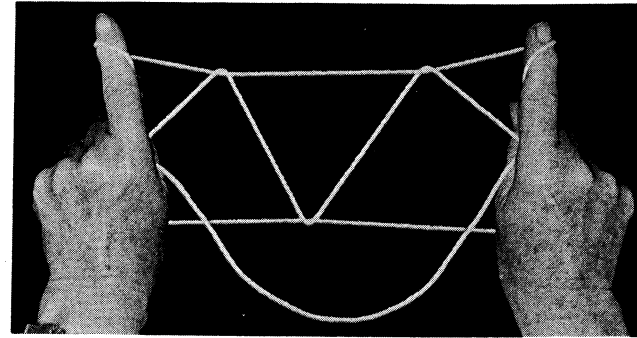
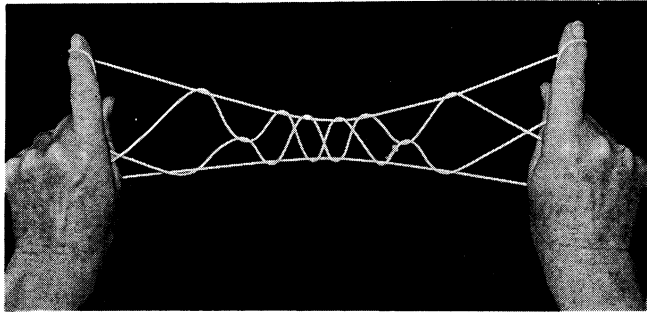
1. Hold string between thumbs and indices the hands being about six inches apart; make an upright loop on this short string by bringing right hand towards you and to the left; insert indices, away from you, into small loop and thumbs, also away from you, into large hanging loop; separate hands and turn them up to normal position with thumbs and indices well spread out.

¹³ Davidson 1941:854; McCarthy 1960:477.

2. Insert middle, ring, and little fingers of each hand, from below, into index loops. Close fingers over near dorsal strings and let the far dorsal string slip on to thumbs but do not release string from crook of middle, ring, and little fingers.
3. Caroline Extension.
4. Release middle, ring, and little fingers. Release near index strings from thumbs.
5. Repeat 2, 3 and 4.
6. Repeat 2 and 3. Bring left hand down and towards you; bring right hand up and away from you.



7. Return hands to normal position.
8. Rotate little fingers away from you and up, carrying with them far strings of loops held by middle, ring and little fingers; release middle and ring fingers and then release thumbs.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below; rotate thumbs away from you, down, towards you and up, carrying with them far little finger strings; release little fingers.
10. Repeat 2 and 3.



There is an identical series in the Gilbert Islands.¹⁴

15. ERUEN Short String
 (Castor oil fish)
 Learnt from Aku

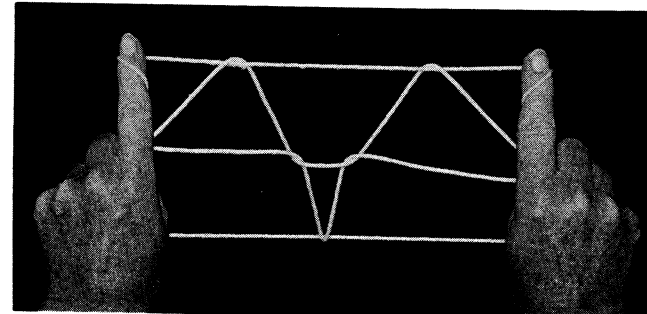
Hambruch, No.24, p.364, is identical with the second figure.

1. Insert thumbs into loop so that the near thumb string is about six inches long, the rest of the loop hangs loosely down.
2. Pass left little finger to right and towards you, over the near thumb string, pick up this string on back of little finger close to right thumb and return to left; pass right little finger to left and towards you, over right near thumb string, insert into left thumb loop from below and return to right. Draw hands apart until strings are taut.
3. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
4. Caroline Extension.

¹⁴ Maude 1958:21-2 and 80.

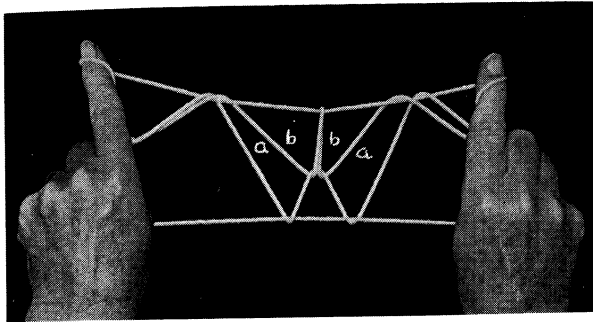
(b) IKIBON
 (A fish net)

5. Navaho thumbs with hanging loop.
6. Place tips of thumbs and indices together and allow index loops to slip on to thumbs.
7. Caroline Extension.



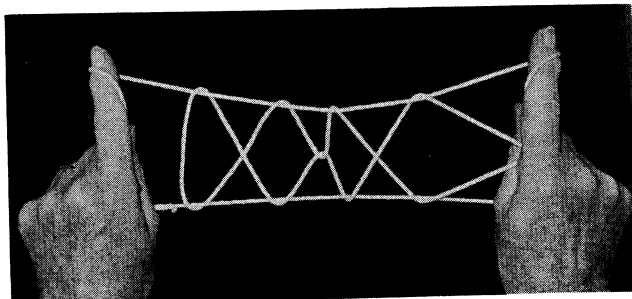
(c) NO NAME

8. Release little fingers, then insert them, from below, into index loops and release indices.
9. Caroline Extension.



(d) NO NAME

10. Lay the figure flat and release indices and thumbs.
11. Insert thumbs into the figure at 'a,a' and bring them up at 'b,b'. Extend hands.
12. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
13. Caroline Extension but the right index picks up the upper near thumb string.
14. Release right thumb and work hands apart.



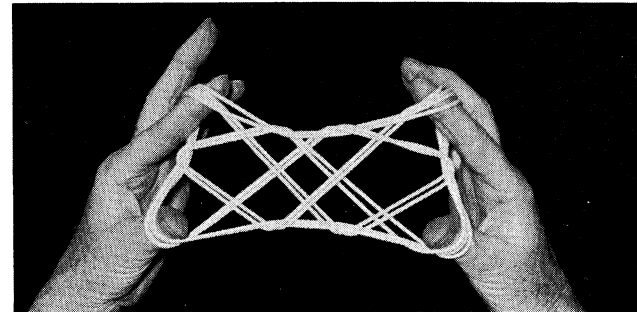
This series is identical with the Gilbertese 'Kabaebae Baara' series; on Tikopia and in New Caledonia the fourth figure varies and in Queensland and the Torres Strait Islands the series ends at the third figure. In northern New Guinea and the Torres Strait Islands these figures come at the end of another series.¹⁵

16. ETEGERER ME ETOGARITA Long String

Learnt from Mweija and Simon Quanijo

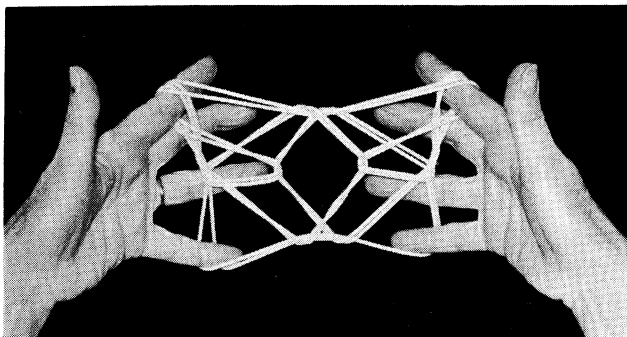
Hambruch, No.21, p.363: Etekerer (The pursuer). Although this figure has a similar name and chant it is, in fact, quite different. Unfortunately Hambruch's figure cannot be made from his description but he states that it results in a 'W'.

1. Double the loop and Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, twist thumbs away, down, towards you and up carrying far little finger strings with them; release little fingers.
3. Insert middle, ring and little fingers, from below, into index loops, hold down near index strings, then insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, hook up far thumb strings away from you and release middle, ring and little fingers.

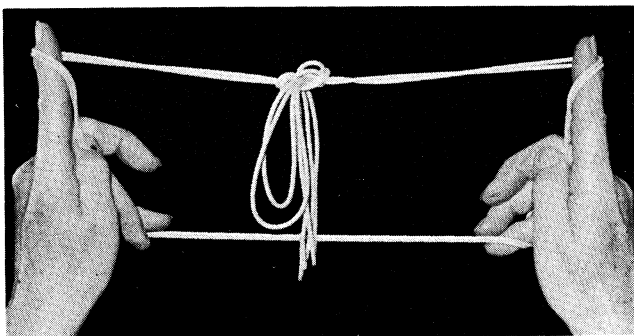


15 Maude 1958:111-14; Firth and Maude 1969:No.24; Compton 1919:227-8; Stanley 1926:85; Maude and Wedgwood 1967:226-7; Laade 1967:No.28 e-g.

4. Insert little fingers, from below, into central diamond of figure, bend towards you over two double strings, then pass under near thumb strings which form base of figure, hook back these strings on back of little fingers and return to position releasing thumbs.



5. Insert thumbs, from below, into index loops which have near strings running from hand to hand, return with these strings and release indices from all strings.
6. Insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings on tips of indices and stretch fingers widely apart.
7. Release thumbs and the loops jump.



This series is found over a wide area. In the Tuamotu and Loyalty Islands the figures are identical. In New Caledonia it is found with a variation, while in Tahiti only the extension of the third figure is different. The second figure is by-passed in the Torres Strait Islands and Australia. In Fiji and the New Hebrides only the first two figures are found.¹⁶

Chant:

Ama nanga, nanga, Etegerer me Etogarita o, eba ron oano.

We come, come to Etegerer and Etogarita but the bones are broken.

Chant (from Hambruch):

Ama nana nana etekerir m'etigerir me etegeritau. Epa ran o ano.

You come and come and pursue him and pursue him but he jumps to the side (at the last word the thumb lets go and the loops unravel to the opening Position 1). Where are his bones?

17. EMOR I

Long String

(Flying fish)

Learnt from Dube

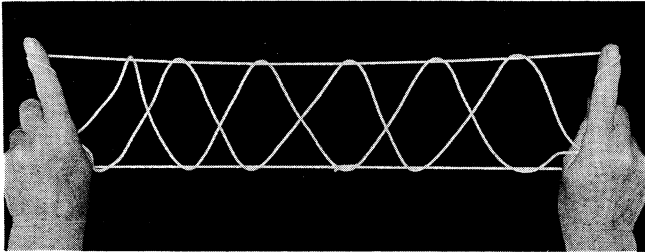
Synonym: Ngamungama (multiplication), learnt from Ijauwe, is the same figure with a different opening (see Note 1 below).

Hambruch, No.1, p.347: Emor. This is again the same figure with yet another opening (see Note 2 below).

1. Murray Opening.
2. Insert little fingers, from above, into upper index loops and transfer upper loops to little fingers.
3. Transfer index loops to thumbs; insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.

16 Emory and Maude unpublished MS:No.28; Maude:unpublished figure from Lifu; Compton 1919:223-4; Handy 1925:83-4; Laade 1967:No.4; Hornell 1927:47-8; Dickey 1928:163; Haddon 1918:134-5.

4. Pass thumbs under index and little finger loops and return with both little finger strings.
5. Insert thumbs, from below, into index loops, twist away, down, towards you and up carrying with them the far index strings; release indices.
6. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
7. Caroline Extension; this makes two diamonds.
8. Release thumbs and repeat movements 4, 5 and 6 followed by Caroline Extension; each repetition adds two more diamonds and may be repeated as many times as the string permits or the performer desires. To unravel release indices.



Similar figures are found in Fiji, New Caledonia, Papua and the Ellice Islands. The opening moves and the unravelling vary but the technique for increasing the number of diamonds is the same.¹⁷

Note 1. Ngamungama opening:

1. Opening A.
2. Release thumbs, then pass them under all strings and return to position with far and near little finger strings and far index strings; release indices.
3. Twist thumbs away, down, towards you and up in their own loops.
4. Perform 6, 7 and 8 of Emor I.

Note 2. Hambruch's opening:

1. Position 1.
2. Twist near thumb string once round right thumb, release left thumb then insert, from below, into both loops on right thumb

¹⁷ Hornell 1927:34-5; Compton 1919:225; Haddon 1930:78-9; Koch n.d.: 'Kalupe'.

- and extend hands.
3. With indices pick up far thumb strings from below and release thumbs.
 4. Continue from movement 4 of Emor I.

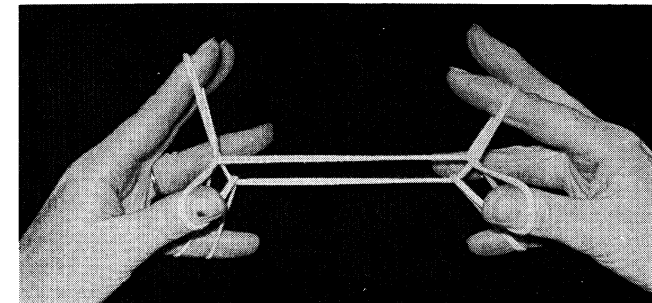
18. NGAN

Short String

(Two breakers)

Learnt from Aku

1. Position 1 with string doubled.
2. Pass indices away from you under far little finger string, hook up this string on back of indices and return to position.
3. Pass thumbs over near index strings, insert from below into little finger loops and return with far little finger strings.
4. Navaho thumbs.
5. Keeping strings taut, the fingers and thumbs are alternately spread wide and closed up, the hands being brought together and separated by this action. This was described as a child's figure.



This figure has been recorded from the Gilbert Islands, New Zealand, the Marquesas and Tuamotu Islands, and Hawaii.¹⁸

¹⁸ Maude 1958:153; Andersen 1927:12-13; Handy 1925:44; Emory and Maude unpublished MS:No.44; Dickey 1928:119-20.

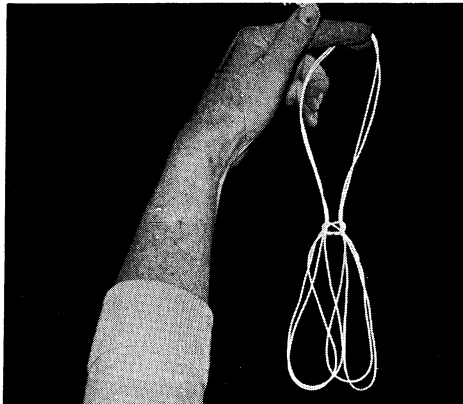
19. EIKODOWA

Short String

(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Simon Quanijo

1. Insert thumbs only into loop.
2. Bring little fingers towards you under thumb loops and return to position with both thumb strings.
3. Insert indices behind opposite palmar string as in Opening A.
4. Insert thumbs, from below, into index loops, Navaho thumb loops and release indices. Extend hands to pull knot tight.
5. Release left hand then take hold of right little finger loops and release right hand.
6. Holding loop in left hand insert right hand into loop and as you chant make a series of chopping movements until the loop breaks open.



This figure is identical with the Gilbertese 'Bo Kabenga' and the Tikopia 'Fetaka'.¹⁹

Chant:

Amang tuwiten taide aeo mwimwi. Ama widu me eo widu
Ekodowa bwe eong bwe emaro. Awidu.

¹⁹ Maude 1958:147-8; Firth and Maude 1969:No.52.

We are going to chop down rubber trees. We come back but Ekodowa does not come for she is crying because she is thirsty. I come.

During times of drought the bark of one kind of tree was cooked and eaten. On one occasion Ekodowa would not return home with the rest of the people because they gave her nothing to drink.

20. AMEN TORERE

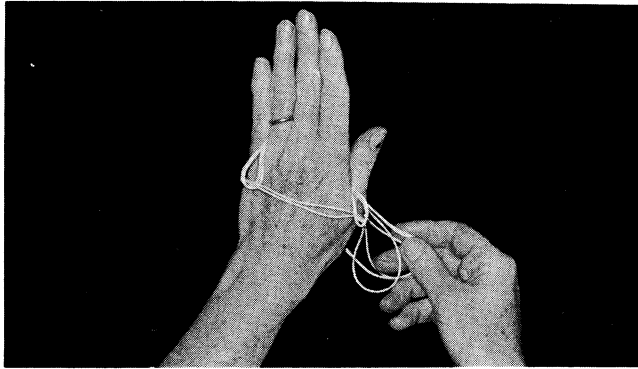
Short String

(Two robbers)

Learnt from Dube

Hambruch, No.26, pp.365-6. Hambruch's construction appears to be almost identical, though his description is not quite clear.

1. Position 1 on left hand with string doubled.
2. Insert right hand, from below, into loop close to left hand, pull down palmar string with four fingers to full extent returning to right below left near thumb strings; bring right hand over to left allowing strings to pass between thumb and index, ring finger and little finger of left hand and drop right hand strings at back of left hand.
3. Insert right index, from above, into left little finger loop and pull strings out about two inches; likewise insert right thumb, from above, into left thumb loop and draw strings out; pull strings taut.
4. Insert right middle, ring and little fingers into index loops beside index, then bring all four fingers towards you through thumb loop and release right thumb.
5. Left near thumb strings and far little finger strings lie beneath right little finger; pull these strings to the right until two little loops disappear between left hand fingers on to back of left hand, these are the robbers.



This figure is known in New Caledonia as 'Two Orphan Boys'.²⁰

21. DITO DITA Short String

(Twins' names)

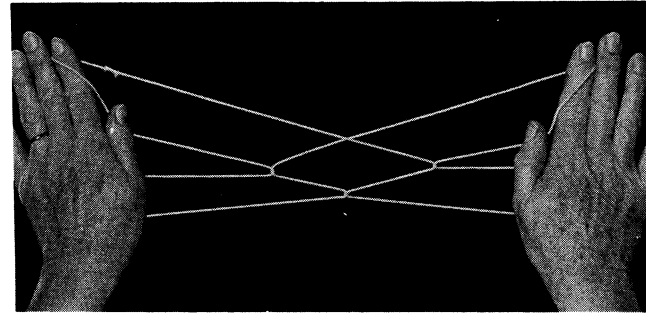
Learnt from Degane

Hambruch, No.22, pp.363-4: Titsin (the mother and the twins) is identical.

1. Position 1; with left hand grasp right near thumb string and remove string from right hand; replace string on right hand in Position 1 by inserting first thumb and then little finger towards you into loop hanging from left hand. Complete Opening A.
2. Release thumbs then pass them, from above, through index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.

²⁰ Maude:unpublished figure.

3. Release indices then insert them, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. To work figure pull near index strings towards centre with thumbs and indices until loops meet then pull strings away from centre to open them out again.



This is almost identical with the Ellice Islands figure 'Tauavanga'.²¹ This is said to represent two babies going to their mother's breast.

Chant (from Hambruch):

Enuauuen titsin, bue etuuin, O kimama, O kimama O! Eo tuet
titsin ion, bue ebaran a kuom in okimama O! Titsimen kare
nin.

Two little fellows get ready to drink milk, to drink milk, oho!
The one he cannot get there, and now he does not get milk
any more! The little fellow is sad and cries.

22. EMOR II Long String

(Flying fish)

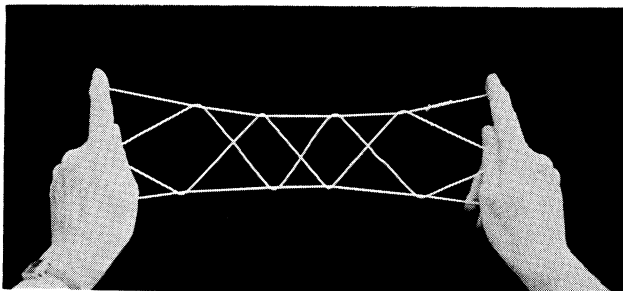
Learnt from Etibaa

1. Make a small loop in the large loop, passing right string

²¹ Koch n.d.

over left string, and hold strings where they cross between teeth. Insert hands, away from you, into larger hanging loop, then turn hands with a circular movement, outward, downward and upward on either side of strings of large loop. Insert little fingers from below into small hanging loop and release strings from mouth.

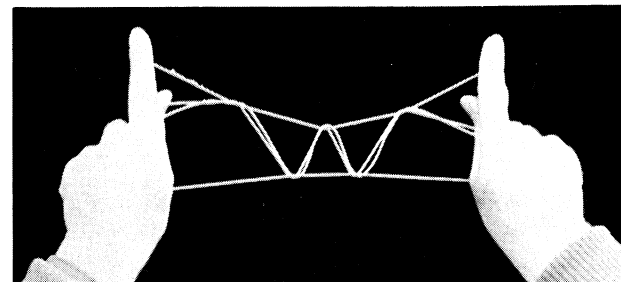
2. Transfer wrist loops to thumbs.
3. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
4. Caroline Extension.



(b) ERU

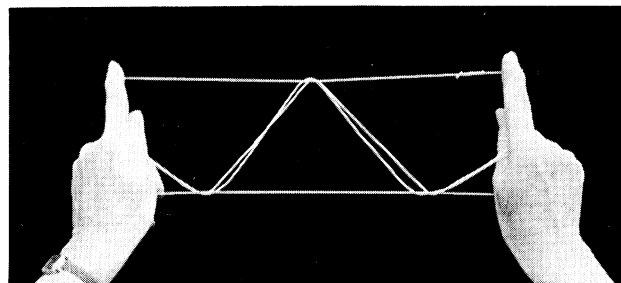
(fish)

5. First player, A, lowers his hands until figure is in a horizontal position. Second player, B, inserts little fingers, from above, into triangles formed by far index strings and near thumb strings and picks up upper near thumb strings; he then inserts thumbs, also from above, into diamonds nearest to thumbs of A and picks up lower near thumb strings. A releases his hands.
6. B inserts thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and returns with near little finger strings.
7. Caroline Extension.



(c) NANATAKIBOE (Legs of the curlew)

8. B keeps his hands in an upright position. A inserts little fingers into the figure under far index strings at the point where near thumb strings first cross far index strings thus holding between little and ring finger both near thumb strings and far index strings; he then inserts thumbs, towards one another, behind outer arms of the 'W' and returns, under far index string, with these outer arms on their backs; B releases his hands.
9. A performs Caroline Extension.



