"OUR PEOPLE ARE LIKE GARDENS"
MUSIC, PERFORMANCE AND AESTHETICS AMONG THE LOLO
WEST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

By
LYNN LESLIE STEWART
B.A., McMaster University, 1980
M.A., McMaster University, 1981

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
November 1989
© Lynn Leslie Stewart, 1989
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of **Anthropology or Sociology**

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date **April 24, 1990**
ABSTRACT

Relationships among the Aesthetic, culture, and music are problematic. Frequently considered as epiphenomenal to culture, music and the arts are typically seen as adjuncts to ceremonial activity. This dissertation examines the nature of the Aesthetic, music and performance in the context of the Lolo, Araigilpua Village, West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea, in an attempt to develop a definition of the Aesthetic applicable for cross-cultural research and to discover the ways in which the Aesthetic and culture articulate.

For the purposes of this dissertation, the Aesthetic is defined as that facet of religion focused on responses to extraordinary powers thought to maintain what are considered to be proper relationships between human members of a community and extraordinary powers. Three forms of aesthetics, social, performance, and musical, are taken as the means and methods of directing interactions between man and extraordinary powers.

At present, the Lolo are engaged in a process of secularization resulting primarily from the introduction of
Christianity, Western medicine and money. This dissertation examines the relationship between the Aesthetic and social life, and addresses the impact of changes to the Aesthetic.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The road to completion of a Ph.D. is lined with people who have assisted in the project in one way or another. I would like to single out certain of them who have, through the years, provided me with instruction, assistance, and well-placed kicks.

I am grateful to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for the funds that kept body and soul together and provided the funds for the research. A Norman Mackenzie Fellowship also provided funds.

My committee provided me with assistance and support far beyond the call of duty. Dr. David Liang and Dr. Elliot Weisgarber of the Department of Music, and Dr. John LeRoy of Anthropology, all gave generously of their time and thoughts. Dr. Bill McKellin and Dr. Alan Thrasher enriched me with their thoughts and I have taken heart from their support.

A special debt is owed to Dr. K.O.L. Burridge. I am extremely grateful for his support and stimulating thoughts for without them, this dissertation could not have been written.

I am also indebted to the "West New Britain Club", founded informally by Dr. David Counts of McMaster University and Dr. Dorothy Counts of the University of Waterloo. Dr. Bill Thurston, Dr. Rick Goulden, and Dr. Naomi Scaletta, also members of the West New Britain Club, are good friends and stimulating colleagues. I have gained immeasurably by their thoughts and assistance.

Others have also been strong supports. Chris Nikorak, Daphne Kelgard, Shawn Chisholm, Jeff and Cathy Bowman, and Greg Stevens have all contributed to the writing of this dissertation. My colleagues at Citizen Action Group, Hamilton, especially Jon Buttrum and Wendy Caron, have encouraged and inspired me throughout the writing of this dissertation.

My family have given unquestioned support and assistance throughout the years, for which I am very grateful.

The greatest debt of all is owed to the Lolo, especially my good friends in Araigilpua. Their acceptance and trust both warmed and humbled me. I dedicate this dissertation to them, with thanks.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Figures and Maps</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthographic Note</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER I  Aesthetics and Culture</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problem and its Context</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Study of Aesthetics</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art in Anthropology</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Perspectives</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture and Beyond</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Aesthetic, Aesthetics, and the Aesthetic Experience</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER II  The Ethnographic Setting</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Land</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Language</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Political Setting</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arts</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agents of Change</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER III  The Moral Dimensions of Society</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namor, the Creator Being</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character of Kin Relations</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Content of Kin Relations</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descent and Inheritance</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Units of Society</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV  Food and Performance</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Plants</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food in Everyday Life</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and Social Relations</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and the Cash Economy</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food and Performance</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF MAPS

Map 1 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ix

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Lolo Ceremonies . . . . . . . . 55
Figure 2 The Narogo Cycle . . . . . . . 160
Figure 3 Kundu and Garamut . . . . . . . 247
Figure 4 Bamboo Instruments . . . . . . 260

ORTHOGRAPHIC NOTE

In the text of this dissertation, Maleu vocabulary appears in bold face type, while Tok Pisin terms are underlined. For terms in either language, /ng/ in the text should be read as /ŋ/.

vii
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is, among other things, a cultural ethnography of the Lolo, mountain dwellers of the interior of northeast West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea (see map p. ix).

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine, through a study of music and performance, the relationship between the Aesthetic and culture. The basic question addresses the nature of the Aesthetic and the manner in which it is made manifest in ceremonial and secular life. Upon analysis of the Lolo ethnographic material, this problem can be distilled into two questions. The first: how do Lolo concepts of being and power produce an Aesthetic that can be compared with Western notions of aesthetics and the notion of "art for art’s sake"? The second: in what ways are changes in the Aesthetic related to changes in these concepts of being and power?

The exploration of this problem necessitates examination of all facets of Lolo cultural life, since I argue that an understanding of the Aesthetic can only be
gained through an understanding of its social and cultural context. As I conducted my research, it became clear that not only were the Aesthetic and culture intimately linked, but that the Aesthetic played a dynamic and creative role in shaping and maintaining culture and social organization.

Culture and social organization are predicated on the existence of a moral order, one which outlines the conventions and principles for social interaction. A necessary and critical element of social interaction for the Lolo is interaction with spirits. While the Lolo would not recognize such a distinction, I have analytically separated principles governing interaction with humans and those guiding interaction with spirits. The latter includes interaction with all extraordinary beings and powers, and events, items, and substances associated with these powers, and is placed in a different category, which I here label the Aesthetic.

Following Armstrong (1971, 1975, 1981), the concept of the Aesthetic rests upon the notion of power. Items or practices invested with power are placed in the realm of the Aesthetic, and as such are given special status within their contexts and accorded deferential treatment. The "Aesthetic" is thus focused on the extraordinary powers themselves and their constitution, that is, the quintessence of power, typically conceived as inherent in spirit beings, but also occasionally in evidence in humans.
This quintessential power is conceived as that which makes possible an ordered cosmos and social universe. The term "Aesthetic" is used in this sense each time it appears in the dissertation.

The concept of the Aesthetic as used here and that of religion are quite similar. The Aesthetic and religion are, by virtue of their concern with spirits and powers, intimately connected. As Burridge (1969:6-7) says about religion and religious activity,

The redemptive process indicated by the activities, moral rules, and assumptions about power which, pertinent to the moral order and taken on faith, not only enable a people to perceive the truth of things, but guarantee that they are indeed perceiving the truth of things.

Any activity can be invested with religious significance, and when this is so, that activity has overriding importance. It points to that which permeates and informs a whole way of life, and more crucially, it indicates sources or principles of power which are regarded as particularly creative or destructive (ibid, p. 4).

The issue here is power: its definition, constitution, manifestations, and perceived effects. Since both the Aesthetic and religion are concerned with power, specifically ultimate power, the question must be addressed of the value of using the concept of the Aesthetic in this dissertation rather than religion. For my purposes, the Aesthetic, rather than religion, is a useful heuristic device which provides for analytical
continuity in the study of a society which is undergoing a process of secularization, broadly defined here as the process by which a society changes from a primary emphasis on religious principles to the secular. Hence, the Aesthetic is here seen as that facet of religion as a whole which refers to an exercise of, or response to, extraordinary powers taken to produce, maintain, or restore what is viewed as proper relationships between human members of a community and extraordinary powers.

The Aesthetic is seen as a part of the overall moral order rendered distinct by virtue of its intimate relation to extraordinary and nonmoral powers. As an heuristic device, it is usefully abstracted and separated from the moral order and designated 'the Aesthetic'. This separation has a twofold advantage: first, the Aesthetic as it might be an order sui generis can be seen and appreciated; second, it allows for an examination of the Aesthetic in its relations to extraordinary powers on the one hand and morality on the other. It is the relationships between, and articulations of, the two aspects of the moral order that provide the key to the relationships between the Aesthetic and culture.

As a preliminary hypothesis or problematic, it can be said that the dynamic between moral order and the Aesthetic is such that each reinforces the other when either is strong or firm, but should either be overly
permissive, weak, or infirm, then there is a progressive weakening of both.

Access to extraordinary powers is directed by aesthetics, including performance aesthetics, musical aesthetics, and social aesthetics. Each of these forms of aesthetics can be conceived as proper modes of access to the quintessential powers which not only enable humans to live harmoniously with the spirit world and with other humans, but allow humans to assume spirit powers for themselves. The social aesthetic provides humans with rules and conventions for their dealings with other human beings and extraordinary powers in secular or everyday contexts. Musical aesthetics enables humans to use musical instruments and songs for positive ends, in that they maintain good relations with the extraordinary.

Performance aesthetics directs action in the preparation and execution of ceremonial, so that the relations of humans and extraordinary powers are enhanced, and the ends of the ceremonial achieved. These three forms of aesthetics serve to clarify the ways in which the relationship between the Aesthetic and culture can be played out in a variety of contexts, and underscore the importance of the Aesthetic as an analytical construct.

This dissertation proposes to demonstrate the relationship between the Aesthetic and culture. To this end, Chapter I outlines the research problem in detail, and
presents the definitions and concepts to be used throughout the dissertation. A discussion of current perspectives on aesthetics and performance in anthropology and ethnomusicology indicates how these have been defined and appear in the literature. A central issue raised in this chapter is that of the importance of studying art within its cultural context. In a literate culture, an Aesthetic can be separated from its socio-cultural context and made to seem *sui generis*, since literature tends to objectify. In a non-literate culture, lacking the objectification of a literary tradition, this cannot be done, and so context is all-important. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the concept of the Aesthetic and how it is used in this dissertation.

Chapter II provides the ethnographic background to the Lolo and this discussion of the Aesthetic. The relationship of the Lolo to the land, Lolo language, economic and political setting, the arts, music and performance, are discussed. This is followed by an examination of three agents of social and cultural change, Christianity, Western bio-medicine, and money, in an attempt to indicate how these agents of change have caused gaps to appear in the Aesthetic, resulting in changes to the moral order.

Chapter III is a study of Lolo social organization, focusing on kinship and descent as they reveal the moral
principles of Lolo social life, or the social aesthetic. Both the living and the dead are included in this analysis, since spirits, both mythical and ancestral, have great influence on the daily lives of contemporary Lolo.

Chapter IV examines the place of food in secular activity by examining the role of food in everyday life including gardening and food exchange. As I conducted my research, it became clear to me that were I to gain insight into the articulations between culture and the Aesthetic, I would have to consider food and gardens and the relationships of these to music and ceremonial performance. Food and ceremonial provide the vehicles and occasions for the manifestations of extraordinary powers, hence examination of these shows the ways in which the moral order of culture and social organization and the moral order of the Aesthetic merge and coalesce in special events.

Also discussed in Chapter IV is how the Lolo use food on a daily basis as a means to maintain or initiate social relationships and express and evaluate these relationships. Food and the constitution of masculinity and femininity is also addressed. The relationship of food to the economy is considered, including changes to traditional practices as the Lolo begin participation in a monetary economy. This is followed by an examination of food and performance including the role of food in all
facets of ceremonial activity from initial preparations to the execution of the event. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the values of food and the relationship of food to the moral order and to the Aesthetic.

Chapter V delves into Lolo ceremonial activity, outlining the processes by which ceremonials are carried out and following the major ceremonial cycle of the Lolo known as narogo. The ideological bases of ceremonials are examined, as are the ways in which these ceremonials manifest cultural values, including the articulations among ceremonials, cultural values and the Aesthetic.

Chapter VI pulls together the ethnographic material in the previous chapters. It is an analysis of the Lolo relationships among the moral order, power and the Aesthetic. The intent of this chapter is to attempt to answer the question of how Lolo concepts of being and power produce an Aesthetic, and to demonstrate how the Aesthetic is articulated with everyday life.

Chapter VII examines one ceremony, Vokoi, in detail from the start of preparations to its evaluation to both illustrate norms and their manipulations in social and performance aesthetics, and to demonstrate how performance, through the use of symbols and metaphors, speaks to extraordinary powers. This performance is viewed within the context of the social interaction leading to its execution.
Chapter VIII discusses Lolo music-making, including an examination of instruments and their functions, and the role and values of music-making in society. Music-making in relation to the Aesthetic is discussed in terms of the powers harnessed by and contained within musical instruments and in the act of making music.

Chapter IX enters the realm of musical analysis. The chapter contains a formal musical analysis of one ceremony indigenous to the Lolo in order to determine the canons of musical aesthetics governing composition. A comparison between an indigenous ceremony and an imported one is carried out to determine the formal differences between the two and to assess the impact on musical aesthetics and culture of the current practice of replacing indigenous ceremonies with imported ones. The question of how song structure and lyrical content speak to the Aesthetic is also addressed.

The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the process of secularization and its impact upon the Lolo.

Field Research

Field research was conducted from March to November, 1985. The primary research site was Araigilpua Village, but varying amounts of time were spent in other mountain Lolo villages such as Ararau, Aselmepua, Makuar,
Napitigongpua and Rovata. Additional research was also done in two Idne-Lolo villages, Lepo and Rilmen.

Most of the data used in this dissertation were gathered using participant observation and interviews of varying degrees of formality. In the early stages of the research, Tok Pisin was the language used, but as my familiarity with Maleu, the local vernacular, increased, I was able to blend Maleu and Tok Pisin. Toward the end of the research, many of my informants would respond to my questions in Maleu, responses which I would clarify with Tok Pisin. Given that the Lolo perceive Tok Pisin as an inferior language, I attempted to use Maleu as much as I was able.

The subject matter of my research, music and music performance, meant that I depended more on certain groups of people than others. Lolo song, story, music and performance specialists are, for the most part, senior men, and so they acted as my primary informants for these issues. Matters dealing with food, however, were considered by the Lolo to be more properly the domain of women, and it was to women that my queries in these matters were directed. I found that the Lolo themselves would direct me toward those whom they considered to be most expert. Thus, most of my informants were older, married, and with families.
CHAPTER I

AESTHETICS AND CULTURE

The Problem and its Context

This dissertation considers one basic problem, that of the relationship between culture and the Aesthetic, and examines it on two levels of abstraction. First, the issue is ethnographic. What are Lolo concepts of being and power, and how do these produce an Aesthetic that is comparable with a European concept of aesthetics? The exploration of this question demands that such facets of culture as social organization, religious beliefs, economy, politics and so on be considered so that the Aesthetic can be seen within its ethnographic context. Second, what are the effects of changes to either the Aesthetic or to its social and cultural underpinnings? Clearly, the movement between culture and the Aesthetic is reflexive, with each molding and guiding the other depending on circumstance. One aim of this dissertation is to discover how the Lolo
conceive of the Aesthetic, and how they describe the relationship between it and other aspects of their culture.  

My investigation of the Lolo is taken from a perspective that can best be described as interpretive. Following Geertz (1973:89), the perspective taken here is that culture is 

an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life.

Especially relevant to this dissertation is Geertz' notion that symbols in culture function to synthesize a people's ethos — the tone, character, and quality of their life — the picture they have of the way things in sheer actuality are, their most comprehensive ideas of order (ibid).

What is of importance here is the notion that meaning and values are embedded in symbols which serve to synthesize and communicate those values and beliefs, and by doing so, perpetuate indigenous conceptions of order. As is demonstrated in further chapters, Lolo social life and performance are vehicles for communication of values and beliefs, and it is in this way that the Aesthetic, aesthetics, and the moral order are articulated and rendered meaningful. (See also Brenneis 1987, Chernoff 1979, Coplan 1987, and Feld 1982 for examples of this orientation in studies of performance).
The set of premises outlined below constitutes the framework for the discussion in the following chapters. These premises, while they speak more directly to the ethnographic problem, also address the larger problem by providing an alternative lens through which to view the relationship between the Aesthetic and culture. Briefly, the conceptual framework is as follows:

(1) To understand music and music-making, there must be consideration of the context in which that music is created and performed.

(2) Consideration of context involves most generally an understanding of the culture in which the music is found, and more specifically, the conceptualization of the Aesthetic within that culture.

(3) Lolo social organization constitutes a facet of the overall moral order, maintained and expressed by dealings with food including production, distribution, consumption and exchange.

(4) "Moral" is here taken to be that which is considered by the Lolo to be right, proper, or appropriate in principle in a given situation.

(5) The Aesthetic provides an order which is part of the overall moral order of culture and social organization. It governs dealings with extraordinary powers. The distinction between the facets of the moral order dealing with ordinary and extraordinary is an arbitrary one used for heuristic purposes, since the Lolo would not recognize such a distinction.

(6) Occasions centered on food and kin-based activities are heralded by ceremony and performance.

(7) Lolo performances are exceptional and potent events because the ordinary and extraordinary merge, the moral order of social organization and that of the Aesthetic coalesce, making each performance a rare and singular event.
Before embarking on an ethnographic investigation, the problem demands an exploration of the concept of aesthetics, specifically how it has been used in anthropology. Once this background information has been presented, it is then possible for me to present my own definitions of the Aesthetic as it will be used in this dissertation.

The Study of Aesthetics

Aesthetics, briefly defined in the conventional Western usage, is the "science of the beautiful", the examination of so-called art objects according to numerous criteria resulting in judgments concerning the art object and its "beauty", or, how well that object satisfies specific criteria used to measure beauty. However, as argued below, the terms "art", "aesthetics" and "beauty" have been assigned highly specialized meanings which tend to obscure cross-cultural differences in perception.

There are two main currents of thought concerning the study of aesthetics, each of which is well-represented in literature on the philosophy of aesthetics. The first, called here the universalist position after Nketia (1984), asserts that aesthetics and aesthetic standards or parameters are universals which operate independently of and external to social or cultural contexts¹. This
position also asserts that evaluation of "art objects" should be according to logical and rational processes, not taking into account the mental or emotional state of the creator or the observer. The universalist perspective, which at its extreme can be labelled "art for art's sake", perhaps reached its height with the writings of Hanslick who wrote of musical aesthetics that

The beautiful is and remains beautiful though it arouses no emotion whatever, and though there be no one to look at it. In other words, although the beautiful exists for the gratification of the observer, it is independent of him. In this sense, music too, has no aim (object) and the mere fact that this particular art is so closely bound up with our feelings by no means justifies the assumption that its aesthetic principles depend on this union (1984:10).

The second current, the relativist, places aesthetics and standards for evaluation firmly within a cultural context by examining relationships between aesthetics and such facets of that context as religious belief, social structure, emotion, and meaning. According to adherents of this position, art could be used to instruct in proper morality, (for example Plato, Aristotle, and such medieval writers as Thomas Aquinas and St. Augustine [Epperson 1967, Richter 1967, Beardsley 1966, Lippman 1977, Cassirer 1963]) and later echoed in Kant (Crawford 1974, Greene 1957, Osborne 1974, White 1979). The major thrust of the relativist orientation is that art forms must be studied within their contexts of creation so
as to understand the creative force and their effects on audiences.

Both of these currents of thought incorporate studies of form and style of art objects since it is impossible to study aesthetics from either perspective without considering the formal elements of the objects under study. However, those who would argue for aesthetics without context at worst complete their investigations with examinations of formal elements as a base from which to compare, contrast and evaluate various works from different cultures, based on "universal" standards of form, structure and proportion. Followers of the second trend would argue that aesthetic conventions and methodologies developed from a Western epistemology constitute one, but not the only, way to gain an understanding of art, particularly art from non-Western cultures.

In this chapter, I examine the ways that anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have studied art and aesthetics, in order to place the problem under examination here within its scholarly context as well as provide the context in which I develop definitions and conceptions of the aesthetic.

Art in Anthropology

Merriam (1964), in a discussion of the characteristics of Western aesthetics, provides a summary
of the "art for art's sake", or universalist, perspective. According to this position, the aesthetic experience is necessarily detached and objective and one in which the observer places the work of art "at arm's length, as it were...to examine it for what it is" (p.261). He further argues that adherents to this position are committed to the "manipulation of form for its own sake" (p.263). Finally, he maintains that in Western aesthetics "it is the music sound itself which is considered to be capable of stirring the emotions" (p.266).

The priority assigned to the study of form clearly allows for the arts to be removed from their contexts and subjected to scrutiny based on Western conventions of aesthetics. The impact of this is far-reaching, and one that Merriam (1971) sees as contributing to the lack of anthropological studies of art. Merriam believes that anthropologists have failed to understand the nature of the arts as a result of the analytical separation of art from context. The widespread acceptance of this separation by scholars and in popular usage has seemed to mean that anthropologists have been reluctant to encroach on what has been perceived as the territory of other disciplines, most notably the humanities.

In early studies which concentrated on the arts (e.g., Boas 1927), the arts were separated from their contexts in that the approach to arts from other cultures
was predominantly Western with the focus of study being the analysis of formal elements giving little or no consideration to context. These studies generally followed the methodological procedures and theoretical orientations of the fine arts and art history.

This lack of an appropriate theoretical and methodological orientation was but one of the problems involved in the study of arts from non-Western cultures. Other problems cited have been related to language (Goldwater 1973:3). Many languages lack terms which can be translated as "art" or "beauty", terms which traditionally have been associated with studies of aesthetics. This apparent absence perhaps made researchers reluctant to designate objects as artistic creations or not.

Another problem (Sieber 1971:204) resulted from the Platonic distinction between the fine arts and crafts, a distinction which rests on the utility of objects. If an object has no function other than to be admired, then that object is considered a representative of the fine arts. If an object has some utility or function, then it properly is a craft. Crafts fall outside of the domain of study since the Western Platonic tradition of aesthetics restricts study to the fine arts. Since many non-Western cultures produce objects which are used primarily for practical purposes, these objects frequently were not considered aesthetic objects and hence were neglected. In addition,
until recently, anthropologists themselves have been reluctant to rely on indigenous exegesis and interpretation, preferring their own, more "objective" viewpoints regarding the arts (Fagg 1973:156).

Studies in ethnomusicology possessed similar problems. Ethnomusicology developed quite recently out of comparative musicology and suffered the usual growing pains of any young discipline, combined with the problems particular to the study of a phenomenon as difficult as music. Ethnomusicology, in its early days, suffered from a lack of theoretical perspectives and thus often relied on whatever it could borrow from other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and linguistics. Unfortunately, ethnomusicology often sank into faddism by adopting whatever theoretical orientation was popular at a given time regardless of the suitability of the perspective. Ethnomusicologists were thus frequently put in the position of adapting theory, method, and terminology, often with unfortunate results (see, for example, Feld's 1974 critique of transformational-generative analysis of music).

Ethnomusicology also possessed a Janus-like quality in which, reminiscent of the split in aesthetics, some ethnomusicologists leaned toward musicology while others tended in the direction of anthropology (Merriam 1969). In ethnomusicology as in the study of aesthetics, there was a split between two prevailing trends of thought, one using
Western procedures to study musical form and style, and another viewing music as a social and cultural product, the understanding of which was dependent on extensive study of social and cultural context. Fundamentally, those who studied music and art outside of context implicitly assumed that all participants and observers should be investigators, equally informed regarding aesthetic standards used for evaluation. However, this presupposed universal standard definitions of art, beauty, and aesthetic criteria. Those who did not evaluate their art forms in this manner were viewed as mystified, rather than as operating from a different set of assumptions. More contemporary writers, however, are moving from universals to the study of context.

Current Perspectives

At present, studies of the arts in anthropology are becoming more common and are clearly responsive to trends in anthropological theory, focusing on the "native's point of view" (Geertz 1977) and utilizing indigenous conceptions and categories for analysis (e.g., Robbins 1982). In these studies, anthropological constructs and categories are used as means to bring insight to the data. However, fitting data to analytical constructs is not regarded by those adhering to an indigenous view as an adequate or sufficient
treatment. Thus, indigenous explanations and indigenous categories are used as the vehicles for explicating data, explication being considered more valuable and illuminating than explanation.

The same perspective is true for studies of the arts and aesthetics. It is more instructive to allow those people whose arts are studied to define and analyze these in their own terms (Bohannon 1966, Hanna 1977, Feld 1982 and 1983, Mills 1971, Schwimmer 1979, and Steager 1979). In more current research, art and aesthetics are not considered as epiphenomena, but are considered as social or cultural phenomena in the same way that, for example, kinship is. Similar translation processes occur whether the object of study is kinship or art: a literal translation to understand the basic vocabulary and an interpretive translation which is analogous to field research in that the researcher translates indigenous terms and constructs into anthropological ones and then back again so that the "poetic meanings" (Leach 1973:772) can be grasped and preserved (e.g., Geertz 1973, Wagner 1967, 1981 and Labby 1976). Thus, in contemporary studies of music, the arts and aesthetics, researchers are attending to indigenous definitions and conceptualizations (Chernoff 1979, Feld 1982, Keil 1979, Munn 1973a and 1973b, Stone 1982). More specifically, according to Bohannon (1961:92), studies of ethno-aesthetics should include discussion of
(1) the art objects, (2) a wide knowledge of the people who made the objects, (3) a rather specific knowledge of the criticism of the objects by members of the society which use them, (4) a general knowledge of comparative aesthetics....

Hence both context and indigenous exegesis are critical to a thorough understanding of arts and aesthetics.

Conceptions, definitions and ideas about the constitution of the aesthetic experience have undergone a similar transformation. Rather than being considered as a singular kind of experience separate from everyday life experience, a position typical of the "art for art's sake" movement, aesthetic experience is considered as a more intense, but not qualitatively, different experience².

There is thus a continuity and connection between the mundane and the aesthetic, a connection proposed by Kant and echoed in the works of later writers (Dewey 1959, Llamzon 1978, Mills 1971, Turner 1986) especially those reviving the concept of poetics as used in the Platonic sense (e.g., Brown 1977, Hymes 1981, Stravinsky 1942, Turner 1983).

Clearly then, definitions and conceptions of art, aesthetics and the aesthetic experience have been expanded and are no longer restricted to purely Western perspectives. Studies of non-Western arts obviously benefit from this expansion, and by the same token, non-Western perspectives can bring refreshing new insights to the study of Western arts.
In order that these broad definitions can be useful in cultural analysis, the position of art within society and culture must likewise be re-examined. Like other facets of culture, art is rendered meaningful by what it communicates and it does so by virtue of the fact that art forms are grounded within their cultural contexts. Art can communicate in two ways. Overtly, for example, by means of song lyrics, subject matter of a carving and so on, or more subtly by communicating cultural values, attitudes, or beliefs, in short, ideology. Art can thus be considered a way of making sense of the world, a way of putting cultural ideology into a concrete and tangible form. Not only can traditions be preserved and the underlying ideology reaffirmed, but the arts can provide a context for innovation and a means by which new cultural elements or influences can be incorporated (Gerbrands 1967, Peacock 1968, 1975).