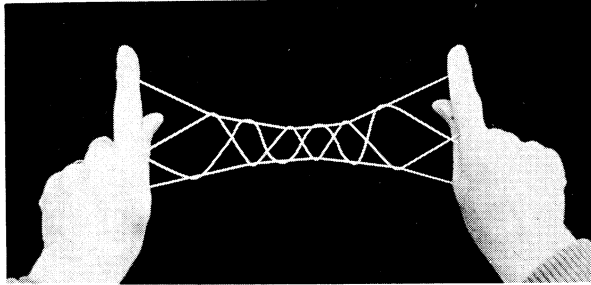
(d) (name not known)

10. A keeps his hands in an upright position. B inserts little fingers into figure between near thumb strings and far little finger strings which form base of figure; with each little finger he hooks up the two near thumb strings, then raises his hands above upper horizontal string of figure and picks up this string with little fingers allowing near

(f) (name not known)

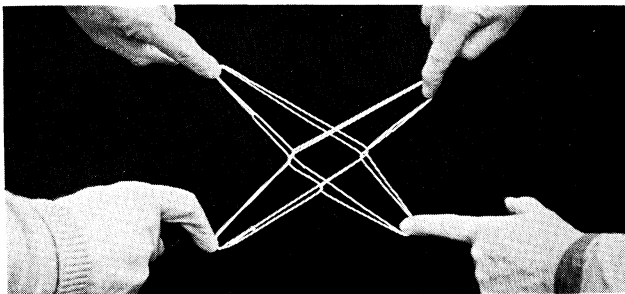
thumb strings to slip off; then he inserts his thumbs, towards A, into figure and picks up far little finger strings. A releases his hands.

11. B inserts thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and returns with near little finger strings; Caroline Extension.

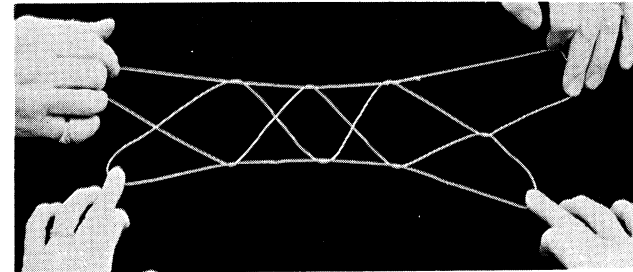


(e) EDANGO (dried pandanus preserve)

12. A arranges figure so that there are six diamonds. B lowers his hands and A, standing at B's left hand, inserts his little fingers, from above, into the triangles at each side of the first diamond and close to B's left hand; into the next pair of triangles he inserts his thumbs, also from above; he pushes his thumbs onwards, under the intermediate diamond and up again into the third pair of triangles; his little fingers he inserts, from below, into the fourth pair of triangles and B releases his hands. A works figure until loose string is pulled into figure.



13. Keeping the figure extended A presents to B the back of his right hand; B passes middle, ring and little fingers, from below, into A's right little finger and thumb loops and lifts these loops off A's hand.
14. The figure consists of an upper and lower layer of strings; A releases right hand, B releases left hand and each picks up with his free hand the loop which belongs to the upper layer of strings and opens up the figure.



These figures comprise parts of two series well-known in the Gilbert Islands as 'Na Ubwebwe' and 'Te Taba'. The first figure, however, is made by a slightly different technique to 'Na Ubwebwe' and is identical with the Ellice 'Tungutu' (also shown me by Solomon Islanders). Variant constructions are found in other parts of the Pacific.

The movements for the two following figures are identical with the 'Na Ubwebwe' series, while the fourth pattern, Edango, is a corruption of the 'Te Taba' series, made from a three diamond figure similar to the last pattern but with more twists in it.²²

²² Maude 1958:12-16, 139-41; Koch n.d.; Jayne 1906:275; Firth and Maude 1969:No.51; Hornell 1927:52-4; Maude and Wedgwood 1967:216-18; Handy 1925:44-6.

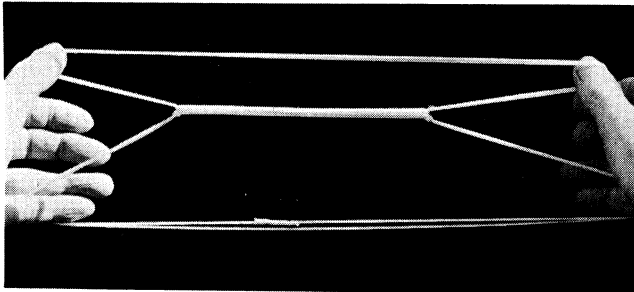
23. EDU

Long String

(Shuttle)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Double the loop and perform Opening A.
2. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and hold down near index strings.
3. Insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings and far index strings, then still pointing down bring towards you over all remaining strings, hook up near thumb strings away from you and straighten indices; pass thumbs under far little finger strings, hook them up on back of thumbs and return; release little fingers; transfer upper index loops to thumbs, insert little fingers, from above, into upper thumb loops and transfer upper loops to little fingers; release index loops.



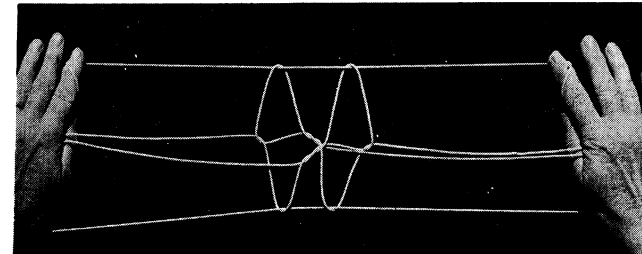
24. IBIYA I

Short String

(Two inland lagoon fish)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Twist index loops away from you.
3. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
5. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Release indices.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
9. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, then into index loops also from below and release indices.
10. Caroline Extension.



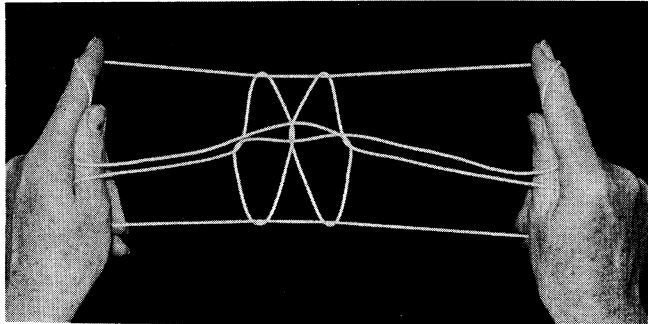
25. IBIJA II

Short String

(Lagoon Fish)

Hambruch, No.6, p.352 and No.12 Temaraua ma an Kiben p.357.

1. Nauru Opening I.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into middle finger loops from below and return with near middle finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all other strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices and middle fingers but do not pull taut.
7. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs.
8. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below and transfer index loops to thumbs.
9. Caroline Extension.



Chant (from Hambruch):

Ibia aromin, ibia aromin, arake, arake, ma ar tik mereren.

Two lagoon fish, two lagoon fish, both fight, both fight,
and make it up again.

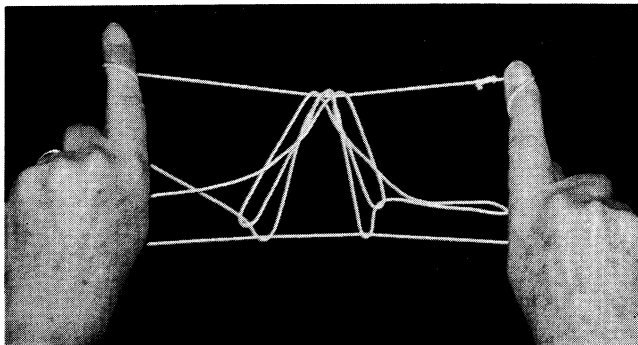
26. EMEN UEAK

Short String

(The house)

Hambruch, No.17, p.360.

1. Opening A.
2. Twist little finger loops away from you.
3. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
5. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all other strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Release indices.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops also from below and release indices.
10. Caroline Extension.



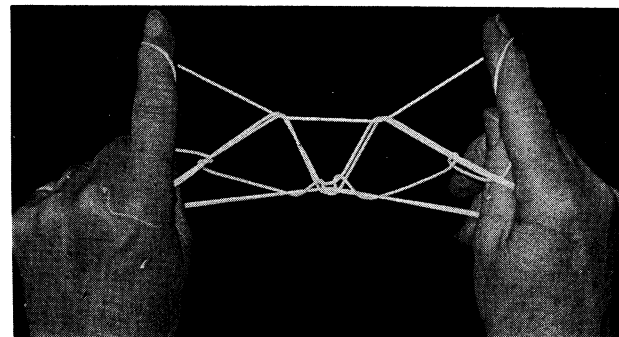
27. KEWEDO

Short String

1. Opening A.
2. Insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, pick up near little finger strings and far index strings (allowing near index strings to slip over index knuckles) then with indices pointing down, bring towards you and insert into thumb loops also from above; turn indices towards you and up, picking up near thumb strings, and release thumbs.
3. Insert thumbs, from below, into index loops (other than the string passing to little fingers) and release indices from all strings.
4. Insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, pick up near little finger strings and, with indices pointing down, bring towards you over thumb loops, hook up near thumb strings away from you and straighten indices; bend thumbs down over their near strings, thus hooking them down, pass them away from you, under far little finger string, straighten thumbs and return with far little finger string; release little fingers.
5. Insert little fingers, from above, into index loops and transfer these loops to little fingers.
6. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near

thumb strings and transfer thumb loops to indices.

7. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, then into index loops also from below and release indices.
8. Caroline Extension.



28. EN NOGOK

Short String

(A proud woman)

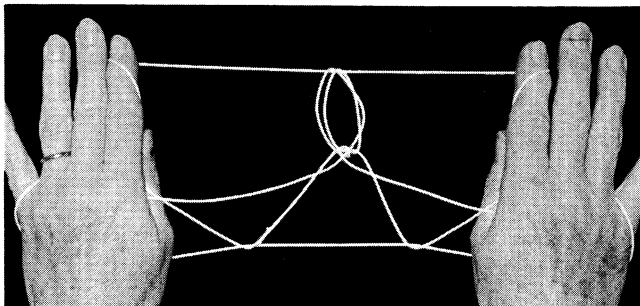
Hambruch, No.16, p.359.

1. Opening A.
2. Exchange index loops, left over right.
3. Twist index loops away from you.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
5. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
6. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all other strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
7. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
8. Release indices.
9. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer

thumb loops to indices.

10. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops also from below and release indices.

11. Caroline Extension.



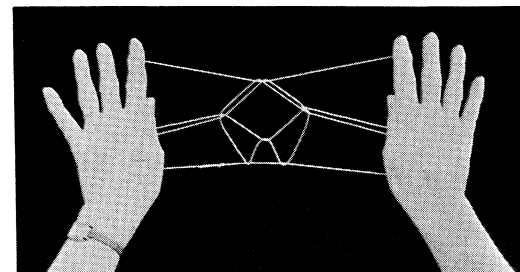
29. ERAKE ME AN KIRI I Short String

(Erake and her stool)

1. Opening A.
2. Insert left thumb, from above, into left index loop and return with far index string.
3. Pass right thumb over right index loop, insert into little finger loop from below and return with near little finger string.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
5. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer these loops to indices.

8. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into upper index loops also from below; release indices from both loops.

9. Caroline Extension.

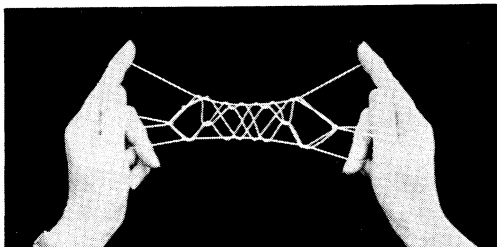


30. ERAKE ME AN KIRI II Short String

(Erake and her stool)

Learnt from Dube

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Repeat 2, 3, 4 and 5.
7. Eongatubabo.



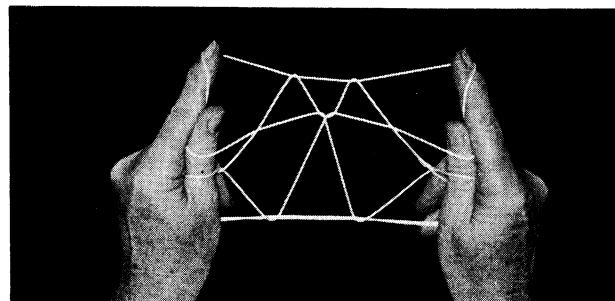
31. DAON

Short String

(Black turtle)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Bend indices away from you, over little finger loops then under little finger and index loops and insert into thumb loops from above; return to position with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below then return to far side of indices and press near little finger strings and both far index strings against palmar side of indices.
4. Twist indices away, down within little finger loops, towards you under near thumb strings and up releasing thumbs.
5. Insert thumbs, from below, into two upper index loops and release little fingers.
6. Bring little fingers towards you, under far index strings then hook back the two far index strings which run to base of figure; release indices.
7. Caroline Extension.



Chant:

Daonae, Daonae, Dedagabe, Dedabage O.

This is Daon, this is Daon, this is Dedagabe, this is Dedabage.

32. AOR

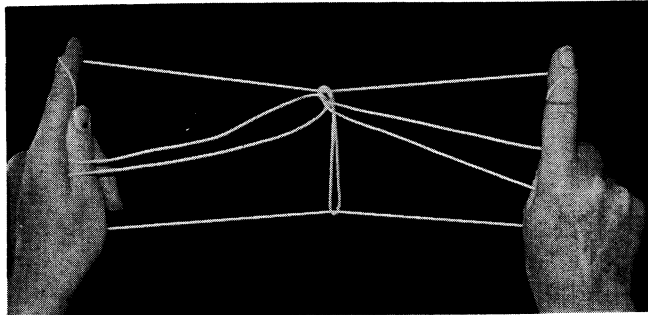
Short String

(Crayfish)

Learnt from Degane

1. Insert thumbs into loop so that the near thumb string is about six inches long, the rest of the loop hangs loosely down.
2. Pass right little finger to left and toward you, over the near thumb string, pick this string up on its back close to left thumb and return to right; pass left little finger to right and towards you, over left near thumb string, insert into right thumb loop from below and return to left. Draw hands apart until strings are taut.
3. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
4. Caroline Extension.

5. Release thumbs.
6. Exchange index loops, right index loop going through left loop.
7. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert thumbs into index loops also from below and release indices.
8. Caroline Extension.



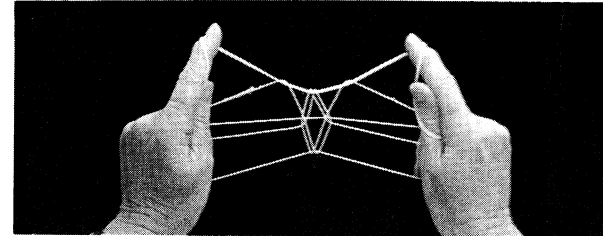
33. ROMWINIMADA Short String

(Antares)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Bring hands together then insert right little finger from the far side and from below into left little finger loop, draw hands slightly apart, release left little finger and then insert, from the far side and from below into both right little finger loops and draw hands apart.
3. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and return with far index strings.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and release thumbs.
5. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers

- over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Release indices.
8. Twist thumb loops towards you.
9. Caroline Extension with near thumb strings.

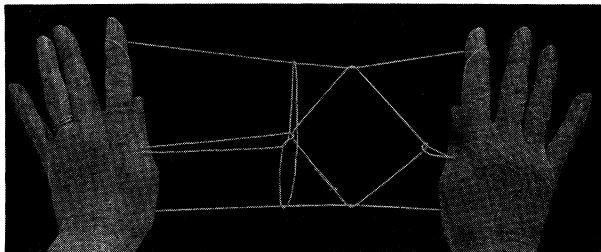


34. IKIBONG ROR Short String

(A net for catching noddies)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Insert indices, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings, then insert into thumb loops from above, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, grasp upper far index strings between thumbs and indices, twist indices away from you, down, towards you and up again, through lower loops which fall off.
4. Draw hands apart until 'sun' appears in centre; put string held between right thumb and index into mouth; release right little finger; insert right hand towards you into centre of 'sun', turn hand away from you and up so that it enters left little finger loop from below, with right little finger hook up left far little finger string and return through 'sun'. Insert right thumb, from below, into mouth loop and release string from mouth. Allow string held between left thumb and index to slip on to left thumb.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer loops to indices. Pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below, return and insert into index loops also from below and release indices.
6. Caroline Extension.

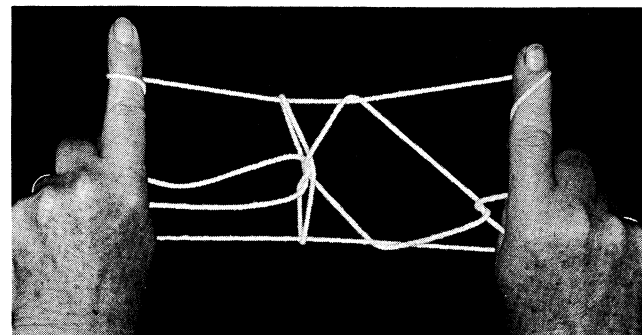


35. GIREDA ME AN IBOG Short String

(Gireda and his well)

Learnt from Dube

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices but do not extend hands.
7. Take right near thumb string between teeth and release right hand; insert right hand towards you into centre of 'sun', turn hand away from you and up so that it enters left little finger loop from below; with right little finger hook up left far little finger string from far side and return through 'sun'. Insert right thumb, from below, into mouth loop and release string from mouth.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and insert into index loops also from below; release indices.
10. Caroline Extension.



36. AMEN RUCAO Short String

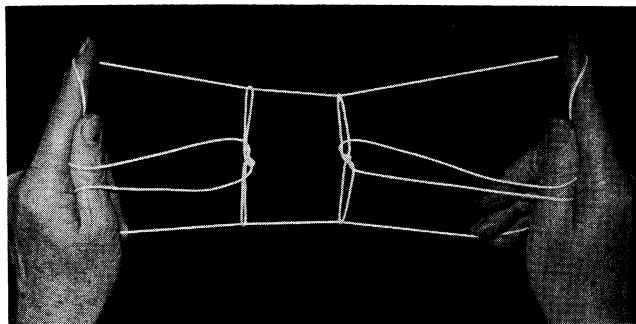
(Two dancers)

Learnt from Arirei

This was said to be one of the oldest Nauruan figures.

1. Position 1.
2. Hold strings, close to right hand, with left hand and twist right thumb and little finger once round their respective outside string.
3. Put tips of right thumb and little finger together and pull palmar string over them; separate thumb and little finger.
4. With left hand remove right thumb loop and turning it away from you put it over right little finger; remove right lower little finger loop by grasping far little finger string and lifting it over upper loop, turn over towards you and place over right thumb.
5. With left hand take right near thumb string, after it has passed through loop on palm, and put it over right little finger; likewise take right far little finger string and put over thumb; now remove lower little finger and thumb loops.
6. Repeat 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 with other hand.

7. Push right and left hand loops to centre of figure.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert thumbs, from lower side into index loops and release indices.
9. Caroline Extension.



Chant:

Akamwarage bwe deide daberatabugatage urura abai abai urur
 eperia me pa atarai abau ewa e mate e mate Makin O - untranslatable.

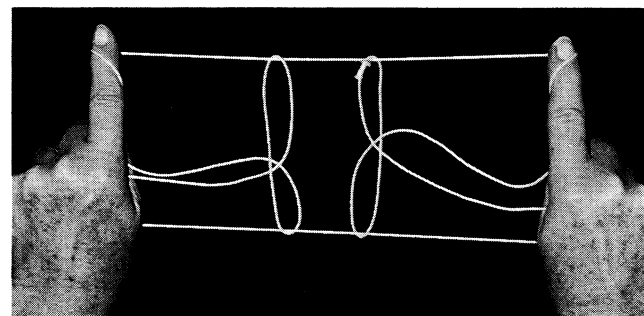
37. EOEN KADAMA Short String

(Flying fish hooks)

Learnt from Mweija

1. Position 1.
2. Insert right hand, from near side and from below, into loop, pull down left palmar string, bring towards you under near thumb string, give it half a twist clockwise and put over left little finger; insert right index, from above, through upper little finger loop, lift off proximal loop, release little finger and replace original loop; with right hand remove left thumb loop, turn it over away from you and replace it, twice.

3. Repeat 2 with other hand, making the half twist anti-clockwise.
4. Work little loops to centre of figure.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
6. Caroline Extension.



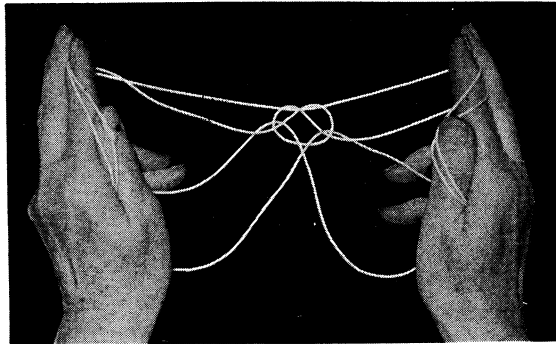
38. EIJORORO ME EARORO Short String

(Onomatopoeic)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A. Strings must lie loosely between hands throughout the working of this figure.
2. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Navaho thumbs.
4. Release little fingers and transfer index loops to little fingers.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
6. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
7. Caroline Extension with both near thumb strings instead of

far thumb strings. Arrange figure.



Chant:

Eijororo me Earoro, Eijororo me Earoro, denaroro, denaroro,
duro - untranslatable.

This was said to be a very old figure.

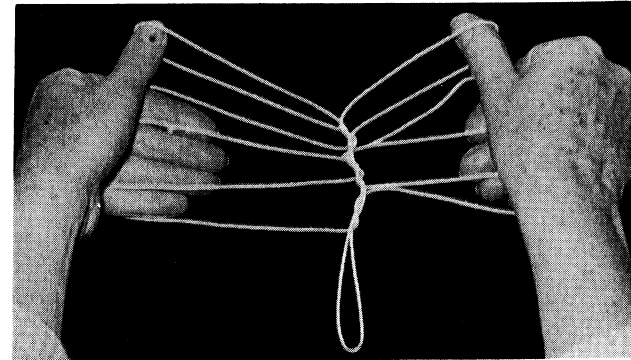
39. INI

Short String

(The coconut palm)

Hambruch, No.23, p.364.