Therefore, as a part of social life, art reflects and objectifies ideology, articulating beliefs about the way the world is. How these articulations take form, I believe, is predicated on the idea of style. The notion of style is applicable both to art and to social action. In the arts, regardless of the medium, style is taken as the manipulation of both formal and symbolic elements to create a characteristic combination, such as romanticism or impressionism in music. In anthropology Geertz (1973) for
example, following Weber, echoes this definition of style in his discussions of the "chronic character" of social life. Forge's (1979:281) definition of style as "limitations of choice" is apt, since choices can be limited with respect to behaviour, to composition, or to performance.

For my purposes, following Brenneis (1987:237), the term "social aesthetics" is used in later chapters, and refers to "intellectual, sense-making activity [fused with] local aesthetic criteria for coherence...and with ethnopsychological notions of personhood, emotion, expression and experience". In addition to being terminologically consistent with other concepts in this dissertation, social aesthetics is used here rather than style since it more adequately conveys connections between epistemological and metaphysical concepts while placing these in the context of social action.

One way to study social aesthetics as defined above is through an examination of indigenous conceptions of morality. Unfortunately in anthropology, the study of morality has been somewhat neglected. Studies of law, religion, kinship and so on would seem to be predicated upon indigenous conceptions of morality. However, the impact of cultural relativism perhaps causes anthropologists to be wary of being accused of imposing their own moral standards upon the moral standards of those
whom they study. Consequently, there has been much written about the morals of anthropology, but little about the anthropology of morals. Notable exceptions to this are Burridge (1969), Chernoff (1979), Read (1955) and Wagner (1981). Others, perhaps choosing to avoid the baggage carried by the term "morality", have created new terms for considering morality (for example Smith's 1978 discussion of the "good life").

There is a definite parallel between ideology and morality, since both involve ideas about what is good, appropriate and desirable within a culture, what people should do in a given situation, and for what reasons. Through the mediation of style or limits placed on choices, it appears that morality directs both behaviour and artistic creation and performance, hence, returning to a position reminiscent of Classical philosophy, the study of the aesthetic and the various types of aesthetics includes both the artistic and the moral.

From this discussion of current perspectives, it is apparent that two parallel lines of analysis obtain. In the creation of art, analysis begins with consideration of ideology and then how ideology is made manifest in aesthetics. Aesthetics delineates style, which then directs the production of arts. Parallel to, and conceived as acting in concert with, is a second line of analysis which likewise begins with consideration of ideology, but
seeks to examine its appearance in morality. Morality plus ideology becomes the social aesthetic, which takes on a social style, which is reflected in behaviour.

**Culture and Beyond**

In mainstream approaches, and to a certain extent in more current approaches, creativity, individualism, and dynamism and change are muted (cf Murphy 1971) in the interests of coherence and consistency. In mainstream anthropology, Western models are applied cross-culturally, while interpretive perspectives compare models.

There is a parallel between the "art for art's sake" perspective and mainstream anthropology (Bernstein 1978) in that both approaches apply essentially Western models to the phenomena of other cultures in the hopes of developing a coherent, logical and rational picture of that culture. More current interpretive approaches use indigenous models to achieve fundamentally the same ends, a portrait of a culture in which certain aspects of a culture are consistent with other aspects. In both cases, facets of culture and society are explained and rendered meaningful via their relationships to other facets, whether the model proposed for analysis originates in the mind of the anthropologist or in that of those who are studied.
Each of these approaches is based on a combination of three factors which Bateson (1978:90-98) has isolated as description, tautology, and explanation which are, according to Bateson, characteristic of Western scientific thought. Description includes the "facts" or "effective differences" and suggestions of connections between facts (p.90), and explanation connects relations among facts and "maps" these relations among facts onto tautology which connects propositions (p.91). In this process, data and propositions about the data are connected in such a way that they each give credence and coherence to the other.

In spite of these perceived limitations, that analysis and cross-cultural comparison can be done at all reflects a profound statement: all people as humans possess singular commonalities. In discussing these commonalities, various terms are proposed to indicate that another factor in addition to man’s physical being and his culture and society must be considered. Variously called "metaculture", "aesthetics" or "metapattern" (Bateson 1978), "trope" (Wagner 1986) and "supracultural" or "mythic" (Armstrong 1983), each asserts that all cultures, because they are all composed of humans, possess things in common, the presence of which cannot be attributed to culture or social structure alone.

Bateson (1978) argues that the aesthetic can be called the "ultimate unity" (p. 19) or "the pattern which
connects" (p. 8), and thus the aesthetic response is actually a response to recognition and empathy with the pattern (p. 9). He proposes the existence of three fundamental types of pattern which he describes as first, second, and third order connections. First order connections are comparisons between two individuals in the same group, second order connections are connections by pattern (p. 11), with first and second order connections themselves connected to the metapattern which is "a pattern of patterns", the "pattern which connects" or "mind" (p. 12). For Bateson context, a "pattern through time" (p. 15) is important since "all communication necessitates context...without context there is no meaning...contexts confer meaning because there is a classification of contexts" (p. 18).

Similarly to Bateson, Armstrong (1983) argues that for man, "two forces" (p. 17) are operative, the first an "institutional" or supracultural force in which man obeys human and by and large social or cultural imperatives, the second an individual imperative in which man "might mark the world" (p. 17) by virtue of having lived in it. Like Bateson, Armstrong recognizes patterns within culture and patterns in the supraculture, with the addition of an individual component through which man is creative and within the bounds of humanness and culture, maintains individual integrity. Armstrong links these patterns to
"diachronic consciousness" and "synchronic consciousness", the former referring to cultural and human generalizations and the latter consciousness arising from individual action in the world (p. 19). Armstrong also argues that the aesthetic is imbued with "affecting presence" or power which reflects tension in the location of the aesthetic object as both subject and object and deriving great power and energy from this tension (pp. 5-7).

Wagner (1986) defines "trope" as

a single phenomenon or principle [that] constitutes human culture and cultural capability....The phenomenon is coherent and pervasive, organizing conditions for the perception of meaning over the whole scale-range of cultural forms (p. 126, emphasis original).

He further states that there are three orders of trope, serving to organize cultural symbolism with increasing generality from individual cultures to human culture as a whole, in which can be found "core" symbols (p. 127). Physical perception and cultural perception require, according to Wagner, a body to orient perception in space, and a mind for "consociation" (p. 129).

Like those writing from the interpretive approach, they are united in their insistence that context be considered in discussing art and aesthetics. In order to move from cultural considerations of art and aesthetics to the human, the cultural, that is, the manner in which these are defined, constituted and articulated within a specific
culture, must be considered since "observable aesthetic systems are as variable - from people to people of the same time, and from epoch to epoch - as social systems and economies" (Armstrong 1983:8).

What these approaches have in common which distinguishes them from both mainstream and interpretive anthropology is their agreement that an explanation founded on culture or social structure is incomplete. Pointing out consistency and coherence within one particular culture does not acknowledge or attempt to identify, let alone explain, the pervasive human nature of people in culture. Each admits too, of being unable to provide more than suppositions about the connections between individuals, culture and the larger pattern. As Bateson said in an imaginary conversation with his daughter,

What does e.e. cummings say? 'Always the more beautiful answer who asks the more difficult question.' Something like that. You see I am not asking another question each time. I am making the same question bigger. The sacred (whatever that means) is surely related (somehow) to the beautiful (whatever that means). And if we could say how they are related, we could perhaps say what the words mean. Or perhaps that would never be necessary. Each time we add a related piece to the question, we get more clues to the sort of answer we should expect (1978:235-236, emphasis original).
Performance

Moving from the philosophical and theoretical to the practical, the question must be raised of how to study these ideas, specifically, how to link ideology to art and ideology to social life. In the study of music and musical aesthetics, an answer to this can be found in performance, "the enactment of the poetic function, the essence of... artistry" (Bauman 1986:3). Performance, for the Lolo, is the nexus of human and spirit activity. Analytically, performance provides the vehicle in which metaphysical and epistemological constructs, morality, the social aesthetic and the Aesthetic are merged in a single entity. For this reason, the study of performance is central to this dissertation.

The study of performance and the roles of the performer and audience are critical to an understanding of culture. Lord (1958:27), in his seminal study of Yugoslavian folk singers, discussed the importance of performers.

What is of importance here is not the fact of exactness, but the constant emphasis by the singer on his role in the tradition. It is not the creative role that we have stressed for the purpose of clarifying a misunderstanding about oral style, but the role of conserver of the tradition, the role of the defender of the historic truth of what is being sung; for if the singer changes what he has heard in its essence, he falsifies truth. It is not the artist but the historian who speaks at this
moment, although the singer's concept of the historian is that of guardian of legend.

Audiences too are active participants in performance. They "are not solely targets for rhetorical strategies; they are, rather, active interpreters, critics and respondents" (Brenneis 1987:237).

With the help of theatrical directors such as Schechner (1977, 1985, 1986b) and others, performance is added to the symbolic or religious study of ritual (e.g., Turner 1967, 1969, 1974, 1986b).

Singer (1972), in order to study the complexities of Indian society, proposed the "cultural performance model", an heuristic device which moves up the "ladder of abstraction" (p. 65) from performance to "cultural structure" (p. 64). He argues that by beginning with the formal, observable units of performance, the patterns and principles of performance can be discovered and then extended by analysis to the patterns and principles of culture. Singer is not looking at performance for its own sake, rather, he uses performance as a means to investigate abstract and less visible aspects of culture, a treatment similar to that of Schieffelin (1976) in his study of the Gisaro ceremony among the Kaluli.

In another example, Bauman (1986:4) describes performance events as
a product of the systematic interplay of numerous situational factors, prominently including the following:

1) Participants' identities and roles;
2) The expressive means employed in performance;
3) Social interactional ground rules, norms, and strategies for performance and criteria for its interpretation and evaluation;
4) The sequence of actions that make up the scenario of the event (Bauman 1986:4).

Other studies of performance have centered on the symbolic or textual aspects of performance. Schieffelin (1985) calls these symbolic or hermeneutic analyses "meaning centred" and argues that a linguistic or discursive analysis is incomplete and avoids such issues as why performances work, that is, how they communicate the symbols and meanings which they undeniably do. Schieffelin (1985:709) argues that it is the experiential aspect of performance rather than only the linguistic or symbolic that makes performance effective:

...through performance, meanings are formulated in a social rather than a cognitive space, and the participants are engaged with the symbols in the interactional creation of a performance reality, rather than merely being informed by them as knowers.

In reference to Kaluli seances as performances, Schieffelin (p. 722) states that

The socially emergent dimension of performance, constructed through the interaction of the performers and participants but not reducible to them, constitutes the reality in which the actual work of the seance gets done.
And further,

...the meaning of ritual performance is only partly resident in the symbols and symbolic structures of which it is constructed. To a large degree...the meanings of the symbols and of the rite itself are created during the performance, evoked in the participant's imagination in the negotiation between the principle performers and the participants (ibid).

For Schieffelin, participating in performance in whatever capacity is what makes the performance work, not the symbols or the "text" of the performance alone. As Geertz (1986:377) says of the relationship between text and performance:

They are perceived not as independent realities to be fitted together in the name of mechanical or quasi-mechanical 'such are the facts' explanation; rather they come as 'seeing as' elucidations of one another, inseparable moments of an interpretive dialectic, in principle endless.

Thus the performance itself must be examined, not only for the light it casts on other aspects of culture, but as a part of a dialectical process of experience and interpretation. In the same vein, Kapferer (1986) suggests that response to performance is an aesthetic experience. Experiencing a performance renders meaningful and coherent other experience. The form and content of performance, both artistic and social, are subjected to the interpretive dialectic which is simultaneously individualizing and generalizing, and which recalls, articulates, and unifies artistic and moral conventions.
Performance renders meaningful other experience through the use of symbols and metaphors (Fernandez 1982, 1986). Metaphors serve to unite the material elements and trappings of a performance with more abstract and perhaps unconscious ideas, or, use "the more familiar and evident as a model to grasp and clarify the less evident and elusive" (Barth 1975:210). As such, metaphor "helps to ground our conceptual structures in the reality of concrete experience" (Beck 1978:84). The study of performance metaphors allows for a greater understanding not only of the events taking place in a specific performance, but enables a deeper understanding of what gives rise to the performance itself, the information and sensations communicated via the performance, and the mechanics of that communication. Performance, then, is a natural means of gaining access to information about other aspects of social or cultural life, since its study requires an examination of most facets of social life.

The Aesthetic, Aesthetics, and the Aesthetic Experience

In this chapter, the concept of aesthetics has been examined, as has the study of music and the arts in anthropology. Two issues emerge from this discussion: studying art within its context allows for the understanding of why certain items are seen within their
contexts as "art" or as imbued with "aesthetic" qualities; and aesthetics and the aesthetic experience can be seen as simultaneously separate from, yet an integral part of everyday experience such that there is continuity between the two, with the aesthetic experience invoking powers of a different, extraordinary order such that the experience of such an event is profound.

Armstrong (1981) argues that objects which are venerated or accorded special treatment are objects invested with power:

> It is the work's power which demands our attention; it is power which quickens us so that we greatly prize such things and, thus, so universally we make them; and it is power which both requires and validates those sacrifices we exact of ourselves and of our goods in their behalf (p.6).

This is true too for the Lolo. Certain objects or practices are potent because they either invoke power, or are themselves saturated with power and are thus treated with care and deference. The Lolo Aesthetic constitutes that part of the moral order governing the treatment of these objects and practices.

For the purposes of this dissertation then, an analytical framework is needed to separate different categories of meaning attached to the notion of an Aesthetic. In the analytical framework, "Aesthetic" refers to responses to, or exercises of, that which the Lolo consider to be powerful, generally by virtue of connections
with ultimate or extraordinary power. Both the Lolo perspective and that presented in the analytical framework are concerned with powers, powers which are extraordinary and mysterious, and which humans can not hope to completely control.

Aesthetics includes the means with which humans gain access to the realm of the powers. Aesthetics, plus morality or the guidelines for appropriate human action as defined by the Lolo, constitute the moral order. "Musical", "performance", and "social aesthetics" refer to the rules and conventions governing the treatment of objects and practices imbued with power, and prescriptions for carrying out certain practices also considered to relate to the realm of the Aesthetic. The aesthetic experience is that of experiencing the merging of the moral order of the social organization with the Aesthetic, and experiencing the power invested in the objects or events, as a result of the proper use of aesthetics. The comparison of the Lolo and analytical perspectives is as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lolo Perspective</th>
<th>Analytical Perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Powers of reproduction and creation - mythical spirits</td>
<td>The Aesthetic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancestral spirits</td>
<td>aesthetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>aesthetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humans and human action (moral/immoral behaviour)</td>
<td>moral order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Lolo most often use ancestral spirits as intermediaries in the process of gaining access to extraordinary powers, and use ceremonial performances as vehicles for the activities of the ancestral spirits and thus the connection between humans and the powers of mythical beings. For the Lolo, power in performance comes as a result of the performers' interaction and association with extraordinary powers via the supernatural, power which is transferred to the performance itself, and to the audience as a result of their participation with the performers. If the performers and audience fail to make the connection and associations with the supernatural and hence extraordinary powers, the Lolo are denied the benefits of these associations and are subject to the wrath of the spirits. Performances can fail in this respect if they do not make proper use of aesthetics, that is, if performances are not appropriately directed toward the powers.

Based on this premise, it is significant that the Lolo are losing knowledge of the Aesthetic. Musical, performance, and social aesthetics are thus not resonant with their recently abbreviated knowledge and are becoming likewise abbreviated. The loss of the Aesthetic thus has dramatic consequences for performance and social life in general. This process is more fully developed in later chapters.
The following chapters provide the social and cultural context for a study of the Lolo Aesthetic, music and performance, by presenting the "chronic character", social aesthetics or morality of the Lolo. This provides a basis from which to examine the interrelationships among social and musical aesthetics, performance, the Aesthetic, and everyday life.
CHAPTER II

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC SETTING

The basic ethnographic context of the Lolo is outlined below. This contextual information is needed in order to place the Lolo in relation to other Melanesian societies, and most importantly with respect to this dissertation, to begin the process of understanding the setting of Lolo music making and the constitutions of, and articulations between, culture, social organization and the Aesthetic.

The land inhabited by the Lolo, their language, economy and politics, and the arts including stories, music and performance are addressed. These were selected for me by my informants who said that an understanding of the Lolo people demanded an understanding of these facets of Lolo life. The chapter concludes with an examination of three agents of change, Christianity, Western bio-medicine and money, which, in my analysis, have had the greatest impact on the Lolo Aesthetic.
The Land

The Lolo live in the interior mountainous area of northwestern West New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea. They number approximately 1200 people and are spread out through seven villages which the Lolo divide into three separate districts differentiated according to elevation and traditional affiliation. These are the mountain Lolo, among whom I conducted my research. Their stories place their origin in the mountains, and they have subsequently spread out to occupy a broad band that stretches across the island.

On the north coast near Cape Gloucester (the district administration centre, established in 1959) are four Lolo villages, housing the beach or coastal Lolo. The inhabitants of these villages moved here after Cape Gloucester was chosen to be the administration post to capitalize on the development in the area.

South of the mountain Lolo are the Idne-Lolo. In the literature on languages of West New Britain, it was thought (Capell 1962) that the term Idne referred to a separate language. However, those who live in the villages along the Idne River towards the south coast of the island are a subgroup of the mountain Lolo considered to be the most traditional of the Lolo since they continue to perform ceremonials in the Lolo repertoire which have been
elsewhere abandoned. When the Lolo talk about those who live on the Idne River, they call them "Idne", but when questioned about the relationship between the Lolo and the "Idne", I was informed that they are distinguished only because they are not mountain dwellers like "true" Lolo but are river people who, for example, use canoes to go to their gardens. The Idne-Lolo spend more time in mountain villages visiting kin and arranging ceremonials than the coastal group.

The Lolo thus occupy three very different environments, coastal, mountain and riverine, and range from the sophisticated on the coast to the very traditional on the river. I was unable, primarily because of the rain which made paths between villages impassable even for the sure-footed Lolo, to visit all the Idne villages. However, I spent several days in two Idne-Lolo villages and met many of these people when they visited Araigilpua, the village in which I conducted the bulk of my research. Araigilpua is the central village with three up the mountain, and three down into the valley, and as well is considered by the Lolo to be the centre of the island. It is the centre of the area for other reasons as well, for it is here that the aid post, Catholic church, and community school are located. When official business takes place, for example district court, a visit by the didiman (agricultural officer) or any other district officer, it is to Araigilpua
that they come to hold their meetings. I was able to attend these meetings and in this way meet people from each Lolo village.

Araigilpua is unfortunately placed on the boundary between the two prevailing pressure systems, the Northwest and Southeast trade winds, meaning that the Lolo generally experience a great deal of rain for the entire year. However, 1985, when I did my research, was considered to be the wettest year that any could remember. After even an hour's heavy rain, rivers turned into raging torrents often stranding people for days between villages. Log bridges of four feet in diameter washed away, older houses caved in from rain, and damage to gardens was extensive.

The Lolo are swidden horticulturalists and use axes, bush knives and digging sticks to plant gardens of various kinds of taro (Araceae family) and sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas). These are the staple foods of the Lolo who refer to taro as "our bones" and say that taro is the only food indigenous to the area and the one crop planted by their ancestors. Taro is available throughout the year, while sweet potatoes are seasonal. The ubiquitous taro is supplemented by other seasonally available foods such as pitpit (Setaria palmifolia), a kind of grass the soft inner shoot of which is eaten, and the equally ubiquitous aibika (Hibiscus manihot Abelmoschus manihot), greens resembling spinach in their raw state which are cooked until slimy and
gelatinous and used as a garnish with every meal. These foods form the basis of a diet which is protein poor, being composed almost entirely of carbohydrates. Night fishing is infrequent, and most protein in the diet is in the form of pork distributed at ceremonials but neither pork nor fishing provide a substantial addition to the diet.

The gardens of the Lolo are generally used for only a few seasons. After this, gardens are left fallow for about twenty years so that they will be fertile again for the next generation. The Lolo thus have several gardens at various stages, some which are currently producing, old gardens ready to be left fallow, and new gardens. Crops are planted continuously so that there will always be food ready for harvesting.

In addition to the foods mentioned above, Lolo also have coconuts which some Lolo have planted in plantations with an eye to economic development. Coconuts are a relatively recent addition to the area, the first trees having been brought up from the north coast after WWII. *Talis* (*Terminalia*) and *aila* (*Inocarpus fagifer*) are two types of nuts consumed in addition to *galip*.

Additional resources such as firewood, materials for housebuilding and so on, are available in the bush.

Garden land can be acquired from numerous sources. People work gardens on land acquired from parents, from the givers of their names, and land upon which they have use
rights, rights usually granted by siblings. Each Lolo has access to several plots of land, which, if used as gardens, are typically either fallow, newly planted, or already producing thus ensuring a constant supply of ready food.

Gardens are the focal point of Lolo work. Women spend most of the day engaged in garden work. Women return to the village in mid-afternoon, since it is considered shameful and a dereliction of duty for a woman to return home close to dark because by this time, her husband and children will be hungry and needing food. If a woman returns late from the gardens, those whom she customarily feeds do not eat until quite late in the evening. In this event, a hungry man goes to a sister's house or to his mother, complains about his wife, and is given food and sympathy.

A man's schedule for gardening is different and more dependent upon personal preference than is a woman's. Unless a man is a part of an organized labour party, he is free to return to the village when he likes, whether or not he has accomplished anything in the garden. Men are in the habit of returning to the village in the early afternoon to have a nap in the men's house, sit in the sun and gossip, or look for someone to make them food. A very common complaint is that wives are too busy to cook for them in the gardens and, out of desperation, they must come back to the village to be fed.
While working in the garden, strict rules are observed regarding the treatment of food and the disposal of garden rubbish. All refuse is carefully gathered and hidden in the brush. Gardens are favoured targets for sorcery and one must exercise great caution in disposing of garden leavings since the gardens are so vulnerable. Any waste from food eaten in the gardens is covered with a fine coat of red spit from betel nut protecting it and preventing its use by a sorcerer. Upon entering a garden, eyes are peeled for evidence that an unauthorized person has trespassed. It is unacceptable behaviour for people to enter the gardens of others unless those gardens belong to a family member. Even if this is the case, food gathering is not permitted unless one has obtained prior permission. If gardens belong to non-kin, then there is no acceptable excuse for one’s presence. Should it be discovered that one has trespassed in gardens belonging to non-kin then one can be labelled a thief of food, one of the most serious accusations that one Lolo can level against another.

Both gardens and food are treated with similar care and respect, and the quality of each is used in determining a person’s worth in Lolo society. Good gardens produce good food, vital for good health and for successful ceremonials.

Food is central in Lolo performance and ceremonial events. The success or failure of such events is based in
large part on the quality and the quantity of food distributed. It can correctly be said of the Lolo that there is no ceremony without food, and no food without ceremony. From the simplest meal to the most elaborate ceremonial event, the collection, preparation and distribution of food render visible a complex web of belief and action that is at the very foundation of Lolo culture.

The Language

Maleu, the vernacular spoken by the Lolo, is a member of the Siasi group of languages and one of three Austronesian language families of Northwestern New Britain (Thurston 1987). Maleu was given to the Lolo people by Maleupua, the bird who was guardian and messenger for Namor, the creator being. Language itself is called Maleu according to the Lolo, since it was the first language given to people. As well, because it was the first language, Maleu speakers insist that the language is the easiest language that one could possibly learn to speak, and one who has not mastered the language in several weeks is, according to the Lolo, a hopeless idiot or one who is being deliberately uncooperative.

One dialect of Maleu is spoken by the Kilenge at the tip of the northwest coast and another by those who
live in the vicinity of Saksak on the west coast. Differences among these dialects are minimal and anyone who is a Maleu speaker can easily understand the dialect of a speaker from another area. The Lolo make distinctions between dialects based on the sound of the speech. The Kilenge "cut their talk" and indeed Maleu spoken by a Kilenge sounds staccato to one accustomed to the Lolo dialect in which the talk "sleeps". Those around Saksak tend to speak in high, pinched tones such that "their talk stands up." There is no difference either to the Lolo or to my ear between Maleu spoken by a Lolo or spoken by an Idne-Lolo.

One's ability to converse in the native vernacular marks one as an insider to the culture, while those who are unable to converse remain at the outside of the social boundaries. I was repeatedly told by my informants that being like a Lolo required that I understand their language and use it exclusively. This attitude was especially noticeable in regard to the way that people talked about those living in the village who were unable to communicate in Maleu but spoke Tok Pisin plus their own language. It was considered disgraceful that the effort to learn Maleu had not been made.

Thurston (1987) notes that speakers of the Siasi family of languages tend to speak fewer other languages than do others in West New Britain. This is so for the
Lolo perhaps because intelligible dialects of Maleu are spoken by a large number of people in the area precluding the need to speak several different languages. In Araigilpua, most people speak some Kabana (the language spoken in the Bariai area of the north coast), some have knowledge of languages from the south coast, but generally, while they know that many other languages are used in West New Britain, most do not speak them with any degree of fluency.

In comparison to other areas in West New Britain Province, Tok Pisin is spoken very rarely and is a relatively archaic form using far fewer anglicized words than variants found, for example, on the north coast. I rarely heard Tok Pisin used among Maleu speakers except for swearing and insults, occasionally by soccer players, and sometimes by children just back from school in the afternoon. Older people sometimes chided children for using Tok Pisin since it is definitely regarded as an inferior language. Tok Pisin is taught in the community school but children, once leaving the schoolyard, resume speaking in Maleu. They would speak Maleu exclusively but the teachers allegedly hit them if they do not use either English or Tok Pisin while at school. English is not spoken at all. During my stay in the village I heard English spoken only once when a school-aged child used English to scold a younger sibling. School children or
those who have had some formal education are the only ones with even a limited understanding of English.

Language is an important means of establishing one's identity among the Lolo. If one can speak like a Lolo then one is like a Lolo and thus linguistic ability is analogous to social ability. The Lolo equate custom and language. Each different language is associated with a different cultural complex so that one only feels truly comfortable with those with whom one shares a language while those who speak another language are automatically regarded as outsiders. Not only does language reinforce the Lolo sense of uniqueness, but the name of the language recalls their origins, their close relation to Namor, and their special status among the world's peoples as "chosen". In this way, language, like certain art forms such as basketry, become "marks" of the Lolo and serve to define Lolo as distinct.

Economic and Political Setting

Traditionally, the Lolo considered themselves to be well-off. Rarely did they experience a shortage of food as a result of inclement weather, and even if gardens were poor, a great variety of wild food was always available in the bush. Their definition of wealth has changed over the years, and while wealth still means having many pigs and
traditional household goods in large quantities, to be a wealthy Lolo today means having these plus possessing Western goods like aluminum cooking pots, tin plates, "kauboi" (flashy) shirts, or a radio. It is thus increasingly necessary for the Lolo to have cash to pay their taxes, to buy clothing, to buy school supplies and treats like biscuits for their children, and to increase their overall wealth and status. Cash is required even to conduct ceremonial work properly since each ceremony now includes an exchange of money in addition to the exchange of traditional goods. Pigs are no longer available without some cash and since these are still one of the central measures of an individual's wealth, one who aspires to prestige in the traditional way of having many pigs, must have access to money to amass them.