1. Opening A.
2. Throw the near thumb string away from you, over all other strings, and hook over toe, or a second player takes it and holds it.
3. Exchange little finger loops, left over right, likewise exchange index loops and thumb loops.
4. Toe loop (the trunk) is pulled tight making the crossing points, where the loops of right and left hand were exchanged, unite at one point - this makes the palm.

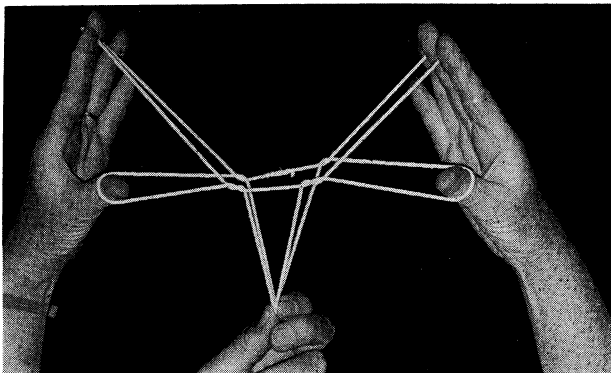


40. E BOK EN ATUBUIDURA Short String

(The well of Atubuidura)

Hambruch, No.27, p.366.

1. Two players take part each inserting both hands into loop.
2. A, with both hands, takes B's dorsal string between B's two hands and draws it towards himself; B likewise takes A's dorsal string and draws it towards himself.
3. A and B bend their hands down so that their dorsal (or wrist) strings fall off and the strings are pulled taut evenly. This forms a quadrangle in centre of figure.
4. A third player takes hold of the inner parallel strings of the quadrangle (i.e. the far little finger strings which cross the near index strings) and draws them downwards. This makes a figure like a funnel - the well.

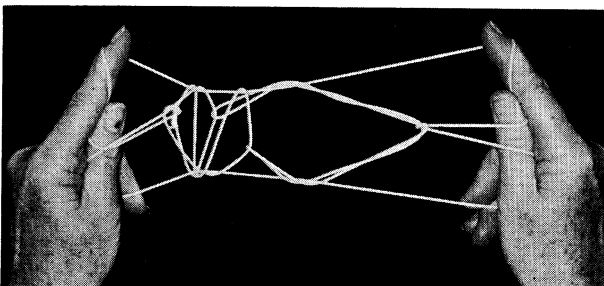


41. NO NAME

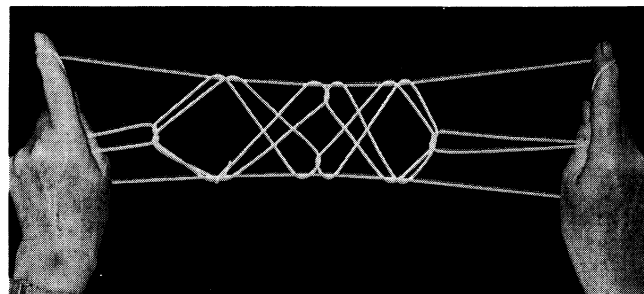
Short String

Hambruch, No.14, p.358.

1. Opening A.
2. Exchange index loops, left over right.
3. Pass right thumb and index, from above, through left index loop, remove left thumb loop, bring up through index loop and replace on thumb.
4. Similarly pass right thumb and index, from above, through left index loop, remove left little finger loop, bring up through index loop and replace on little finger.
5. Eongatubabo.



If movements 3 and 4 are repeated with the other hand the result will be a symmetrical figure of three diamonds.



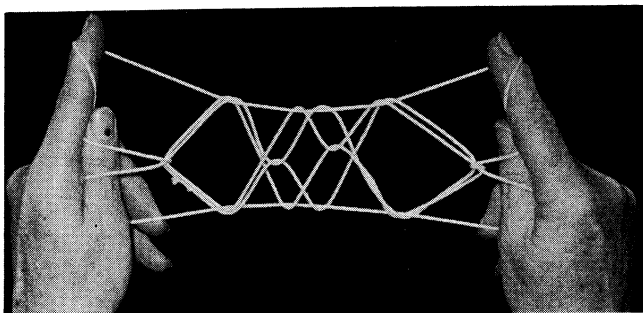
42. MEJOA

Short String

(The star Atair)

Hambruch, No.19, p.361.

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all remaining strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Eongatubabo.



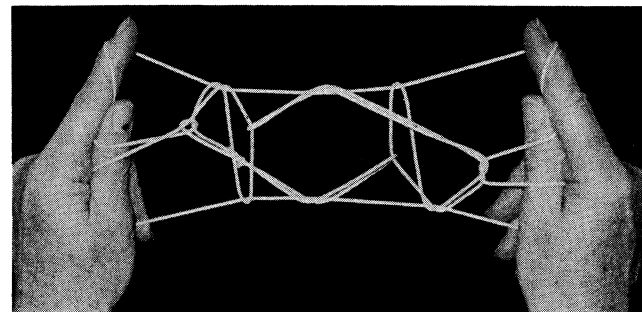
A similar figure is made on Tikopia by merely rotating all fingers and thumbs towards the player (see footnote 2).

43. IPO Short String

(A black fish)

Hambruch, No.15, p.359.

1. Opening A.
2. Exchange index loops, left over right.
3. Pass right thumb and index, from above, through left index loop, remove left thumb loop, bring up through index loop and replace on thumb.
4. Similarly pass left index and thumb, from above, through right index loop, remove right little finger loop, bring up through index loop and replace on little finger.
5. Eongatubabo. Arrange figure to achieve result as illustrated.



44. AKUANNAI Short String

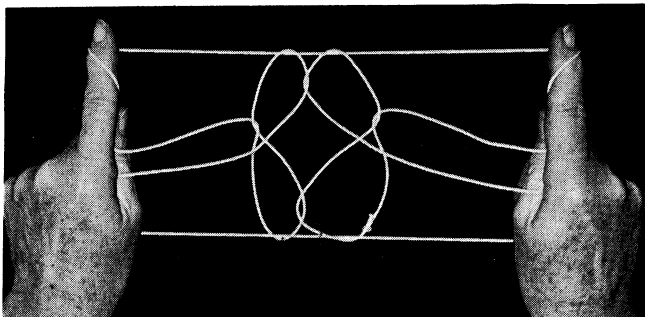
(Stunted nuts)

Hambruch, No.18, p.360.

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Exchange middle finger loops, left over right, then exchange index loops, also left over right.
3. Pass thumbs over index, middle and ring finger loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
5. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all remaining strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Release indices, middle and ring fingers.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings,

then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.

10. Caroline Extension; work hands apart until figure appears.

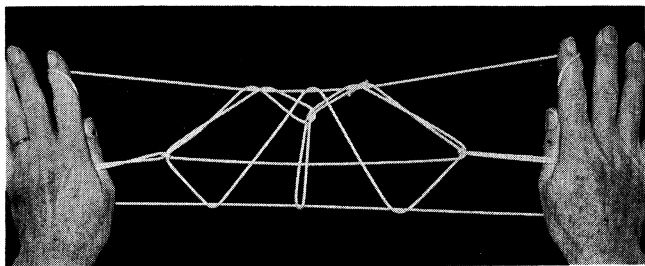


45. TE BARERAKA Short String

(A little multi-coloured bird)

Hambruch, No.13, p.357.

1. Nauru Opening I.
2. Pass right thumb and index, from above, through left index loop, remove left thumb loop, bring up through index loop and replace on thumb.
3. Similarly pass right thumb and index, from above, through left middle finger loop, remove left little finger loop, bring up through middle finger loop and replace on little finger.
4. Eongatubabo, thumbs holding down both strings of index loops, and near middle finger strings.



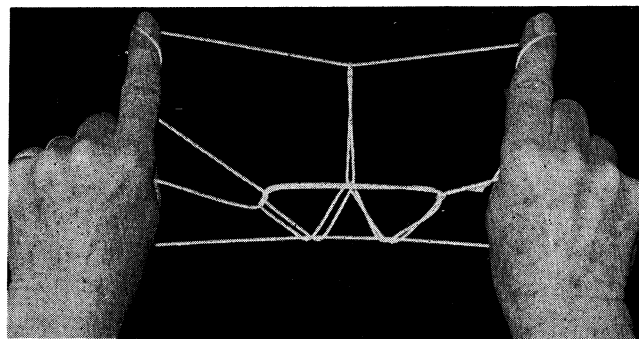
46. EKWEN NGAWOR Short String

(Fishing canoe)

Learnt from Ijauwe

Synonym: Badereng (the name of a man), given by Degane.

1. Opening A.
2. Bring hands together, make a loop on left far index string by bringing right hand end of string towards you and to the left, insert left little finger towards you into this loop, pass right index, from above, through upper little finger loop, hook up lower loop and remove it from little finger; release left little finger and replace original loop; work loop just made to centre of figure.
3. Eongatubabo.



47. EIKAMWEN PAIM Short String

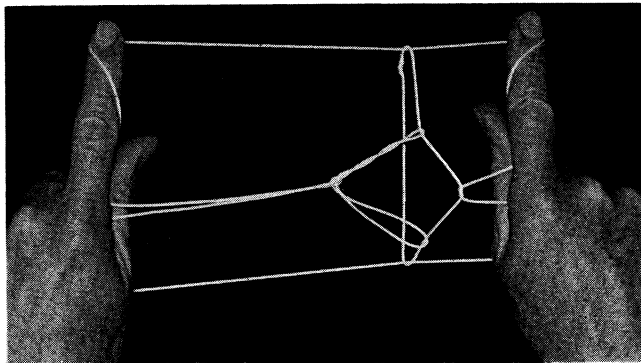
(A woman who smoked a lot)

Learnt from Arirei

1. Opening B.
2. Release left index finger; pass left index down back of right index and transfer right index loop to left index.
3. Eongatubabo with both hands; right hand working without

index loop.

4. Arrange figure as in illustration.



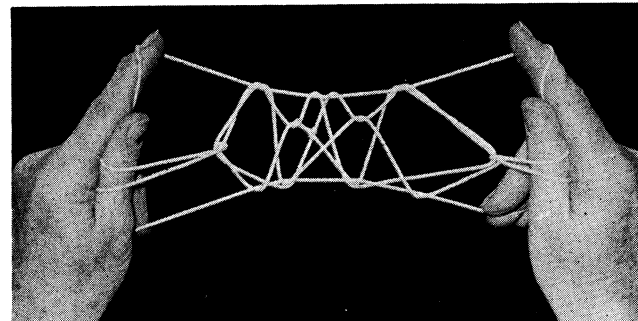
48. EGIGU

Short String

(The girl in the moon)

Hambruch, No.9, p.354.

1. Opening A.
2. Twist index loops away from you.
3. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
5. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all other strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Eongatubabo.



For the story of Egigu see the Appendix.

The chant which accompanies this figure tells part of the story set out in the Appendix and is in the form of a dialogue between Egigu and her mother (also called Egigu).

Daughter: Degeri o dono, degeri o dono, apudu nana maro o
gana bue Egigu oga madarabarap.

I swing myself, I swing myself, in doing so I
fall over and go home for Egigu asks about my
menstruation jewellery.

Mother: Egigu, Egigu, Egigu O!

Egigu, Egigu, Egigu O!

Daughter: Ake ana tebarera, arearer iu, arearer ake ake
ana tebarera.

I bleed, I still bleed, I too bleed.

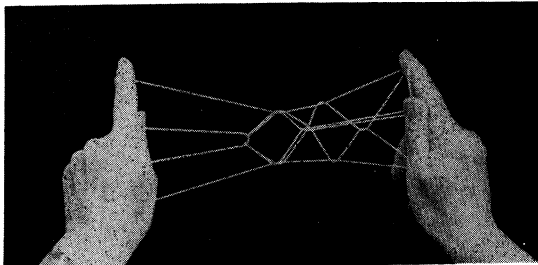
Mother: Ono ko buin a Gadia bue enenen nonup, dobuomui
o tedabage O! Papanugom tenimaereo!

Go into Gadia's house so that he gives you
Spondylus-pearls, green turtles! Real turtles,
and gives you black and white necklaces!

(Cannibal woman)

Learnt from Adimo

1. Opening A.
2. Release right index; bring hands together and pass right index down back of left index and transfer left index loop to right index.
3. Pass left hand, from above, through right index loop, under thumb loop and grasp near thumb string; pull this string up through index loop and release right thumb; insert thumb, away from you, into loop held by left hand.
4. Pass left hand, from above, through right index loop, under little finger loop, and grasp far little finger string; pull this string up through index loop and release little finger; insert little finger towards you into loop held by left hand.
5. Twist right index loop away from you.
6. 1 to 9 of Amwangiyo with right hand only.
7. With right hand grasp left far little finger string and lift off little finger; pass little finger under thumb loop and return with near thumb string, release thumb then insert it, from below, into little finger loop and return with near little finger string; insert thumb towards you into loop held by right hand.
8. Caroline Extension.

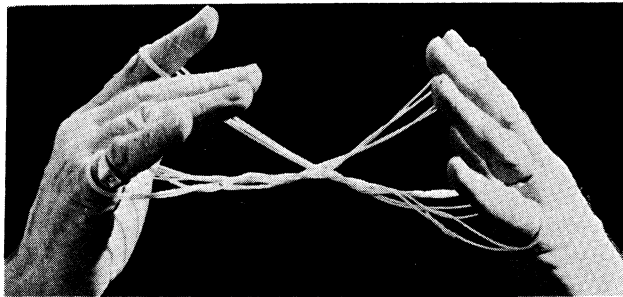


The same result is achieved in the Gilbert Islands with different opening movements.²³

(A cave at Banab)

Learnt from Adumweor

1. Double the string.
2. Position 1.
3. With right hand remove left far little finger string and replace it as left near little finger string by twisting it around little finger; likewise remove left near thumb string and replace as far string. Repeat with other hand; complete Opening A.
4. Transfer index loops to wrists.
5. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
6. Insert little fingers, from below, into thumb loops and return with far thumb strings.
7. There are now two far little finger strings, one going to the centre of the figure, the other going down to become the far wrist string of opposite hand; take the latter string close to little finger and twist it once round little finger; repeat on other hand.
8. There are likewise two near thumb strings, take the outside string and twist it once round thumb; repeat with other hand.
9. Hold tips of thumbs and little fingers together and with opposite hand remove palmar strings.
10. Transfer wrist loops to tips of indices and extend gently. A second person arranges figure.

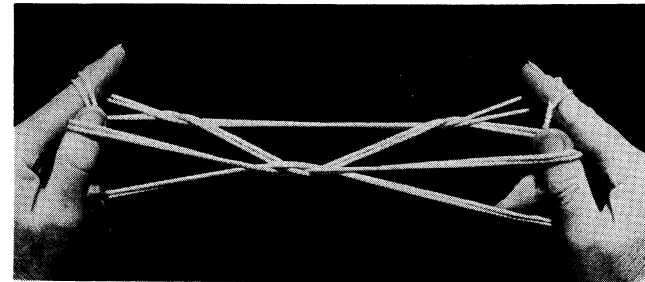


51. EKUOR Long String

(Canoe)

Learnt from Mweija

1. Double string; insert thumbs into loop so that the near thumb string is about six inches long, the rest of the loop hangs loosely down.
2. Pass right little finger to left and toward you, over near thumb string, pick up this string on back of little finger close to left thumb and return to right. Pass left little finger to right and towards you, over left near thumb string, insert into right thumb loop from below and return to left with right near thumb string on its back. Draw hands apart until strings are taut.
3. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
4. Caroline Extension.
5. Bring little fingers towards you and insert them, from below, into index loops, pass over upper near thumb strings and under lower near thumb strings, hook back these strings and return to position under former little finger strings.
6. Release thumbs but do not pull taut, then insert them, from below, into little finger loops, pick up strings which lie across little finger loops and return to position.



52. EKWAN I Short String

(Sun)

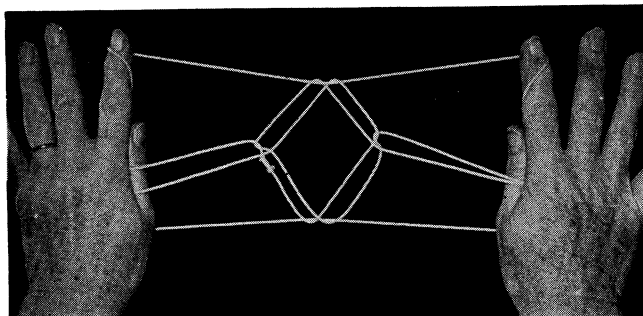
Learnt from Dowaidi

Hambruch, No.3, is identical, using movement 2(a); and also No.11, if Hambruch's movements 4-9 (which have no effect on the ultimate result) are omitted.

1. Opening A.
2. (a) Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings;
or
(b) Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and return with far index strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices but do not extend hands; insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to

indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings; insert thumbs, from below, into index loops and release indices.

7. Caroline Extension.



When using movement 2(b) a figure identical with Ekwan III is produced.

It is also identical with figures recorded from Samoa, the Society Islands and Tuamotus.²⁴

53. EKWAN II Short String

(Sun)

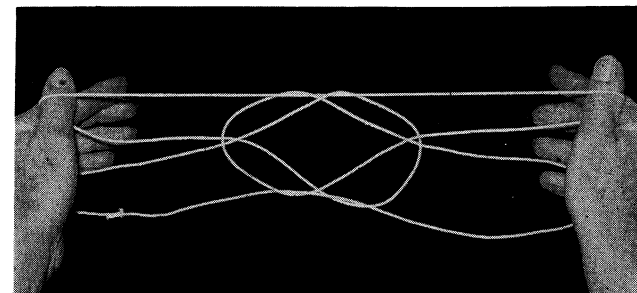
Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Release little fingers and transfer index loops to little fingers.
3. Transfer thumb loops to indices then insert thumbs, from

²⁴ Horne11 1927:73-4; Handy 1925:72-3; Emory and Maude unpublished MS:No.1(a).

above, into index loops and transfer these loops to thumbs.

4. Pass right hand to left, over all strings and to far side of left hand, then pass under left little finger loop, with right thumb and index grasp left far thumb string and return; make a loop on this string, by turning right end of string away from you and to the left, insert thumbs away from you into this loop, extend and Navaho thumbs.

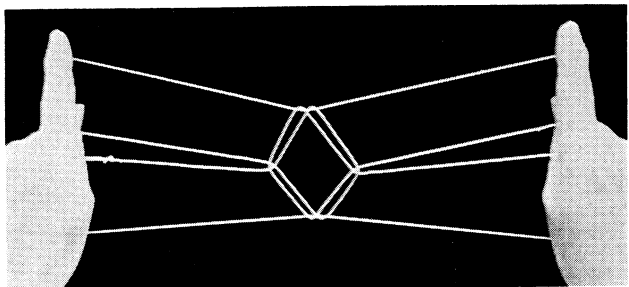


54. EKWAN III Short String

(Sun)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs over index strings and hold down index loops. Pass indices under little finger loops, return to position with both little finger strings, then insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Insert thumbs, from below, into lower index loops, hold upper far index strings against indices and twist indices down towards you and up through lower loops; release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
5. Caroline Extension.



Identical figures are recorded from New Zealand and the Tuamotu Islands.²⁵

55. AMEN RANGA EKWAN Short String

(Keepers of the sun)

Learnt from Arirei

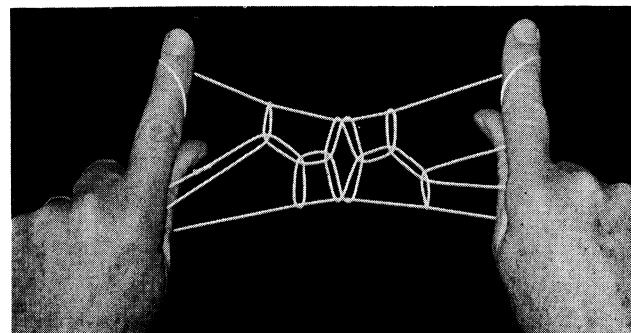
Synonym: Amen ober ibok (Men guarding a well).

1. Make first 5 movements of Ekwan I, No.52, using 2(b). Release indices and extend hands a little.
2. With right thumb and index grasp left far thumb string and make a loop on this string by bringing right end towards you and to left; insert left little finger towards you into this loop, pass right thumb and index, from above, through upper little finger loop and pull lower loop off; release little finger and replace original loop. Push loop just made towards centre of figure.
3. With left thumb and index grasp right near little finger string and make a loop by turning left end away from you and to the right; insert right thumb away from you into

²⁵ Andersen 1927:20-1; Emory and Maude unpublished MS:No.2.

loop, pass left thumb and index, from above, through upper right thumb loop and pull lower loop off; release right thumb and replace original loop. Push loop just made towards centre of figure.

4. Repeat 2 and 3 with opposite hands making loops in opposite directions.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs.
6. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, then into index loops also from below and release indices.
7. Caroline Extension.



56. IMWINGEN-KURI Short String

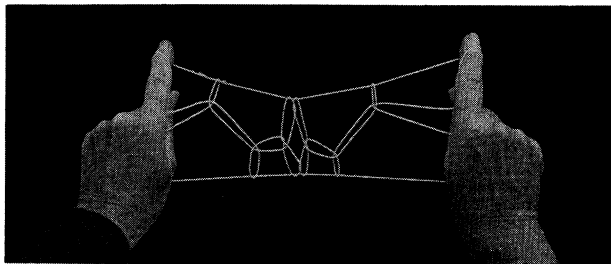
(Cross pieces of wood for strengthening houses)

Learnt from Dube

1. Opening A.
2. Exchange index loops, left going over right.
3. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
5. Pass thumbs from above through lower index loops, under little

finger loops and return with far little finger strings;
release little fingers.