Surprisingly, rice is assuming a position almost analogous to pigs in the Lolo view. Each ceremonial requires large quantities of rice for distribution. It is possible to barter for at least a portion of the price of a pig, meaning that only a small amount of cash is needed, but the rule at the store is cash only and cash up front. Thus, a large sum of money must be collected to purchase the 40 to 60 kilograms of rice usually consumed. While I was in Araigilpua, at least three ceremonial events were postponed until those responsible could raise the money to buy the rice. Cash is necessary to obtain all traditional
forms of wealth from pigs to carved bowls (natavila) and shell money (namatavuvu), and to purchase Western goods which are now an expected part of ceremonial distributions.

The Lolo are, unfortunately, at a definite disadvantage in terms of entry into a monetary economy. They are invariably forced to leave the village to find work or rely on their kin who have already done so. Opportunities for earning money in the village are very limited with only occasional projects like roadwork or carrying cargo for the stores up from Cape Gloucester. Others in West New Britain Province plant and work copra plantations with some degree of success, but the condition of the road to the Lolo villages precludes the availability of any regular transportation.

The Lolo then, are unlikely at least in the foreseeable future to be able to take advantage of such things as grants for agricultural development and are likely to remain, as they describe themselves in comparison to coastal peoples, very poor. Their poverty is visible, and differences between the standard of living of the Lolo and that of the more prosperous coastal dwellers are immediately apparent. It is a source of shame for the Lolo that they dress in rags, have no soap for washing their clothes, are unable to give their children rice, and that their distributions at ceremonials are so meager.
Nonetheless, Lolo men and women spend much of their time involved in social and political machinations, and owing to the nature of local politics in Papua New Guinea, it is impossible to separate the two. Political success is achieved with the support that an individual can muster from his or her social network and lacking the appropriate social skills means that political influence will be minimal. In spite of their egalitarian ethos, it is considered highly desirable to possess influence and increase that influence by using the variety of options available. Certain people are born with influence by virtue of their birth into an already influential family. All are very conscious of their actions and careful not to offend those who may be in a position to grant favours, and to do favours for others so that they will be indebted, creating obligations to be called in at a later date.

Political activity for the Lolo takes place in a framework both traditional and modern, although men are more likely than women to participate in "modern" political activity. Men aspire to hold positions in either or both spheres and attempt to gain these positions using a combination of traditional and modern techniques although greater weight is placed on traditional means. For example, should one aspire to hold any of the elected positions in village government, one must be a powerful individual in the traditional sense possessing a large
number of pigs and other traditional forms of wealth and able to call on a large number of supporters. Added to this, candidates must demonstrate sophistication in their ability to deal effectively with the tangles of modern bureaucracy and not be intimidated in their dealings with district or provincial officials.

Possession of high political, social or economic status is at once a blessing and a curse for the Lolo. To be a significant and visible figure involved in the affairs of the village is to place one’s life and the lives of one’s family at risk, since influential people are favoured targets for sorcery, endemic among the Lolo. Typically in Papua New Guinea, sorcery can be initiated for many reasons, as revenge for some real or imagined slight, to attack first or be attacked, to teach someone a lesson for getting a swelled head, to ensure that no one else gains ascendancy, and so on.

Among the Lolo, members of one’s immediate family, for example fathers or brothers, are the most feared. Family have the greatest ease of access to personal possessions which are the favoured targets of sorcerers, and most importantly, have the greatest number of grievances to address. To a certain extent, while family members reflect the glory of the accomplishments of the others in their family, it still means that what is given to one is denied the other, and so one is not safe even
among close kin. Sorcery is thus one of the most potent means of social control and manipulation practiced and makes each Lolo walk a tightrope in an effort to enhance status and simultaneously avoid being ensorcelled. The reputation of the Lolo as dangerous sorcerers is widespread, and has been blamed for the demise of the Siasi-Kilenge-Lolo trade (Zelenietz 1980). Certainly it does not make for cordial relations and is likely one reason why the Lolo marry infrequently into other groups.

Sorcery has implications for more than day-to-day, or face-to-face interaction. Sorcery, or the threat of sorcery, holds all Lolo in check. They must constantly evaluate their actions, try to second-guess actions of sorcerers, and tailor their behaviour to minimize danger. In addition, and more significantly, the degree to which sorcery is practiced would seem to point to a serious problem. Sorcery is symptomatic of a changing Lolo moral order, which has consequences for the Lolo way of life. It is argued below that these changes, including the increase of sorcery, are the natural consequences of an Aesthetic in transition.

The Arts

Verbal Arts

The telling of stories is an important part of Lolo social life. The content of stories serves to reinforce
the Lolo sense of uniqueness and provides the hearers with lessons in Lolo history and morality. The act of telling stories is an occasion in which the Lolo moral imperative of sociability is enacted. Adults and older children often tell stories to young children, and everyone delights in hearing them told and participating in the telling.

The Lolo differentiate among napu, pungunga, and kilkilnga, three genres of stories. When referring to the telling of stories, the Lolo use the term appropriate to the particular genre of story, there being no generic word for story or story telling in Maleu.

Napu are the "stories of the night". Generally, people stay in the village at night because of the dangers from spirits and sorcerers, but certain circumstances such as hunting wild pigs and preparing for certain kinds of garden work require that a group of men spend a night in the bush. After dark, they sit by a fire and tell napu. Periodically some drop off to sleep, but there is always one man telling stories and someone listening.

Napu tell of animals or spirits who live in the bush and many of them explain how they came to cooperate with man. One story describes how man came to use lizard skin for the heads of drums, another tells how pigs came to be domesticated. I was told by one older man, a specialist in this genre, that the stories helped to pass the long nights and make the dark bush, teeming with dangers at
night, less frightening. The stories, he said, befriend and render familiar the night creatures. Telling napu reminds men of this while the activity around the fire keeps malevolent spirits at bay.

All napu are similarly structured. Each is about ten minutes long, begins by introducing the central human characters, and continues with an account of an event or a journey. The central animal character is then introduced. Each napu has a special song considered as a leitmotif for the particular animal involved in the story. The animal’s song is sung twice in the course of the story, and the story concludes with a statement reminiscent of Aesop’s fables, in which the relationship between the animal and man is explained along with a statement of proper moral behaviour as a result of this relationship.

On occasion a group of men may hold a night of story telling for the village. In this instance, food is cooked and distributed, and members of the village light fires and sit outside while the men tell napu until dawn. In this way, children learn the stories while everyone enjoys the entertainment. This is one way that napu are learned, although many are told by parents to their children in less formal settings. Several napu were told to me by children, and if their parents or other adults were present, they beamed with pride.
When people gathered to tell napu to me, these were usually hilarious occasions. They would crowd into my house, men and women accompanied by children, and settle in for an evening of gossiping and story telling. By contrast, the telling of pungunga requires elaborate preparation, is a time of great solemnity, and is one of the few times that small children are not welcome.

Pungunga tell of things that happened in the past. These stories describe the origins of different foods, customs, ceremonial, and speak of the time when Namor the creator being walked the land. For this reason, great importance was attached to these stories, and so when pungunga were told to me, care was taken to create the proper setting and atmosphere.

Prior to telling pungunga a group of old and highly respected men gathered at one or another of their houses and rehearsed, making sure of the chronology of events and all details such as place names, names of characters, and so on. The constitution of these groups and the house chosen to hold their rehearsals provided clues regarding the ownership of stories. Pungunga are passed by a father to his sons when he judges that they are ready to hear the stories and appreciate their significance. In this way, ownership of stories is established, in a way that follows general patterns of descent among the Lolo. Ownership does not mean that others do not know the stories, rather, it
means that certain people, by virtue of their kin links, have what can be called use rights to particular stories, and thus have the authority to publicly tell the stories and can pass these stories along. These individuals are those who are the arbiters of the stories with the power to say which version of the story is correct (Cf. Coplan 1987 for a discussion of authority in songs).

Rehearsal is an important element of Lolo story telling, especially in the case of pungunga. During rehearsals, arguments occasionally erupt as participants disagree on some point of the story. Participants in these discussions are those possessing the proper credentials in the form of kin links. If a younger man disagrees with an older man, the younger man is reprimanded for his effrontery in challenging the superior knowledge of one of his elders. If a man argues with another about some aspect of a story and is ignored or his opinion disregarded, chances are that that particular individual is held in low regard by his peers. Knowledge is especially critical with regard to the pungunga containing stories fundamental to Lolo identity. Those with the greatest amount of knowledge of this particular genre are venerated and held in high regard while others with less knowledge are less respected. When those without the proper sanction for telling certain stories told them to me, their efforts were rewarded with snorts of derision from other villagers, and the accusation
that they were "rubbish". In some cases, it was clear that the tellers indeed knew little of the stories. In others, however, the versions of the stories were similar, but since the teller lacked the authority to tell the stories, the stories themselves were seen as "no good". Frequently, those who told stories which were "no good" were also "no good" themselves, since only an upstart would tell a story not rightfully his.

Pungunga are reminders of the past and Lolo believe that without these stories, their traditions would fade away and disappear. Unfortunately, this is precisely what is happening. Almost each time I was told a pungunga, especially an important one, the teller would apologize for his incomplete knowledge of the story. Certain individuals are singled out as the masters of this genre, not because they know the stories in their entirety, but because they remember more of the stories than do others. By losing entire stories and parts of others, the Lolo are losing parts of the Aesthetic. Since these stories provide important moral lessons and explanations of the Lolo world, specifically the spirit world, this particular loss of the Aesthetic leads to a corresponding loss in moral order, since their understanding of the foundation for beliefs and their associated practices is gone.

Both napu and pungunga are considered by the Lolo to be indigenous but can also be found among other groups
in West New Britain (Scaletta 1985, Zelenietz 1980). The third genre, kilkilnga, is not considered to be indigenous. Kilkilnga are riddles. If a man wants betel nut, he will go to another man and draw verbal pictures of what he wants, and the other has to guess and give him what he asks. Unfortunately, I never heard any of these since very few people in the area know how to tell them.

The Lolo are quite particular in their notions of what constitutes good story telling. Story telling is a "verbal art" (Bauman 1986:8) and contributes to a person’s status within the society. Prowess in story telling reflects and causes others to acknowledge vast cultural knowledge making those most adept true big men.

Story telling for the Lolo fulfills a number of functions. As Bauman (1986:113) states,

When one looks to the social practices by which social life is accomplished, one finds – with surprising frequency – people telling stories to each other, as a means of giving cognitive and emotional coherence to experience; constructing and negotiating social identity; investing the experiential landscape with moral significance in a way that can be brought to bear on human behaviour; generating, interpreting, and transforming the work experience; and a host of other reasons.

These statements certainly apply to Lolo story telling. Individual identity is gained from the recognition and respect given to those considered talented and highly knowledgeable raconteurs. Much of what is considered to be the essence of Lolo culture is contained
within the Namor stories and other origin stories. Lolo stories, most particularly *pungunga*, tell of the origins of the ordinary and the extraordinary and describe the moral orders of each, while indicating how the two are articulated ideologically and in action. It is clear that given the significance of Lolo stories for the information contained within and for their social significance, losing parts of stories and entire stories constitutes a vacuum in Lolo life. Stories tell how the Lolo are connected to spirits and powers, hence the Aesthetic. Loss of this component of the Aesthetic contributes to further changes in the moral order of culture and social organization, since knowledge of the stories is required to render coherent the connections between the extraordinary and the mundane.

**Music and Performance**

More than any other facet of their culture, the Lolo consider music and performance as that which most clearly separates them from other groups, and that which speaks most directly to the essence of their culture. This is merely a brief introduction to music and performance of music among the Lolo. Further chapters deal with this subject in greater depth.

Maleu contains no generic terms for song or music. Each time these activities take place they are labelled
according to their context. For certain types of ceremonials the Lolo use the term narogo which glosses loosely as feast, but which more properly refers to only certain types of ceremonial events. The narogo cycle is discussed in further detail in Chapter V.

The Lolo traditionally possessed a rich and elaborate ceremonial complex (See Figure 1). Certain of these ceremonies in slightly different form can be found among the Kilenge and the Kabana. The Lolo complex included the following indigenous ceremonies: Kai, Vukumu, Vokoi, Netutnetne, Navoltomare, Naosung, Malanggan, and Rumburumbu. Several of these are not currently performed, according to the Lolo, because of incomplete knowledge. Netutnetne, a performance for women only, and Rumburumbu, are largely forgotten by even the oldest Lolo. Naosung and Malanggan have not been performed for years. These are very potent ceremonials involving the most powerful and frightening masked spirits known to the Lolo. Women flee to the gardens when these spirits emerge from the men's house, and will not return until the figures are again hidden. My informants would not sing the songs or talk about the performances because of the inherent danger. These topics were virtually the only ones about which they were not forthcoming.

Vukumu and Vokoi were given to the Lolo by Namor along with Naosung and Malanggan. Kai and Navoltomare were
gifts from a spirit being who, lacking a head, sang the songs from a mouth located in his armpit.

Most of these ceremonies are considered by the Lolo to be indigenous with the most important given to them by Namor along with their stories, performance magic and the
### Figure 1

**Lolo Ceremonies**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceremony</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nakamutut</td>
<td>Performed in the context of firstborn ceremonial, to &quot;pull&quot; pigs for Vukumu, and to celebrate namos, the male and female firstborn children, the wealth amassed for the ceremony, and the act of celebration itself. This is currently performed.</td>
<td>Half Lolo, half Bariai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navoltomare</td>
<td>Part of the narogo cycle of ceremonies for mortuaries and the firstborn. Performed to raise the central post of the men's house, and to celebrate the &quot;rebirth&quot; of the spirits who live in the men's house. Primary participants include agnates of the men's house group for which the post is raised, secondary participants include cognates, more distant kin, and members of the residential group. Not now performed, it has been replaced by Sia.</td>
<td>Indigenous — headless spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vokoi</td>
<td>Performed for female firstborn named Galiki to call her name, to &quot;turn her into a man&quot;, and to celebrate her marriage. Part of narogo ceremonial cycle. Performed by agnates and cognates of Galiki's paternal men's house group. Last performed in its entirety about 20 years ago.</td>
<td>Indigenous — a gift from Namor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naosung</td>
<td>Performed for male firstborn named Natavolo to call his name, and give him female reproductive powers. Performed by agnates and cognates of his paternal men's house group. Last performed about 30 years ago. Naosung masks burned in 1930's.</td>
<td>Indigenous — a gift from Namor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Indigenous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malanggan</td>
<td>Performed to turn Galiki back into a woman. Part of narogo cycle, and was performed by Galiki's male agnates and cognates. Last performed about 30 years ago. Malanggan masks burned in 1930's.</td>
<td>Namor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netutnetne</td>
<td>Performed as part of the narogo cycle for female firstborn in preparation for marriage. Female agnates and cognates were key participants. No longer performed, the last performance was about 40 years ago.</td>
<td>Namor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vukumu</td>
<td>Part of the narogo cycle, and performed to put black bands on legs of male firstborn. Key participants are agnates of male firstborn being decorated. Still performed in Idne villages, last performed about 20 years ago in Lolo villages.</td>
<td>Namor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kai</td>
<td>Originally performed by young men of men's house groups as a way to demonstrate their strength and to attract women. Still performed, although now only as an adjunct to Sia.</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
expectations for appropriate preparations and quantities of pigs and other forms of wealth distributed in the course of performance.

Indigenous ceremonies are viewed as being actual property belonging to the Lolo, since Namor gave these to them along with the instructions for the performance. The Lolo thus have what is analogous to "copyright" over the performance of these ceremonies. These ceremonies are not the property of individuals but rather belong to all Lolo who as a result have a stake in ensuring that they are properly executed and not allowed to fall into the wrong hands. Certain individuals, ideally the "boss" of the men's house or natavolo, have primary responsibility for ensuring that performances are carried out properly. However, if, as is the case in Umelpua, the elder of the men's house is not seen as capable, an individual more expert assumes this responsibility.

It is possible to buy or sell a ceremony. The Lolo say that they would not like to see one of the important performances sold to another group of people, but they have no such qualms about lesser performances which include those which were given by someone other than Namor. In order to buy a ceremony, one must first engage in negotiations with those who hold copyright.

One ceremony, Murmur (Arawe Aiu), was purchased from the Arawe on the south coast. A Lolo family with
Arawe kin had seen it performed and wished to use it in place of Vukumu since they were unable to acquire sufficient wealth for its performance. Thus, a representative of this family went to the Arawe and began to discuss the purchase of Murmur. After lengthy negotiations, it was decided that Murmur could be sold.

The purchasers would first hold a special ceremony in which the Arawe would come to a Lolo village, perform Murmur so that the Lolo could learn it correctly, and would there be paid for the rights to performance. The price for this was eight adult pigs, three males and five females, several carved bowls and clay pots, and large shares of cooked pork and food for all who came to teach the Lolo. This duly proceeded, and now the Lolo number Murmur as one of "their" ceremonies, although the quality of ownership is different from that of the indigenous ceremonies.

The Lolo can now sell Murmur to another group after seeking permission from the Arawe. In this event, the Arawe would not receive compensation, but the Lolo would be paid for their time and trouble as instructors receiving less than if the ceremony was purchased from the true owners. Purchases of all traditional ceremonies follow this pattern.

The Lolo welcome any occasion giving them an excuse to sing. Every Lolo sings lullabies, play songs, mourning songs, eulogy songs, songs from ceremonies or
ballads, on an almost daily basis. People sing while they walk to and from the gardens, and nearly any activity can be enlivened by spontaneous singing. Many other groups from West New Britain consider the Lolo to be the masters of singing (Counts, personal communication 1983, Scaletta 1985) and believe they possess the most extensive repertoire of songs in ceremonials.

Lolo music is mainly vocal. They possess few musical instruments, and only the kundu or hourglass drum is regularly used in performance. Bamboo jaw harps are played, but usually by young men to while away the time, or to occupy themselves on long walks. Certain flutes are played publicly, others are played in the privacy of the men's house or in the bush away from women. Flutes are used for ceremonial purposes and for love charms with successful wooing guaranteed if a young man thinks of his beloved while playing a particular kind of flute.

The Lolo value musicianship and use this as a means to grant high or low status to individuals. Those having a wide knowledge of songs are generally those who possess comparable cultural knowledge and are granted the status of "big man" or "big woman". Good singers are also valued, the Lolo having very definite ideas about what makes a good or a poor singer. Their criteria used in assessments of vocal ability are remarkably similar to those used in Western society, at least in the evaluation of male voices.
Men, according to my informants, should have full, round voices, a wide vocal range, and should be able to sing notes at the extremes of this range with no loss of timbre or power. Women on the other hand, are expected to sing in rather nasal tones, and it is a mark of talent if a woman can hit exceptionally high notes although in this case, the fact that a woman can hit these notes is of greater importance than the quality of the sound produced. This combination of high, nasal tones and the full lower tones produced by the men is desirable and pleasing to the Lolo ear.

Land, language, items considered by the Lolo to be intrinsically valuable, the verbal arts, and music and performance, all have, and are important because of, their intimate connections to spirits and extraordinary powers. This intimate connection imbues those aspects of Lolo life with the weight and significance of spirit power. Economic and political action provide the route to possession of greater amounts of wealth and influence, hence more worldly power, and while constituted primarily of action with other human beings, still necessitate dealing with the extraordinary.
Agents of Change

This discussion is intended to provide the context for examinations of social and cultural change among the Lolo. It is not my intention here to provide extensive documentation on Lolo contact history. Rather, I intend to focus on three agents of change, the missionization process, the introduction of Western bio-medicine, and the growth of a monetary economy, which, from my analysis of the situation, have had the greatest impact on Lolo relations with the spirits and their fellow humans. Data for this analysis were collected from senior men and women in the village (who would describe themselves as Christian) and in discussions with the incumbent priest at the Kilenge mission. As such, this is not an historical analysis, but rather an interpretation of history as given to me by my informants.

The introduction of Christianity has been an extremely potent force in the process of modernization and secularization. The latter term refers to the process by which the Lolo are moving from an orientation guided by religious principles to one in which they are guided by the secular.

Because of the Lolo's isolated location, their early contacts with missions came second hand. The Kilenge, the Lolo's neighbours on the north coast, had
become familiar with missions and mission activities through stories brought by their trading partners, the Siasi. A Lutheran mission had been established in Siasi territory, and according to the Siasi, was a powerful force. The explosion of Ritter Island in 1888 was attributed to divine retribution following an early attack on the mission. The Kilenge responded to this news by burning their Naosung masks, which the Siasi had already done in response to a demand by the Lutherans (Zelenietz 1980:165). The Lolo at the time were involved with the Kilenge-Lolo-Siasi trade and according to my informants were likewise familiar with these stories.

In 1929, at the request of the Kilenge, the Order of the Sacred Heart established a mission in Kilenge which has since been staffed by Irish and German priests, interrupted only by the Japanese occupation during World War II (ibid, pp. 35-36). The mission in Kilenge included the mountain Lolo within its territory (there were no Lolo on the coast at this time, and the Idne-Lolo received their Christian teachings from Anglicans), but given the location of the Lolo, contact was inconsistent.

Mission contact with the Lolo began in the 1930’s. According to my informants, they were visited by a priest on a few occasions prior to World War II. After the War, the mission attempted more sustained contact and in the 1950’s set up a small school, church and aid post.
The mission found it difficult to staff the school, and the Lolo say that it was closed more often than not. Attempts were made to open other schools further afield in the Lolo area, but these suffered the same fate. With Papua New Guinean Self Government in 1973 and Independence in 1975, the present community school was developed.

The church has never had a resident priest. Until the late 1960's, when the first catechist arrived, the Lolo were visited by the priest when he made his patrols in the area. My informants say that the current priest, unlike his predecessors, visits frequently, for example, making five trips in 1985. Previous incumbents at the mission usually patrolled once or twice each year, and the Lolo talk of one priest who did not come into the mountains for a period of some years.

Even now, the priest's visits are brief. Transport to the village being so hazardous and the weather so unpredictable mean that the priest usually arrives, conducts a hasty service, does whatever extra tasks need to be done such as performing group marriages, and then leaves to return to the coast. There is no time for the priest to answer questions or provide any religious instruction, although since the priest, a tall and very imposing figure, frightens the villagers, it is doubtful that anyone would have the temerity to ask questions.
In spite of the limited face-to-face contact, the mission presence was a decided force. According to my informants, the first missionaries encouraged the Lolo to abandon the use of masks, including performances of Naosung and Malanggan, two of their most important and powerful ceremonials. The Lolo acquiesced to their requests, since they were likely frightened of the consequences of refusal, given the cataclysm of Ritter Island following Siasi antagonism of the mission. With the abandonment of these ceremonies, the Lolo lost their usual means of access to the powers of these performances which as will be recalled from previous discussions, involve the transfer of male and female reproductive powers to their opposites. As is demonstrated in further chapters, powers of reproduction are central to the Lolo Aesthetic, speaking directly to Lolo conceptions of spirits, spirit powers, and spirit powers assumed by human beings.

Christianity offered a route to powers, but powers with which the Lolo were unfamiliar. Because the Lolo are so isolated, their instruction in Catholicism was truncated although there are, and have been, catechists in Araigilpua for some years.

Villagers, the majority of whom considered themselves to be Christians, often questioned me about Catholic doctrine. Questions would usually arise during times of crisis, for example when three villagers died in
rapid succession, or when almost all of the young women of Ararau village were stricken with polio. From their questions, I concluded that the Lolo have great difficulty reconciling Christian concepts with indigenous beliefs. For example, Christian concepts of heaven and the soul are at odds with Lolo beliefs in spirits of the dead who remain near their villages and who continue to participate in the affairs of their descendants. Heaven, for the Lolo, is where souls, the source of destructive powers, of malevolent spirits, dwell. They fear that the spirits of their dead are stolen by the souls of malevolent spirits and taken to heaven where they themselves become evil, whereupon they are sent back to wreak havoc on the villagers.

The Lolo are highly confused with regard to the nature of the powers of Christianity, and the means of access to these powers advocated by the missionaries. In addition, what the Lolo know of the powers of Catholicism is at odds with their traditional notions of powers, most particularly in that the realm of reproductive powers is presented as part of the male domain, while for the Lolo, this power is female. The effect of this has been a loss in knowledge of the powers (the Aesthetic) and a loss of means with which to address them (aesthetics).

Catholicism has as yet been unable to provide a substitute Aesthetic. Once the reasons for, and the means
of, access to the extraordinary are gone, so are their associated practices, practices which are played out according to the moral order of the culture and social organization. In a discussion of the impact of missionization on traditional Motu dance, McLean (1986:34) notes that in a BBC radio broadcast of 1956, it was stated that

unsuccessful attempts had been made to revive the dance in villages where it had lapsed. The real reason was that the Motu no longer stood to gain from a ritual association with their ancestral gods. The Motu had moved from subsistence gardening to a cash economy. There was 'no ancestral rite for obtaining higher wages' (emphasis original).

Thus, "once the songs and dances at issue became irrelevant, they ceased to be performed" (ibid).

Consequently, the moral order of the culture and social organization is subject to a similar erosion. Hence, both the Aesthetic and the moral order follow parallel paths of change.

Burridge (1978), in a discussion of missionization, examines the underlying impact of Christianity. He states (p. 15) that once the process of missionization begins,

The person - a parcel of customary rights and obligations - is capable of becoming an individual [by which] I mean the capacity to deliberately step outside custom, tradition, and given social roles, rights, and obligations, scrutinize them, formulate a moral critique, and, without relinquishing participatory values, envisage a new social order governed by new moralities.
And further (p. 16),

The conceiving of an alternative social order, a new morality, is what is important. And doing so entails concomitant alienations from what is given and traditional.

Thus, the mission presence communicates a critical approach to social life, and provides an example of an alternative way of being, often antagonistic to that of the host group.

In the Lolo case, the result of this process of missionization has been the increasing tendency to abandon mythical and spirit powers, hence separating the Lolo from their own sacra, the ontology of those powers, and means of access to them. Performances dedicated to propitiating and working with spirits are lost or abandoned. Stories describing the spirits and their actions, as well as stories which outline the creation of aspects of Lolo culture are likewise lost or abandoned. The resultant changes contribute to changes to the Aesthetic, gaps in knowledge of aesthetics, and further altering of, or perception of change, in the moral order of social organization.

A force which further serves to change the Lolo Aesthetic is Western bio-medicine. There has been an aid post in Araigilpua since the early 1950's which is staffed by Papua New Guinean nationals. The current orderly or dokta, a Kilenge, has been in the village for fifteen years. Prior to the advent of the aid post, healing
involved the assistance of specialists, those knowledgeable in the use of plant materials and their associated magic used to effect cures. When Western medicine and theories of disease were introduced, these means of curing were treated as superstition, an attitude still held by the current dokta, although his knowledge of medicine is limited to what he learned when he was trained by the Australians in 1955.