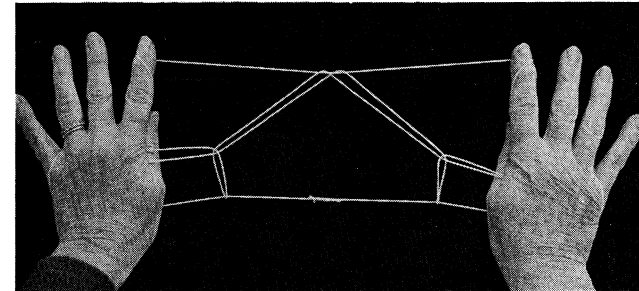
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Release indices.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer loops to indices.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
10. Caroline Extension to show figure.
11. Release thumbs then insert them, from above, into index loops and release indices.
12. With right hand make a loop on far left thumb string by giving string a half twist clockwise; insert little finger towards you into loop, then draw lower little finger loop up through upper loop, release little finger and replace original loop. Repeat with other hand, making twist anti-clockwise. Work loops towards centre of figure.
13. Similarly make a loop on left near little finger string by giving string a half twist anti-clockwise; insert thumb away from you into loop, then draw lower thumb loop up through upper loop, release thumb and replace original loop. Repeat with other hand, making twist clockwise. Work loops towards centre of figure.
14. Repeat 8, 9 and 10.



(Legs of the curlew)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Make Ekwan I, No.52, as far as movement 5 using 2(b).
2. Release indices and lay figure flat, by lowering hands without turning them over, and release thumbs. Make a loop on former right hand near thumb string near centre of figure, by giving string an anti-clockwise half-twist which will result in the loop facing towards you; insert right thumb from below into this little loop; pass left thumb, from left to right, under the two strings of the 'sun' which lie over bottom string, insert from below into same loop as right thumb and return to left through bottom strings of 'sun'. Gently draw hands apart.
3. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
5. Caroline Extension.



58. NANAN AKIWOE II Short String

(Legs of the curlew)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Perform 1, 2 and 3 of Ekwan II, No.53.
2. Pass right hand to left, over all strings and to far side of left hand, then pass under left little finger loop, with right thumb and index grasp far thumb string and return to position.
3. Insert thumbs, away from you, under string held in right thumb and index, extend hands and Navaho thumbs; push little loops thus made towards centre of figure.
4. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer loops to indices.
5. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
6. Caroline Extension. This results in a figure essentially the same as Nanan Akiwoe I, except that where strings cross there is a difference in which string is over and which under the other.

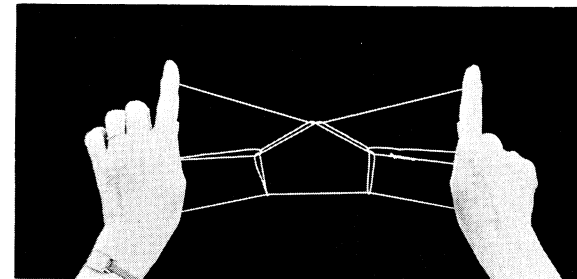
59. NANAN AKIWOE III Short String

(Legs of the curlew)

Hambruch, No.5, pp.351-2, Nan akiuoi, is identical.

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under middle and little finger loops and return with far little finger strings. Release little fingers.

5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices and middle fingers.
7. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
8. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
9. Caroline Extension.



Chant (from Hambruch):

Nanan akiuoi me terekereka.

These are the legs of the rainpiper and they stalk about in the sand.

(This is repeated several times.)

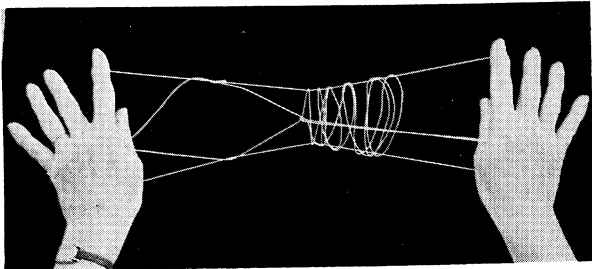
60. AMEN BIRI I

Long String

(People of Biri)

Learnt from Mweiija

1. Hang loop over back of left hand and between ring and little finger; with right hand grasp string between ring and little finger on the palmar side and twist round hand about 10 times.
2. Now push string held in right hand down through these loops and pull out below until there are two loops the same length; insert right little finger, from below, into far loop and right thumb, from below, into near loop; extend.
3. With right hand grasp right near thumb string close to left hand and push through loops on left hand from below; release left thumb and put loop over it. With right index and thumb grasp right far little finger string between loops and base of left little finger, remove all loops round left hand and insert left little finger towards you into loop held in right hand.
4. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs; pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below then into index loops also from below and release indices.
5. Caroline Extension. A second person spreads out loops.
6. To make the figure 'fly', release right little finger.



Chant:

Amen Biri o etog oba.

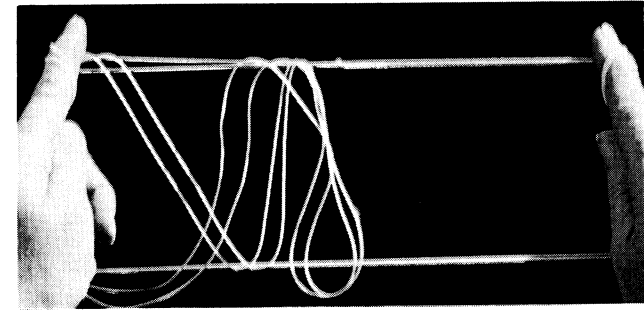
See also the similar chant and accompanying note following the figure Biri, No.13.

61. AMEN BIRI II

Short String

Learnt from Aku

1. Double the loop; Position 1.
2. Insert right index, from above, behind left palmar string, twist towards you and up four times.
3. Insert left thumb, from below, into left little finger loop, release little finger and twist thumb away, down, towards you and up four times.
4. Insert fingers of left hand, from above, into left thumb loops and hold loops open.
5. Release right little finger, insert fingers of right hand, from above, into right index loops and hold loop open.
6. Release right thumb and the figure jumps open.



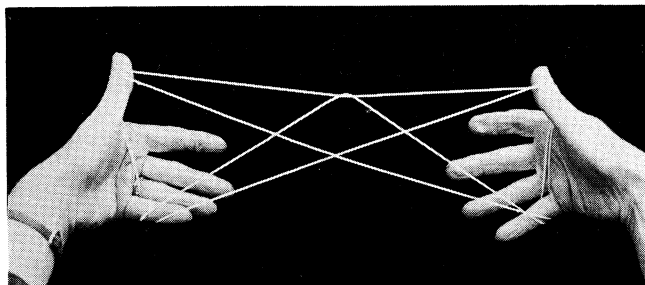
62. DOWEREPEREP

Short String

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Release right hand then insert it, from above, into left thumb loop, pass under left index loop and insert into left little finger loop from below; draw hands apart and transfer loops to Position 1 on right hand.

3. Release left little finger; insert left thumb, from below, into left index loop and release left index; insert left little finger, from below, into left thumb loops.
4. Stretch fingers apart and turn palms first slightly upwards and then downwards, working pattern up and down.



Chant:

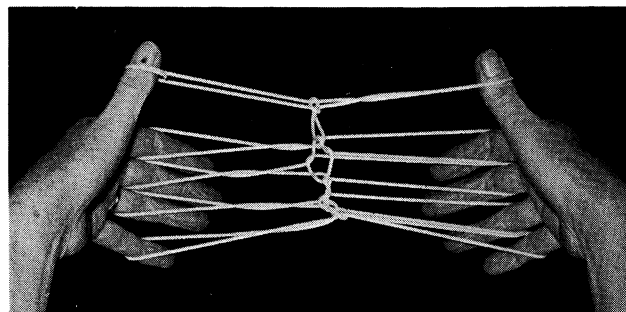
Dowereperep, Dowereperep, Dowerepipi, mai mai dowerepadupa
dowereiyong ma dowereitug-a ma Dowereperep - untranslatable.

63. RIGI Long String

(Caterpillar that comes after rain)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Twist all loops once.
3. Exchange all loops on one hand for equivalent loop on opposite hand.
4. A second person takes little finger loops. Release loops one by one beginning with ring finger loops.

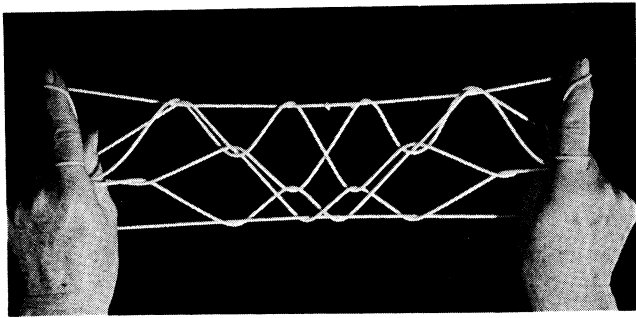


64. DOGIENMADANG Long String

(White man's mat)

Learnt from Ijauwe

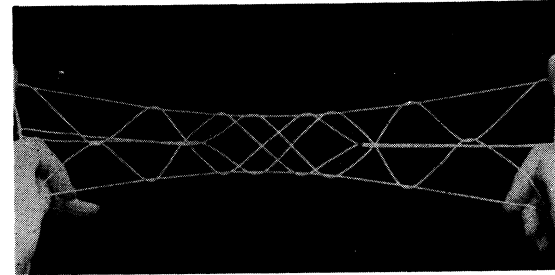
1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Pass little fingers, from above, through upper index loops, under lower index loops and thumb loops and return with near thumb strings; release thumbs.
6. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, pass to the far side of upper far index strings and insert into upper index loops from above, release upper loops from indices and thumbs return through lower loops.
7. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
8. Caroline Extension.



65. EWARENUBWI Long String
 (Navels, with umbilical cord)

Learnt from Adumweor

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Twist all loops.
7. Amwangiyo.



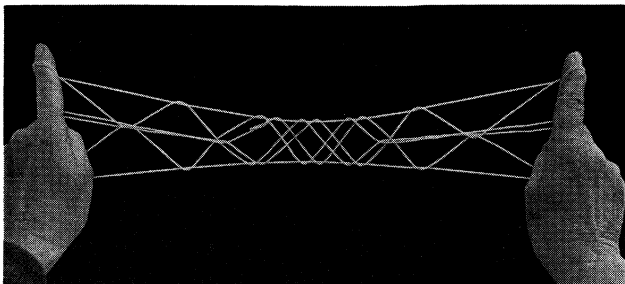
Eongatubabo may be used as an alternative ending after movement 6.

66. EIYAWET Long String

Learnt from Chief Gaunubwe

Synonym: Amwangiyo (Branched), given by Ijauwe.

1. Opening A.
2. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and return with far index strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Repeat 2, 3, 4 and 5.
7. Twist all loops.
8. Amwangiyo.

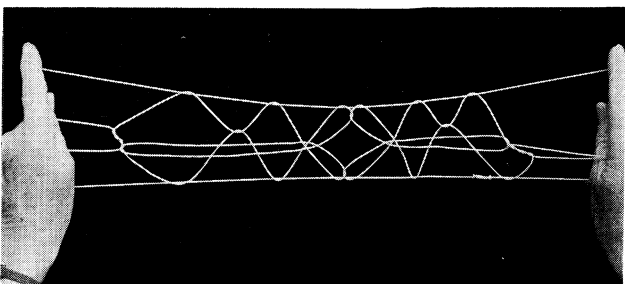


67. IBURENIYO

Long String

Learnt from Adumweor

1. Opening A.
2. Exchange index loops, right through left.
3. Twist all loops.
4. Amwangiyo.
5. Nauru Ending.



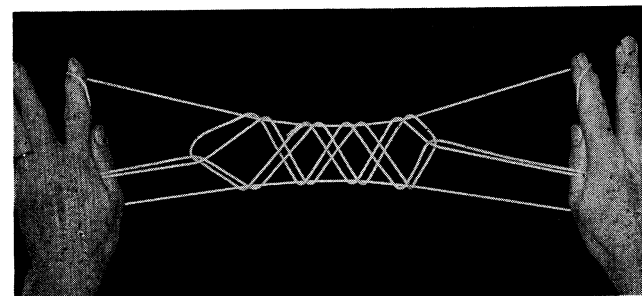
Ibureniyo is the name given to a bulging growth in the trunk of a tomana tree (*Calophyllum inophyllum*).

68. EONGATUBABO

Long String

Learnt from Ijauwe

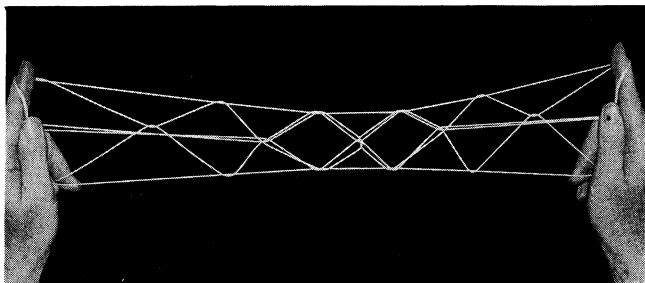
1. Opening A.
2. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops, return with far index strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; insert little fingers, from above, into upper thumb loops and transfer these loops to little fingers.
6. Repeat 2, 3, 4 and 5 as many times as desired; each repetition produces another diamond.
7. Release indices, then insert them, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops also from below and release indices.
8. Caroline Extension.



I was told that this figure used to be known by almost everybody on Nauru. An alternative ending is to perform Eongatubabo after 6.

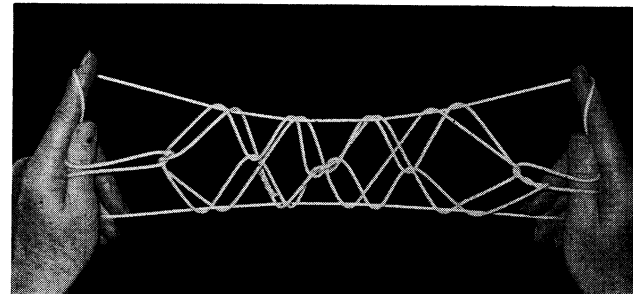
Learnt from Adumweor

1. Opening A.
2. Exchange index loops, right loop through left.
3. Insert left hand index, from the far side and from below, into right hand index loop and release right index; insert right index, from the far side and from below, into lower left index loop and lift off left index finger.
4. Insert thumbs, from below, into index loops and return with near index strings; insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs; transfer upper index loops to thumbs.
5. Insert little fingers, from below, into index loops and return with far index strings; insert indices, from below, into little finger loops, return with near little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer upper index loops to little fingers.
6. Twist all loops.
7. Amwangiyo.



Learnt from Adumweor

1. Perform movements 1, 2, 4 and 5 of Dowogorin, No.69.
2. Twist all loops.
3. Amwangiyo but omit the thumb twist at 7.
4. Nauru Ending.



PART III - THE NAURUAN CLASSICS

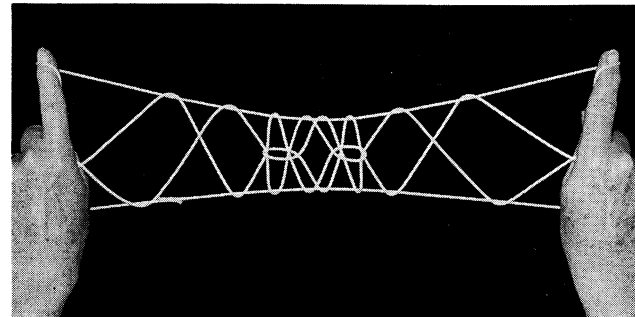
71. DEMAIBURA

Long String

(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Twist all loops.
3. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
4. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs; transfer upper index loops to thumbs.
5. Pass little fingers, from below, through index loops, insert into thumb loops from below and return with far thumb strings.
6. Insert indices, from below, into little finger loops, pick up near little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer upper index loops to little fingers.
7. Release indices.
8. With right hand grasp strings of left hand loops a few inches from left hand; twist thumb and little finger loops. Repeat with other hand.
9. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings; insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and release thumbs. Transfer index loops to thumbs.
10. Insert little fingers, from below, into thumb loops and return with far thumb strings; insert indices, from below, into little finger loops, pick up near little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer index loops to little fingers.
11. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
12. Pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below, return and insert into index loops also from below; release indices.
13. Caroline Extension.



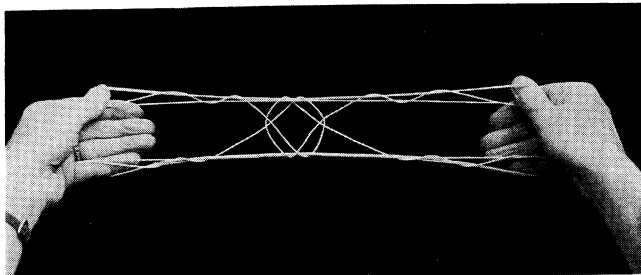
72. MAIOWA

Long String

(A star)

Learnt from Adumweor

1. Opening A.
2. Insert left thumb, from below, into right thumb loop and transfer right thumb loop to left thumb, then insert right thumb, from below, into left thumb loops and extend.
3. Perform the same movement with little fingers.
4. Twist thumb loops towards you twice and little finger loops away from you twice.
5. Pass indices under little finger loops, return with all little finger strings, then insert into thumb loops from above, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs.
6. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, hold upper far index strings between indices and thumbs, twist indices away, down, towards you and up dropping all but upper strings.
7. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and transfer index loops to thumbs.
8. Extend by stretching hands apart.



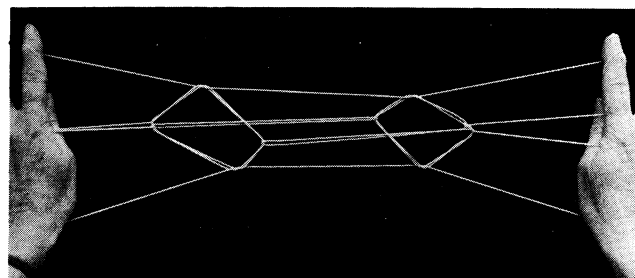
73. DAGABE ME DEMADANG Long String

(Names of two men)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Pass little fingers, from below, through index loops, insert into thumb loops from below and return with far thumb strings.
4. Release indices.
5. Insert right index behind left palmar string and pull out about four inches from left palm; now grasp all left hand strings with right hand and hold taut. Insert left index, from above, into left little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings and still keeping index pointing down bring towards you, over thumb loops, hook back near thumb strings and bring index to an upright position; pass thumb under little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little finger; insert little finger, from above, into index loops, return with near index strings, release index and extend hands.
6. Repeat 5 with other hand.

7. Each little finger and thumb loop has two strings, one by one remove loops, release the four strings that go to centre of figure and replace loops. Care must be taken to ensure that these four strings are not caught on the strings running from hand to hand.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs, pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
9. Caroline Extension.



Dagabe and Demadang were legendary figures, both of them great fighters. They fought one another and Dagabe killed Demadang. The figure represents them with their fighting sticks.

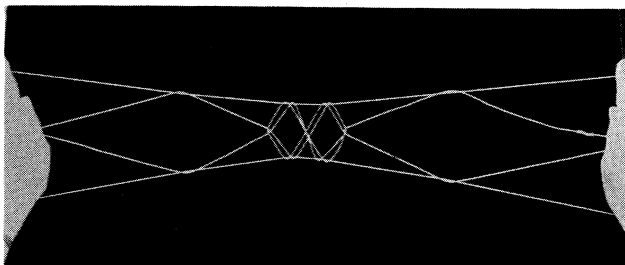
74(a). GAIDUGIAGO Long String

(The name of a man)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops and hold down both strings; pass indices over little finger loops, return with both little finger strings, then still pointing down bring towards you over all strings and hook up near thumb strings away from you; release thumbs.

3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, insert into upper index loops from the far side and from above, transfer upper loops to thumbs and return through lower loops.
4. Release indices.
5. Remove thumb loops one at a time, turn over away from you and replace.
6. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and transfer thumb loops to indices.
7. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, insert into index loops also from below and release indices.
8. Caroline Extension.

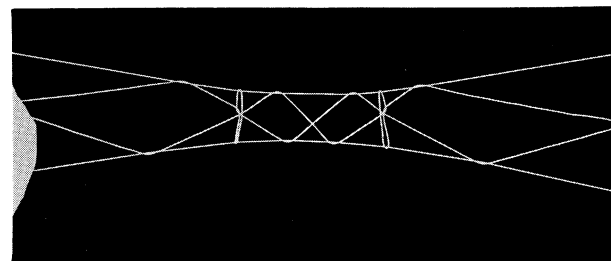


Gaidugiago and Auwagei were two brothers celebrated for their expert knowledge of the art of divination by the use of stones. The figure was invented after their death.

74(b). IYO ME GORINOA

(The names of two men)

9. Lay figure flat, palms down; release thumbs and indices; make a loop in the top string close to right hand by giving it a clockwise twist, thus forming a loop lying away from you, insert right thumb, away from you, into this loop then thread near thumb string under all strings which lie over top string and insert left thumb away from you into loop; extend hands.
10. Repeat 6, 7 and 8 of Gaidugiago.



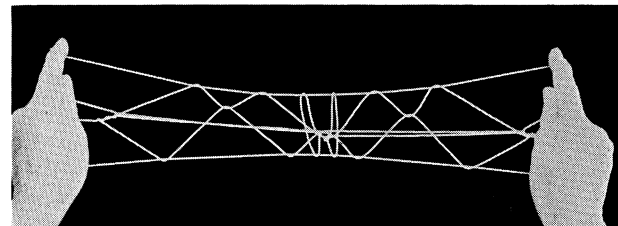
Nothing is now known of Iyo and Gorinoa.

75. DABAMADOA ME DEBENORI Long String

(Names of two men)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. With right thumb and index take hold of left near index string and make a loop on it by bringing right end of string towards you and to the left, give this loop another half twist and put it over left hand; with right hand carefully lift off all left hand finger loops, draw left hand through wrist loop and replace finger loops.
3. Repeat with other hand.
4. Amwangiyo.
5. Nauru Ending.



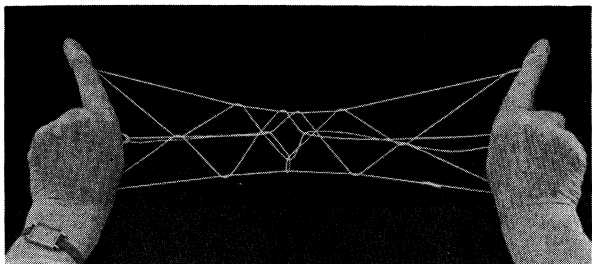
The story of Dabamadoa and Debenori is given in the Appendix.

76. EOREDETO I Long String

(Long-tailed cuckoo)

Learnt from Adumweor

1. Opening A.
2. With right hand make a loop on left near index string by bringing right end of string towards you and to left, give loop an extra twist and insert left thumb away from you into it; pull original thumb loop through, release thumb and replace original loop. Push little loop to centre of figure.
3. Twist index and little finger loops away from you.
4. Amwangiyo.



This migratory bird is only rarely seen on Nauru and its presence presages rain, especially when it whistles. There is a well in the district of Meneng with two openings which was frequented by the eoredeto.

If loops at 3 are twisted towards you the centre diamond has a twist on each side and makes a very good figure if the Nauru ending is added.

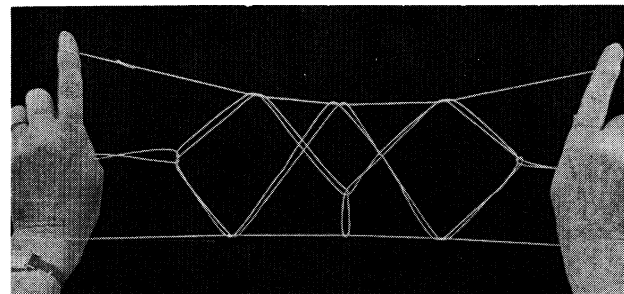
Eongatubabo may be used as an alternative ending after movement 3 and gives the same result as Eoredeto II with simpler working.

77. EOREDETO II Long String

(Long-tailed cuckoo)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. With right index and thumb make a loop on left far index string by twisting right end of string towards you and to the left; insert left little finger towards you into this loop, pull original little finger loop up through it, release little finger from all loops and then replace original loop.
3. Push little loop to centre of figure.
4. Twist thumb and index loops.
5. Eongatubabo. The figure now is upside down, the continuation turns it over.
6. Release thumbs, then pass under all strings, insert into little finger loops from above, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
7. Transfer index loops to little fingers.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below, then into index loops also from below and release indices.
10. Caroline Extension.



(Long-tailed cuckoo)

Learnt from Mweiija

1. Position 1.
2. Twist right hand away, down, towards you and up inside its own loop (this is most easily done by holding right hand strings, close to right hand, in left hand and allowing loop to rotate round thumb and little finger).
3. Insert left index, from below, behind right palmar string and return to left; insert right index, from below, behind left palmar string and return to right (as in Opening A).
4. Release thumbs then insert them, from above, into index loops and transfer index loops to thumbs.
5. Lay figure flat by rotating hands away from you and down, and release thumbs.

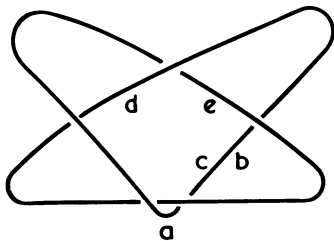


Fig. 1

6. Pull towards you string which passes round bottom string of figure at 'a' in Fig. 1 and turn over to right, thus making a small loop; bend this loop up over bottom string of figure, insert into figure at 'b' and up at 'c'; now bring loop up to top of figure and insert one side under string at 'd' and the other at 'e', resulting in Fig. 2.

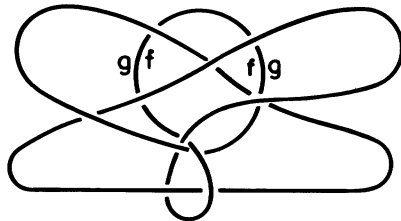
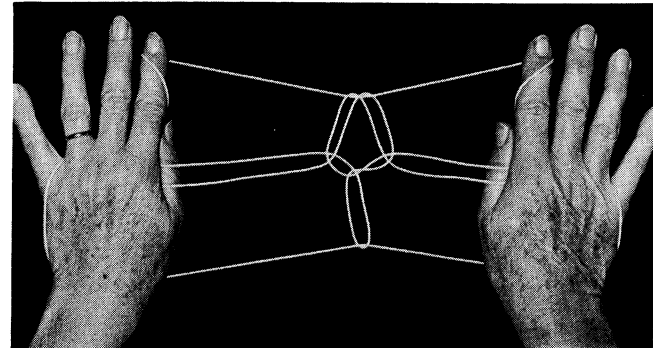
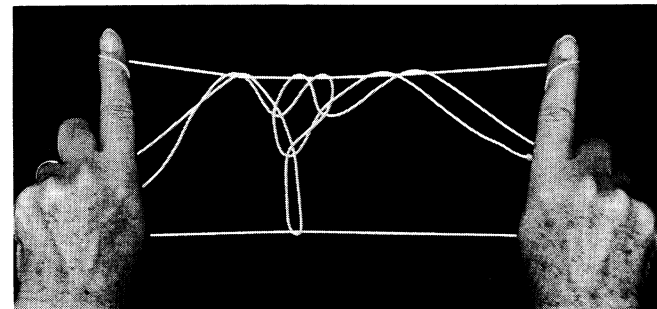


Fig. 2

7. Insert thumbs into loop at 'f,f' and bring up at 'g,g'; extend.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, then into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
10. Caroline Extension to show figure.



11. Release indices by allowing loops to drop back on to thumbs; with opposite hand remove thumb loop but do not drop it, release near little finger string from thumb and replace thumb loop.
12. Twist thumb loops towards you.
13. Insert thumbs, from below, into little finger loops and return with near little finger strings.
14. Caroline Extension.



79. EOREDETO IV

Long String

(Long-tailed cuckoo)

Learnt from Adumweor

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs under index loops then return with far index strings underneath near index strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops and under little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices.
7. Caroline Extension with near thumb strings; lay figure flat turning over towards you and release thumb strings from indices; arrange figure as in Fig. 3 then insert indices into figure at 'a,a' and bring up at 'b,b'; draw hands apart. Push little loops towards centre of figure.

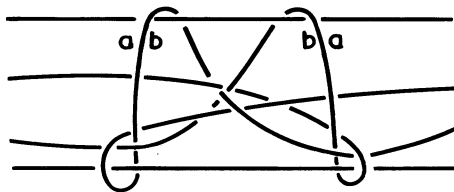
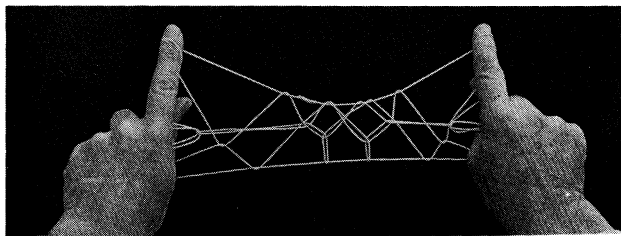


Fig. 3

8. Twist index and little finger loops away from you.
9. Anwangiyo.



10. Nauru Ending may be added if desired, this opens out the figure and gives the 'cuckoos' longer tails.

Eongatubabo may be used as an alternative ending after movement 8.

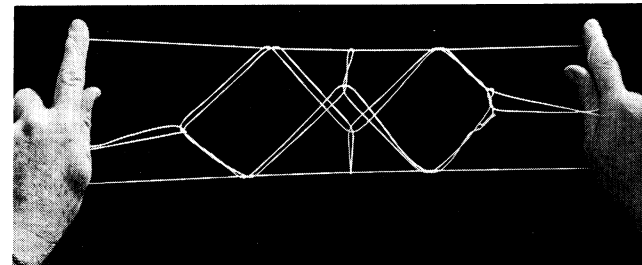
80. AMEANG

Long String

(Name of a man)

Learnt from Arirei

1. Opening A.
2. With left thumb and index grasp right far index string, make an upright loop by giving string a half twist anti-clockwise; insert right little finger towards you into this loop, pass left thumb and index, from above, through upper little finger loop, pull lower loop through upper loop, release little finger and replace original loop. Push loop to centre of figure.
3. With right thumb and index make an upright loop on left near index string, by giving string a half twist anti-clockwise; insert left thumb away from you into loop, pass right thumb and index, from above, through upper left thumb loop, pull lower loop through upper loop, release thumb and replace original loop. Push loop to centre of figure.
4. Eongatubabo.

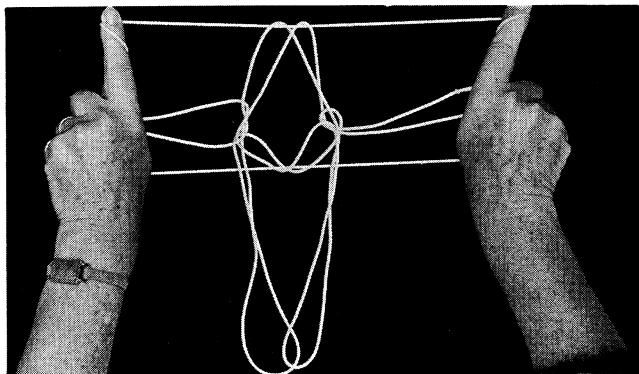


This figure needs a good deal of arranging, it is necessary to push one loop and attached strings to the bottom and the other to the top, and both loops to the centre of the figure.

(Eigomoia's father, a noted warrior
who had a long beard)

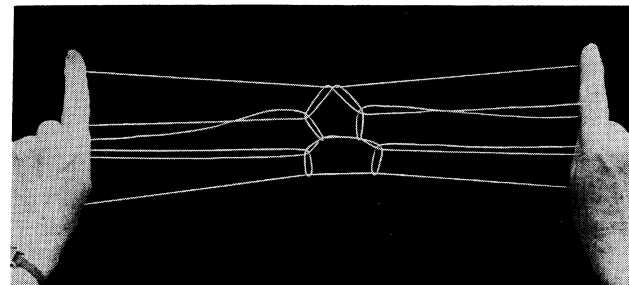
Learnt from Mweija

1. Opening A.
2. With thumbs hold down both strings of index loops; insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings and bring towards you, indices still pointing down, over all remaining strings, hook up near thumb strings away from you and straighten indices, release thumbs from all but upper far index strings, then pass them under all strings and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
3. Insert little fingers, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to little fingers.
4. Put index loops over toe of one foot.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and insert, also from below, into index loops and release indices.
6. Caroline Extension.



(The name of a man)

1. Opening A.
2. Turn thumb loops over by grasping far thumb string with opposite hand, removing thumb and reinserting thumb into loop away from you.
3. Insert right index, from above, through left little finger loop, bring towards you still pointing down, under index loop and insert into left thumb loop from above; return to position with left far thumb string, insert both thumbs, from below, into right upper index loop, release upper loop from indices and Navaho thumbs. Push little loops thus made towards centre of figure.
4. With right hand make a small upright loop on left far index string by giving string a half twist clockwise; put loop over left little finger, pull lower loop up through upper loop, release little finger from both loops and then replace original loop. Repeat with other hand making a small loop by giving string a half twist anti-clockwise. Push loops towards centre of figure.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops, from below, return with near little finger strings and both lower index strings and insert into upper index loops from below, releasing indices from upper loops.
6. Caroline Extension.

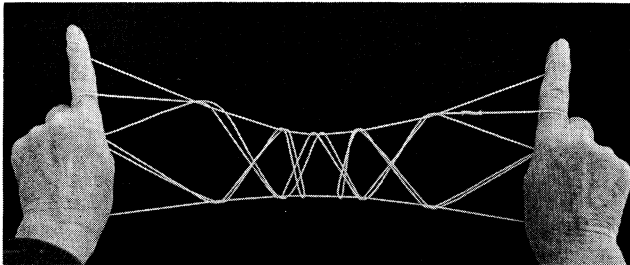


Although this figure has the same name as Jayne's Fig. 841, (reconstructed under the figure Inwinuman), it is in fact only similar.

(A lame man)

Learnt from Mweija

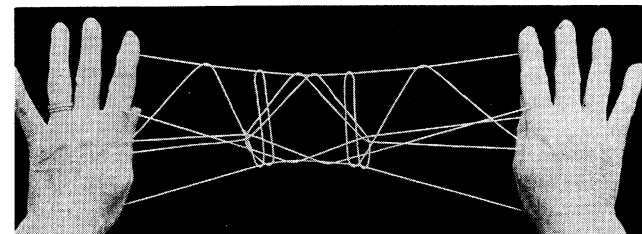
1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs above index and middle finger loops and hold down all strings; pass indices over little finger loops, hook up both little finger strings and return, keeping indices pointing down, then insert into thumb loops from above, twist indices away and up and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs under five near index strings at tips of indices and upper far index strings, then hold upper far index strings between tips of thumbs and indices, turn indices down, towards you and up carrying only upper far index strings, and release thumbs.
4. Insert thumbs, from below, into lower index loops, then from the far side and from above into upper index loops, release indices from upper loops and thumbs return through lower loops.
5. Eongatubabo, indices bringing forward four strings; release middle fingers.



Durang's wife, Eijabong, was said to waylay the souls of people and make them diseased or lame. She was also able to take the nourishment from food eaten by others and thus deprive it of its value. The figure was considered to be very old.

Learnt from Simon Quanijo

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, under middle finger and ring finger loops and return with both ring finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs over lower index loops, under all other strings and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position, releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops, insert into ring finger loops from below and return with near ring finger strings.
7. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
8. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under all other strings and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
9. Repeat 5.
10. Release middle and ring fingers; with opposite hand grasp near index string, remove from index then turn loop over away from you and replace on index.
11. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both lower index strings then insert into upper index loops from below releasing upper index loops from indices.
12. Caroline Extension.



(Stated to be a 'very old name')

Learnt from Chief Gaunubwe

Invented by Dederak

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs under index and middle finger loops and return with far middle finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under middle and little finger loops and return with far little finger strings. Release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices and middle fingers.
7. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer these loops to indices.
8. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and insert into index loops also from below; release indices.
9. Caroline Extension. This makes Ibiya.
10. Lay figure flat, palms down, and release thumbs and indices. Make an upright loop on the top string, to left of the centre, by giving string a half twist anti-clockwise; insert left thumb away from you into this loop, pass right string of loop to right under strings which lie on the top string of figure and insert right thumb away from you into loop. Extend.

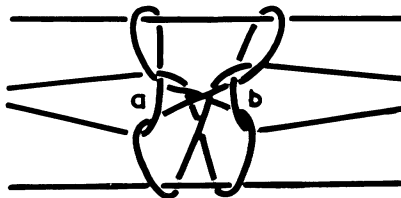
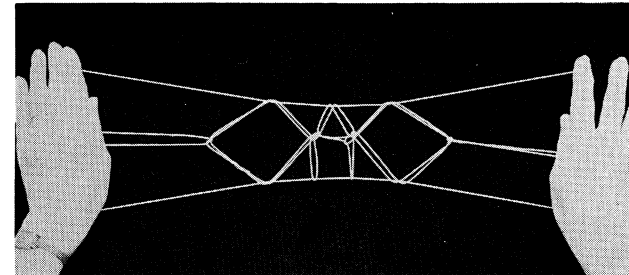


Fig. 4

11. Lay figure flat, turning over towards you to do so; arrange as in Fig. 4, pull out strings 'a' and 'b' and insert indices, pointing towards each other, under these strings. Extend.
12. Eongatubabo. The figure now is upside down, the continuation turns it over.
13. Release thumbs; pass them under all strings, insert into little finger loops from above, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers. Transfer index loops to little fingers. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops also from below and release indices. Caroline Extension. These movements merely turn the figure over and some arranging is necessary to produce the desired pattern.



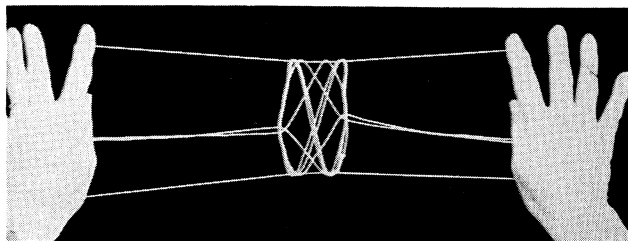
Chant:

Egara bitune, gar a bitune ya wo opapaeata aruebit ekonamadang
bwe wo nim aia raidid bwe raidid bwa garaoaterei o - untranslatable.

Learnt from Simon Quanijo

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Pass thumbs over near index strings and under far index strings; over near middle finger strings and under far middle finger strings; over near ring finger strings and

- under far ring finger strings; return to position with the three far strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and release thumbs.
 4. Pass thumbs over lower near index strings and under lower far index strings; over near middle finger strings and under far middle finger strings; over near ring fingers strings and under far ring finger strings and both little finger strings; return to position with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
 5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
 6. Release indices, middle and ring fingers.
 7. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
 8. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and insert into index loops, also from below; release index fingers.
 9. Caroline Extension and arrange figure.

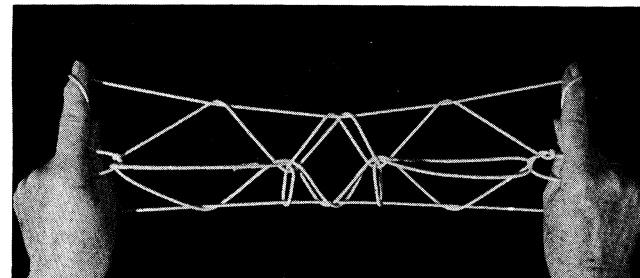


87. ITSIVO ME ARAIMAN Long String

Learnt from Simon Quanijo and Ijauwe

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, pass over middle finger loops, insert into ring finger loops from above, return with far ring finger and far index strings.

3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, pass under middle finger loops, through ring finger loops from above, under little finger loops, return to position with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release index and ring fingers.
7. With opposite hand lift off middle finger loop, grasping near string, and put over index finger turning the loop over away from you so that the near string becomes the far index string.
8. Extend figure by picking up near thumb strings on tips of indices. Lay figure flat by pointing fingers down; carefully release thumbs and upper index loops. Make a loop on the top string to the right of central figure by giving right hand end an anti-clockwise twist. Insert right thumb, away from you, into this loop; insert left thumb from left to right under four strings which lie across top string, insert into right hand thumb loop, from below, and return.
9. Twist index loops away from you.
10. Small Amwangiyo.



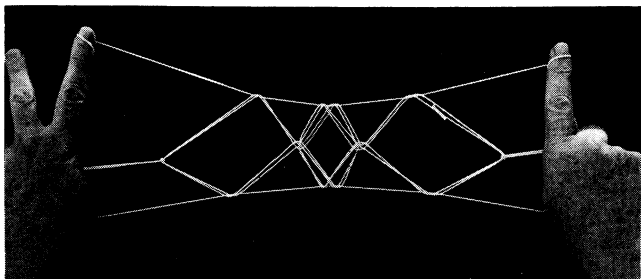
Itsivo and Araithan were, according to legend, the first Nauruans. The figure was invented by Simon Quanijo and Ijauwe in 1938.

88. DEBAN ATIA

Long String

Learnt from Simon Quanijo

1. Perform 1 to 7 of Itsiyo me Araithan, No.87.
2. Twist index loops away from you.
3. Eongatubabo.



This figure, invented by Simon Quanijo in 1938, was named by Chief Gaunubwe after his grandchild Einogog, who was also known as Deban Atia. According to the Rev. Jacob Aroi this name was originally given to a well known rooster brought to Nauru many years ago.

89. EIGAMOIA OR EKAIBWIT

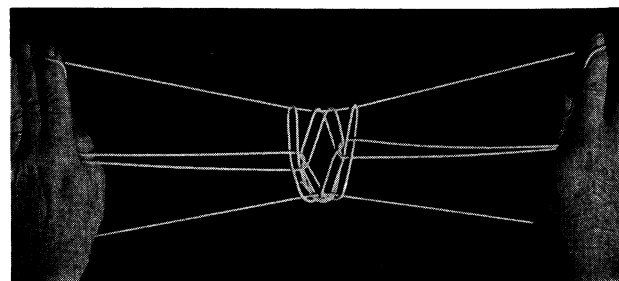
Long String

(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Chief Gaunubwe

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, under middle finger loops and insert into little finger loops from below; return with near little finger strings and far middle finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, below all other loops and return with far little finger strings. Release little fingers.

5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into middle finger loops from below and return with near middle finger strings.
7. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
8. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs.
9. Release indices and middle fingers.
10. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
11. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
12. Caroline Extension.



Eigamoia (who was also known as Ekaibwit) was the daughter of a district chieftainess of Nauru, who must have been born about 1820 since Chief Gaunubwe (who was aged about 60 in 1937) remembered seeing her when he was a child and she was then an old woman. Darauba invented this figure in Eigamoia's honour soon after she had stopped the fighting between Ewa and the other districts by standing between the warring parties. There was a chant accompanying the figure and, although most of it unfortunately cannot be deciphered, it indicates that one or both sides had cannon.

The following extract from 'Chiefs of Baitisi', an unpublished note by T. Cude, written for C.M. Wedgwood about 1934, evidently refers to this event:

'Einano, now over 70 yrs of age (since deceased) says that when she was about twenty years old [i.e. about 1874] there was a big fight in Ewa (i.e. what are now Ewa, Anabar and Baitsi). The enemy were men from Meneng, Jarren, Buada, Boe and Aiwo. The battle was fought on the cliff opposite Arubo Mission Station. Eirak was then a child and when the people of Ewa saw that they were being defeated, they fled to a trader's house in Ewa district for protection. Eirak at the time was being held by his grandmother Ekaibwit, sister of Jim. All the people present were trying to get hold of the child Eirak to prevent him from being killed. When Ekaibwit saw that the child was in danger she went outside, and with her hands raised walked towards the enemy at the same time shouting to them to stop fighting. Auweida, who was the leader turned about and retired followed by his warriors.'

'Queen, temonibe of Eamwit, was influential throughout the island, and it is told of Eigamuija, her daughter, that she had the power to stop people fighting, because she had so many relatives in every district.' - Camilla H. Wedgwood, 'A Report on Research Work in Nauru Island, Central Pacific', Oceania, vol.vii, no.1 (Sept., 1936), p.5.