Indigenous medicine required that the healer gain access to the realm of powers in order to first determine the cause of the illness and then to cure. In this view, diseases could be inflicted by sorcery or by spirits, diseases which could result in the death of the person afflicted. To effectively heal a patient then, the healer had to be adept in reading the symptoms of the disease, determining which, either sorcerer or spirit, had caused the disease, and manipulating or propitiating the spirits or working stronger magic than the sorcerer. This demanded an intimate knowledge of the powers held by the spirits, and the proper means of gaining access to these powers in order to cure the disease. The introduction of Western medicine and theories of disease and the insistence that ill people use the aid post contributed to a loss of knowledge of the spirit powers and spirit induced disease, and hence rendered the indigenous healers largely ineffective. Western medical techniques have not, however,
replaced indigenous means, since the dokta’s knowledge is very limited, the aid post itself usually has no medical supplies, and people persist in dying in spite of Western medical treatment.

In an area where the mortality rate is shockingly high and the potential for death by sorcery an omnipresent reality, the loss of access to powers for healing is a terrible thing for the Lolo. This loss has life and death consequences. The failure of the Aesthetic and the impact of this on indigenous medicine allows for sorcerers to kill with impunity, since no one, not even the dokta, has the knowledge or the power to prevent them.

The Lolo live in fear for their lives. Their fear is at times almost palpable, and their every action is evaluated in terms of possible actions by sorcerers. This, more than anything else, is indicative of the consequences of the changes in the Aesthetic.

Catholicism and Western medicine have both served to carve away portions of the Aesthetic thus eliminating knowledge of, and access to, certain powers. Neither has proved a viable replacement in the Lolo view. The vacuums created have allowed sorcerers to become some of the most powerful people holding the powers of life and death over the Lolo, sure evidence that when the Aesthetic changes, so too does the moral order.
Money is another force serving to alter traditional means of access to the Aesthetic. Items formerly used in exchanges are things invested with significance if not with power, since spirits have designated these items as important or valuable. Carved bowls, clay pots, shell money and pigs are the traditional items of wealth, all of which have intimate connections with Lolo ceremony and custom. Each indigenous ceremony prescribes the kinds and amounts of wealth to be exchanged and by adhering to these prescriptions, the participants are assured of harmony with the spirits.

Money, on the other hand, does not possess any intrinsic associations with the spirits. Its presence and increasing importance in ceremonial exchanges undermine the significance of traditional wealth and thus undermine performance aesthetics associated with these performances. Its perceived significance to whites, and the difficulties experienced by the Lolo in acquiring it, make money an increasingly potent force in itself and one which is chipping away at performance aesthetics and hence the Aesthetic.

Each agent of change moves the Lolo further along in the process of secularization, that is, further from the domain of spirits and spirit powers as defined and constituted by the Lolo, and toward a universe of more secular powers introduced by Europeans. Previously, power
and influence emanating from spirits and spirit activities were central in the constitution of everyday life, with human beings and spirits cooperating to steer the course of Lolo life. Currently, Christianity, Western medicine and money, some of the most potent influences on Lolo life, are foreign, and as such have no connection to indigenous spirits or spirit powers.

These three forces, Christianity, Western medicine and money, all contribute to what Burridge (1989, personal communication) has described as a process of universalization. Each of these, most particularly Christianity, moves the focus from cultural specificity and particularity to a perspective that is global or generalizing, speaking to universal values. Ultimately, the Lolo will likely be absorbed by and into the Western universal orientation. At this point in the process, the Lolo appear to be at the beginning of their critique of their culture, and typical of this process, are in a state of near anomie.

The next chapter focuses on the social life of the Lolo, examining the different ways in which Lolo are organized into social groups which also function as moral units. This analysis is intended to demonstrate the existence of a moral order predicated upon indigenous conceptions of power, being, and right and appropriate action.
CHAPTER III

THE MORAL DIMENSIONS OF SOCIETY

This chapter is an examination of Lolo social organization. The perspective taken here is that Lolo society is composed of groups possessing a moral, as well as a social and jural character. Lolo social organization provides for the institutionalization of morality, and the playing out in social interaction Lolo concepts of the nature of people and of spirits. This social and moral organization likewise provides the context in which ceremonies are performed, and interaction between humans and spirits conducted.

This chapter is intended to address the following questions. First, assuming that Lolo groups are collections of people who hold values and social practices in common and are morally bound together by these in everyday life and ceremonial, what are these values and practices, and how are they reflected in social organization? Second, what are the moral units of society, and how do individuals become members of these moral units?
Third, what are the relations between humans and spirits, and how are these played out in social interaction? Finally, how does Lolo social organization reflect principles of the Aesthetic as defined in this dissertation?

To explore these questions, this chapter begins with an abbreviated version of the Lolo myth of parthenogenesis, a myth that provides cosmological explanation for the organization of Lolo society and moral relations. Lolo kinship, including definition of kin, kin terminology, character of kinship, the moral content of kin relations and development of social identity and morality are then examined. The chapter then turns to an examination of the nature and character of Lolo descent. Next, groups as moral units are examined, as are the relations between social life and moral order. The role of the spirits in social organization is discussed. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the relationship between social life and the Aesthetic.

Namor, the Creator Being

The Lolo myth of parthenogenesis was told to me by Nahalo, the senior male of Ariagilpua village. He, and his brothers who assisted him in the telling, apologized for the brevity and incompleteness of the story, even though
the version of the story I recorded is close to six hours long. The Namor odyssey, which no one in the Lolo area now remembers, takes several days to tell, and is a detailed account of Namor’s journeys and adventures. I have here omitted the details of Namor’s activities, and have included only a brief summary of thenstory.

In the beginning, the Lolo say, there was nothing but the sea, and Namor, an enormously tall being, sitting on a rock in the middle. He paddled his feet in the water, and soon the silt was stirred up until the water was thick and muddy. Namor took handfuls of the muck and squeezed it in his hands and set it down. He continued to do this until he had created the first land and a mountain. His slab of rock was now at the top of the mountain, and here he made his home.

He created the trees, animals, and all other things on the land. He then took a tree and carved it in the shape of a man. He lay the carving down, called it man and asked it to rise. The figure did not respond. Namor blew life into the figure, threw the carving away, and a man remained. Namor then took a handful of earth and formed it into the shape of another man. He blew into this too and like the first, the figure came to life. He gave the two men a house in which they could live, and because they needed more companions, made more men and more houses. The men needed women, so with bones removed from the back of
the first man, Namor built a woman. She lived with the 
first man and bore him children.

This first village was called Rovata, and consisted 
of nothing but rows of men's houses, and the houses of 
women and children. Namor decided that people should move 
to other parts of the land, and so Maleupua, Namor's bird 
spirit guardian, was sent to disperse the men's houses, and 
with them, their language called Maleu.

For many years, the people lived with Namor and 
were happy. Namor travelled through the land and created 
other peoples, and these others helped the first people 
with trade items from the sea, since the first people lived 
in the mountains. He gave the first people ceremonies and 
food and showed them how to live a good life in which 
people died only of old age, there was no war, and all 
people helped each other.

Then, for a reason about which my informants 
disagreed, Namor became angry with the first people. He 
created other peoples and languages and skin colours, and 
then went away, far from the Lolo. Ever since, the Lolo 
have lived without the benefit of his presence, although 
their lives remain in his shadow since his influence and 
power remain.

Certain elements of this myth are significant in 
this discussion of social organization. The themes of 
men's house groups, relationships between people and the
land, relationship of humans to spirits, relationships between the Lolo and other peoples, and language, are discussed further below.

**Kinship**

The Lolo differentiate between close kin and distant kin according to four criteria including blood, men's house group affiliation, exchange, and interaction. Depending on the situation, one or more of these criteria takes precedence in determining the nature of the kinship relation.

Kinship terminology is Hawaiian or generational. The sex of ego is of significance when referring to siblings with siblings of same sex differentiated from siblings of opposite sex. The suffix "ge" means "first" or bigger, "lia" means smaller. Each position carries with it a load of obligation and a special code of conduct vis-à-vis other kinship positions.

In the Lolo extended family, three basic kinship categories are recognized. The first, parent, includes father: F (tamage), FB (tamagelia), and MB (oage). Mother includes M (anage), FZ (legane), and MZ (nagelia). Siblings are designated as older or younger than ego; elder B (toage), younger B (teklia), elder Z (liuge), younger Z (liuklia). The same terms are used in reference to FBS,
FBD, FZS, FZD, MBS, MBD, MZS, MZD. Ego's offspring and ego's siblings' offspring are tumelia (female) and tumlia (male). Grandparent and grandchild share a kin term (tivuge or tivuklia) depending on the elder or younger status of the grandparent.

Character of Kin Relations

This section examines specific relations among kin in order to point out the expectations of behaviour apparent in different relationships, and by extension, the moral imperatives guiding this behaviour. Some of this information was presented to me by my informants in the form of moral lessons, some was inferred from observations of behaviour. What is presented below is largely the ideal case: certainly these ideals are not met on a daily basis since Lolo do quarrel and behave wrongly toward their kin. This particular analysis, however, is directed towards the normative.

Mother - Daughter

Mothers are teachers. At a young age, daughters are taught how to garden, cook, and look after younger children. Mothers also teach their daughters how to behave with others: to respect, heed, and serve food to older men and women, to avoid but pay respect to sorcerers, and to avoid compromising situations with young boys, especially as the girls get older. The most important lesson taught
is the value of hard work, a lesson which is reinforced by others in the household and village. The highest compliment that a young girl can receive from her mother, or from anyone for that matter, is that "she's a good worker".

Daughters learn early about exchange relationships. They are sent with bundles of food for various kin living in the village, and the reason for the gift is usually explained. For example, a mother may say "Take these three taro to my sister Laitenge. I always give food to my sister." Or, "Give some sweet potatoes to my brother Kataka. Make sure they're good ones - he's a firstborn." In this way, girls are taught about their significant relationships with others, and how to deal appropriately with these relationships.

Mothers expect that their daughters will be responsible and dependable, will do their bidding, and will respond when demands for assistance are made. This is instilled in girls from about age 3 and beyond. However, mothers say that school teaches their daughters to be disobedient and lazy. Girls are expected to help with gardening and cooking after school, but frequently run off to play with their friends instead. Mothers, while not condoning this behaviour, excuse it because of their perception that school is a bad influence.
When girls finish their schooling, they become full-time helpers for their mothers. At this age, they have their own gardens and responsibilities for contributing food to the household and for ceremonial. Mothers expect their daughters to flirt with young men, but do not hesitate to speak if a daughter's behaviour exceeds the bounds of propriety.

When a daughter marries, mothers teach them the ritual aspects of cooking, and tell them "women's secrets": the female perspective of male powers and how pregnancy occurs. Brides are expected to shift their attention to their new families, and attend to the wishes of their husbands. This shift is especially apparent when a woman gives birth to her first child, although a mother still expects her daughters to respond to her requests for assistance.

Mother - Son

The mother-son relationship is characterized by "letting go". Male infants and toddlers are cared for by their mothers, but I noticed that in many cases, even very young boys were referred to their fathers or other males for discipline or instruction. Boys are repeatedly told of their father's importance, influence and strength, and are encouraged to emulate them.

As boys get older, mothers tell them to "go away from the women", and send them away to their fathers or
other male kin. One boy, about eight years old, did not like to sleep in the men's house, and would fight with his mother nearly every night. She told him repeatedly that boys who stayed with their mothers could not grow into men, and would call a man from the men's house to take the boy away. This reluctance to spend time with other males is unusual. Most boys are happy to leave the company of their mothers and spend time with their age mates or older men.

Adolescent youths are expected to be troublesome and to shirk their responsibilities. Both mothers and fathers are quite lenient with youths, but do not hesitate to scold if they transgress the boundaries of proper adolescent behaviour, for example if they are rude to an elder male or female, if they allow their work responsibilities to slide for more than a couple of days, if they steal, or if they are cruel to younger children. In these cases, youths are demanded to heed their mothers.

As youths grow into men, they have less and less interaction with their mothers. They are still expected to help in gardening for the household, but their activities are primarily male. When it is time for them to marry, they are expected to defer to the wishes of their parents and especially their grandparents, but there were a couple of cases while I was in the village where a young man felt very strongly about his own choice of a mate and was
allowed to marry her, albeit with some grumbling and dire predictions.

Father - Daughter

Fathers spoil their daughters until it is time for them to begin to take some responsibility for working in the gardens. After this, fathers have little to do with their daughters, and tend to leave them in the care of their mothers.

Fathers do, however, put enormous pressure on their daughters to be good workers and hostesses. One of my fathers talked frequently of his firstborn daughter who had died while still a teenager. She was, he said, a fine girl, a very hard worker. Whenever she cooked, she would cook large quantities of food, and would call to passersby to have some. She was always smiling, he said, and always taking care of people with food. Other men too used this girl as an example of a good Lolo daughter, and always talked of her in terms of her abilities as a worker and a generous cook.

Fathers leave most instruction and discipline to women. The relationship between fathers and daughters until the daughters marry and have children is friendly but somewhat formal. Daughters are expected to serve their fathers and other males, but in a "seen and not heard" capacity.
This changes when a daughter bears her first child. After this, the relationship between fathers and daughters becomes more relaxed, and they enter into a joking relationship almost flirtatious in character. If a man feels in need of cheering up, he will often visit his married daughters, ostensibly to see their children, but I noticed that many times, however, the father would spend more time joking with his daughter than attending to the grandchildren. When I asked men about this, they would say something like "it make us both happy for her to care for the old man".

Father-Son

Fathers typically pay little attention to their sons when they are very young, and leave them in the care of their mothers. As boys age, they are turned over to their fathers for instruction and discipline. Fathers take their sons to the men's house to sleep and to work with them in the gardens.

Fathers are charged with the responsibility of teaching their sons the esoteric lore of the men's house, the spirits who live inside, the "marks" or symbols of their men's house group, flutes, and so on. This instruction or masculinization process extends over a period of years, beginning with a boy's seclusion in the men's house after circumcision.
Fathers expect their sons to give them trouble and be rebellious. It is not unusual for a discussion between a father and son to erupt into a heated argument. These arguments typically rage for about fifteen minutes, and then, interestingly enough, the father suddenly seems to deflate and give in to the son, especially if the son is his firstborn. Fathers say that this jockeying for power is part of growing up to be a man, and while they would prefer that their sons did not fight with them, recognize that their sons will assert themselves by rebelling.

On the other hand, regarding ceremonial obligations and participation in ceremonial work, sons are expected to obey their fathers without question. Sons should take the "big" things seriously, and generally the sons do. Arguments between unmarried sons and fathers regarding ceremonial were extremely rare. Those which did occur were of very short duration and were always won by the father, who was typically supported by the elder males of the village.

Once married, the son's allegiance in everyday matters shifts to his own new household and family. In political and ceremonial debates, however, a father can demand support from his sons. In the political arena, however, a son may oppose his father to further his own cause. In the few instances of this that I witnessed, the father in question was of low status, and allegiance to
this man would not have helped to advance the political ambitions of his son. Typically, sons support fathers in ceremonial and political affairs, and as the son matures and has more children, his, and not his father's, becomes the public voice.

**Brother-Brother**

When young, the way that brothers behave toward one another is largely dependent upon their age difference. If a number of years separates them, an older brother torments his younger brother unmercifully, often injuring him. My house was next door to the aid post, and as well as many lesser injuries, I saw one young boy impaled by a spear that his older brother had deliberately thrown at him, and another young boy who had been shot in the head with an arrow, again deliberately. Minor injuries inflicted by older brothers are treated lightly, while these more serious incidents resulted in the older siblings receiving censure from their families and others in the village.

Once brothers marry, and if they reside in close proximity, they depend on one another for assistance in gardening, in housebuilding, or for assistance in any other undertaking. Provision of wealth for ceremonial is especially important, since it is frequently a brother who is requested to help provide pigs for exchange. This is discussed below in more detail in the examination of agnatic descent below.
Sister - Sister

Like the brother-brother relationship, relationships among sisters are characterized by mutual aid and support. If there is a large difference in age between sisters, the elder sister assumes an almost maternal role toward the younger from having spent time helping with child rearing. This allows the older sister to assume a dominant and influential role, which the younger sister often rejects as she matures.

Sisters are expected to garden cooperatively and share household duties. This pattern of cooperation lasts for life between sisters, and is very strong if sisters reside in close proximity. Sisters are expected to exchange food every day if they reside in the same village. These gifts of food are not extravagant. Rather, small gifts, for example a few taro or sweet potatoes, are sufficient. Sisters give food to one another more regularly and frequently than do mothers to adult daughters and vice versa. I was repeatedly told that "true" sisters must always give and receive food. When adult daughters give food gifts to their mothers, it is considered proper, but more an expression of personal feelings rather than a built-in kinship obligation such as that between sisters.

This obligation holds true regardless of personal feelings. Mildred, a young woman with a reputation for laziness, perpetually asked her sister Timo for food, salt,
or whatever she had on hand. Timo had no respect for Mildred and felt that she should be working in her garden instead of spending her time visiting and gossiping, but always gave Mildred what she asked. When I asked her why, Timo shrugged and said "She's my sister. I'm a good woman, so I have to give her what she asks."

When sisters marry, they maintain a high level of interaction with their sisters in spite of their new obligations. Sisters assist one another with child care, teach the daughters of their sisters about cooking prior to their marriages, and aid each other in preparations for ceremonial work. Sisters are also expected to present a united front in disputes. Not doing so is a cause for scandal.

Grandparent - Grandchild

Grandparents spoil their very young grandchildren. As the grandchildren get older, the grandparents become more stern and demanding. Expectations placed on grandchildren are quite high, which grandparents justify by the amount of wealth and effort they must give to their grandchildren for ceremonial work. Grandparents frequently sponsor ceremonial work for their grandchildren, and as sponsors, pay out large amounts of wealth and incur heavy debts among their kin, especially if the ceremonial work is done for a firstborn.
Grandchildren generally fall in with the wishes of their grandparents, and mostly defer to them. There are fewer of the tensions noted between, for example, sons and fathers. Grandchildren do respect their grandparents' knowledge and wisdom, even if they feel it is misplaced in a more "modern" world. Grandchildren are generally willing to help their grandparents, and are often the ones who spend most time with them if they are sick.

Mother's Brother / Father's Sister / Father's Brother / Mother's Sister

These positions are terminologically equated with father and mother. Behaviourally, they are also roughly equivalent, although the degree of deference and attentiveness shown depends to some extent on the degree of esteem in which the individual is held. For example Kilkiluange, a man held in low regard by his sister, is likewise held in low regard by her children, whose behaviour toward him is typically amused tolerance rather than respect. Another brother, Kalal, is strong and powerful. His sister's children are very attentive to his words and requests.

Regardless of the esteem in which these people are held, their siblings' children are still expected to assist them in their labours. These households receive frequent gifts of food, and should they reside in the same village, receive food almost daily. If their siblings' children are
young, they act as surrogate parents if their parents are away.

Residence

When considering where to reside after marriage, a couple considers such factors as where their producing gardens are, where they have the most land for future gardens, and, most important, where they can count on the largest network of kin to assist them in house construction, raising children, and in fulfilling their ceremonial obligations. Ideally, generations alternate. If a woman from Aselmepua for example marries and moves to Araigilpua, one of her children should marry into Aselmepua and live there. This is, however, an ideal rarely achieved since the range of choice is so large and because other, more practical considerations are given priority. In spite of this wide range of available choices, virilocality is the statistical norm for residence.

The Lolo tend to change residences quite frequently although this is most common among those who are recently married. One young woman who had just given birth to her first child told me that she and her husband had moved three times since they had married. Each time, they had argued with those they had chosen to live near and had decided to move away rather than continue to fight. Oddly
enough, in each case where a couple had moved frequently, the reason for the move was a fight.

I suspect that the underlying reason for moving was not that they fought all the time and were thus always uncomfortable, rather, they feared the possible withdrawal of support vital in order to meet ceremonial obligations. It is better to move than risk the shame and inconvenience resulting from this lack of support. In addition to frequent changes of residence, it is common (although not always welcome or invited) that kin from other villages visit, visits which often last several months.

These patterns and preferences result in couples moving to the village of the father, mother, in-laws, grandparents, or siblings. Since sibling groups are a preferred group for interaction, people often choose to move where they have siblings.

Sibling Groups

The sibling group is an important residential and social unit. Generally, siblings reside together and are members of the same men's house group. Sibling groups, composed most usually of brothers or brothers and sisters, tend to cooperate in large-scale projects such as making new gardens, house construction, collecting brideprice, and ceremonials, as well as on a daily basis in gardening and food exchange. Participation in these activities is
largely predicated on residence. Those siblings residing in closest proximity engage in these cooperative ventures regularly, while siblings living further away may be enlisted only in order to participate in ceremonial.

Women who have married into another village maintain ties with their sibling groups. If a woman's spouse dies, she may return to her natal village and enlist the aid of her siblings. Individuals marrying into another village may have real or classificatory siblings residing there, and in this event, can choose whether to attach to this group, or, if the natal village is close by, maintain ties with the original sibling group.

In certain circumstances, affines behave much like siblings. Sisters-in-law exchange food as do sisters and assist one another in cooperative activities. Brothers-in-law sometimes help each other with gardening, and, should brothers-in-law reside in the same men's house, they cooperate in some preparations for ceremonial events. However, affinal taboos still obtain, for example, affines may not eat in each other's presence, nor can they speak each other's name. In spite of the distance imposed by taboo, the closeness achieved by cooperation creates relationships between affines that are similar to those of siblings in everyday affairs. In the execution of ceremonial, affines cooperate with their own kin groups.
Moral Content of Kin Relations

Certain themes regarding the moral content of kin relations pervade any discussion of how kin should behave toward kin. These themes are rooted in the Namor story, which describes, in the Utopian phase, the ways in which kin take care of kin.

The first theme involves assistance. In each category of relationship discussed above, the imperative to help is strong. A certain degree of rebellion is expected from children and adolescents, but this is expected to diminish, and usually does, with adulthood. The Lolo believe that without kin a person is better off dead, largely because such a person has no one to help with labour in gardening and ceremonial.

Second, solidarity is significant. Also characteristic of kin relations is the imperative to support kin: to provide assistance with work, to side with them in disputes, to protect them.

Development of Social Identity

This section addresses the question of how different aspects of social life contribute to the development of individuals as social and moral beings. The Lolo recognize that children are not born in possession of morality, but rather that children must be taught how to
"grow up human". For boys, this involves participation in a process of masculinization, a process which physically removes boys from the influences of their mothers and other women, and places them solidly in the world of men. For girls, their maturation involves increasing participation in, and responsibility for, food, gardens, and children, the central constituents of the women's domain.

Early ritual activity sets the stage for moral development. All children, especially the firstborn, receive food from others in ceremonial contexts and have food given in their names. Food exchange is explained in detail to children: they are shown the food they are giving or have received and told who it goes to and why, or who it came from and why. Before they are active in the ceremonies themselves, they participate in food exchange, and are shown how they are part of a large network of exchange.

Certain events, such as circumcision, first participation in a dance, receiving a name, menarche, marriage, and parenthood, are treated with ceremony. An individual is the focus of attention in these ceremonies, and by ceremonially bracketing these events, the individual clearly passes into a new phase of social life with its attendant responsibilities. These life-cycle events have an instructional component: for example, after circumcision, boys are secluded in the men's house for
instruction in masculinity, the dangers inherent in feminine powers, and certain ritual paraphernalia. In this way, those celebrated learn their new obligations and expectations, along with concomitant cosmological rationale.

Social development and increased participation in the moral order take place in less formal ways. In addition to overt comments about how to behave appropriately towards kin and spirits, adults are seen to model moral behaviour. Given that what people do is a constant focus of attention and topic of endless conversation, people's actions, motives for action, and evaluations of both, provide constant comment on morals, their breach, and resultant sanctions.

Increased responsibility and increased participation in social life in general parallel awareness of, and participation in, the moral order. Increased participation in the moral order engenders a more sophisticated awareness of dealings with supernatural powers, and greater efficacy in these dealings. Socialization allows individual Lolo greater and greater understanding of and facility with the nature of extraordinary powers, the nature of being, how these are played out in every day life, and how they are manifest in ceremonial. Concomitant with this is moral instruction. In effect, with greater participation in social life, Lolo
also participate increasingly in the realms of the Aesthetic, and learn about the various forms of aesthetics, those vehicles which promote harmony between humans and extraordinary powers.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent among the Lolo is rooted in the myth of parthenogenesis, and has as its ideological focal point the men's house. Because of its distinctive architecture, the men's house is also the visual focus of each Lolo village or hamlet. The men's house has a tall, sloping roof and is built on the ground, while ordinary houses have short peaked roofs and are on stilts. Domestic dwellings face one another across the central plaza, and in each village, the men's house sits at an angle to other houses in a corner. Adult men and boys of about 8 years of age and older sleep in the men's house, while younger boys sleep with their mothers and sisters in the houses.

When Namor first created man, the village of Rovata was nothing but rows and rows of men's houses. Maleupua, Namor's bird spirit guardian, gave Maleu to the people and dispersed the men's houses. Each senior male of each original men's house became the senior male of each new village, so linking the people to the land and providing the basis for the Lolo system of descent. Prior to an
examination of Lolo descent, it is useful to describe the relationship between the men's house and the village.

It is from the name of the senior member of the original kin groups that the men's house land takes its name. Each men's house is located on a named plot of land known as a men's house regardless of whether or not a building is there. Each men's house building has inside it several stones conceived as the physical manifestations of spirits of the ancestor for whom the plot was named and his kin.

Each men's house has a "boss" or a natavolo. Natavolo is more properly a name, but has become a title associated with the senior male of the men's house group. The natavolo is the spokesman for the men's house group. It is his duty to announce deaths and indicate that some momentous event has occurred by playing the garamut or slit-gong. The natavolo has the privilege and responsibility of sleeping in the room at the back of the men's house which houses ancestral and other types of spirits with their associated ceremonial paraphernalia. This is a weighty responsibility indeed. Materials embodying spirit beings are exceptionally powerful, and have great potential for causing trouble. It is the natavolo's responsibility to ensure that this does not happen. In addition to ceremonial objects, the men's house group collectively owns such things as the plot where the
The men's house is situated, pig and fish nets, and slit-gongs.

The men's house is home to many powerful and dangerous things, thus numerous rules restrict the behaviour of men, women and children while near the men's house. Women are not allowed inside or around the back of the men's house and are not allowed to eat any of the fruit picked from the trees at the rear. They are not allowed to go close by unless taking food to a man outside. In this case, a woman should stand a respectful distance from the door and call to one of the men to come out and take the food inside. This is especially true for younger women. Older women, those past child-bearing age, are able to get a little closer to the men's house. For example, it is acceptable for an older woman to sweep the area up close to the men's house while younger women are prohibited from doing so.