Chant:

Eruwiet ekanen omwayon ta pwewa, ta pwiyuw, wo eo gina, wo eo gona, ro gaten eb bwo ro pwiyeten eb ane. Towiten Kaibwid enimo dugiet etar bwa re nimo gamaiw oeya anudet Eigamoya.

Cannons are trained toward South, toward North, you cannot realise, you cannot, they are moving forward on the land, they are taking possession of these lands. Ekaibwit is going forward to stop the fight: is there any as able as Eigamoya.

90. EKAIBWIT

Long String

Learnt from Mweija

1. Opening A.
2. Insert thumbs from above into index loops and return with far index strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.

4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Insert ring fingers, from below, into index loops and return with far index strings; insert right middle finger, from below, behind string at base of left middle finger and extend; insert left middle finger, from below, behind string at base of right middle finger and extend.
7. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops and insert into ring finger loops from below; return with near ring finger strings.
8. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with lower far thumb strings and release thumbs.
9. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under all remaining strings and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
10. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
11. Release indices, middle and ring fingers.

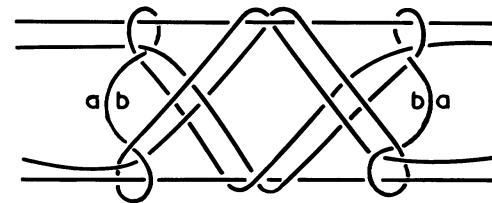
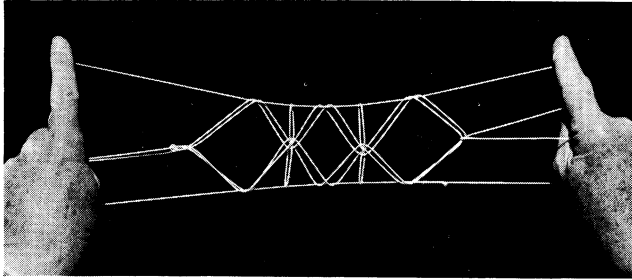


Fig. 5

12. Extend momentarily with near thumb strings and see-saw hands to absorb some of the loose strings into the figure then lay figure flat with fingers pointing upwards. Arrange strings as in Fig. 5 and insert indices at 'a,a', and bring them up at 'b,b'. Work loops towards centre of figure.
13. Eongatubabo.



This figure was sometimes extended after movement 11 by using Caroline Extension, after arranging the strings as usual, instead of finishing with Eongatubabo.

As the most celebrated heroine in Nauruan nineteenth century history (see the notes to the previous figure) it is not surprising to find more than one figure named in her honour.

91. EINOGOG ME EUAMWE Long String

(Grandchildren of Chief Gaunubwe)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and return with far index strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.

6. Repeat 2, 3, 4 and 5.
7. Insert ring fingers, from below, into index loops and return with far index strings.
8. Insert right middle finger, from below, behind string at base of left middle finger and return to right; perform similar movement with left middle finger.
9. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops, insert into ring finger loops from below and return with near ring finger strings.
10. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
11. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under all other strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
12. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
13. Release indices, middle fingers and ring fingers.
14. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer these loops to indices.
15. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return and insert into index loops also from below and release indices.
16. Caroline Extension.

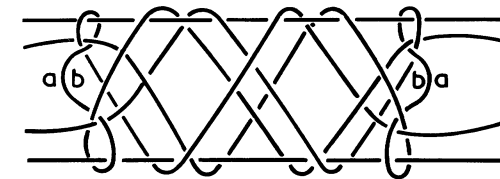
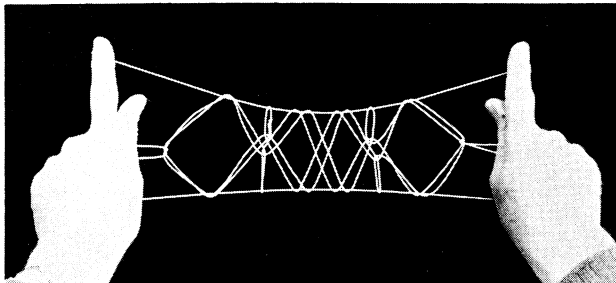


Fig. 6

17. Release thumbs then insert into index loops from above and release indices; lay figure flat by lowering hands in their upright position. Arrange as in Fig. 6 and insert indices at 'a,a' and up at 'b,b'. Work little loops towards centre of figure.
18. Twist index loops away from you.
19. Eongatubabo.



This figure was invented by Ijauwe soon after I left Nauru in 1937 and was recorded by me during a short stay in 1938.

92. APEGOGORA

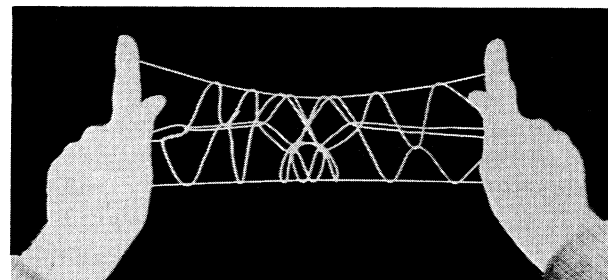
Long String

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Transfer index loops to ring fingers.
3. Insert middle fingers, from below, into thumb loops and return with far thumb strings.
4. Insert indices under opposite palmar strings as in Opening A.
5. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into middle finger loops from below and return with near middle finger strings.
6. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
7. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all strings, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers.
8. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
9. With opposite hand bring little finger loops up through ring

finger loops and return to little fingers.

10. Twist index and thumb loops.
11. Amwangiyo, releasing ring and middle fingers after 7.
12. Nauru Ending. The figure is now complete but upsidedown.
13. Release thumbs then pass them under index and little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer index loops to little fingers; insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.



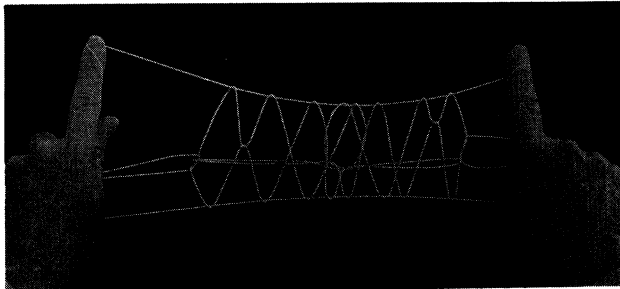
This is an old figure invented by Eidonoda, wife of Ruga. It represents a coral pinnacle in Anibare, by the narrow pathway to the island plateau, from which the warrior Ijibawo jumped over the heads of his enemies.

93. EIDENAMO ME EIDEBARA Long String

(Two chiefs' wives)

Learnt from Mweiya

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. With thumbs hold down both strings of index and middle finger loops; pass indices under little finger loops, return with both little finger strings, then insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Insert thumbs, from below, into lower index loops, hold upper far index strings against index fingers and bend indices down through lower loops taking with them upper loops and giving them a twist; release thumbs.
4. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and release indices.
5. Transfer middle finger loops to indices.
6. Twist all loops.
7. Amwangiyo.
8. Nauru Ending.



Chant:

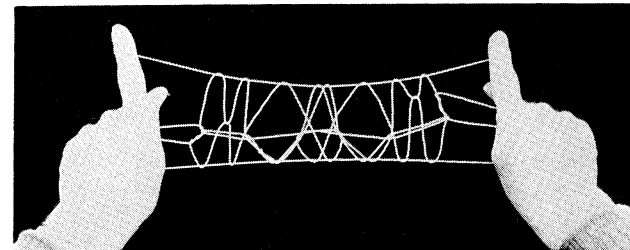
Orre Areao Eigaoa, ma ngam obaoeda giaiaian akwon ot Demereren
ma ngam obaoeda giaiaian akwon o' Ranibog ya arumen bwi
Eidenamo yon me Eidebara ami goe - untranslatable.

94. EIDOBU Long String

(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. With thumbs hold down both strings of index and middle finger loops; pass indices under little finger loops, return with both little finger strings, then insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, insert into upper index loops from far side and from above and return with upper far index strings; release indices from all strings.
4. Transfer middle finger loops to indices.
5. Insert little fingers, from below, into index loops and return with far index strings.
6. Insert indices, from below, into little finger loops, return with near little finger strings and release little fingers.
7. Transfer upper index loops to little fingers.
8. Twist all loops.
9. Amwangiyo.
10. Nauru Ending. The figure is now complete but upside-down, the continuation turns it over.
11. Release thumbs then pass them under index and little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer index loops to little fingers; insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.



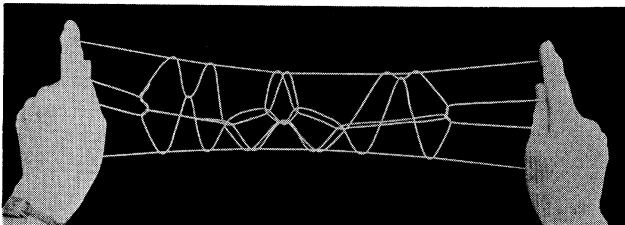
95. IWINUMWEN

Long String

(The name of a man)

Learnt from Ijauwe and Agura

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops and hold down both index strings; pass indices under middle finger loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both middle finger strings then insert into thumb loops from above, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops then insert into upper index loops from the far side and from above, return through lower loops with upper far index strings and release indices from all strings.
4. Pass right thumb and index, from above, through left middle finger loop, take loop off left little finger, bring up through middle finger loop and replace on little finger. Repeat with other hand.
5. Twist middle finger and little finger loops away from you.
6. Transfer middle finger loops to indices.
7. Amwangiyo.
8. Nauru Ending.
9. Release thumbs; pass them under all strings, insert into little finger loops from above, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers. Transfer index loops to little fingers. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops also from below and release indices. Caroline Extension. These movements merely turn the figure over and some arranging is necessary to produce the desired pattern.



According to an old legend Iwinumwen was a man who kept away from women to avoid worry. He was so careful, that even when he stepped on a sea-urchin it did not harm him. He lived in a hollow pinnacle in Demjemodu where people took refuge in time of war and which is now called Raoit Iwinumwen.

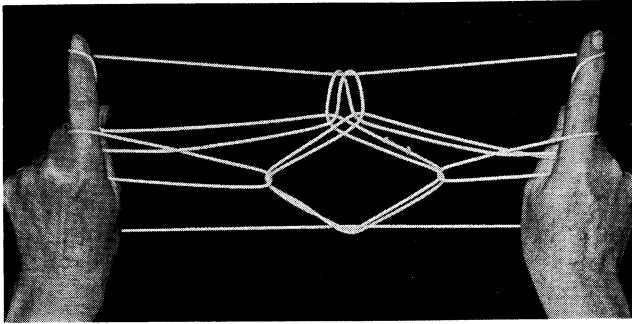
96. ERAIPWIN

Long String

(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Chief Gaunubwe

1. Opening A.
2. Pass indices under little finger loops, return with both little finger strings then insert, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, insert into upper loops from the far side and from above, transfer upper loops to thumbs, return through lower loops and release indices.
4. Caroline Extension with radial thumb strings to show 'sun' then release string from index; lay figure down, fingers pointing up, and transfer thumb loops to indices; take the two left hand lower strings of the 'sun', insert between the two right hand lower strings and pull strings to opposite sides; insert indices down into new lower half of 'sun', hook up two strings on either side, bring towards you distal to near index strings, hook up these strings on backs of indices and then transfer them to thumbs; extend hands.
5. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index and little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer upper index loops to little fingers; insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both lower index strings then insert into upper index loops from below and release indices from upper loops.
6. Caroline Extension. A second person arranges figure.



Chant:

Adaga wo bae, ebog man om wo eagada buroburon gow mana bwe
 tariei omo rar Barabaron-aimar o yor ea ngatarin ot
 Edogoboyarag eibweiba oerot eran mo kanga mwi me eo were
 weten bwe ei duei mago etetog rabadan enga amo epanini eo
 nungida ang mmitong bwe re eininedea re einineduwa, Raipwin
 o re einineduwa - untranslatable.

This figure was invented by Dederag. Eraipwin lived in Boe.

97. EMAINODOGONIGAE I Long String

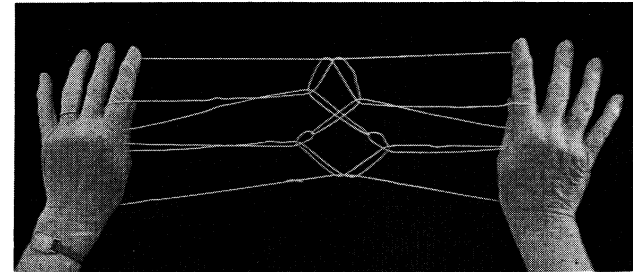
(Name of a woman)

Learnt from Chief Gaunubwe

1. Opening A.
2. Transfer thumb loops to indices; insert thumbs, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to thumbs.
3. Transfer little finger loops to indices; insert little fingers, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to little fingers.
4. With right thumb and index pull left near little finger string up through index loop; then pick up left near index string and pull both strings towards you, over left thumb

loop, and drop. Now pick up left far thumb string, pull towards you and put over both thumbs; Navaho thumbs.

5. Pull little loops just made towards centre of figure; lay figure flat, without turning it over, enlarge the two loops and superimpose one on the other; with thumbs and indices pull up, through centre of loops, the near little finger string which runs from hand to hand; insert little fingers towards you under this string, extend and Navaho little fingers.
6. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
7. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both lower index strings, then insert into upper index loops from below and release upper index loops.
8. Caroline Extension.



Chant:

Emainodogonigae ma anumom wo eiwiwio Yangabawo - untranslatable.

This figure was invented and given this pseudonym by Atabwijue in honour of a Nauruan woman for whom he had a high regard. Her real name is unknown.

98. EIGABANUWEA

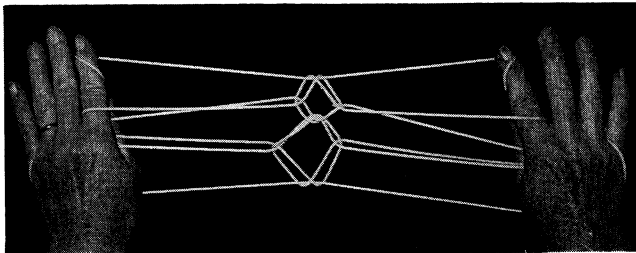
Long String

(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Ijauwe

Synonym: Aro ekwan: two suns.

1. Opening A.
2. Transfer thumb loops to indices, then insert thumbs, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to thumbs.
3. Transfer little finger loops to indices, then insert little fingers, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to little fingers.
4. With right thumb and index draw left near little finger string up through index loop, make an upright loop on this string, by giving it a clockwise twist, insert little fingers towards you into loop, draw hands apart and Navaho little fingers. This produces a small 'sun' formed by near little finger strings and far index strings.
5. With right thumb and index draw left far thumb string up through index loop, then bring up through centre of 'sun' already formed, make a loop on it, insert thumbs away from you into loop and Navaho thumbs.
6. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
7. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both lower index strings; then insert into upper index loops from below and release indices from upper loops.
8. Caroline Extension.



Eigabanuwea was a woman of Gilbertese origin who lived on Nauru many years ago and was very beautiful.

99. ITUBWER I

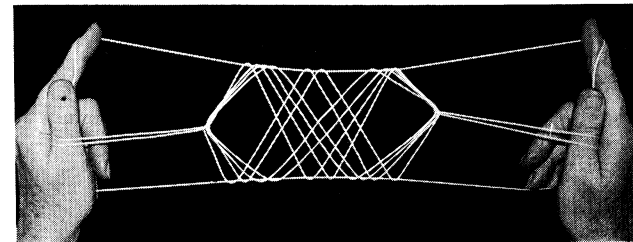
Long String

(Patterned like a mat)

Learnt from Mweija

Jayne, Fig.830, 'Representation of a mat', is identical.

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Twist all loops.
3. Pass thumbs, from above, through index, middle and ring finger loops and hold down all three near strings; insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings and the three far strings, then still pointing down bring towards you over thumb loops, hook up near thumb strings away from you and straighten indices but not thumbs; pass thumbs under far little finger strings, hook them up on back of thumbs and return to position; release little fingers.
4. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
5. Release ring, middle and index fingers.
6. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices.
7. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert, from below, into little finger loops, return with near little finger strings and insert into index loops also from below; release indices.
8. Caroline Extension.



100. ITUBWER II

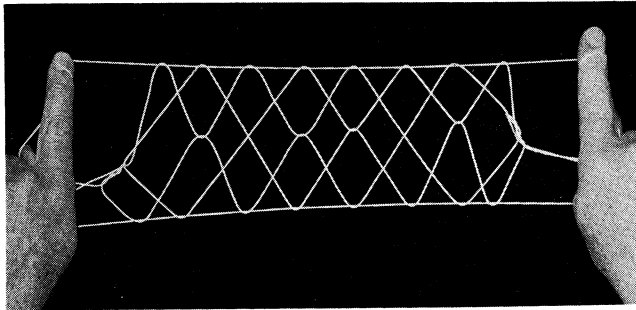
Long String

(Representation of a mat)

Reconstructed by the author

Jayne, Fig.836, is identical.

1. Opening A.
2. Anwangiyo without twisting thumb loops at movement 7.
3. Nauru Ending.



101. ITUBWER III

Long String

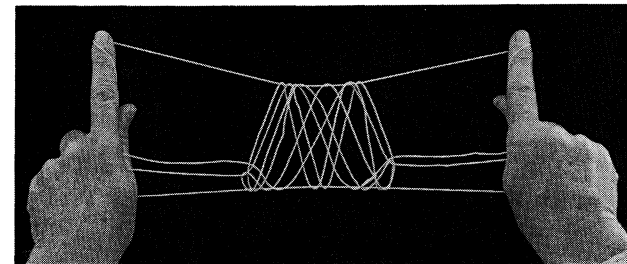
(Patterned like a mat)

Learnt from Mweija

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into middle finger loops, also from above, and return with far middle and index strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all other strings and return with far little finger strings;

release little fingers.

5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Repeat 2, 3, 4 and 5 twice.
7. Release indices and middle fingers.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below and release indices.
10. Caroline Extension.



102. ITUBWER IV

Long String

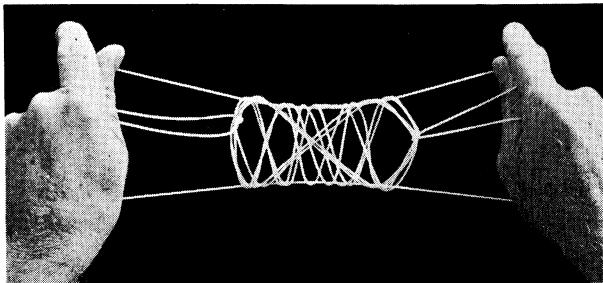
(Patterned like a mat)

Learnt from Mweija

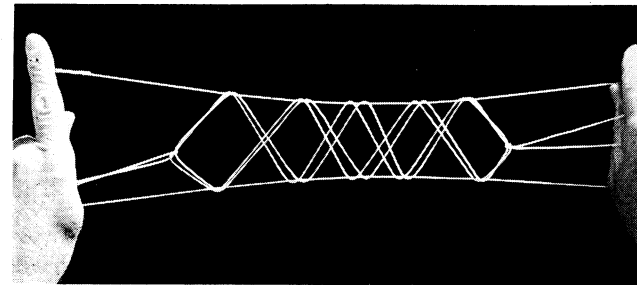
1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Pass thumbs over index, middle and ring finger loops and hold down all strings; pass indices over little finger loops, with indices pointing down hook up both little finger strings towards you, then insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, twist indices away from you and up and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs under all upper near index strings and upper far index strings, hold upper far index strings against indices with thumbs then twist indices down, towards you and up

allowing upper near index strings to fall off; release thumbs and extend.

4. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, insert into upper loops from the far side and from above, transfer distal loop to thumbs and return through proximal loops.
5. Pass thumbs, from above, through index, middle and ring finger loops and hold down near strings; insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings, and all three far strings, then keeping indices pointing down bring them towards you, over all strings, hook up away from you near thumb strings and straighten indices (but not thumbs); pass thumbs under far little finger strings, hook them up on back of thumbs and return thumbs to position; release little fingers.
6. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
7. Release indices, middle and ring fingers.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and insert, also from below, into index loops and release indices.
9. Caroline Extension, arrange figure.



An unnamed figure is made by using Opening A only instead of Nauru Opening II and indices only instead of index, middle and ring fingers.



103. EIGEMEANG

Long String

(The name of a woman)

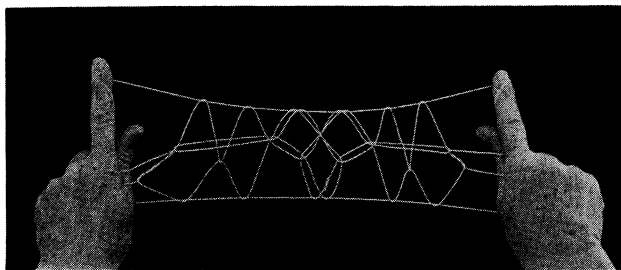
Learnt from Mweija

Jayne, Fig.829, Egona and Egameang sitting on a stone, is identical.

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into middle finger loops from below and return with near middle finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings on their tips and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under middle and little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper index loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Twist index and thumb loops.
7. Amwangiyo, releasing middle fingers after 7.
8. Release thumbs and work hands apart until all strings are taut.
9. Nauru Ending. The figure is now complete but upsidedown.

10. Release thumbs then pass them under index and little finger loops, return with far little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer index loops to little fingers; insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.

11. Caroline Extension. A second person arranges the figure.



Eigemeang was Adimo's great grandmother. She was skilful at making ornaments with shells and other materials and was always decked with them.

Eigemeang
 ┆
 Deidi
 ┆
 Atago
 ┆
 Adimo

This figure can also be made using Eongatubabo, instead of Amwangiyo and Nauru Ending.

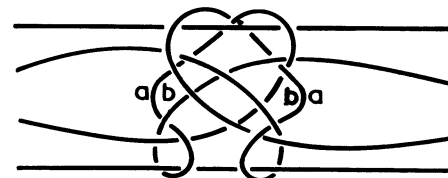
(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Ijauwe

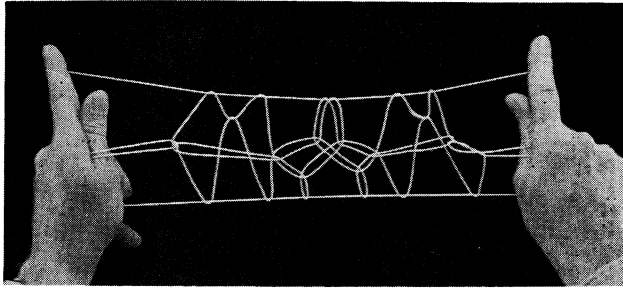
Jayne, Fig.832, is identical.

1. Nauru Opening I.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into middle finger loops from below and return with near middle finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under all other strings and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices and middle fingers.
7. Caroline Extension with near thumb strings. Lay figure flat turning it over towards you as you do so and releasing indices but not thumbs.

Fig.7



8. Arrange figure as in Fig.7; insert indices at 'a,a' and bring up at 'b,b', draw hands apart and work little loops towards centre of figure.
9. Twist index loops away from you.
10. Amwangiyo.
11. Nauru Ending.



Egattamma was Eidiowinago's sister. She remained with her father when Eidiowinago went to the moon.

105. EDEMA ME EDOUWA Long String

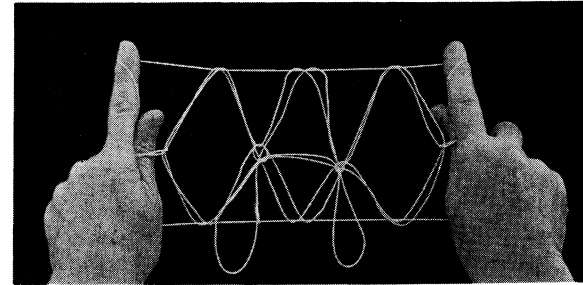
(Two women cousins)

Learnt from Mweiija

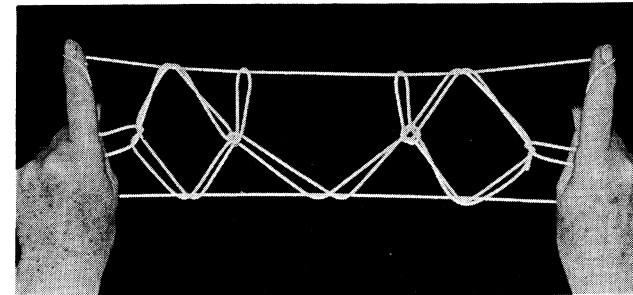
Jayne, Fig.834, Etima and Etowa (Nauru women of rank), is identical.

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Bend thumbs away from you, over index and middle finger loops, and hold down all strings; insert indices, from above, into little finger loops, hook up near little finger strings and, still pointing down, bring indices towards you over all intervening strings; hook up near thumb strings and straighten indices.
3. Thumbs release all but upper far index strings which are kept caught in the crook of bent thumbs; pass thumbs under far little finger strings then hook them up on backs of thumbs and return; release little fingers.
4. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
5. Push little loops just made towards centre of figure.

6. Eongatubabo.



The hanging loops represent the girdles of the cousins when young; work the figure until strings are taut - the cousins are now old women.



Chant (as amended by the Rev. Jacob Aroi):

Iyebogo, iyebogo bwi Eibaiduwen mi Ibirima amwar gauweyo
inungiet emo, inungiet emo bwe Eoubaganagarawa - untranslatable.

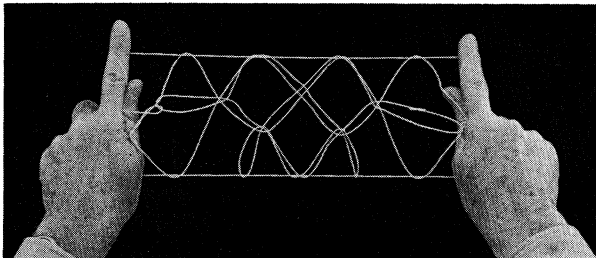
106. EIDIOW DOGOBEA EIDEUOARO Long String

(The name of a man and his two wives)

Learnt from Ijauwe

Jayne, Fig.835, Echeog and Edawaroi (two women), is identical if Amwangiyo is made instead of Small Amwangiyo.

1. Nauru Opening I.
2. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into middle finger loops from below and return with near middle finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under middle and little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Insert little fingers, from below, into middle finger loops and return with far middle finger strings.
7. Insert indices, from below, into little finger loops, pick up near little finger strings and release little fingers; transfer upper index loops to little fingers.
8. Twist index and thumb loops; release middle fingers.
9. Small Amwangiyo.



A chant, recounting the life of Dogobea (Eigamoia's mother's brother), had been forgotten on Nauru. The figure was said to have been invented before Etaroking (see Jayne Fig.838).

This figure can also be made using Eongatubabo, instead of Amwangiyo and Nauru Ending.

107. ETAROKING Long String

(A priestess of Nauru in olden times)

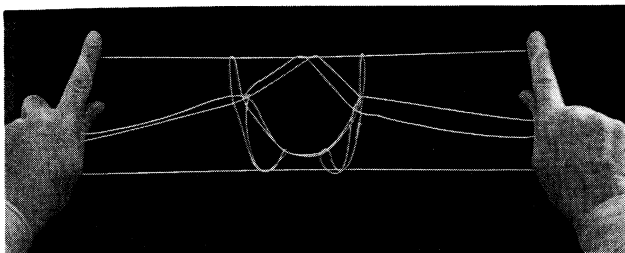
Learnt from Chief Gaunubwe

Jayne, Fig.838, is almost if not absolutely identical.

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops, under ring finger loops and insert into little finger loops from below; return to position with near little finger strings and far ring finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops; return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under all remaining strings and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops, insert into ring finger loops from below and return with near ring finger strings.
7. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
8. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs.
9. Release indices, middle and ring fingers.
10. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs.
11. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, insert into

index loops, also from below, and release indices.

12. Caroline Extension. A second person arranges figure.



108. TINAMITTO

Short String

(The name of a girl)

Learnt from Ijauwe

Jayne, Fig.839, is identical.

1. Opening A.
2. Insert indices, from below, into little finger loops, return with near little finger strings, then insert into thumb loops from above, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, grasp upper far index strings between thumbs and indices and twist indices down through their own lower loops, towards you and back to position with thumbs still pressed against indices.
4. A 'sun' will now be seen depending from far index string. With fingers pointing down lay figure flat and release thumbs and indices; make a loop lying away from you on the top string, to right of 'sun', by giving string a half twist anti-clockwise and then give the loop thus formed another twist; insert right thumb away from you into this loop, pass left thumb from left to right under strings of 'sun' which lie over top string, then insert into made loop beside

right thumb and return through 'sun' with right near thumb string. Extend hands slightly.

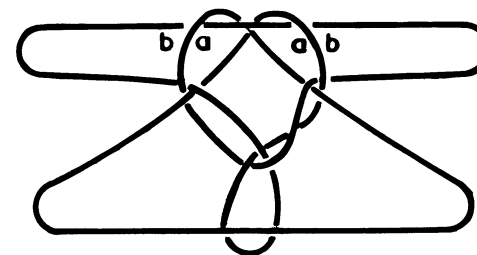
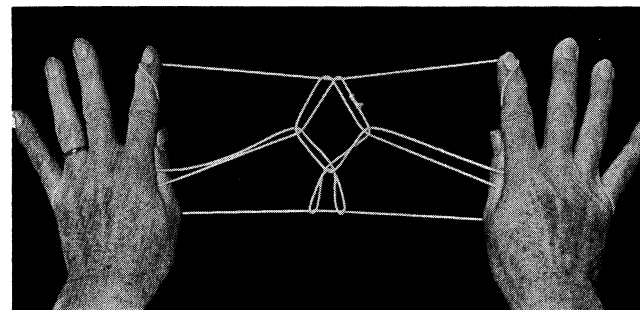


Fig.8

5. Extend figure by picking up near thumb strings with indices then lay figure flat again and release thumbs and indices; find the loop which now makes a tail to the 'sun', enlarge it and pull it down to base of figure (see Fig.8), put under bottom string, then bring it over and up to top of figure; insert tail loop to right and left at 'a,a' and out at 'b,b', insert indices into loop at 'b,b', hook up top string of figure and return through loop. Extend hands but do not pull tight.
6. Pass thumbs under index loops and insert into little finger loops from below, then into index loops, also from below and release indices.
7. Caroline Extension.



Tinamitto was a very pretty girl. Dauwaba was a young man with a number of sweethearts but after seeing Tinamitto he left them all and married her.

109. EIDIOWINAGO

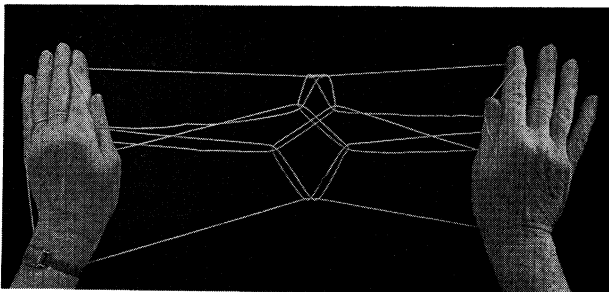
Long String

(The name of a woman)

Learnt from Dube and Adimo

Jayne, Fig.840, is identical with the figure produced after movement 7.

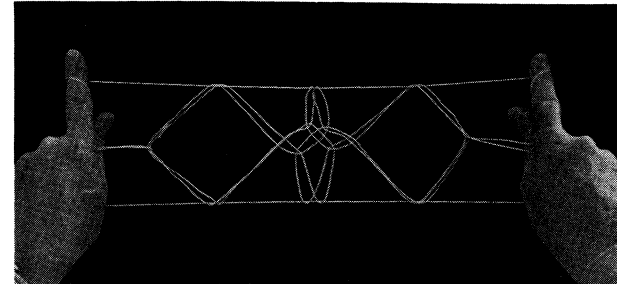
1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops, insert into ring finger loops from below and return with near ring finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under all remaining strings, return with far little finger strings on backs of thumbs and release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices and ring fingers.
7. Caroline Extension with near thumb strings.



8. With fingers pointing down lay figure flat and release thumbs and indices; make a loop on the top string, to right of 'sun', by giving string a clockwise twist, insert right thumb, away from you, into this loop, pass left thumb from left to right under strings of 'sun' which lie over top string, then insert into made loop beside right thumb and

return through 'sun' with right near thumb string. Extend hands.

9. Transfer middle finger loops to indices.
10. Eongatubabo.



Eidiowinago was a legendary figure. Her mother fell from a pandanus tree in heaven and was found by Awidoga, who married her and Eidiowinago was born. When Eidiowinago saw the moon she cried, for the moon was her grandmother, so Awidoga made a canoe and took her to the moon and left her there.

Chant:

Adaga wo augeragag, au geragag n-anga en bwa awe tubwin
oara ma ngam eokared nguno Eidiowinago dedage Eidiaranubobwe
to uga mo obaoe, mwid ko tubum, ogu ko yoren am oag, bwe
eroa n iyen o opudu opum eitang - untranslatable.

110. BIYAT EIDIOWINAGO Long String

(Eidiowinago's lagoon fish)

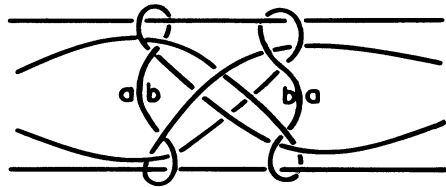
Learnt from Ijauwe .

1. Perform the first 5 movements of Eidiowinago, No.109.
2. Release indices, middle and ring fingers; draw hands apart.
3. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer

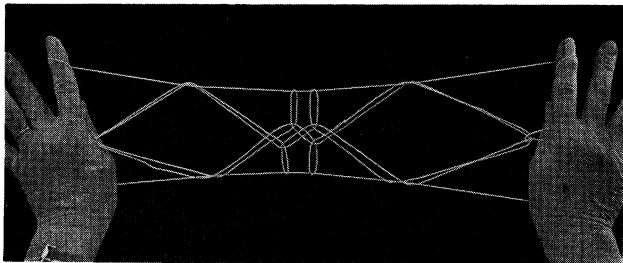
thumb loops to indices.

4. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and insert into index loops also from below; release indices.
5. Caroline Extension.
6. Release thumbs then insert them into index loops from above and release indices; lay figure flat by lowering hands as they are in an upright position.

Fig.9



7. Arrange pattern as in Fig.9, insert indices at 'a,a' and bring them up at 'b,b'; extend hands. Work little loops towards centre of figure.
8. Twist index loops away from you.
9. Eongatubabo.

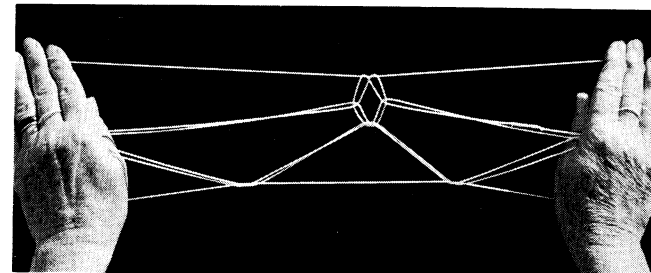


(Name of a man)

Learnt from Mweija

Jayne, Fig.841, Ibunemun.

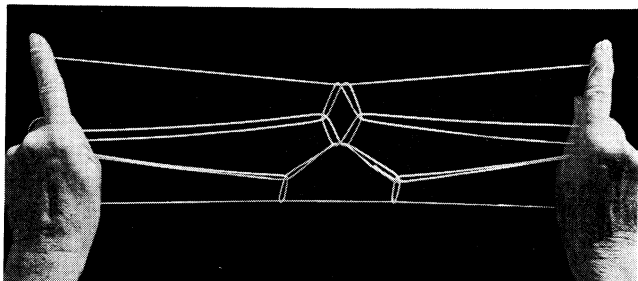
1. Nauru Opening I.
2. Pass indices under middle finger loops and insert into little finger loops from below, straighten indices, bring towards you, insert into thumb loops from above and return to position; release thumbs.
3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, hold upper far index strings against tips of indices and twist indices down, towards you and up through lower loops, which fall off, and return to position; release thumbs.
4. Transfer index loops to thumbs.
5. With opposite hand bring little finger loops up through middle finger loops, remove from little fingers and replace.
6. Twist little fingers away from you.
7. Transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index and middle finger loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both middle finger strings, then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
8. Caroline Extension.



This figure is almost identical with Jayne's Ibunemun, Fig. 841, the only difference being in the lower half of the pattern. If movements 5, 6 and 7 are varied as follows a figure identical with Jayne's will result. I did not see this done on Nauru but

have used only normal Nauruan techniques in my reconstruction.

5. With right index and thumb make a small upright loop on left far middle finger string by grasping this string about two inches away from finger and giving string a half twist clockwise; put resulting loop over little finger; pull lower loop up through upper loop, release little finger and replace original loop. Repeat with other hand but give loop anti-clockwise twist.
6. Work little loops towards centre of figure; transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index and middle finger loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both middle finger strings, then insert into index loops also from below and release indices.
7. Caroline Extension.



112. DELAPORTE

Long String

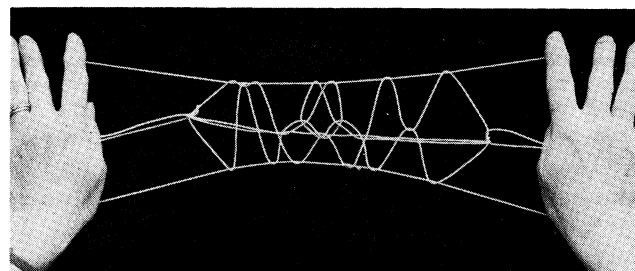
(Name of first missionary)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops and hold down both index strings; pass indices under middle finger loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and both middle finger strings then insert into thumb

loops from above, pick up near thumb strings and release thumbs.

3. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, insert into upper index loops from the far side and from above; return through lower loops with upper far index strings and release indices from all strings.
4. Transfer middle finger loops to indices.
5. Twist index and little finger loops away from you.
6. Amwangiyo.
7. Nauru Ending.
8. Gently release thumbs, then pass them under index and little finger loops, return with far little finger strings on their backs and release little fingers; insert little fingers, from below, into index loops and release indices.
9. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings, then insert into index loops also from below and release indices.
10. Caroline Extension.

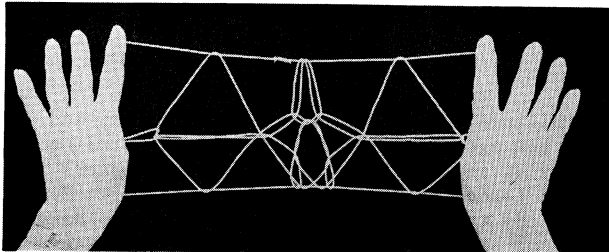


The Rev. Philip A. Delaporte was born in Germany and went to America at the age of 14, where he was later ordained. He became a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and landed on Nauru in 1899 as the first European missionary. He translated the entire Bible into Nauruan, together with hymns and stories. After sixteen years on Nauru he returned to America, where he died in 1928, aged 60.

(Doctor)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. With thumbs hold down index loops.
3. Pass indices under middle finger loops, insert into ring finger loops from below, return with near ring finger strings and both middle finger strings; then insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Insert thumbs, from below, into lower index loops, hold upper far index strings between tips of thumbs and indices, turn indices down, through lower loops, towards you and up releasing all but upper loops; release thumbs.
5. Insert thumbs, from above, into index loops and transfer these loops to thumbs.
6. Twist little finger loops away from you.
7. With opposite hand bring far middle finger string up through ring finger loop; make a loop on this string and put it over little finger so that the upper near little finger string passes over the upper far little finger string; bring lower little finger loop up through upper loop, hold between thumb and index of opposite hand, release little finger from both loops and replace loop held by opposite hand. Push loops towards centre of figure.
8. Transfer middle finger loops to indices; twist index loops. Release ring fingers.
9. Short Amwangiyo.

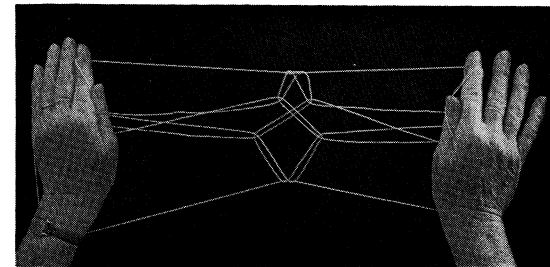


This figure represents the German Medical Officer standing in his boat preparatory to boarding a ship. It was invented by Agura.

Learnt from Simon Quanijo

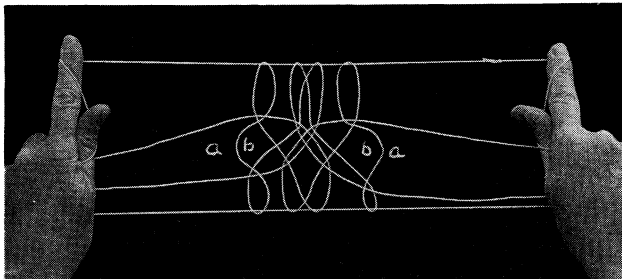
STAGE 1

1. Nauru Opening II.
2. Pass thumbs over index and middle finger loops, insert into ring finger loops from below and return with near ring finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, pick up far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from below, through lower index loops, under all remaining strings and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over ring, middle and index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position, releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices and ring fingers and work hands apart to absorb loose strings.
7. Extend figure momentarily by picking up near thumb strings on tips of indices.

STAGE 2

8. Release indices then transfer middle finger loops to indices.
9. Insert ring fingers, from below, into index loops and return with far index strings; insert right middle finger, from below, behind string at base of left middle finger and return; insert left middle finger, from below, behind string at base of right middle finger and return.

10. A second person helps loosen central pattern while hands are worked apart until strings are taut.
11. Repeat 2 to 5.
12. Release indices, middle and ring fingers.
13. Caroline Extension with near thumb strings; a second person arranges the figure as in the illustration below; release indices then insert them at 'a,a' and bring them towards you at 'b,b'.



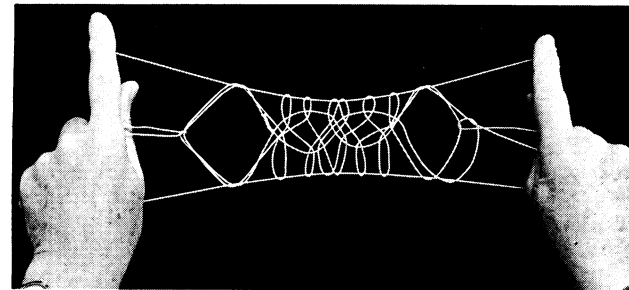
14. A second person helps loosen central pattern while hands are worked apart until strings are taut.

STAGE 3

15. Repeat 9.
16. With the help of a second person work hands apart until strings are taut with pattern in centre.
17. Repeat 2 to 5.
18. Release indices, middle and ring fingers.
19. Repeat 13 but there will now be four small loops on either side of central figure.
20. Repeat 16.

STAGE 4

21. Twist index loops away from you.
22. Eongatubabo.



This figure was invented by Simon Quanijo and Ijauwe soon after I left Nauru in 1937 and was recorded by me during a short visit in 1938. It depicts the Administrator of Nauru (then Commander Garsia) standing in the centre with members of his staff on either side. It is a very difficult figure to make until the Nauruan technique is mastered and even then there is a good deal of arranging to be done between each series of movements. It is absolutely essential to use a string that will slip easily; the plaited hair string used by the Nauruans makes complicated figures such as this comparatively easy to manage. The illustration shows the result when worked with a nylon string.