Men treat the men's house building, its contents and surroundings with respect. They are expected to keep the interior and the area surrounding the building clean, and are to behave with proper decorum. Late night and early morning are dangerous times when the spirits are most volatile. People are usually sound asleep during the night, so the early morning has the most rules for proper behaviour. Women are not to shout, yell at their children, make a clatter with dishes and pots, or make any loud noise
at all. Children especially are restrained from playing at this time. Only after the sun is up in the sky and the men have emerged from the men's house is it permissible to make loud noises.

Not only are men's houses and members vulnerable to the whims of spirits, but they are also in danger from the actions of other men. The men's house building, especially the beds slept in by the members, is a favorite target for sorcery. While I was in the village, at least one death was attributed to sorcery caused by a sorcerer working his malevolence on the bed of a member. After the death of an important man in the village, members began to lock the door to the men's house in the hopes that they would be able to discourage sorcerers. The men's house is the most important building figuratively and symbolically for the Lolo. That sorcery can be practiced here indicates the power of sorcery relative to the power of the men's house, and is indicative of serious problems for the Lolo. The men's house building is used for many purposes. It is where the adult males of the village sleep, where deliberations over village affairs and ceremonials take place, and where district officials meet with the men of the village. It is also a visible and tangible reminder of the past. It provides a physical link to the ancestors since it is built on their land and named after them, and the ancestors are present in spirit and in "flesh" in the
stone representations. The men's house situates the Lolo in time and in space, giving them a location which connects men's house members back to the ancestors and which will continue to link members of successive generations. Most importantly, the men's house is a dwelling in which the ordinary and the extraordinary coexist.

Descent and inheritance are flexible and weighted, at least ideologically, toward the male line. When judging relatedness, both male and female lines are considered, resulting in a prevailing cognatic descent ideology. For the Lolo relatedness, rather than the sex of linking kin, is critical. The group referents are, in each case, ancestors in the mythic past. Descent is always traced to the apical ancestors of the first families who were given land by Namor. When Lolo talked of ancestors in the remote past, they more frequently referred to male kin than to female. However, in discussions of kin in more recent generations, both male and female links were mentioned, although males were predominant. Strength of character and accomplishment appear to influence the choice of either the male or female line. The overall effect of this patrilineal bias is cumulative patrifiliation.

The Lolo system of descent closely resembles that of the Kwaio (Keesing 1970, 1971, 1975, 1982). Like the Kwaio, the Lolo distinguish between mythical beings, the first beings which although human in form were not quite
human, and ancestral spirits which are the "known founders" (Keesing 1982:75) of social groups. Also like the Kwaio, Lolo descent can be viewed as taking three forms: cognatic, agnatic and non-agnatic descent.

Each form of descent is defined in terms of reference to an apical ancestor which for the Kwaio is the founder of a shrine and for the Lolo those individuals given a men's house by Namor. Keesing (1971:122) distinguishes these forms of descent as follows. Cognatic descent is an "unbroken chain of filial links, male or female", agnatic descent is a "chain of male links", and non-agnatic descent a "chain of links at least one of which is female". For both the Kwaio and the Lolo,

A person's rights and relationships can be viewed as a composite bundle that is put together from the bundles of father and mother in ways reflecting the circumstances of early life and childhood residence (Keesing 1971:122).

While recognizing the existence and significance of both male and female links, both Kwaio and Lolo accord primacy to male links. Descent groups then, based as they are upon a descent principle that is primarily agnatic,

...can then be contrasted with the dispersed category of persons, cognatically descended from the founding ancestors, whose primary attachments are to other places (Keesing 1971:123).

In the Lolo case, cognates are those who trace descent directly to the founding ancestor of the men's house. Given the cognatic descent principle, it is
possible to hold membership in several men's house groups simultaneously. The Lolo, however, recognize different degrees of membership in men's house groups, probably to better control access to resources, and so membership is not equated with cognatic descent.

Agnates hold primary membership in a men's house group. Primary membership entitles an individual male, for example, the right to sleep in the men's house and the right to build a house for his family on men's house land. Settlement pattern provides a rough indicator of status of membership: the closer one's house is to the men's house, the closer one is related to the "boss" or senior male of that men's house group.

Primary membership also entitles a male to access to property held in common by the men's house. Property includes such items as pig and fish nets, but most importantly, agnates have access to ritual paraphernalia such as masks and flutes, and the rights to the esoteric lore surrounding these objects including origin stories (pungunga).

Thus, primary membership in a men's house group cements the relationships between living group members, their ancestors, and the mythical spirit beings resident in the ground upon which the men's house is situated and whose masks (their corporeal beings) live inside the men's house. Full participation in ritual activities is thus incumbent
on primary members, regardless of whether they live in
close proximity to the men’s house.

Boys learn early of the significance of primary
membership in the men’s house. A group of boys, related to
one another by agnatic descent, undergoes circumcision
together and subsequent seclusion in the men’s house.
Elder agnates act as their tutors and mentors through their
seclusion, which is the formal beginning of the
masculinization process.

Non-agnatic males have certain rights in their
residential men’s house and men’s house group. They are
allowed to sleep in the men’s house but it is said that
they "sleep nothing", meaning that they have the status of
guest rather than member. In actuality, non-agnates have
rights similar to those of primary members, but these
rights are earned by residence and participation, rather
than by virtue of agnation.

Non-agnates may also build houses upon men’s house
land and can and do participate in ritual activities.
Regarding the latter however, it is unlikely that a non-
agnate would be privy to the most important ritual
knowledge of the men’s house. Non-agnate’s involvement in
ritual activities is treated more lightly than that of
primary members. Their suggestions and desires are given
less consideration than those of agnates, and should non-
agnates become too vocal and demanding, they are reminded
that their primary affiliation is elsewhere. As a result, non-agnates typically accede to the wishes of primary members, unless they are charismatic individuals, in which case, their personal power grants them status roughly equivalent to that of primary members.

Although the Lolo men's house group is based on descent, considering it solely as a descent group is limiting. Following Holy (1976:126),

we should also remember that the classification on the grounds of their descent ideologies is not on a par with classification of these on 'functional' or 'operational' grounds, as, e.g., political, economic or religious groups. These latter may be forms of corporateness, and pertain to the substance rather than the ideology of group membership.

This is true for the Lolo, since other factors, such as residence and even personal choice, may take precedence over descent in considerations of men's house group affiliation, factors which, for the Lolo, are important in considerations of the functions and purposes of men's house groups.

The situation is similar for women as well. Their primary allegiance is to the men's house group to which they are related by agnatic descent, and it is this group which places the greatest demands upon them. They are obligated to assist in ritual activity for their residential men's house group, as well as their own.
Lolo corporate groups are primarily based on residence, which is itself characterized by fluidity and personal choice (cf Barnes 1962, Barth 1973, Burridge 1957). Manipulations of residence, marriage and so on are opportunistic and designed so that chances for economic gain and support are maximized. Siblingship is critical in these manipulations. A choice of residence often depends on the location of siblings since siblings generally cooperate in the normal round of daily affairs (Burridge 1959, 1969). Given the amount of flexibility and the relative autonomy of individuals to make choices, the Lolo utilize two parallel networks of relationships, one based on personal choice, the other on kinship (cf Robbins 1982). Depending on the situation, one network or the other is activated so that in daily affairs, siblings, men’s house group members, and those who are good friends or who live in close proximity may cooperate in daily activities, while in the event of ceremonial work, an individual is enlisted by the larger kin network to participate.

The two main social groups for the Lolo are the men’s house group and the sibling group. These may be consistent, given the cognatic descent construct, preferences for virilocality, and a desire to reside in a sibling group. However, there are other social units which are critical in discussions of Lolo social life as moral life.
Moral Units of Society

The most basic moral unit of Lolo society is the individual. Individuals have a great deal of power and influence over their own lives and the lives of others, and thus bear a high degree of responsibility for collective moral life.

The character of individual morality depends upon the age of the individual, and to a certain extent upon sex, character, and, since human action does not occur in a vacuum, the relationships one has with others. Young Lolo are expected to rebel, to disobey their elders, and to misbehave. Lolo adults do, however, set boundaries that young Lolo are wise not to transgress. As well, expectations differ given the relationship between individuals, and given the age of the individuals. The moral quality of the relationship between young sisters, for example, changes as the sisters age, although they are expected to assist and support one another regardless of age. So too for all individuals: as individual Lolo age, they are expected to correspond more closely to ideals of Lolo morality.

The household is a social, moral and corporate unit. The composition of a household is typically a nuclear family, but is frequently extended vertically or horizontally. Predictably, household members interact with
one another with greater frequency and intensity than with other kin.

Within the household, each individual’s moral imperatives are clearly defined. All household members assist with all household matters, following the gender-based division of labour, whether these are food gathering, gardening, cooking, or ceremonial work. Even if a particular member of a household has been singled out by his or her kin to play a particular role in ceremonial or contribute wealth, all members of the household are required to contribute. The extra burdens imposed by these demands may cause some friction, but it is rare and cause for a great deal of negative comment should the request be refused.

Household members can experience some tension if for some reason there is tension between the families of the male and female heads of the household. In this case, household members must choose whose side to take. Ideally, according to the Lolo moral code, kin should side with kin, but this is not always the case (see Chapter VII for an example of this tension).

The men’s house group, since it is so closely associated with ancestral and mythical spirits, has a strong responsibility to be a consciously moral unit. Activities engaged in by the members as a collective are typically of a ceremonial nature. Ceremonial activities
enable the continuation of harmonious relations between humans and the spirit world, thus the men’s house group’s most important function is a moral, rather than a corporate one.

When the men’s house group acts as a collective, it bears the burden of morality for others since, as Lolo, they are all responsible for conducting ceremonial as prescribed by Namor. Failing to do so incurs the wrath of Namor and other mythical and ancestral spirits and puts all at risk of punishment since spirit anger, like sorcery, can ricochet or be broadcast like a scattergun, punishing anyone, not just the guilty parties. As well, those for whom the ceremonial work is performed depend on the men’s house group to do it properly to derive the benefits of the performance. Future generations of Lolo too depend on the moral behaviour of the men’s house group, for in the absence of written records, correct transmission of ceremonial knowledge requires correct execution, with which men’s house group members are charged. For this reason, ceremonial specialists are respected and venerated individuals, for theirs is a weighty obligation indeed.

Discussion - The Role of the Spirits in Lolo Social Life

From the preceding discussion, it is clear that the spirits play significant roles in the everyday affairs of
the Lolo as well as in ceremonial. The Lolo distinguish between two types of spirits, mythical spirits or those credited with the origin of all things, and ancestral spirits. Each kind of spirit is powerful and demanding.

Mythical spirits are frightening and unpredictable. If angered, they can bring widespread death and destruction to the Lolo. For example, in three days, seven people died. Their deaths were attributed to anger on the part of the mythical spirits, anger that was expressed by the constant eruptions from Mount Langla during that time.

The mythical spirits can become angry for a variety of reasons. Each of the following was cited by my informants as something that would, or had in the past, angered the mythical spirits, and caused the Lolo to be punished. The mythical spirits are angered by the amount of sorcery they see practiced. The mythical spirits may cause a rash of deaths, as in the example above, deaths which may or may not be directed toward actual offenders. The innocent are equally vulnerable to their anger. If Lolo fail to behave properly on a day-to-day basis, if men beat their wives, if children are neglected, if food is abused, the mythical spirits may be angered. If transgressions are slight, punishment may be either mild or very severe.

The greatest cause of anger for the mythical spirits is failure to properly observe custom. Spirits can
be angered by the simultaneous performance of a traditional ceremony and a modern dance; a failure to observe a decent period of mourning by the performance of a ceremony; a bad judgement in substituting an imported performance for an indigenous one; a failure to perform indigenous ceremony properly, for example if pieces are missing, if the execution is sloppy, or if food distribution and exchanges of wealth are not adequate; and finally, they can be angered by the inappropriate treatment of ceremonial paraphernalia.

In short, the spirits are angered and will punish both innocent and guilty for violations of social and performance aesthetics. Because their wrath is unpredictable and the direction of their anger not necessarily directed toward a guilty party, all Lolo are vulnerable to the actions of others. Each individual then, can be seen as responsible for the well-being of others where relations with the mythical spirits are concerned. Those who ignore these responsibilities are considered no better than murderers, a sentiment inferred from many conversations about the spirits.

Ancestral spirits, while somewhat less feared, are equally unpredictable. As direct descendants of these ancestors, the Lolo feel a closer and more personal bond. However, ancestral spirits too can be benevolent, and then unexpectedly turn dangerous. Ancestral spirits are invoked
to assist with gardening, ceremonial, healing, or any activity which needs spirit guidance. Contemporary Lolo use the opinions (and subsequent actions) of ancestral spirits as a yardstick with which to measure their own actions.

The relationship between Lolo ancestral spirits and their living descendents is similar to that of the Tallensi. Fortes (1987:79), in a discussion of what he calls ancestor worship, describes this relationship as a combination of belief and ritual practice, correlated with rules of conduct, which serves to entrench the principle of jural authority together with its corollary, legitimate right, and its reciprocal, designated accountability, as an indisputable and sacrosanct value-principle of the social system.

In this way, the moral order of the Lolo encompassess both the living and the dead, ancestral and mythical spirits, and provides a guide for the living to deal appropriately with the dead. Ancestral spirits are considered as a part of the social sphere: the fact that they are incorporeal beings does not remove their power and influence.

In ceremonial as well as mundane contexts, the living and the dead co-exist. Ancestral spirits are incorporated into the system of descent and are members of descent groups as clearly as are their descendents. Unlike humans, spirits are not bound by the moral order of the social organization, but rather transcend it. Humans,
however, must abide by the moral principles of social action in their dealings with the living and the dead, in both every day and ceremonial contexts, or be prepared for the consequences of breaching the moral principles.

Spirits, both mythical and ancestral, can, in response to a breach of moral principles, impose negative sanctions which can range from a poor garden crop to a wave of death and destruction. Unpleasant events are construed as either punishment by the spirits, or as evidence that the spirits have "turned their backs" or withdrawn their support.

The spirits, then, act as a check against the Lolo, ideally preventing them from acting in ways that will anger the spirits, and providing them with a means to evaluate their actions and the actions of others. The "worst case" scenario for the Lolo is one in which they have lost their knowledge of custom so thoroughly that they have no knowledge of, and means to, act in ways that will please the spirits. Were this to be the case, the Lolo would be killed, one by one, family by family, until there would be no Lolo left upon the earth. This scenario can be seen as the Lolo voicing their very real fear of loss of moral principles, the body of which can be called the social aesthetic as defined in this dissertation.

The next chapter is an examination of food and performance, indicating how social organization, and
concepts of power are interrelated in food related activities in secular and ceremonial contexts, and in the preparation and execution of ceremony.
CHAPTER IV

FOOD AND PERFORMANCE

The intention of this chapter is to further illuminate the interrelations between the moral order of social organization and the Aesthetic. In this chapter, relations among food, food preparation and food exchange are discussed, followed by an examination of Lolo performance and the nexus of food and performance. The chapter concludes with an analysis of how food and performance speak to the Lolo moral order, to performance aesthetics, and to the Aesthetic in general.

The Lolo say that "food is custom" and equate ceremonial performances with food preparation. Much of the preparation involved in ceremonial events involves food, directly or obliquely, since food plays a major part in the preparations for ceremonial as well as in the course of the performance itself. Food exchanges which take place prior to and during a ceremony are considered as important as the performance itself. Indeed, a ceremony is thought to begin with food exchange, although this may take place hours
before the start of the performance. Food is not only critical in terms of actually running a performance, but the Lolo say that you cannot have ceremony or any performance of any kind without food. For this reason, it is important to examine food in its relationship to performance aesthetics.

I arrived in Araigilpua intending to study music, performance and aesthetics among the Lolo but was initially frustrated because my attempts to gather information on these topics were invariably met with a comment having something to do with food. Eventually, like others (e.g., Kahn 1984, Meigs 1984 and Young 1971), "[t]he issue of food was presented to me on a platter, and finally I ate what I was given" (Meigs 1984:x). As I directed my investigations further in the directions suggested by my informants, I discovered that food and performance held the key to the Lolo moral order and the Aesthetic.

Food provides a means for creating, defining and sustaining social relationships, helps forge individual and cultural identities, assists in the maintenance of orderly relationships with the supernatural, expresses beliefs and values about the way the world is and the way it should be, and can be used to express opinions or impose positive or negative sanctions, as well as fulfilling biological and nutritional needs.
Food and performance are intimately linked, not only because food is a central component of each ceremonial event, but by virtue of the Lolo equation of food and ceremony with custom, tradition, and the essence of their culture. What food does and implicitly means in the context of everyday life is restated, intensified and reconfirmed during ceremonial events. Thus, consideration of food and the relations of food to performance provide the necessary context for the examination of the Lolo moral order and performance aesthetics.

**Food Plants**

Taro clearly surpasses other foods in significance. It figures largely in stories, children's games incorporate taro as characters, and the Lolo call taro their "bones".

*Neke*, the "mother" of all taro plants, was first given to the Lolo by a female bush spirit. This was the original food possessed by the Lolo and remains the staple of their diet. I collected over seventy names for different kinds of taro. A knowledgeable gardener is one who can identify each kind by looking at the leaves of the plant or at the tuber itself. All taro plants are named, some for their place of origin (e.g., Baining or Kilenge), others have personal names and are designated as male or female. The names given to these taro are family names,
thus establishing a kinship between the taro plant and those who are members of the kin group to whom the name belongs. If a wild taro plant, unlike any cultivated, is found in the bush, then whoever finds it may name the plant and transplant it into his or her garden. After the taro is well established the finder may distribute the newly domesticated plant. Before this can occur, the tuber must be split and replanted several times to provide adequate stock. This process of establishing a new taro plant generally takes several seasons of careful propagation.

As well as being named, taro are evaluated. Some are "better" than others and are thus suited for important gifts, preferred for food distribution at ceremonials, and appropriate for giving to significant kin. The "best" taro are those which possess a lengthy genealogy, were named by notable individuals, or which belong to influential families. Some taro are believed to be "stronger" than others and are given to sick persons to eat so that they will assume some of the strength of the taro and will themselves become strong. These taro are thought to cleanse the blood and, when eaten with greens, create new blood which helps wash away illness. Taro with no outstanding qualities are used primarily for ordinary consumption. Only when better taro are in short supply are inferior taro used for ceremonial purposes.
The Lolo recognize three categories of foods including bush food, garden food and "white" foods or food of European origin. Because their diet is predominantly composed of foods from gardens, when speaking of food in general, the Lolo mean garden produce. Garden food, as well as being the most important nutritionally, is also considered the best food. Eating garden food makes one strong and able to engage in strenuous physical activity. Bush foods, although used in addition to the regular diet, are primarily famine foods. Thoughtful cooks collect these foods and use them to vary the diet, but they are not used with great frequency. "White" food, although a treat, and in spite of its high prestige value, does not have much nutritional value according to the Lolo. This is why people with white skin need education: their steady diet of rice, tinned meat and so on renders them unfit for anything but office work.

Food in Everyday Life

When food is brought in from the gardens, it is carefully sorted and organized for storage and distribution. It is disgraceful to store food haphazardly. Not only is one a poor housekeeper but also a "bad" person and others are warned not to eat their food. Food is also separated and stored according to ownership. If several
people in a household share gardening duties, their food is sorted and stored according to ownership.

On a daily basis, food is distributed to others, and involves taking small parcels of food (several taro, sweet potatoes and greens for example) to those who live close by, perhaps a bundle to a sister and one to a brother. Gifts are made after considering issues such as who has visitors and is in need of help with food, who is having trouble with their gardens, or who has assisted with some recent project. Gifts are not governed by rules, but rather are situation specific and practiced somewhat according to whim. In the case of a quarrel with a relative, for example, one expresses anger or dissatisfaction with that person by withholding food.

Most raw and cooked food gifts go to kin, especially close kin. Proximity is a key factor in all gifts of food. Non-kin, if living close by, receive frequent gifts of food, while kin living at a distance receive food more rarely. One must be open and generous with food gifts to those living nearby because of the frequency, regularity and intensity of social relations. Relationships not maintained lapse, thus giving and receiving food is the primary means of sustaining social contact and social relationships.

For this reason, it is crucial to keep track of all food received. It is necessary to know who gave raw food
or a meal so that gifts can be reciprocated. This is also a means for evaluating a relationship and assessing value as a person and as a kinsman. For example, if food is received from all kin in the vicinity except for a sister, then this indicates failure in one's duties and obligations towards that sister.

Not only do donors and recipients maintain accounts of food gifts, but food is scrutinized and monitored by other villagers. Food is a public matter. It is openly stored, should be eaten in public view, and offered to all present. Eating in private means that one may be hoarding special food with no intention of sharing, directly contradicting the imperative of generosity. The imperative is affected by the introduction of goods such as rice and tinned meat. These items are costly, difficult to obtain and with their prodigious appetites a kilogram of rice feeds only a few adults, hence the Lolo now tend to cook and eat rice late at night behind closed doors. Repeated consumption of rice is an improper and flagrant exhibition of wealth and can damage one's reputation.

Another important gift is firewood. Subject to similar conventions of giving and receiving as food, it is for the Lolo an integral part of the food network. Every household has a platform over the hearth where wood is stored. This wood becomes very dry and as time passes is blackened by soot and smoke. Food cooked by this wood is
given extra strength, and so this firewood is given to women in childbirth or to women in mourning seclusion.

When planning a meal, the first consideration is who is subject to what food taboos. When a kinsman dies, those who shared a household, a close kin relationship (for example, a natural parent, blood sibling) or close personal relationship to the deceased assume taboos for certain foods in addition to the taboos imposed during the initial period of mourning. The food tabooed is that which the deceased ate just prior to death, for example, if the last meal eaten was taro, then those who take on the taboo are forbidden taro since eating it will make them violently ill. The taboos are observed for at least a year, although those who were very seriously affected by the death may honour the deceased by adhering to the taboo for life. Breaking taboos is an occasion for a small, relatively private ceremony, in which the tabooed individual merely begins to eat the previously tabooed food, and makes a special commemorative trip to the gardens of the deceased.

Once food for a meal has been chosen, the method of cooking must be decided. Roasting, boiling or baking in an earth oven are the available choices, although the earth oven requires so much preparation that it is usually reserved for ceremonial occasions when several people share the duties.
Cooking for ceremonial events requires elaborate preparations. In these cases large quantities of the same foods as are roasted or boiled for everyday consumption are baked in an earth oven after they have been specially prepared. Taro for example, are peeled twice. First, each tuber is peeled to remove the outer skin, while a second peeling creates a uniform surface. Once peeled, each tuber is cut in a certain way. Taro are first split lengthwise with each piece halved and halved again so that all pieces are approximately equal in size. Visual appearance is critical, since food that does not meet the appropriate standards is discarded. Once the food is prepared, it is carefully placed in the earth oven and baked.

Women are responsible for cooking and preparing food on a daily basis. However, during preparation for ceremonials, certain operations, for example stirring taro pudding in massive carved bowls, are taken over by the men. Each operation done by the men is itself invested with ceremony with the use of special utensils, ritual acts and songs.

Good cooks are admired and respected individuals. They are concerned about the visual appearance of food they serve. Their roasted foods have no trace of charred skin, boiled greens are artfully twisted and knotted, peeled tubers are smooth and cleanly cut, and food cooked in earth ovens has no punctures from forks. Food must also taste
good and a good cook adds quantities of salt and delicacies like curry powder if these are available. Nutrition is another consideration. For the Lolo, eating well means consuming a variety of different foods and large amounts of greens to cleanse the blood. To many, proper nutrition includes sparing use of coconut milk and an awareness of the medicinal values of different foods. Good cooks are hygienic cooks. Hands are washed before food is prepared, utensils are kept clean, the hearth area is swept and all refuse is properly discarded. Food from dirty households, I was warned, is food that makes one ill. People value good cooks not only for their nutritious, visually appealing and tasty food, but for their generosity as well. Good cooks are those who care about food, respect food and those whom they serve.

When food is served, certain conventions are observed which indicate deference and respect. In any gathering, prominent men receive food first. These men are elders, usually firstborn, and invariably those who possess large amounts of cultural knowledge, for example song specialists, story specialists, or those who hold large amounts of traditional wealth. Not only are prominent persons served first, they are also given the best places to sit and eat. If the wives of these men are present and come from high status families themselves, they receive food immediately after their husbands. Those who receive
their food last are those who have the lowest social standing in that particular gathering. There is no difference in the size of the portions or in what food is served. Rather, the order in which food is received is the indicator of social position.

New positions have been added to this pecking order. At a gathering where exceptionally prominent men are absent, the doctor, catechist, and to a lesser extent, the teachers, receive their food first. These people occupy official positions sanctioned by the church or the government, have money and education and are thus respected. This respect is, for many people, tempered with fear since these people are different, more sophisticated and worldly making the villagers somewhat uncomfortable in their company.¹⁰

When food is served, it is never passed from hand to hand but is always placed directly into the hand of the intended recipient. This applies not only to serving meals but to gifts of food as well. When giving ordinary gifts of food, it is acceptable to give these to the senior female of a household while more significant gifts are given to the senior male.

Food is a favoured target for sorcery. Sorcerers tamper with gardens, food itself, or food refuse in gardens or households. Great care must be exercised when accepting food from a known sorcerer, since to refuse would be to
risk the sorcerer's wrath. This is a difficult situation for the Lolo. Family members with easy access to one's home and belongings are most greatly feared as sorcerers but at the same time, are those most likely to present food. Customarily, food given by sorcerers is accepted and if unavoidable eaten. The recipients can only hope that it is safe. Known sorcerers are thus given frequent and lavish gifts of food in the hope that they will direct their malice elsewhere. Analogous to the men's house or gardens, food is a target because of its power. Food gains power through the ground, and through association with other realms of the Aesthetic, notably ceremonial. Attacking food, gardens or the men's house is truly an attack upon the Aesthetic, in that objects saturated with the powers of the extraordinary, hence the Aesthetic, are the objects of a sorcerer's malice.

Eating food is secondary to giving or receiving food. Receiving food means that one belongs, has kin, friends, or in short, people who are concerned for one's welfare. Giving and receiving food ensure physical and social security by establishing one's position within kin networks and within the larger sphere of village relations.
The Lolo use food as a means to create, define and maintain social relationships, and so food becomes the vehicle for the creation of social identity and for defining one’s position *vis-a-vis* that of others. As discussed in Chapter II, moral principles of mutual aid, support and exchange are central in the criteria for defining kin and in the constitution of kin relations. Giving and receiving food, giving and receiving meals, and helping with food related duties enable Lolo individuals to fulfill their moral imperatives towards others. Although women are the givers and receivers of food among the Lolo, the social aspects of these interchanges are extended to include households rather than applying solely to individuals.