115. EMAINODOGONIGAE II Long String

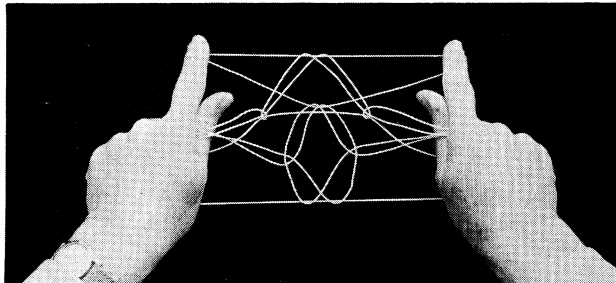
(A woman in her house)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Transfer thumb loops to indices; insert thumbs, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to thumbs.
3. Transfer little finger loops to indices; insert little fingers from above into upper index loops and transfer these loops to little fingers.
4. Bring hands together, insert right thumb and index towards you under left index loop grasp left far thumb string and pull up; make an upright loop in this string by giving it

a half twist clockwise; insert thumbs away from you into this loop, extend and Navaho thumbs. Do not pull strings taut.

5. Bring hands together again, insert right thumb and index, away from you, under left middle finger loop, grasp left near little finger string and pull up; insert little fingers towards you under this string, release right thumb and index and Navaho little fingers; push loops towards centre of figure.
6. With right thumb and index take hold of left far index string and near middle finger string and remove loops from left index and middle finger; insert right thumb away from you into loops. With right thumb and index grasp left far thumb string and near little finger string; remove left thumb and little finger and then insert left thumb towards you into loops and left little finger, from above, into right upper thumb loops which were originally left hand loops, and release these loops from thumb.
7. Repeat 6 with other hand.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and release thumbs; pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and then into index loops also from below and release indices.
9. Caroline Extension with both far thumb strings.

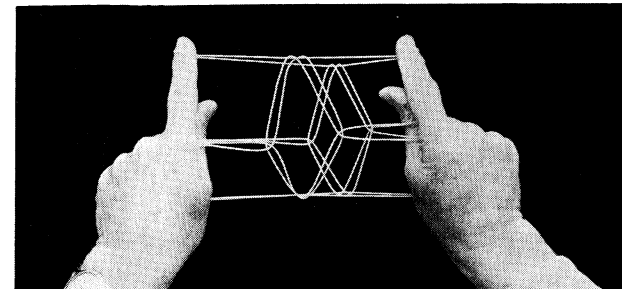


This was a new figure invented by a young man, Atabwijue of Aiwo village, in 1937.

(Two suns)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Nauru Opening 1.
2. Transfer thumb loops to indices; insert thumbs, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to thumbs.
3. Transfer little finger loops to indices; insert little fingers, from above, into upper index loops and transfer these loops to little fingers.
4. Bring hands together, insert right thumb and index, from above, between index and middle finger loops of left hand, bring towards you under index loop, grasp left far thumb string and return; make an upright loop in this string by giving it a half twist anti-clockwise, insert thumbs away from you into loop, extend and Navaho thumbs.
5. Bring hands together again, insert thumb and index of right hand, from above, between loops of left index and middle finger, pass away from you, under middle finger loop, grasp near little finger string and return; make an upright loop on this string by giving it a half twist clockwise, insert little fingers towards you into loop and Navaho little fingers.
6. Perform 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Eimanodogonigae II (A woman in her house), No.115.

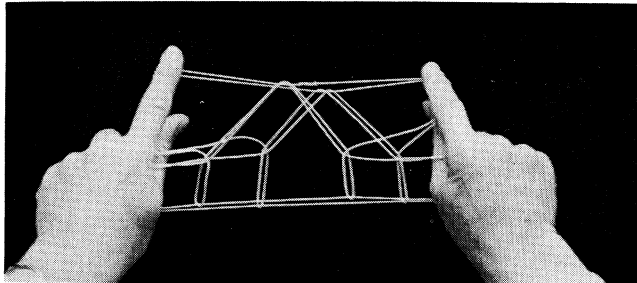


117. ARO NANAN AKIWOE Long String

(Legs of two Curlews)

Learnt from Ijauwe

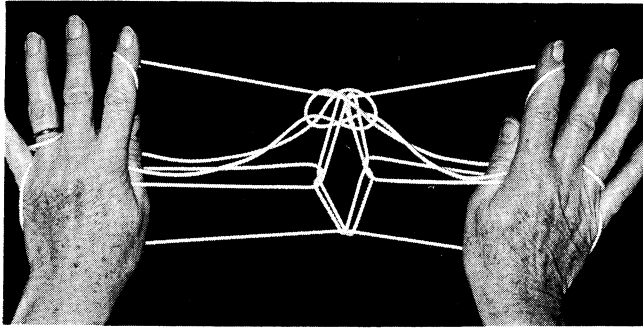
1. Perform 1, 2 and 3 of Aro Ekwan, No.116.
2. Bring hands together, insert right thumb and index, from above, between index and middle finger loops of left hand, bring towards you under index loop, grasp left far thumb string and return; insert both thumbs, away from you, into loop held in right hand and Navaho thumbs. Push small loops just made towards centre of figure.
3. Bring hands together again, insert right thumb and index, from above, between loops of left index and middle fingers, pass away from you, under middle finger loop, grasp near little finger string and return; insert little fingers towards you into loop held in right hand and Navaho little fingers. Push small loops just made towards centre of figure.
4. Perform 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Eimanodogonigae II (A woman in her house), No.115.



118. EIDIGAUW Long String

(Wife of Trader Thomas Hansen)

1. Opening A.
2. Pass thumbs over index loops, insert into little finger loops from below and return with near little finger strings.
3. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
4. Pass thumbs, from above, through lower index loops, under little finger loops and return with far little finger strings; release little fingers.
5. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs; pass little fingers over index loops, insert into upper thumb loops from above, with backs of little fingers pick up upper near thumb strings and return to position releasing thumbs from upper loops.
6. Release indices but do not extend hands fully.
7. Insert ring fingers, from below, into thumb loops; insert left index, from below, behind right palmar string and return; insert right index, from above, through left index loop, behind left palmar string from below and return.
8. Pass thumbs, from above, through index loops, insert into ring finger loops from below and return with near ring finger strings.
9. Insert indices, from below, into thumb loops, return with far thumb strings and release thumbs.
10. Transfer upper index loops to thumbs and release indices from all strings.
11. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, pick up near thumb strings and transfer thumb loops to indices; pass thumbs under index and ring finger loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings then insert into index loops, also from below, and release indices.
12. Caroline Extension. The figure should be arranged by a second person.



Chant:

Akea bwe ebane ganoan aonab de-demurora aparera rera. Ar
gatslotsio maneio aro ebog bwo okidaew emagen aparera
rera.

There is nothing left in the world umbrella. They spin
it and it becomes two streams of water, one part is spilled
and none left umbrella.

The meaning is that now there is an umbrella on Nauru there is
nothing left in the world to marvel at. Eidigow possessed the
first umbrella on Nauru.

119. MANUJIE ME AN IRAGU Long String

(Manujie and his sword)

Learnt from Ijauwe

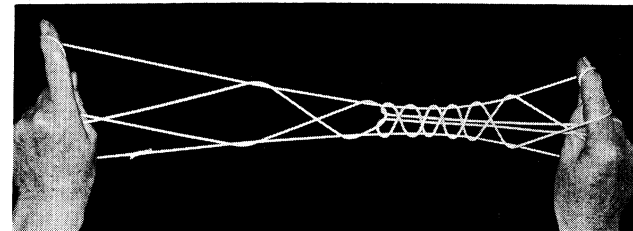
1. Position 1.
2. With left index pull out right palmar string about two feet
and hold all right hand strings in left hand.

Right hand:

3. Twist thumb and little finger loops once.
4. Insert thumb, from below, into little finger loop and return;
insert index, from below, into thumb loop, return with far
thumb string and release thumb; transfer index loop to
thumb.
5. Insert little finger, from below, into thumb loop and return;
insert index, from below, into little finger loop, return with
near little finger string and release little finger; transfer
index loop to little finger.
6. Perform movements 3, 4 and 5 twice more and release strings
held in left hand.
7. With right index pull out left palmar string about a foot.

Left hand:

8. Perform 3, 4 and 5 once and release strings held in right
hand.
9. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops and transfer
thumb loops to indices.
10. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert them into little
finger loops from below, then insert into index loops,
also from below, and release indices.
11. Caroline Extension.
12. There are now six diamonds on your right and two on the
left; a second person takes the end string of the sixth
diamond, in the centre of the figure, pulls it out and
then threads it towards himself through the diamond nearest
the performer's left hand, and puts it over performer's
right middle finger.
13. Release right thumb then pass it under middle finger loop,
insert into little finger loop, return with near little
finger and both middle finger strings and insert into index
loop from below. Caroline Extension.



Manujie, a warrior, went one day to ask Raijong if he had seen his father as he could not find him. Raijong said he knew nothing about his father but Manujie was suspicious, so he killed one of Raijong's pet frigate birds, cut it open and found human flesh inside. Manujie was sure his father had been killed to feed the birds so he killed Raijong with his spear.

This is said to be a very old figure. It takes a good deal of arranging by a second person.

120. AMET DEDOGO OERON Long String

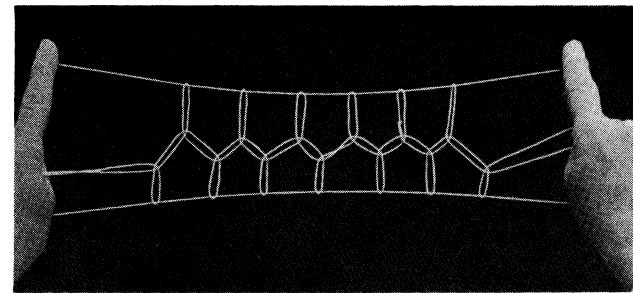
(Holding up the sky)

Learnt from Ijauwe

1. Opening A.
2. Release little fingers and transfer index loops to little fingers.
3. With right thumb and index take hold of left far thumb string and make an upright loop on it by giving it a half twist clockwise; insert left little finger towards you into this loop, pass right thumb and index, from above, through upper little finger loop and pull off lower loop, release left little finger, then replace original loop. Push loop just made to centre of figure.
4. With left thumb and index take hold of right near little finger string and make an upright loop on it by giving it a half twist clockwise; insert right thumb away from you into this loop, pass left thumb and index, from above, through upper right thumb loop and pull off lower loop; release right thumb, then replace original loop. Push loop just made towards centre of figure.
5. With right thumb and index take hold of left near little finger string and make an upright loop on it by giving it a half twist anti-clockwise; insert left thumb, away from you, into this loop, pass right thumb and index, from above, through upper thumb loop and pull lower loop off; release left thumb and replace original loop. Push little loop towards centre of figure.
6. With left thumb and index take hold of right far thumb string and make an upright loop on it by giving it a half-twist anti-clockwise; insert right little finger, towards you,

into this loop, pass left thumb and index, from above, through upper little finger loop and pull off lower loop; release right little finger then replace original loop. Push little loop towards centre of figure.

7. Repeat 3.
8. Insert indices, from above, into thumb loops, return with near thumb strings and release thumbs.
9. Pass thumbs under index loops, insert into little finger loops from below, return with near little finger strings and insert into index loops also from below; release indices.
10. Caroline Extension.



The number of loops depends on the whim of the performer, in the illustration movements 3 to 6 were performed three times.

Similar figures have also been found in Hawaii, the Society Islands, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands but in each place the technique is different. Nauru has the simplest working but there is a twist between the central loops which other methods do not have.²⁶

²⁶ Dickey 1928:131-4; Handy 1925:22-3; Maude and Wedgwood 1967:212-3; de Coppet unpublished MS, No.34.

Appendix I

The Story of the Girl in the Moon*

Once upon a time there was a girl who had two parents, a father and a mother. The mother's name was Egigu and the father's Gadia. They had three daughters, all three being called Egigu.

One day all the girls were playing round a great tall tree. The eldest girl menstruated there for the first time. She climbed up the tree and sang:

Egigu, Egigu O! Oh, I am menstruating! Go to father Gadia!
He is to give us jewels O, and necklaces made of shells O,
and a belt! [made of hair and coconut fibre].

But her father told her to go to the menstruation house and he would then send her nice food and beautiful ornaments. The eldest girl did as her father told her.

Next day the second daughter climbed up the tree and sang the same song that her elder sister had sung. And she too received a house like the elder sister and beautiful presents.

On the third day the third daughter climbed the tree and sang the same song. But her mother answered: 'your father is not going to give you a house; we do not like you. You can go wherever you like, to the bush or to the sea'.

The girl went to the beach and found there a sprouting nut, teginatare. She put the sprout into the ground, watered it and said: 'Grow, teginatare. You are not to wither in the sunshine nor in rough weather! Grow a little!'

Then the tree grew high up to heaven and bordered on heaven [today the Egigu tree, the only eucalypt on the island, is shown to everyone growing by the Buada lagoon]. The girl climbed up it to heaven and walked about there. As she wandered about she came to an old woman called Enibarara. She was in the cook house and was cooking palm wine, karave, to make syrup, kamuirara.

* Hambruch 1914:435.

The girl was very thirsty. She took a bowl of palm wine and drank it, and put the bowl back in its place. She drank thirty bowls. The old woman did not notice that the bowls were being taken but as Egigu went to empty the last bowl the old woman caught her and held her by the hand.

'Oh', cried Egigu, 'leave me in peace; I want to be good, to help you and serve you'. But the old woman answered: 'Oh no, I will not let you go. You have drunk all my wine and must die'.

'Oh no, let me go; I will also make your eyes well again'.

'Now, if you can do that, then I shall be content'.

Then Egigu said: 'Puh, puh, your eyes, Enibarara, oh puh!'

All sorts of things flew out of the old woman's eyes: ants, flies, worms and all kinds of insects. Her eyes became clear and the old woman could see again. She waited for the return of her three sons and, because she was afraid that they would harm the girl, for they were cannibals, she hid Egigu under a great shell.

Soon the sons came home. Ekwan, the Sun, came first. He sniffed about and said: 'Mother, it smells as if someone was here'. The old woman did not answer; she did not open her eyes either, so that her son would not notice that she could see again.

Then Ekwan went away and the second son Teb, the Thunder, arrived. He sniffed like his brother and said: 'Mother, it smells of people'. Enibarara did not answer; she did not open her eyes either; she pretended not to hear.

Teb went away and then the third son, the gentle, friendly Moon said: 'Oh Mother, it smells as if someone was here'.

The old woman opened her eyes and said: 'Come, look, look into my eyes!' Maramen went to his mother, looked into her eyes and said: 'Oh, who has done that? How is it that you can see again?'. Then Enibarara told her son the story of Egigu.

Maramen was very pleased and asked where the girl was. The old woman answered: 'There under the clam shell sits the girl who did it, and now you shall have her for your wife!'.

Now Maramen's joy was greater still. He made Egigu his wife and even today everyone can see the girl in the moon.

Dabamadoa and Debenori were cousins; their fathers were brothers and their mothers sisters. As boys they lived in the same house and both grew into warriors. They wished their home to float and the island moved away across the sea.

After a time they arrived at another place and the inhabitants went out to Dabamadoa and Debenori and told them to hide in the loft of their house. Presently some girls went to look for them, but they could not find them until they saw Dabamadoa's feet dangling from above; then they went close and touched his feet. Now the cousins were sacred men and when Dabamadoa's feet were touched by the girls his tabu was broken and he had no mana thereafter.

The island of Dabamadoa and Debenori floated away again and two strange warriors descended from the sky. Debenori went to meet one of them and killed him, but Dabamadoa was killed by the other warrior as he was sacred no longer.

Debenori killed the second warrior and floated on, with the old people on the island, until he reached Mon where he married a princess who was also a mermaid, Erienumon, the daughter of Bagewa and his wife Imwinab.

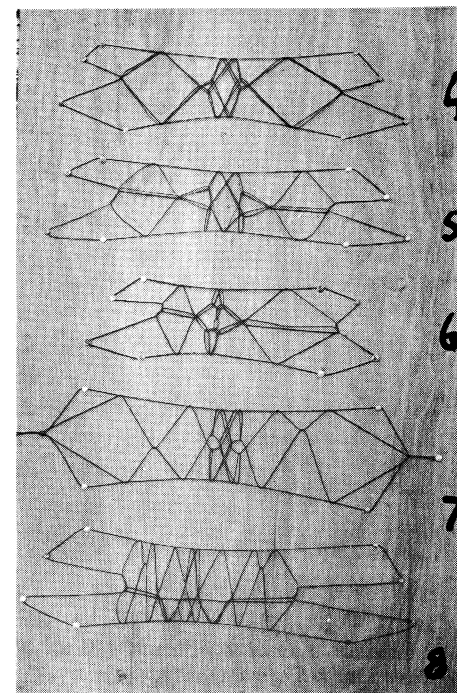
As Debenori was sacred he could not live with his wife so his father guarded her at night. Erienumon had a child whom she called Debenori, supposing him to be Debenori's son, but it was really his father's child.

Little Debenori had two aunts, the twin sisters of Debenori, who fed him with young coconuts and other food, but he bit their fingers which made them angry and they said hard things about him, such as that he was not the son of Debenori but of his father.

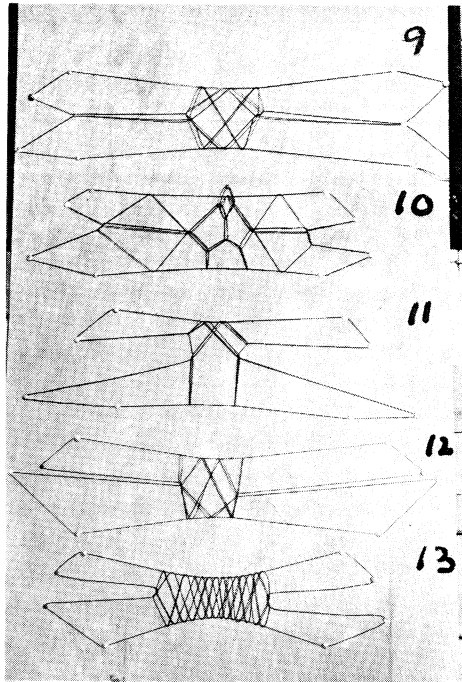
The child cried and cried and became a shark, so his mother became a shark too, and so did the rest of Erienumon's relations. Bagewa blew his conch shell horn to the north, south, east and west and innumerable sharks answered the call; and when night fell they asked the reason for calling them.

Bagewa pointed to Debenori's island. About midnight Debenori came along and cut off the tail of the largest shark, who was Bagewa's eldest son, Eijaurur. The day came and the sharks found that the island which they had meant to swallow had vanished.

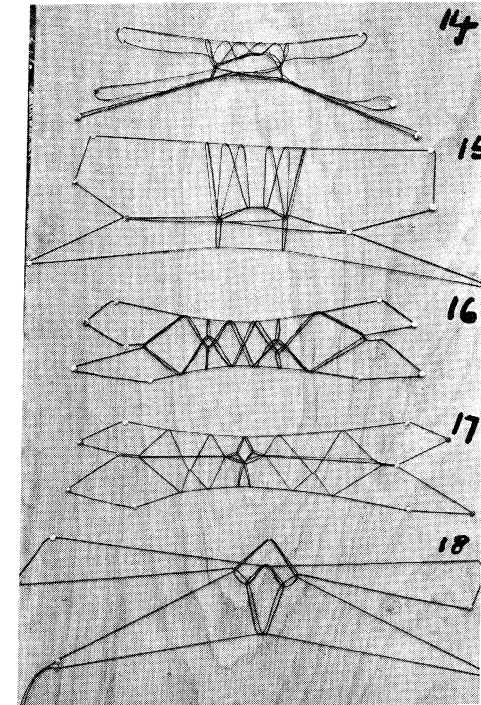
Photographs of String Figures shown to Captain R.C. Garsia



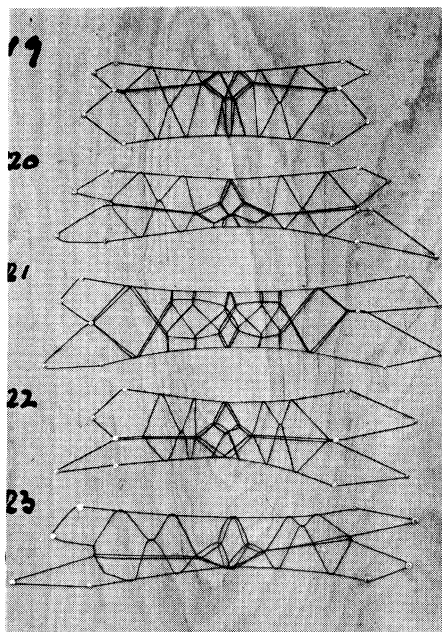
- (4) Deban Atia (see No.88).
- (5) Itsiyo me Araithan (see No.87).
- (6) Ibiaro. Represents twin children. (Not recorded).
Invented by Simon Quanijo and Ijauwe in 1938.
- (7) Eoen Kadama. Hook for catching flying fish in the daytime.
An old figure, given by Ijauwe. (Not recorded).
- (8) Eidobu (see No.94).



- (9) Enaginuere. A cave in Ewa.
An old figure, given by Ijauwe.
- (10) Uea. A king.
Invented by Simon Quanijo and Ijauwe in 1938.
- (11) Daragine. A Nauruan fairy story.
An old figure, given by Ijauwe.
- (12) Aiju Edetan. Three stars.
Invented by Ijauwe in 1938.
- (13) Itubwer. A mat.
An old figure given by Ijauwe.



- (14) Domaneab. A Meeting House.
Invented by Mweija in 1938.
- (15) The Cantilever Jetty.
Invented by Mweija in 1938.
- (16) Einogog me Euamwe (see No.91).
- (17) Eidagage. A woman relation of the Chief Eoaiio.
An old figure, given by Ijauwe.
- (18) Aom. A hermit crab.
Invented by Ijauwe in 1938.



- (19) Apegogoro (see No.92).
- (20) Einogog. Chief Gaunubwe's grandchild.
Invented by Ijauwe in 1938.
- (21) Administration Staffs (see No.114).
- (22) Eigugu. The girl in the moon.
Invented by Simon Quanijo and Ijauwe in 1938.
- (23) Eidereauwa. A Gilbertese woman of Nonouti Island, who
was known but never came to the island.
An old figure, given by Ijauwe.

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