For the Lolo, giving and receiving food mean that each person has a place within the social system by virtue of the fact that one gives and receives. However, certain positions within the kinship network place greater demands than others. Sisters, for example, habitually exchange food regardless of whether they are natural or classificatory siblings, and their relationship is characterized by almost daily exchange of food. Thus, the type of relationship determines the frequency of food gifts, although the frequency is tempered by physical
distance. Never giving food to kin living some distance away can cause a rupture in the relationship, hence the gifts are made but are occasional.

The importance of personal preference echoes the basic principles of Lolo social organization discussed in Chapter III. Cooperation among siblings is expected, and in giving food, it is siblings who are expected to exchange food most often. The importance of proximity in daily food giving serves to further establish residential groupings as the most significant corporate group among the Lolo.

Gifts of meals or cooked food are made constantly, and generally to the same people. Those who live nearby often send a child to a sister's house with a plate of cooked food which is then divided among all present. Gifts of meals are dependent on situation as well. If a number of guests arrive, or in case of sickness, those affected receive gifts of cooked food. In addition, for those who live at the other end of the village, an occasional gift of cooked food replaces habitual gifts of raw food and serves the same purpose. Gifts of cooked food are often given to the men's house for the consumption of all men inside. As well, those who arrive when a meal is in progress are offered a meal regardless of whether or not they have eaten.

Maintaining good relationships with kin and those who live nearby is fundamentally the responsibility of
women. They harvest food, cook food and ultimately are those with the power to create and maintain these relationships since they are based in large part on the giving and receiving of food. One woman in the village incurred the wrath of her female neighbours by spreading malicious gossip. The other women retaliated by refusing to bring her the usual gifts of food. This action on the part of the village women caused her to publicly mourn for herself. Since she received no food, she was deserted and thus dead. She followed this announcement with a public apology and next day the gifts of food resumed. This illustrates two basic principles. The first speaks to the importance of food gifts. The absence of these gifts implies alienation from one’s kin and neighbours. Alienation and its resultant isolation are, for the Lolo, worse than death. Secondly, women hold the means to either preserve or destroy kin relationships.

Men play a smaller but significant role in this process. Men provide assistance in large-scale gardening projects, and in preparing food for ceremonial events. On a daily basis, their role is restricted to encouraging the women to be generous with their food gifts since the reputation of the men rests to a great extent on the largess of the women of their household. The only time a man may legitimately beat his wife is if she is remiss in matters concerning food, for example failing in her
ceremonial responsibilities, failing to feed a man's guests, or failing to provide the family with adequate amounts of food. If a man's wife and unmarried daughters fulfill all food-related obligations, his reputation is enhanced accordingly.

Social differentiation by gender is also reflected in Lolo conceptions of food. Dealings with food are based on more than mere considerations of a division of labour although in regard to gardening and food preparation this division is marked. Food also speaks to the definition and constitution of masculinity and femininity. Women bear children, and although the Lolo recognize the importance of the man's role in conception and gestation, the fact that women carry and bear children independently of men outweighs their initial contributions. The Lolo view giving food and giving birth as analogous in that each creates a social relationship. A child at birth automatically enters a network of kin relations, providing the child with a social identity. Giving food also gives birth to relationships and as a child needs food to grow and mature, so do relationships. Food and women's work are thus necessary to each individual's physical and social survival.

Women have power to give or deny life. Women can carry a pregnancy to term, can practice birth control or abort. Just as easily, they can allow relationships to be
perpetuated or destroyed by giving or withholding gifts of food. For these reasons, men are cautious with women since in this respect they are at their mercy. Older men chide newly-married young men for arguing with their wives, beating them, or mistreating them. Younger men are warned that should they so behave, their wives would stop feeding them. Were this to occur, a man would cease to have a wife, or be guaranteed a childless marriage.

Both men and women realize the essential differentiation and complementarity of their roles with regard to the creation and maintenance of individuals, social relationships and ceremony. Food is a female domain, and performance the province of men.

Just as food contributes to one's social identity, food aids in the development and definition of one's identity as an individual. A good Lolo woman works hard and her gardens are monuments to her productivity. She always has enough food available and more to feed her family, her guests, and to fulfill her responsibilities in providing food for ceremonial. Generosity when giving food and observance of correct protocol in serving and distributing show that one cares about one's reputation as a Lolo woman. Treatment of food provides the barometer for gauging a woman's standing in the village and among kin. Failing to observe and outdo the conventions of food distribution can turn a woman into a pariah, and destroy
her husband's and family's reputations in the process. A woman may be forgiven nearly everything except abusing food.\footnote{11}

For men too food is critical in their constitution as individuals. In order for them to achieve renown through their wives and daughters, they must pull their weight in the gardens. A successful and productive garden requires the combined efforts of men and women. Without this cooperation, gardens quickly deteriorate and produce small wizened food described as "pig food". Presentation of this food as gifts or during ceremonial severely damages one's reputation. Those who do little but expect to receive food for their efforts should be ashamed of themselves. Getting food for nothing makes people objects of scorn.

Clearly, food provides a means by which Lolo men and women create and cement individual identity. "Good" men and "good" women are hard workers who respect others and show it by their wise and judicious use of food. Lolo who are respected by others have a good standing among the Lolo and with their kin, are known in other areas, are rarely the butt of gossip or anger, cause few problems with other villagers, are likely to avoid sorcery, and, by exemplifying conduct considered appropriate and proper for a Lolo, avoid the wrath of Namor and thus benefit by being in his good graces.
Food and the Cash Economy

Food is entering into the monetary economy, a new development for the Lolo. Until quite recently, Lolo would only exchange food, usually receiving food in return. Now however, food is offered for sale. This applies, of course, to "white" food bought at the store as well as to indigenous foods. On several occasions when food was rather scarce owing to the rain, women were forced to pay cash for garden food which they needed for ceremonials. Twice while I was in the village, men shot wild pigs which, after they had been cooked, were cut up and sold. Those who had money and ate pork were bitterly resented by those who had none. There was much disgruntled talk about those who ate pork.

One incident in which food was offered for sale horrified many of the villagers. After a death, certain women remain in mourning seclusion for approximately one month after which there is a ceremony and food distribution marking the end of the formal period of mourning. On this occasion, a pig was killed and not only the pork but all other food was sold rather than given away. The deceased was a young woman and her husband, recently returned to the village from working in a lumber camp outside the provincial capital, decided that food should be sold with proceeds to be split among himself, his brothers, and his
affines. He rather terrified his affines. A hot temper and rumours of his abilities as a sorcerer persuaded his affines to acquiesce. For older Lolo and traditionally-minded younger Lolo, this was viewed as a very serious breach of Lolo custom. Dire predictions of Namor’s wrath abounded, and those seen as responsible, affines included, were shunned and ostracized. Kin of the transgressors feared for their lives since this action so angered the villagers that sorcery was believed inevitable. The young men responsible for this only wished to make some money and thought they were doing no harm, but gossip and ostracism punished them for their mistreatment of food and ceremony and this type of incident never occurred again.

There are some instances in which the sale of food is sanctioned. These are primarily fund raising events. The Lolo Women’s Club occasionally makes food and sells it with the small profits going to stock a small store run by the Club, or the Lolo villages may organize a dance or "Gate" in which food is sold, again to raise small amounts of money for the aid post, the school, or to contribute towards the purchase of a community truck. At these events, all understand that food is sold explicitly to raise money. Even so, many older villagers refuse to attend these events because to them the sale of food in this manner represents a violation of Lolo morality. The problem is not a lack of money, although it is certainly
scarce, since small amounts of money circulate among villagers via ceremonial distributions. The issue is that food is not a commodity to be sold.

Food and Performance

Lolo ceremonial events have predictable cycles in that certain events take place at certain times during an individual's life. Thus, before it is actually announced that a particular event will take place, there is casual comment that, for example, it is time for a child to be circumcised, married, or named. The grandparent generation is key in this. Depending on their status in the village, they assume much of the responsibility for the proceedings. They provide information and instruction on correct protocol and provide most of the wealth exchanged during the ceremony. The formal announcement is made, however, by the person "officially" sponsoring the event, usually the father of the child, who, after consulting his kin, assumes public responsibility, even though it is, for example, his father who assumes the private, most critical, responsibility of ensuring that the performance is properly executed.

The announcement of an impending ceremony signals the start of vigorous deliberations that carry on for weeks. Each night, the members of the sponsoring men's
house group gather to organize the event, joined by members of other men's house groups with an interest in the proceedings. Also included are specialists. If none of those assembled possess the appropriate cultural knowledge, the specialist is called in as a consultant to the proceedings.

In the course of the deliberations, the men decide who is to be responsible for what in the preparations for the ceremonial and during the performance itself. This involves considerations of the purpose of the performance and the type of ceremonial. "True" Lolo ceremonials, those indigenous to the Lolo, possess directives governing the types and amounts of wealth that must be exchanged, numbers of pigs to be given to those who act in a certain capacity, amounts and kinds of traditional wealth to be exchanged, and so on. In general, however, those who sponsor the event are those who must pay.

While these deliberations are being carried out, the female relatives of those involved (the wives of the sponsors, the sisters of the sponsors and their female children), should they be present in the village or live close by, are responsible for feeding the men. This includes assisting with gardening, harvesting and cooking food. If there are too few women present, women enlist the aid of their female kin. Food presented to the men during their deliberations must be taken to the men's house and
given with appropriate decorum and ceremony. The women too
have their own deliberations. As the men negotiate in the
men's house, the women negotiate while preparing food.
Women let their opinions be known to their male kin in no
uncertain terms. Men realize that the wishes of the women
must be given serious consideration if they wish to avoid
trouble and secure their cooperation.  

By the close of the formal negotiations, the men
have laid the ground rules for the performance. They have
decided what role each household involved will play, who
provides what food, who dresses the child in ceremonial
finery, who makes the dance skirts and men's regalia, who
donates a pig or other form of wealth, who acts as a masked
figure, who leads the performance, and when the performance
is to be held. Each of these requires a consideration of
numerous variables. If, for example, two men must provide
four adult pigs but do not possess them, they must secure
them from others. Thus, deciding who provides a pig means
that previous ceremonial involvement of kin must be
evaluated to ascertain whether it is time for one or
another to participate in this way. The same is true for
amassing the other forms of wealth. Once it is established
that a certain person must provide five carved bowls and
twenty fathoms of shell money, it is up to that person to
obtain these according to whatever means are at his
disposal, generally by calling in old debts or creating new
ones. These requirements are, to a certain extent, built into kinship status.

The end of deliberations is sounded by the slit-gong. The date of the performance is made known, and for those with obligations to fulfill, the labour begins. They must take stock of their present situation and decide if they have sufficient wealth on hand. If they feel that some of the material should be provided by others indebted for services in the past, they begin to enlist the aid of their kin by making their requests known. At this juncture, more deliberations begin as each person negotiates with kin to fulfill obligations. This invariably results in hours of argument and debate, again requiring an assessment of each person’s involvement in past ceremonial events. These negotiations should ideally be concluded at least a week prior to the event itself, but it is not uncommon for individuals to be arguing and racing about to collect items for exchange on the morning of the performance.

Female kin and the wives of those involved play a large part in these negotiations. Women participate in the debates with their own or husband’s kin concerning the wealth to be exchanged, while organizing the food for the event. Similar processes obtain in negotiations for food. Women must consider who owes them for services rendered and toward whom they may become indebted. Like the men’s
negotiations, shortly before the performance, women are still persuading kinswomen to assist them in their preparations.

For the women, the week before the ceremony is spent collecting firewood, food, the materials for decorating the participants, and making dance skirts. The day before the event, loose ends are tied up, the last food collected, and the day’s labour parties organized. Each village has at least one earth oven. The households are attached to the one located closest to them, and so again it is those who live in the closest proximity who make up the work parties.

The morning of the event begins early. The first task is to prepare the earth oven. Firewood is brought, a fire built in the hearth, stones piled on the fire, and the whole is covered with a thick blanket of leaves so that the stones are thoroughly heated. While the stones are heating, the women prepare the food. This takes several hours depending on the size of the ceremonial and how much food is required. Food used for ceremonial purposes must be prepared according to the dictates described above. Men assist in this process by gathering dozens of "dry" coconuts, husking them, and grating the coconut for coconut milk.

When the stones are thoroughly heated, the oven is opened. Hot stones are pushed to one side, and a layer of
banana leaves is placed on the hearth. The leaves are organized so that each woman’s food can be kept separate. The food is very carefully placed on the leaves, each woman memorizing just what she has contributed, and leaving a space between her contributions and those of the other women. Greens are inserted in spaces around the food, and coconut milk poured over all. The oven is closed by arranging banana leaves over the food so that the whole is tightly enclosed. If any steam is visible, the leak must be found and covered so that the food cooks evenly. The heated stones are piled on top of the mound, and another layer of leaves is added to hold the heat in the stones. Wood is piled on top and the oven is closed. Since it takes several hours for the food to cook, the women are free to catch their breath and assist their male kin in last minute business.

During this time, the men have been preparing for their parts in the event. They rehearse the songs for the performance, prepare their regalia, finalize the last details of the event, organize for the distribution of wealth, or assist in the food preparations. Large quantities of betel nut and tobacco are needed for exchange, for paying dancers and singers, and for consumption during the performance. These are collected in advance but on the day of the performance arrangements are made for their distribution.
Each ceremony officially begins with a food distribution. A mat of banana leaves is laid in the centre of the village, the earth oven is opened, the food wrapped in leaf bundles for distribution, and the food piled on the leaf mat. Large portions of food are given to those who have provided services for the sponsor, those who contributed wealth, those who contributed the pig for consumption, and those who provided major assistance during the preparations. These are inevitably the same people involved from the start. In effect, since they have done the lion’s share of providing the wealth and doing the work for the event, they are the ones who receive the most food. They have also contributed food to the event, but their food goes to those who have assisted them in their work, so that everyone’s efforts are paid in food by those for whom they have done a service, the quantity of food reflecting the degree of assistance. One man remarked to me during a food distribution that food was like blood since it flowed throughout the entire village, an apt simile since the food follows a circulatory system through all who have been involved in one way or another.

After the food distribution the exchange of valuables occurs. At Lolo ceremonials, only one pig is killed, cooked and distributed. The remaining pigs are given live to the recipients. Pigs are tied under the house of the recipient or under the house where the
recipient is staying, and carved bowls, shell money, baskets, and goods such as kerosene lamps, rice, laplap and so on are distributed. Like the food distribution, valuables go to those who have made a major contribution. A pig may go to someone who gave a pig, provided several carved bowls, or to one towards whom one owes a large number of accumulated debts. In most cases, wealth goes to those who occupy close kinship positions, and so wealth, like food, operates as a parallel circulatory system. Fundamentally, the same people receive wealth as receive large amounts of food, simultaneously emphasizing their contributions and their close kinship ties. One person from each household is designated the official recipient, responsible for taking the food to that household where it is then distributed among the occupants.

After the food and wealth have been distributed, the ceremonial performance begins. Given the length of time that these other activities take, the performance begins at dusk. Those who have been selected or who have volunteered to be dancers and drummers dress in their finery, those who are for the moment spectators arrange themselves around the dance ground, and the dancing starts. The performance continues throughout the night, usually with a break for food and a rest at midnight and again at about four a.m. Dancers and singers may tire and others take their places, thus everyone who wishes to participate
has a chance to do so. The dancing continues until the sun is well up in the sky. The leader of the dance then calls the performance to a halt, and those not remaining in the village collect their belongings and leave. Those who hosted the ceremonial begin to clean up, gathering leaves and garbage and sweeping the village.

Performance Evaluation

My questions about evaluation of performances were interpreted by my informants as questions about food. This emphasis on the place of food in performance evaluation is a result of the Lolo designating the food distribution as the start of the performance, although the musical performance may not begin until hours later. This perception places a great deal of weight on the role of food and of food providers in performance.

The first thing that the Lolo evaluate in a performance is the quality and quantity of food. For the Lolo, ceremonials are considered successful and to have properly fulfilled their purpose if they are performed in the way that their elders would have performed them and thus as much like Namor intended as possible. Since Namor intended that all Lolo should be generous with food, it is in accordance with Namor’s wishes that the Lolo fulfill this dictate in ceremonial. Those who have outdone
themselves in contributing food and giving only the best food, are spoken of with respect and admiration. This respect is given not only to the women who provided the food, but to all members of the household.

Unlike food, items of wealth are non-negotiable. Either one fulfills one’s obligations or one does not, but in the matter of food, there is room to either better or diminish one’s reputation and status and that of the household. For this reason, the Lolo carefully monitor the flow of food, since it provides an accurate indicator of a woman’s value, hence the value of her household, and of a woman’s perception of her own and her husband’s kin. If one fails to meet one’s obligations for providing wealth, the possible reasons for this are considered and if there is evidence that a man is down on his luck because of sorcery, other weighty ceremonial obligations,\textsuperscript{14} or uncooperative kin, that person is usually excused and people say that he will make up for it at a later date. However, if a woman fails to provide adequate amounts of food, or treats her contribution with indifference by distributing badly prepared food or common taro, she becomes an object of scorn, and her entire household falls in the eyes of the other villagers. She earns a reputation for stinginess, implying that she does not respect her kin or her responsibilities and so is ostracized, the subject of malicious gossip, and she, or someone else of her
household or close kin, becomes a likely target for sorcery. Meanness with food on a regular basis is seen as bad, but poor treatment of food for ceremonial is immoral and "covers the house with shame". A reputation of this sort is not easily eradicated but persists for generations, affecting the descendants of the offending woman.

In view of this, food distributions at ceremonials are good if the food covers a wide circle on the ground in the centre of the village. A colourful and abundant display of food, judging from the admiring and proud comments, is, for the Lolo, a metaphor for the "good life". A good life consists of harmonious relations among humans, between humans and ancestors and between humans and mythical spirits. Seeing all the food spread out reinforces the notion of harmonious relations, for in order to have a successful food distribution, these relationships must be harmonious, or at least harmonious enough to achieve this abundance, since the preparations for a food distribution take at least a year of preparing gardens and nurturing social relations in order to produce the requisite food. The food for distribution is the product of the collective effort of sibling groups and men's house groups and so the food spread out for distribution is also a metaphor for siblingship and descent as defined by the Lolo.
Thus, a good food distribution tells the Lolo that their social and cosmological networks are in place and operating as they should, and are blessed by supernatural sanction. If the food distribution is successful so too will the musical performance be, since it too will have the blessing of the supernatural. In effect, then, food distribution indicates that social and performance aesthetics are followed correctly hence enabling the Lolo to participate in the realm of the Aesthetic and access extraordinary powers.

The musical performance itself is superficially judged to be a success if there is a large number of people present. The Lolo say that they like the sound of many voices, both male and female, combined with the sound of a large number of drums. As well as sounding good, the presence of a large number of people supports the notion of a good life, since this indicates good relationships among kin and non-kin if many people attend and perform.

More critically, a good performance is one headed by specialists, the more the better. The presence of specialists raises the quality of the music performed by adding authority and authenticity to the performance. Authority and authenticity make the performance more "real": there is no doubt that the performance is genuine and hence legitimate. They are also dedicated to the successful and proper execution of the performance, since
their reputation as specialists rides on each performance.

Thus, if these elements are present in a performance, the audience (never totally attentive to the proceedings) is more involved. Women clown by aping the men, other men and women leave the audience and join the performers, audience members sing along, request songs, or may indeed begin songs which are then taken up by the performers.

Performance aesthetics provide the means with which the performance is used to gain access to extraordinary powers. These efforts are enhanced, if not enabled, by the presence of the specialists. They are the ones who are able to do things the correct way, by ensuring that performers know the words, dance steps, drumming patterns, and are able to do these in synchrony; forcing the other performers to match their standards; and finally, by having the support of a large number of people who will prepare food and do all the work involved in executing the performance.

Power in the performance comes from several sources. First, the performance derives power from its heritage of mythical and ancestral powers. Power in the ceremony is invoked by the performers’ ingestion of powerful substances, such as wild ginger, which constitute the performance magic given by spirits along with the ceremony. The performance itself brings these powers to
contemporary Lolo participating in the performance, as audience or as performers.

Power is given particularly to the specialists. To the Lolo knowledge is power, and specialists are powerful in their capacity as authorities by virtue of their knowledge and expertise and their positions as important men (usually natavolo). The performer assumes power through the context and act of performance, and acts as a conduit of these powers to the audience, thus connecting the extraordinary to the ordinary.

Power also comes from the exchange of food: food itself is powerful in that it is grown in the ground itself a source of power, and is, if grown for ceremonial, protected with the aid of powerful spirits. The connecting of extraordinary powers with the ordinary constitutes the aesthetic experience, an experience which is felt by both audience and performers, although the experience is quantitatively different given the degree of involvement. Power, then, for performers and audience, is the connection to the extraordinary. Performances are transcendant experiences: mythical beings are present as incorporeal or corporeal beings, and ordinary men engage in extraordinary acts through their use of performance magic, by acting as the embodiment of a spirit being, and in singing, dancing, and drumming songs that themselves have a heritage of mythical power.
By adhering to performance aesthetics, and prior to this, social aesthetics in the successful execution of the food exchange and the exchange of wealth, by connecting and merging the extraordinary and the mundane, the performance takes both performers and audience to the realm of the extraordinary, hence the Aesthetic.

Discussion

The principles of evaluation of performances illustrate the gravity of proper treatment of food in a ceremonial context. It is crucial for a household to fulfill all food obligations to enhance or at least maintain one's standing with one's kin and among other villagers, to ensure that should one need assistance that help will be forthcoming, to minimize the dangers from sorcery, to please Namor and reduce the likelihood of incurring his wrath, to please and support one's kin, and to maintain Lolo custom and tradition so that the Lolo can continue as a viable culture. I was told over and over that "kastam i hat" (literally, "custom is hard") meaning that acting as Namor wished, being a good Lolo, treating food properly and carrying out ceremonial to the best of their abilities is debilitating. It drains them of wealth, empties their gardens, and robs them of strength since the preparations and execution of performances are so
strenuous. However, in the next breath, I was always told that it was worth it to be a good Lolo. There was no greater satisfaction for them than to see their children growing up imbued with proper moral standards.

This is, however, becoming more and more difficult for the Lolo given the increasing emphasis on cash for buying pigs, rice, and using western goods as exchange items in ceremonials. Indigenous Lolo ceremonials require large amounts of wealth if they are to be performed as specified by Namor, and the Lolo say they value these ceremonials too much to consider a performance that disregards Namor's instructions. They also fear Namor's anger and the repercussions of such acts. Thus, the Lolo are relying more and more on ceremonials they have purchased from other groups (Sia from the Siasi, Murmur from the Arawe). These are easier to perform since they do not carry the imperatives for large exchanges of wealth as do indigenous ceremonials. As well, the Lolo do not feel bound to use these ceremonials for the purposes for which they were originally intended. Performances of indigenous ceremonials are decreasing, and the phenomenon of "doubling" ceremonial (using one performance for numerous purposes, for example simultaneously calling a name and circumcising several boys) is more common. This causes sorrow to traditional Lolo since they can see their ceremonies fading and those of others gaining ascendancy.
These individuals call the practice of performing ceremonial from others like the Siasi or the Arawe wasted ceremonial, since this is not what Namor intended for them, but is better than no ceremonial at all.

The issue of poverty is central here, and a cursory examination of the Lolo situation would bear this out as a significant cause for loss of ceremonial. Rice is now necessary for execution of ceremonies, goods to be exchanged must often be purchased with money, and not infrequently people are paid in cash for the goods and services they provide. However, further examination and analysis reveal that poverty is but a symptom of a much deeper malaise resulting from the failure of the Aesthetic. This conclusion is reached because the Lolo are able to muster the requisite goods for other ceremonies, notwithstanding their poverty. The focus must shift from economics to more fundamental issues such as the underlying reasons for the elimination of certain ceremonials and the impact of this loss.

In her study of the Hua, Meigs (1984) distinguishes between two types of value associated with food, intrinsic and extrinsic value. Nutritional, homeopathic and taste qualities are intrinsic values, while for the Hua, extrinsic value rests upon a transfer of power. Food assumes the powers of its producer, and these powers are given along with food.
The Lolo also recognize these two types of values. For the Lolo, values extrinsic to food involve social relationships. If food gifts, exchanges, and ceremonial food obligations are operating as they should, then so too is Lolo social life and Lolo relations with Namor and lesser members of the supernatural. Ancestral spirits are satisfied and those who properly fulfill their duties ideally have nothing to fear from malevolent spirits. The daily round of food exchanges and food in ceremonial provide the ways in which the Lolo can measure the orderly and proper functioning of their society.

Each Lolo possesses a large measure of control over relations with kin although subject to certain conventions surrounding proper ways to deal with kin and non-kin. However, since food exchanges constitute the central means of interacting with others on a daily basis, maintaining these relations can be done with either positive or negative effect. By giving much good food frequently, or by giving small amounts of common taro or "pig food" one can make definite statements about one’s feelings for the recipient. Gifts are very public, making this a very effective means of expressing opinions or imposing negative sanctions. Everyone is thus aware of any tension, free to join sides, or make their own opinions known with food. Food transfers are responsive to daily happenings and
events thus providing a record of feelings and opinions expressed by individuals.

Food is a highly sensitive indicator of violations of Lolo morality and conventions. By examining amounts, frequency and quality of food transferred on a daily basis, one can see who has offended whom, to what degree, and what is done to correct the situation. In effect, food provides a daily bulletin of interpersonal relationships. Clearly then, the Lolo do not blindly follow directives for proper behaviour vis-a-vis kin. Each individual has control over the quality of relationships, and a means for expressing feelings, punishing, and correcting problems. This is especially true for women since they hold the key to these transactions. However, their male kin and their husbands are able to take action should women abuse this power.

Food then, is itself power, and a power which resides primarily in the hands of women. This, combined with their power over conception, childbearing and child raising, makes them formidable members of the society.

Food is also an expression of morality. The Lolo say that most of their moral directives came from Namor. They were instructed to be generous with food and to take care of their kin. Taking care of kin means giving them food regularly, assisting them in ceremonial or other work, performing ceremonials the way Namor intended, and helping to maintain the culture so that future generations of Lolo
benefit. Nearly all of these are expressed by food, and food is the primary way to care for kin by giving food, receiving food, providing assistance in food-related matters, fulfilling food obligations for ceremonials. Thus, food and its treatment are at the very basis of Lolo moral considerations.

Performance can also be examined on the basis of intrinsic and extrinsic values, and from an individual and collective perspective. For all Lolo, ceremonials are intrinsically fun. They provide an opportunity to meet with kin and friends, gossip, dance, sing, and eat plenty of good food. Performances also give the Lolo something to anticipate. The long rainy months are dreary, and planning and organization of ceremonial events provides a welcome distraction.

Extrinsically, Lolo ceremonials are a vehicle for the expression of Lolo ideology and morality, maintain and perpetuate Lolo cultural integrity, and give the Lolo the satisfaction of having conducted a ceremonial well. Individuals can use ceremony to enhance their status and gain renown, and can be assured that they have properly fulfilled their obligations to kin.

For the Lolo, the moral order as a whole concerns the proper relations among people, things and the supernatural, with an analytical distinction made here between the moral order of the ordinary and that of the
extraordinary. The moral order speaks to the way things are, and to the way things should be. Order rests first on the proper and harmonious relations among kin, as discussed in Chapter III. Namor gave the Lolo certain instructions for proper conduct in these relations. For example, sisters should habitually give each other food, always help with their work, assist during ceremonial, support each other in times of trouble, look after each others' children or adopt them, and so on. Again, many of these instructions depend on the proper treatment and distribution of food.

Proper relations with the supernatural also rest to a great extent on food. Treatment of food provides the daily measure of a person's acts, and ceremonial participation adds or subtracts to this measure, depending on a person's success or failure. Namor, a punitive being swift to anger and punish, is highly feared. Thus, maintaining proper relations with Namor requires acting in ways of which he would approve. Failure to do so means death to individuals, villages destroyed, chaos, anomie and anarchy. To prevent angering Namor, the Lolo try to live in the ways that their ancestors did, especially regarding food and ceremonial events. In short, what this means is that the Lolo try to adhere to social aesthetics and performance aesthetics, thereby maintaining the moral
order, and hence are able to participate in the realm of
the Aesthetic

The moral order too is manifest in everyday life. People work hard to keep gardens producing good food so that they are able to survive physically and socially. Arrangements for food must sometimes be made years in advance so that there is an adequate supply for ceremonials according to Namor's wishes and so that their cultural integrity is preserved.

In the ceremonial context, the moral order is very apparent since for the Lolo, ceremonies expose the underpinnings of Lolo culture. Proper performance shows that Namor's desires are being carried out, that proper relations with kin are maintained and strengthened through exchange and assistance, and that the ceremonial is properly done ensuring a good life for those who participate. Central to this is participation and involvement. Isolation and alienation are the antitheses of the social and cosmological order. In everyday life and especially during ceremonial, cooperation, mutual aid and support, the moral imperatives as discussed in Chapter II, are emphasized. Without this, Lolo culture and the Lolo themselves would be unable to survive. The desire to be alone is considered not only immoral but pathological. The strongest Lolo moral imperative is to aid others and to sustain their involvement and participation. Food is
central in this respect since it is the common currency of contact and assistance. Performance requires that all moral units of society, individuals, households, and men's house groups, work in concert and according to the principles of the moral order. If not, the ceremonials would be executed improperly.

The moral order is predicated on value: what is good, proper, appropriate and desirable, and which can be applied to human beings, objects, names, stories, or songs. Lolo value social interaction, involvement and participation, and food and ceremonial for the ways in which they enhance the former. Thus, because of the centrality of these values in Lolo ideology, it is too simple to see food as a feature of an economic exchange system. Weiner's (1980) model of reciprocity is suited for an analysis in which exchanges are but a part of a larger system incorporating people and relationships as well as objects. Weiner's argument is based on the premise that "any society must reproduce and regenerate certain elements of value in order for the society to continue" (p. 71). For Weiner, "reproduction" is the meaning ascribed to the act of creating, while "regeneration" refers to revitalizing elements already created. Food and ceremonial for the Lolo fulfill both reproductive and regenerative functions. Food is an absolute necessity for reproduction of new members of the group, can create new relationships
and give new meaning to established ones, can renew and redefine relationships on a daily basis and can revive lapsed relationships. Food and ceremonial are the prime movers of regeneration for the Lolo since each performance and food distribution is a revitalization of Lolo ideology and morality.

The vehicle for translating the moral order and value into action is, recalling Forge's definition, the limits of choice governing behaviour and interaction. Considering limits rather than rules is in this case a more heuristic approach, since the Lolo clearly have the freedom to manipulate moral conventions and expectations of behaviour, as seen in discussions of food exchanges above. Lolo social style reflects the complex of moral attitudes and actions based on food and ceremonial discussed in this chapter.15

Each Lolo performance requires the efforts of most villagers so all involved experience the performance as participants in some capacity rather than as spectators. Experiencing a performance is doubly significant for the Lolo given that involvement and participation are key elements in their ideology, morality, and social and performance styles. The "socially emergent dimension" (Schieffelin 1985:722) of performance, a parallel to Weiner’s notion of regeneration, is what makes the
performance work, both at the moment of performance and over time.

However, Lolo society does not currently reflect Lolo notions of order. Many ceremonies are no longer performed, and are replaced by alien ceremonies. Stories are lost or parts forgotten, special names like Galiki and Natavolo are no longer given with full ceremonial honours, and their associated ceremonies are likewise lost. The failure of the Aesthetic, most strongly indicated by the omnipresence of sorcery as well as the loss of means of access to and knowledge of the workings of the Aesthetic is probably at the root of the problem.

The Lolo say that they cannot perform ceremonials because they lack the material items required. However, the material items are available and used in other ceremonies. The lack of these items cannot be used to explain these losses, since it appears that the Lolo could amass the goods in sufficient quantities, and it would seem preferable to reduce the goods required rather than eliminating the entire ceremony. The explanation for this, and indeed for any other questions of why the Lolo behave in the ways that they do, seems rooted in the Aesthetic.

Social and physical survival and reproductive powers are powers fundamental to Lolo social life and indeed for human life and are all properly in the domain of the Aesthetic. The Aesthetic is that which orients and
orders these powers. In the case of the Lolo, the loss of so much from the realm of the Aesthetic means that the focus or orienting principles of Lolo are gone or have large gaps. There is thus no rationale for the Lolo to adhere to a moral order which only has relevance in relation to a coherent Aesthetic. The old relevances no longer make sense, hence are falling away. Catholicism does not fill the gap, nor does Western medicine, since so few have the knowledge or skills to fully participate. Thus, the loss of the Aesthetic causes the moral order to decay, a decay marked most clearly by sorcery. Hence, in the absence of an articulated Aesthetic, the moral order loses its coherence.

Thus far, what has been presented has been a largely normative portrayal of Lolo social life and performance, indicating how these are linked via the moral order and specific forms of aesthetics such as performance aesthetics to the Aesthetic itself. In the next chapter, narogo, the major ceremonial cycle of the Lolo is examined in its relationship to the Aesthetic. This is followed by a detailed examination of one performance from this cycle.
CHAPTER V

PERFORMANCE, CULTURAL VALUES AND THE AESTHETIC

In this chapter, I examine the various performances extant in the Lolo repertoire. These performances include virtually all ceremonial activity which occurs and speak directly to Lolo moral order and the Aesthetic in that they involve food, proper and harmonious relations with other Lolo and with the supernatural, in short, to Lolo social and cosmic order. This chapter explores these issues via an examination of the production and consumption of food and the occasions during which food and kinship specifically with regard to the dead and the firstborn, are celebrated. These events are seen in the context of the Lolo Aesthetic.

The Lolo ceremonial cycle can be conceived as possessing two broad categories including those which commemorate the dead and those which celebrate the living, specifically the firstborn child, or lautave. Both categories celebrate certain people: mortuary ceremonies use the deaths of important senior males as signposts during the cycle, and firstborn ceremonies are performed
for firstborn children. This does not imply that these ceremonials are in any way exclusive, rather, certain statuses of individuals are selected as foci in these cycles so that while not all are celebrated, the effects of the celebration impinge on the lives of all. This separation into two categories is used only for heuristic purposes. As is shown below, the two overlap and elements of one echo the other. As well, Lolo themselves conceive of the mortuary and firstborn ceremonies as segments of one process. Collectively, mortuary and firstborn ceremonies are known as narogo (see Figure 2 for a diagram of the entire cycle).

Death and the Mortuary Cycle

Death and life are, for the Lolo, inextricably linked. There is no life without death and no death without life, and so the two major types of ceremonial are twisted and knotted together by preparations, performance and in the relationships between the living and the dead. Two distinct kinds of ceremonies are performed in the context of the mortuary. The first consists of ceremonies for individual dead: the funeral and mourning, the second is the actual mortuary itself, dedicated to individuals who were exemplars of Lolo culture and embodiments of proper
social conduct. Unlike individual funerals and associated ritual, the mortuary as a whole is a celebration of the living and of life itself and its performance means that the Lolo way of life can continue, hence its focus on the firstborn.

**Namelomelo: The Mortuary**

Called *namelomelo* (croton), the mortuary commemorates the deaths of senior men of a men’s house group. If four or five senior males have died, and a corresponding number of firstborn children are ready for ceremonial work, the senior male of the men’s house makes the decision for *namelomelo* to begin.

To signal the beginning, affines of the deceased receive quantities of cooked pork ("pig of the mark"). Those so marked must supply the host men’s house group with pigs equivalent in number to the number of deceased. Receiving cooked pork begins the process of assessing wealth and assessing the debts and obligations of kin and affines. Those whom the original recipients have chosen to assist receive in turn a piece of the original "pig of the mark".

The next three years or so preceding the ceremonies are spent selecting pigs ("pigs of the *natem*" or red croton) for the ceremonies and ensuring they thrive with
careful feeding and ceremonials. Women are charged with this responsibility so they will make a good showing. A small or sickly pig is a slap in the face for the sponsors of the ceremony and guarantees censure or sorcery. Men conduct the required ceremonial, recalling the essential complementarity of male and female labour.

In the months before the ceremonies, poles for carrying pigs to the host village are selected and carved with the designs (namer) belonging to the men’s house group. Special rope (manggasi) is made to tie the pigs to the poles. In the host village, the red croton to mark the deceased are planted at the rear of the men’s house and periodic feasts mark the growth of the plant. Once these preparations are completed, a date for the event is set.

On the day of the event, the pigs are decorated in red and blue paint in designs matching those on the poles. Those coming from the furthest village set out first and are joined in each successive village by those carrying pigs and those going to attend. The slit-gong strikes upon their arrival to indicate the number of pigs entering the village, and again as they leave to show how the numbers of pigs have increased.

By the time the host village is reached, the crowd has swelled to as many as four or five hundred people. The slit-gong strikes to count the pigs and to announce the beginning of the ceremony. Women hide in their houses, and
those women on the paths hang back until the sound of the slit-gong, a powerful spirit voice dangerous to women, has subsided.

The "pigs of the red croton" are then staked in pairs through the centre of the village. Villages are paired according to traditional groupings and pigs from these villages are likewise paired. The line of pigs representing villages could appear as follows, with the dotted lines indicating which pigs are traded.

Aselmepua      Aliopua
Aselmepua      Kakumo
Orelmo  <-----------------> Aliopua
Aliopua  <-----------------> Orelmo
Ararau  <-----------------> Rovata
Ararau  <-----------------> Rovata
Makvar      Araigilpua
Araigilpua    Ararau

When pigs from the paired villages are traded, a cognate of the deceased who delivered the "pig of the mark" to each village leads the recipient of the pig to his opposite. The donor slaps the pig with red croton, and the recipient flings a handful of lime powder over the pig. This process is repeated until the pig switch is concluded. In effect, this is a switch of nearly equivalent pigs between the affines of the deceased, all of whom are from different men's house groups.
The remaining pigs are "called" by the red croton of the deceased and given to senior male cognates of the deceased. These senior males remove the red croton from the ground behind the men's house in the order in which the deaths occurred. The cognate of the first deceased carries the red croton up near the top of the plant, the second is carried further down the stem, the next further down until the last carries the red croton at the base of the plant. Following this order, the holders of red croton go to the pigs representing the affinal group given the "pig of the mark". Each of these pigs is slapped with the red croton and taken away to be tied under the recipient's house. The slit-gong strikes, counting the pigs now taken by the cognates of the deceased. The pig exchange concludes with a huge feast and food distribution for the participants.

The days following are occupied by a feast for growth of pigs and taro, and in preparing for the major ceremonial event of the mortuary ceremonies, the performance of Nakamutmut. Nakamutmut is a performance by masked autochthonous spirit figures (navala) who live inside the back room of the men's house. These spirit figures are called by pigs and so make their appearance following the mortuary pig exchange. If there are few pigs, they are insulted and refuse to appear and so their emergence from the men's house is a celebration of wealth and prosperity. When performed in the context of the
mortuary, **Nakamutmut** serves a dual purpose, functioning both as a celebration in response to the number of pigs exchanged and as a call for more pigs for the performance of **Vukumu**. **Vukumu** is a ceremony dedicated to putting black woven bands (**nakue**) on the legs of male firstborn children. The Lolo say that **Nakamutmut** "pulls" **Vukumu** and as such occupies a pivotal position in **narogo** simultaneously completing ceremonies held for the dead alone and beginning that segment which honours both the dead and the firstborn. It constitutes a powerful statement for the Lolo. It celebrates both birth and death and thus continuity, with the appearance of ancestor spirits effectively collapsing the gap between the spirit and the human worlds.

Spirit figures appearing in **Nakamutmut** are male and female, and always appear in even numbers with their genders equally represented. Males, called **Aikos** (the widower) are much larger than their female counterparts **Naviuviu** (the mother of **Aikos**). **Aikos** wears a huge sweeping skirt of wild ginger leaves and bears a long rectangular mask. The ginger leaves, material used by men in magic, denote male gender. **Naviuviu** is clad in banana leaves and wears a smaller, triangular mask. Banana leaves mark **Naviuviu** as feminine because they are used by women to wrap bundles of food. The costumes are very elaborate and require hours to prepare and don. The beings whom the dancers represent are very powerful and so the dancers must
do their work well. Magic is needed to assist them and with the help of this magic assume the powers of the spirits themselves and transfer that power to the ceremony.

Before first light on the day of the performance, the spirit figures are taken from the men's house to the privacy of the bush where those who are to dance as spirits make their preparations. In the morning, their path from the men's house can be seen. Trees and branches have been viciously slashed and the ground is churned and torn up. Children are told about the strength and power of the beings who made these paths and are warned to stay away, since any child intruding on their preparations is unceremoniously eaten.

The final phase of the mortuary cycle involves rebuilding the men's house, a lengthy process which involves cognates of both deceased and firstborn of the men's house group. The men's house is a large and significant building and as such, materials for construction must be of high quality requiring weeks of searching for good trees for posts and planks and for the preparation of the materials for building.

When the men's house frame is completed, a ceremony called Navoltemare is ideally performed. When food is carried for distribution at this ceremony, women carry food on their shoulders and men carry food on their heads, an
inversion of usual procedures. Currently, however, another ceremony, most usually Sia, is chosen in its stead.

Next, the thatch is put on and the walls are finished. All that remains to be done is to decorate the door, exterior posts and the wall above the door with designs belonging to the men’s house group. These marks include iconic representations of spirit beings, animals such as snakes or crocodiles, and graphic designs symbolizing locations significant to the men’s house members, for example a river where the original senior male of the men’s house was said to bathe, or the rock from whence a spirit being emerged.

The men’s house is like a man in that it ages, grows weaker and finally "dies" with its "death" treated with equal gravity and ceremony. Like the ceremonies for the deceased, the focus of the men’s house changes from a concentration on the dead to a concentration on the living, specifically the firstborn. As the men’s house must be transformed into a building newly "born", so must the spirit figures living inside. Concurrently with the preparations for erecting the men’s house, numerous large gardens are being readied for the work of creating the new spirit figures. After the men’s house building is completed, the men’s house members make new masks for the spirit figures. The Lolo have three types of spirit figures: navala which appear during Nakamutmut, and
naosung and malanggan which appear only to men during ceremonials bearing the same names. These masks are all painted white with designs both specific to the men's house and the spirit figure itself painted in red and black upon the faces. For these masks, the paints must be made in the traditional manner. Red paint (amonmon) is made from a special red ocher found in the mountains which was an important trade item with the Siasi, and black (natoa) is made from soot, coconut oil and black earth. To enhance the power of the masks, decoration is conducted with magic and to the accompaniment of special songs. The new and old masks co-exist in the men's house until a special feast is prepared.

The produce from the large gardens is gathered together and put into an enormous bag (nage) made of woven coconut strips. The bag is strung on four poles in the form of a square and requires several strong young men to carry it into the village. They carry the bag to the centre of the dance ground and set it down, so large and fully-packed with food that it remains upright. Senior men's house men attack the bag with knives and axes, causing the food inside to spill over in a massive outpouring. Those assembled scramble madly to gather as much food as possible and, when it is all collected, sit down for a feast prepared by the women of the host men's house. Enough pigs provided by the host men's house have
been killed and cooked so that each new spirit figure receives a large share. At this point, the old spirit figures are removed in secrecy from the men’s house, taken into the bush to be burned, and the new placed in their homes in the back room (navovo) of the men’s house where they will be presided over by the senior male.

The final stage in opening the men’s house and celebrating the deceased and firstborn together is an all-night performance of lullabies (nalolonga) for a firstborn of the men’s house group. The mother and father of the firstborn present a pig to the men’s house, and announce that the event is to take place. On the night of nalolonga, the house of the firstborn is full of women and the men’s house full of men from numerous men’s house groups. In the lap of every woman is a baby or young child, firstborn or not. The firstborn for whom the ceremony is staged must be continuously rocked in a woman’s lap. Should she tire, she must immediately pass the firstborn to another so that the child is never still. As the sun rises, after singing hundreds of lullabies, the final nalolonga is sung. The men inside and outside the men’s house pound the walls and stamp the ground making a huge noise, while those inside the firstborn’s house stand and all rock back and forth vigorously so that the entire house sways with their movements. When the song is done, the night of nalolonga is over and the men’s house
officially completed. This ceremony also signals the beginning of the phase of narogo dedicated solely to the firstborn. Namelomelo is complete, although during the firstborn ceremonials there are echoes and hints of the relationship between the dead and the firstborn.

The Firstborn

References to primogeniture and the exceptional position of the firstborn child are to be found in the literature on Melanesian societies. These references suggest but do not delve into the special nature and the importance of the firstborn in relation to social life and cosmology (e.g., Bateson 1958, Meigs 1984). A notable exception to this is Scaletta's (1985) study of the firstborn in the Bariai area of West New Britain Province. The Kabana about whom she writes and the Lolo are related both culturally and linguistically. So as not to reiterate and repeat Scaletta's work, it is sufficient here to discuss the significance of the firstborn to the Lolo.

The birth or adoption of a firstborn is, for the Lolo, tangible evidence of continuity and perpetuation of life. Firstborn, more than secondborn or subsequent children, occupy a significant position in the lives of their families and by extension, to the rest of the Lolo. The firstborn's birth initiates too the beginning of the
relationship between grandparent and grandchild, a relationship central to Lolo social life. The grandparent and grandchild generations share names, share a kin term (tivuge), and it is the grandparent who not only provides the material wealth for the grandchild's ceremonial work but also sponsors, organizes and leads the events. Without this work, a child would be unable to grow into a "true" Lolo. Maturation and a successful, productive and moral life are secured through the efforts of the grandparents.

The firstborn is not, however, the sole beneficiary. Grandparents themselves use the firstborn as their main chance to increase their renown and prestige. Their efforts enhance the status of their children which is ultimately reflected back to the grandparents. This often leads to competition between grandfathers since each one is eager to be the one to celebrate the firstborn grandchild and gain renown thereby. The parents of the firstborn are provided with a firm foundation upon which to perform ceremonial work for their firstborn grandchild, work which will cover the names of their parents with renown even after their deaths, renown which is transferred to their grandchildren in ever-increasing circles primarily from the grandparent-grandchild generations and secondarily from the parent to child and from child to parent.

The special status of the firstborn is reflected in the preferential treatment of the firstborn in everyday
life and the ceremonial cycle dedicated to celebrating the firstborn. Since so much labour and wealth are invested in ceremonies for the firstborn, it stands to reason that measures must be taken to ensure that no harm befalls the celebrated one. Hence, if a firstborn is "wronged", falls off a porch, is hit, spoken to in anger, or injured in any way, then those responsible must pay redress to the injured family, usually by giving a pig or other, equivalent, traditional wealth. Depending on the nature of the injury, compensation goes either to the parents or grandparents of the firstborn. Normally, firstborns must be treated as precious beings. They are not required to do any work if they desire otherwise, are fed immediately on demand and served with choice foods, and are denied nothing that is in their parents' capacity to give. Failure to treat a firstborn appropriately gives rise to censure and gossip. The offenders are known as "rubbish".

To celebrate the firstborn and to underscore their special status among the living and in relation to the dead, the second phase of narogo is dedicated to the maturation of the firstborn. This phase of ceremonial work incorporates ceremonies on both small and grand scales, and celebrates various "firsts" in the life of the firstborn, and "firsts" in the development of social relations between the firstborn and others.
Maturation Ceremonies for the Firstborn

Each "first" in the life of the firstborn is greeted with ceremony. Small feasts and exchanges take place when the firstborn is first taken outside the house, to the houses of other villagers, to bathe in the river, to another village, dressed in clothing, gets a haircut, attends a ceremonial event, cuts a tooth and so on. In each of these cases, a kinsman (or kinswoman if taking a female firstborn to a ceremonial event) takes the child and formally begins the proceedings. Each "first" is an occasion for the firstborn to receive gifts and for the "guardian" of the child to be compensated with food and small items of wealth.

These "firsts" are performed in recognition of the first time that a significant event takes place in the life of the firstborn. In these cases, the firstborn is the passive recipient of the food of others. A special ceremony marks the first time that food is given in the name of the firstborn, indicating that the firstborn has become an active participant in the circulation of food among cognates and affines. Likened by the Lolo to baptism, this ceremony is crucial since this is the moment when the child truly begins the process of "growing up Lolo".

If, however, a female child is named Galiki then these events, rather than being minor occasions attended
primarily by cognates of the firstborn, escalate into ceremony on a grand scale. Galiki was the first female firstborn and appears as a central character in numerous stories. In addition to the regular prohibitions surrounding the treatment of a firstborn, should that child be named Galiki, the following conditions obtain: Galiki may carry nothing on her head, no one may walk behind her, and should Galiki be injured or harmed, the repercussions are severe indeed. Each time that Galiki passes one of the "firsts", instead of small items of wealth, she receives a pig. As well, separate ceremonies are performed in her honour, during which she receives more pigs. One would think that because Galiki is the recipient of so much that parents would clamour to have their female firstborn named Galiki. This is not, however, the case, since the ceremonial that must be performed for Galiki is dangerous and frightening, putting all of Galiki's kin at risk. The same holds true for Natavolo, the name given to the first male firstborn. He is less celebrated than Galiki, although he too has ceremonies performed for his benefit.

When a firstborn marries, a large portion of the parents' wealth is immediately given to the bride or the groom. The firstborn son or daughter may receive as much as two pigs, five clay cooking pots, five carved bowls, and twenty fathoms of shell money, in addition to, in a daughter's case, her regular dowry of household goods and
items of value. This wealth is marked for firstborns only, and should ideally not be used for other ceremonial purposes but remain in the hands of the owner until the marriage of his or her firstborn. In this way, certain items of wealth follow a specialized inheritance system.

As soon as it is known that a woman is pregnant with her first child, preparations begin for ceremonies which will greet the child’s birth. These preparations fall upon the shoulders of the grandparents, since the parents of the child are too young and inexperienced in the ways of tradition as well as being materially unable to assume the ceremonial burdens. During the pregnancy, the grandfather who has elected to take on this responsibility calls in debts so he can provide the newborn with two pigs, one for distribution, the other, a young pig, for the child.

Woven Black Bands

Vukumu is performed for the purpose of putting nakue (black woven bands) on the leg of male firstborn. Vukumu is "pulled" by the performance of Nakamutmut for without a large scale performance to herald its coming, Vukumu could not be done. The mark of Vukumu is a long stick of rolled and painted tobacco. Since receiving this mark during the mortuary, those selected have been preparing pigs for Vukumu in the same manner as described
for the mortuary pig exchange. The recipient of the tobacco is charged with providing a pig and the nakue. Unless this individual is adept in their making, he requests the assistance of a specialist.

Performing Vukumu is another step in "growing up human". Black woven bands are symbolic of the Lolo, and receiving one via Vukumu means that one truly is a Lolo. They dance with Dirom, a crazed spirit bird and one of Namor’s companions, rendering the mythic past real and contemporary. The firstborn becomes further and further enmeshed in the networks of relationships and obligations in which he will participate until he dies. He "owes" those who have performed for him, he "owes" those who have presented pigs in his honour, and for the rest of his life he will be repaying these debts and contracting new ones.

Namos

Namos is the culmination of the firstborn ceremonies. The term namos is a confusing one in that it refers to certain ceremonial work for a firstborn, to the firstborn being celebrated themselves, and to the goods and services involved in these contexts. The term namos is only used when a male firstborn of four or five years of age is circumcised and a female firstborn of the same age is decorated in dance regalia and participates in a ceremony for the first time. This is the first time in a
firstborn's life that sexuality and future reproductive powers are acknowledged and, henceforth, the firstborn must wear clothing to cover their genitals and learn to act in a manner appropriate to their gender.

A grandfather of the firstborn is chosen to bear the burden of the responsibilities for this event, and from the beginning of the preparations to the conclusion of the event, he refers to the child as lekmos, denoting possession of all implied in the term namos. His first duty is to prepare the carved post which, if for a boy (nil) is taken into the men's house, and for a girl (nariuriu) attached to the porch of her house. The posts are carved with representations of spirit beings, designs belonging to the men's house group of the carver, animals or portraits of significant deceased relatives.

Just before dark on the day of the event, children for whom the ceremony is performed and who have been decorated for the occasion are lifted to the shoulders of male kinsmen deputized to carry them into the village. Two other kinsman have been selected to carry the pole upon which are slung all the pots, bowls and shell money collected. Male and female kin of the firstborn, also painted and decorated, cluster tightly around the men carrying the the children and poles from which items of wealth are suspended and hold large branches of trees in front of their faces. The two groups from the paired
villages, singing and accompanied by drums, enter the dance ground from opposite ends of the village. As they near each other, a senior male of the host men's house with boar's tusks between his teeth, face painted with lime powder and carrying a spear, dances between the two groups, advancing first to one group and then the other, brandishing his spear at both. The two groups move closer and closer as the speardancer spins in circles between them until the two groups meet in the centre.

New pandanus mats are placed before the door of the men's house. The firstborn to be circumcised are carried and placed on these mats. Carved bowls full of lime powder are passed around among the kinsmen of the firstborn. They grab handfuls and slap it on each others' chests, then roar, grab spears and run yelling through the village. Lime powder is a mark of war. Prior to missionization and pacification in the area, warriors dressed for battle in a loincloth and covered all exposed skin with nao. White is a powerful colour: skinchangers gradually turned white with Namor's aid, and white is the colour of semen and breast milk, both powerful substances for the Lolo. Lime powder is highly valued by the Lolo both for the power intrinsic to it and because the Lolo must trade valuables with their neighbours on the coast to acquire marine shells in sufficient amounts for a ceremony of this sort.
Two female kin of the firstborn kneel upon the mats and the boy is placed so he stands with one foot on each of their backs. These women are agnates of the firstborn, since only they can be close when the blood of another is to be spilled. They are women past childbearing years, so there is no danger that a sexually potent female can harm the boy’s genitals.

A carved bowl filled with lime powder is placed under the boy’s penis, and a young male, also one blood, stands by the boy, supporting him and placing his hand in the boy’s mouth so that instead of crying out, the boy can bite down on his hand. In previous years, a senior male of the men’s house group to which the boys belonged did the cutting. Currently, this is done in Araigilpua by the dokta, a local medical orderly. He grasps the foreskin and removes it by slicing it with a razor blade and trims extra tissue from the head of the penis. The blood drips into the Lime powder, the boy is lifted up with a roar of approval (louder if he does not cry out) and borne away to the men’s house in the arms of his agnate, with another holding the bowl so that no blood drips to the ground. The process is repeated for each boy being circumcised. The boys then enter seclusion (neremi) in the men’s house.

After the circumcision, the food from the platforms is distributed, and Nakamutmut is performed, marking the first appearance of the female firstborn in dance regalia.
At the conclusion, those who have participated, the dokta, the men who held the boys, the women who are "paid for the spilling of blood", those who made dance regalia and those who helped in the decorating are compensated with shell money, carved bowls or woven baskets in addition to the share of food they receive.

The boys remain in seclusion for the next weeks while they are instructed in male esoteric lore. The secrets of the flutes are revealed, along with the secrets of the least powerful spirit figures who live in the men's house. They are also told something of the dangers of women. Given that the boys are young when they enter seclusion, their instruction is abbreviated with the most dangerous information left until they are fully able to appreciate its implications.

While in seclusion, the boys' teeth are blackened with natoa, black volcanic ash which has been baked in an earth oven, and are subject to numerous food taboos. Their bodies are painted with red ochre. These pigments are applied every day during seclusion. Each boy has a young agnate paid by the sponsoring grandfather to reapply the paint and act as a mentor through seclusion. Male kin of the boys stay close to the village while they are in seclusion. Should they go into the bush, they might be brushed by spider webs which would cause the boys' penes to dry up.
To properly conclude and "seal" the period of seclusion, a young male shapechanger named Porovis is summoned for a ceremony called naviu. Porovis survived an apocalyptic war of all against all in mythic times by hiding under a post in the men's house. For naviu, Porovis turns into a small, round, perfectly smooth stone, and is summoned by special, strong-smelling leaves. Porovis, once he is found, is taken into the men's house and placed under a bundle of baked and magically treated leaves in a carved bowl. Those who have been acting as teachers and mentors to the boys dress in scented leaves and paint their faces with red ochre. They leave the men's house carrying the bowl in which Porovis is concealed. Passing the bowl from one end of the line to the other, they sing until the bowl reaches the door of the men's house. It is taken inside, the boys are brought outside, and food which has been prepared for the occasion is distributed. The boys are free now to do as they please, but it is hoped that they have taken to heart the instruction they received during seclusion.

Masked Spirit Ceremonies

Until early adolescence is reached, Galiki and Natavolo have been celebrated similarly to other firstborn children, with the exception of receiving more pigs and having their "firsts" greeted with more pomp. Maturation
means that Galiki and Natavolo grow more "human", more like "true" Lolo and hence able to understand and assume the responsibilities inherent in their special status as exceptional firstborn. For this reason, their ceremonials are delayed until they are older.

Galiki and Natavolo have received other names prior to this, but it is understood that they are to receive the names Galiki and Natavolo although they have not been formally granted. Only those firstborn children of senior males of men's houses able to demonstrate rights to the names Galiki and Natavolo can use these names.

Galiki receives her name with a performance of Vokoi. What is significant for Galiki is that for all intents and purposes, she is "turned into a man" and granted freedom of the men's house. She is taken inside, shown the flutes, shown the masks and had the significance of all these objects explained to her. She is also given her name, a formal and concrete sign of her special status and a constant reminder to others of her uniqueness.

Natavolo receives his name during a ceremony called Naosung, which invokes some of the most dangerous spirit beings known to the Lolo. My informants were visibly tense as they discussed Naosung with me since even mentioning the name is enough to bring havoc upon the village. Sorcery being endemic among the Lolo, they feel that they have enough covert evil forces to cope with, so Naosung is no
longer performed and has not been for some years. During Naosung, the genders are totally reversed. Men dress as women and Galiki, the only female within miles of the event, is decorated like a man. During Naosung, Natavolo is granted female reproductive powers through the transvestism which characterizes this performance.

Since Vokoi, Galiki has been a kind of half-male/half-female. Up until this point, Galiki has been forbidden to have anything placed on her head and is thus excused from carrying burdens and, in fact, from doing most women's work. Malanggan, her final ceremony, completes the process by turning her back into a woman. During Malanggan, very potent spirits pile numerous powerful objects such as dog's teeth on her head. My informants were reluctant to court disaster by discussing this in great detail since to rouse Malanggan means that all in the immediate vicinity would be struck down dead, and the lives of generations to come in peril. When Malanggan is done, Galiki turns back into a woman and is expected, in spite of her special status, to do the requisite women's work.

Marriage

Before any Lolo marries, it is expected that they have proved themselves capable of doing all the work that is required of an independent householder. For men, this means that they can do all garden work, can build a solid
house, and are becoming adept in the manipulation of debts and obligations. Women too should be good gardeners and good cooks with all that this implies. They are also expected to defer to the wishes of their elders in a choice of a mate. Again, the grandparental generation is in a position of great influence especially regarding the firstborn since it is they who have expended and invested great amounts of energy and wealth in the course of ceremonial.

For young men, no special ceremony is required to prepare them for marriage. Young firstborn women however, are prepared for marriage and feted in a ceremony for women only called Netutnetne. This is another Lolo event which has disappeared. None of my informants, all senior men in their sixties, had seen it, but had only heard of it from their parents. The same is true for senior women as well.

Firstborn are now free to marry. Marriage ceremonies for firstborn and subsequent children are similar, except that more pigs are exchanged, more items of wealth change hands, and the firstborn receives the special wealth passed from firstborn to firstborn. Galiki is honoured once more by Vokoi. This time, the objects collected go to her as gifts from akor, the thieving blackbirds who are the central figures in the ceremony, each competing to be the one to give her the most goods.
The birth of the firstborn's firstborn sets the firstborn cycle in motion again, this time with a new person as the recipient of honour. One maintains one's status as firstborn for a lifetime, but once one has given birth one is considered mature and to have "grown up Lolo". The focus of attention thus turns to the newlyborn since they have the greatest need of instruction and ceremony.

Discussion and Analysis

Clearly, the Lolo invest great amounts of time, energy and valuables in the narogo cycle. The preceding discussion has followed the activities in one such cycle from beginning to end, but it must be realized that this cycle is operating at one stage or another in each men's house group in each of the seven mountain Lolo villages, the four villages on the coast, and among the Idne-Lolo villages as well. This means that each Lolo individual simultaneously plays numerous roles in many cycles. In any given household, one person may be marked to provide wealth for mortuary work in Orelmo and provide a pig for affines marked for a mortuary pig exchange in Makvar. Another may be marked as namos in Rovata and due to receive a pig from a mortuary in Ararau. Finally, another may be marked to provide food for a circumcision, a naming, and for boys emerging from seclusion. Thus, the narogo cycle is, in
actuality, layer upon layer of ceremonial spread out through the entire Lolo culture area, uniting them, ideologically and pragmatically, while forcefully reminding them of their common history and beliefs.

Each individual experiences both a drain and an increase in resources, ideally accumulating assets so that the income exceeds expenses. In this process, men are constantly involved in negotiations of one sort or another, and spend much of their time canvassing their kin and affines for assistance in providing materials for ceremonial. Negotiations are based on elaborate systems of checks and balances in which evidence must be produced to prove that one owes or is owed.

Women participate in these negotiations too, although their contributions are usually done in the privacy of the home. Overtly, women are slaves to their gardens and to the pigs, ensuring that the crops and pigs are thriving as they should so that they will be ready and of high quality to enhance the status of the household.

This labour is spread over many years. In fact, it is correct to say as the Lolo themselves do, that they are "imprisoned" by their duties and responsibilities in providing for each ceremonial season. By extension, it can be said that the Lolo are chained to one another. One needs the cooperation of others if one’s father, for example, is to be properly buried and mourned, or if one’s
son must be circumcised and correctly instructed on the
ways of men. It is through food and ceremonial that such
aims are accomplished.

Not only does narogo involve things of value, it is
a thing of value in itself, regardless of expense and
energy invested. Participation in and through the narogo
cycle serves to further locate the Lolo temporally and
spatially. The combined focus on the dead and the
firstborn with the men’s house the centre of the action
place the Lolo on "their" ground by virtue of ancestral
sanction with a simultaneous concentration on the past,
present and future by honouring the dead and the newlyborn,
an emphasis further played out in the lekmos relationship
in which of the two central characters, one is near the end
of life and the other near the beginning.\textsuperscript{20}

Everyday life involves preparations for events both
in the near and distant future. All Lolo make plans for
ceremonial work by marking gardens for a specific event
whether next month or next generation, marking and raising
pigs with an eye towards a particular event, and
maintaining with food the social relationships that are
central to and critically necessary for successful
completion of ceremonial. Regardless of one’s private
feeling for another, one needs that other for assistance
and support in ceremonial activity since it is this
ceremonial activity that allows each Lolo to grow up human.
Were ceremonial work not done, the Lolo would no longer live with human beings as they know them, and, their entire social and cosmic order upset, would decline into a state in which people would live "as wild pigs". Food nurtures humanity both literally and figuratively on a daily basis, while ceremonial work dramatically formalizes and brackets experiences of achieving humanity in a spectacular display.

The next chapter expands on this analysis by examining the relationships among the moral order, power, and the Aesthetic. Again, the following discussion is largely normative. In Chapter VII, an analysis of one ceremony, Vokoi, takes the discussion from the ideal to the real by describing the actual events that transpire in the course of preparing for and executing one ceremony.
I now turn to an analysis of the interrelationships among the moral order, power, and the Aesthetic. This discussion is intended to put the ethnographic data thus far presented into the concepts of the Aesthetic and aesthetics. To this end, this chapter begins with a summary of principles of the Lolo moral order of social organization. This is followed by a discussion indicating how the moral order of social organization is grounded in Lolo concepts of power and reality. The chapter concludes with a presentation of general principles of the relations among the Aesthetic, aesthetics, art forms and culture.

The Moral Order

Lolo social life involves more than dealings and interaction with other humans. Social life also involves interaction with spirits, and so successful social life and
social harmony demand a knowledge of the nature and constitution of spirits. Just as individuals must know each other to live in harmony with them, so must the Lolo know the spirits to have a similar harmony.

The moral order of social organization is thus predicated upon an understanding of, and facility with, the nature of humans and the nature of spirits and spirit powers. The men’s house and ceremonial performance provide the institutional foci for concepts of power and men’s house groups, sibling groups, and residential groups provide the context for social action according to these principles of reality and power.

Lolo cultural values are apparent and manifest in social organization, and secular and ceremonial activity, and can be summarized in three principles, identity, cooperation, and continuity and growth.

A sense of group and a sense of self are important to each Lolo individual. Their language, specifically their dialect of Maleu, locates them in space, and provides a direct link through their ancestors to Namor. It defines them as a cultural group through their equation of language and custom. Their resistance to Tok Pisin and their perception of it as an inferior language underscore their attachment to Maleu. Stories, told in Maleu, also emphasize their uniqueness as a group since their stories describe their past and their relationships with the
environment in a way that, they believe, is particular to the Lolo. Similarly, their art forms (baskets, armbands, and so on) and ceremonial performances are tangible symbols which unite them as a cultural entity and reinforce links to the past and to the future.

Ties of kinship, affiliation with men's house groups, and proximity and personal choice serve to divide the Lolo cultural group into progressively smaller groups. Men's house groups, sibling groups, and residential groups cooperate and assist one another in gardening, house construction, and other projects, and as well assist with child care and gifts of food and firewood. Individuals are loyal to their group members and in case of disputes usually close ranks against the disputing party.

Within the residential and men's house groups, individual Lolo strive to forge a personal identity. Although contrary to the egalitarian ethos and in spite of the danger from sorcery, individuals engage in activities that will enable them to gain renown through personal achievements, especially in respect to political, economic and ceremonial activities. In addition to individual efforts, identity is gained through other means, primarily through the achievements of kin both living and dead, because of the land held and the uses to which it has been put, and to the names they have been given. Ideally they achieve a balance between individual ambition and
collective good, a balance not easily won but to a certain extent maintained by the constant debating and monitoring of activities by others.

The collective good figures largely in the evaluation of individual activities. Cooperation is a central cultural value of the Lolo. Local groups cross-cut ties of kinship and descent and so kin, non-kin and affines participate on a daily basis. The men's house is the focal point, physically and ideologically, of descent and social organization. Depending on situation, either the men's house group or a combination of groups, men's house, sibling, or residential, work as a unit.

Cooperation is the means with which groups maintain their cohesion. Those in different groups work together in the gardens on a regular basis, participate in larger projects, in the preparation and execution of performances, and most importantly, in the sharing of food.

Food constitutes a value in itself and a means to express other values. Food is the external trapping for cooperation and a sense of group since it ensures social and physical survival within the groups and among groups. Food provides individuals with a means to strengthen or weaken bonds among kin depending on circumstance. In short, food provides an effective way to manipulate kin ties to individual or collective advantage. By the same token, the effects of food sharing spread among different
groups to either strengthen ties or cause rifts to develop between these groups. Thus, food is the most potent and visible symbol of harmony, while its absence or withholding denotes disorder.

If food is the vehicle for harmony, then kinship is its road. Typically, local groups are kin based. Hamlets and villages are often formed around a nucleus of siblings, with affines and occasionally non-kin choosing to live in close proximity. Kin, especially agnates, have a moral obligation to aid and support one another in any activity, whether this is a large scale project, sharing food, or assisting in ceremonial obligations by providing wealth or food or performing specific services. These activities, as well as common ancestry, shared names, and membership in men’s house groups serve to bind kin together.

The maintenance of moral order and social survival are apparent in the cultural value of continuity and growth. Growth is celebrated on a number of occasions, most notably in ceremonials for the firstborn, ceremonies for pigs, and magic performed at different stages in the development of a garden. Growing to maturity, which for the Lolo means full potential as a worker and a reproductive individual, is aided and marked with ceremonial. Indeed, proper growth cannot be achieved without ceremonial events.
Growth is a never-ending process for the Lolo. Individuals are born and die, gardens are built, produce and are then left fallow, men’s house buildings and the spirits they house are young, then in their prime, and then destroyed to make way for the young. Only individual lives finish. Spirits remain while their descendants carry their names, work their land, and carry on with their network of debts and obligations. In these ways the sense of continuity is preserved.

Continuity is the theme of the narogo cycle, and the ancestral stones, the men’s house and the masked spirits who live in the men’s house serve as further tangible reminders. Also for this reason, the firstborn is celebrated. The firstborn is symbolic of both growth and continuity in that a married couple become parents with attendant responsibilities, obligations and opportunities for renown, and their parents become grandparents and as such are marked as special and significant people. The creation of a new life is a momentous event in itself, and is tangible proof of the never-ending cycle of life and death.

Lolo values of individual and collective identity, cooperation, and growth and continuity are apparent in both ceremonial and secular activity. During ceremonies, kin, especially members of men’s house groups, work together to prepare and execute the ceremony or participate as
spectators. The ceremonies themselves are overtly about growth and continuity, marking phases in individual lives and underscoring the continuity of life and death in the process as a whole. The presence of ancestral spirits during these events further collapses time. Each performance celebrates both individual effort and the combined efforts of different groups for without these, the events would not take place since their successful execution is dependent on the efforts of all involved. All cultural values are expressed during performance and are visible both in the form and content of the event, in content through the message of the ceremony, and in the form by who participates, in what capacity, and with what results.

In everyday activities, the same cultural values are manifest. Large-scale ceremonies require years of preparation to grow gardens, to grow pigs, and to arrange for the requisite items of wealth. These activities are impossible without assistance from one's kin. To ensure that assistance is forthcoming, food exchanges cement relationships and guarantee assistance. The efforts of individuals enhance both their own reputation and the status of the groups with which they are affiliated.

From this discussion of those values central to Lolo ceremonial and everyday life, two constituent principles of the Lolo moral order can be isolated. The
first asserts that good Lolo respect and assist their kin, including the spirits of their dead, a principle cross-cutting the realms of the ordinary and the extraordinary. The second involves having proper respect for and being generous with food. These directives, however, are open to a great deal of interpretation. Lolo social organization is flexible, and food exchange is the barometer for social relationships on a daily basis. Lolo individuals, especially women, thus are in positions of great power in terms of their abilities to sustain relationships, allow them to lapse, or sever them abruptly.

In summary, the Lolo moral order is maintained and made evident and coherent by production and distribution of food, most notably during performances celebrating matters pertaining to kinship, particularly those involving the dead and the firstborn.

Power

The powers most significant to the Lolo are those governing two things which I have defined as creativity and reproduction. The spirits are the true owners of these powers, but under certain circumstances, most notably during ceremonial performance, they are "lent" to human beings, should they have followed the appropriate prescriptions for properly accessing these powers.
Male and female domains of power and influence are enacted in a context of cooperation and mutual dependence. It is, however, possible to analytically separate their respective spheres of power.

Creativity is a male domain. Men protect and execute ceremonial performance, music and other art forms. These provide vehicles for occasions and situations which transcend the mundane. Men are "lent" the spirit power of creativity: while the spirits are the only truly creative beings, given the nature and flexibility of Lolo ceremonial performance, men are able to be creative in the execution of performance and manipulate that which would, in Western parlance, be labelled the arts.

All Lolo art forms derive from powers which have their source in the realm of the extraordinary, and all art forms are utilized in power-charged situations. Different kinds of armbands, for example, gain power from different sources. Nakue, the black bands used to celebrate firstborn males in Vukumu, gain power from the ground where they grow on Namor's mountain. The maker of nakomkom (armbands symbolic of mourning) transfers his power derived from his abilities as a specialist to the armbands, and the vines used in their construction keep malevolence at bay during mourning while providing a measure of protection to the wearer. Knowledge is truly power in that possessing the knowledge and the special skills to make these armbands
give access to the deeper sources of power. Special
baskets (navisinga) are used to transport precious cargo in
certain ceremonial events, and body decoration, dance
regalia and scented leaves appear during ceremonials as
well. Music comes from strength intrinsic to the ground,
strength given directly from Namor and passed to man via
the spirit world. This is why people sing. They assume
these powers and gain strength for hard work such as
felling trees or gardening, can dance as spirit beings, or
sing and drum for hours.

Performance represents a concentration and merging
of different sorts of powers. Performance is a nexus of
the everyday, mundane moral order and that of the
extraordinary in that ordinary events such as gardening and
preparing food take on special significance when done in
the context of ceremonial preparations, and certain
individuals, by virtue of their roles in the event, assume
the powers of the occasion. Participants tap into
extraordinary powers by the use of magic and spells, by
donning costumes and "becoming" spirits, the presence of
whom serves to connect the human and spirit worlds.
Performances too take over the domain of the spirits.
Ceremonial dances last through the night, the time when
spirit beings walk the village paths and hover around the
houses. The soul of the ceremony, the music, draws power
from the earth. Performance of the ceremony draws power
from Namor, since he, or his spirit world delegates, are the authors of the most significant ceremonies. Specific performances, primarily those indigenous to the Lolo, themselves connect with and tap into certain types of powers. However, since many indigenous ceremonies are no longer performed, the Lolo, in addition to losing ceremonies from their repertoire, are also losing their means of access to these powers. This loss is discussed in further detail below.

Lolo performances are exceptional events, because of the combining of the extraordinary and the mundane. Extraordinary powers are activated, if not actually present at the event, and the mundane, the repertoire of social relationships and the expression of the moral order of the social structure, carries out the ceremony. Continuity between performance and everyday life is evident in that the same patterns and principles of cooperation and participation necessary for harmonious social life as described in Chapter III are also necessary for successful execution of performance.

Experiencing these events produces the Lolo aesthetic experience. Prescriptions for properly executing a performance from beginning to end constitute performance aesthetics since rules for execution comprise instructions on how to deal appropriately with powerful objects, beings and situations. In effect, at their best, Lolo
performances integrate social, performance and musical aesthetics in such a way that Lolo can successfully and meaningfully connect with extraordinary powers.

The men’s house is the seat of power. Numerous types of powers are concentrated here: powers given to the site by Namor, and powers of flutes, masked spirits and ceremonial paraphernalia stored inside. Activities inside the men’s house are themselves invested with power. Here, ceremonial deliberations and preparations take place aided by spells and magic, and boys are taught the secrets of manhood. Not least, the men’s house is the symbol and source of masculine reproductive powers, since masculine powers are derived primarily from association with the men’s house land, building, and ceremonial paraphernalia, in addition to ceremonial activities conducted inside. Male reproductive powers are assisted by spirits, masks, flutes, and special substances (scented leaves, lime powder, ginger and so on) and ritual acts used to grow boys into men.

Women’s powers concern reproduction. These are natural powers, housed inside their bodies. Women reproduce people by giving birth, and reproduce social networks by integrating the newly born into existing social groups. Women’s labour reproduces both food and gardens, providing the means with which social reproduction is carried out.
Unlike men, women need no external assistance to achieve reproductive powers. Continuity, birth and growth are the province of female power, organic or natural power which women naturally possess and which they can control through magic, birth control or abortion. Women's powers reside in blood, also an idiom for kinship. While the Lolo treat menstrual blood with less abhorrence than other Papua New Guinean societies, they still consider it dangerous and treat it with healthy respect. Women can give birth to, nurture and grow social relationships by food exchanges, and thus have the power to create, destroy and control them, enabling women to reproduce and sustain both individual members and social groups. Unlike men, whose reproductive powers are seen primarily during ceremonial, women's reproductive powers are manifest in both secular and ceremonial contexts. In everyday life, women are charged with responsibilities for growing gardens, caring for their families, and raising pigs. Performances are made possible partially by their efforts in these areas, and the performances themselves are ultimately a celebration of female reproductive powers in that they celebrate the firstborn, the dead and thus the continuity of life, all essentially female domains.

Males and females cooperate in garden labour, in conception, and in preparing for ceremonial events. It is recognized that men and women have their spheres of
influence and areas of expertise and that most activities could not be undertaken without the combination of male and female labour. However, at the most fundamental level, women possess the powers central to the Lolo.

The firstborn is the concrete manifestation of female powers, the evidence of fully-achieved and realized reproductive powers and as such symbolizes the entire process of birth and death. For the Lolo, blood and semen are present in finite quantities in the body. Every act of intercourse and every menstrual period serve to both drain the reserves and weaken what remains, and so the firstborn is conceived and grown in the womb with the most potent and powerful substances.

Galiki and Natavolo, the most celebrated firstborn, constitute a nexus of cultural and natural powers since they embody different spheres of power. As firstborn, they possess all powers associated with the status of firstborn. They are granted worldly power and influence by virtue of the enormous quantities of goods expended on their account and received in their honour, and ceremonials performed for their benefit transfer the powers of the spirit world to them. Galiki is granted access to male reproductive powers through the performances of Vokoi and Malanggal in addition to the feminine ones she possesses by birth. Likewise Natavolo, through participation in Naosung, assumes female powers. For these reasons Galiki and Natavolo become
singularly powerful mortals. Rules for the treatment of the firstborn, specifically Galiki and Natavolo, properly are considered in the realm of the Aesthetic, since firstborn themselves, especially Galiki and Natavolo, transcend the ordinary.

Gardens are another source of power. They are places in which food is reproduced, and it is here that couples covertly engage in intercourse. Food takes its strength from the ground, aided by garden spirits such as Navakauk and from garden magic, so engaging in garden activity is actually engaging the powers of the earth. Again, women are those who most regularly and frequently interact with these powers, and use them to grow food which in turn is used to feed their families and kin, and to manipulate social relationships.

These, then, are the sources of power for the Lolo, and the means with which they gain access to these powers. This is the realm of the Aesthetic. Dealings with these extraordinary powers and the powers themselves require a code parallel to that of the order derived from the social organization. The Aesthetic, however, constitutes a moral code of a different sort since supernatural powers are highly unpredictable and dangerous and thus require measures such as magic, special songs, and ritual. While all Lolo are aware of special provisions of the Aesthetic, few know how to properly perform the acts necessary to
maintain orderly relations with the extraordinary. Those who possess the knowledge and the abilities occupy especially significant positions.

**General Principles**

To provide a summary of the relationships between the moral order, power and the Aesthetic, presented here are general principles of this relationship extracted from the ethnographic analysis but which also have a wider validity. These principles represent by and large, the ideal case, or the Lolo normative model. In the following chapter, one performance is examined in detail in order that these general principles can be seen in action, and so that aberrations from, and manipulations of, these principles can be observed.

The first of these principles asserts that the Aesthetic is rooted in indigenous conceptions of reality and power. Reality, for the Lolo, is a world in which the lives and activities of spirits and humans co-mingle. Powers are those forces which govern creativity and reproduction, and which enable, through their proper treatment and usage, an ordered and harmonious cosmos and social universe. These powers are conceived as inherent in spirit beings, but are given sometimes to human beings.
The realm of the Aesthetic then, concerns the powers themselves, rather than the domain of spirits.

The second principle involves the nature of aesthetics. The means according to which an ordered and harmonious cosmos and social universe is made possible is aesthetics, which I have in this dissertation separated into three forms, including social aesthetics of the moral order, performance aesthetics and musical aesthetics. Social aesthetics or the moral order provides the means with which the Aesthetic, concepts of reality, ontology and power, can connect to, and act upon, social life. Performance aesthetics build upon social aesthetics to enable human beings to transcend the limits of humanness and enter the realm of the spirits, assume spirit guises, and hence take on the spirit powers for themselves. Musical aesthetics, as discussed in the following chapters, specify the stylistic conventions according to which music, the main ingredient of performance, is constituted.

The third principle involves the relationship between the arts and culture. The relationship between what a Western tradition would label the "arts" and culture is a complex and dynamic one. Art forms are rooted in social and cultural contexts and are both rendered meaningful by, and give meaning to, these contexts. Art forms are both a means and an end: an end in that they are themselves objects or acts of power and the production of
such an art form is the creation of a powerful thing and the assumption of that power. They are also a means, since they provide a way in which to engage more potent and more comprehensive powers, the creative and reproductive powers themselves. The arts, as objects and in their processes of creation and execution, act as signposts reminding people where they have been, and where they are now. As objects and processes, art forms are tangible symbols of power and conceptions of ontology. As well, because they are produced by humans, arts forms are the products of social life and symbolic of social principles.

Given that the intimate relationship between the arts and culture is creative and dynamic, it is clear that changes to one would promote changes in the other such that they continue to render the other coherent. In the Lolo case, performances have been lost. The effect of this loss is more than a gap in the ceremonial repertoire. Performances communicate messages both inherent in the performance itself and in the act of participation in the performance. Each performance is staged to accomplish certain ends, and when the performance intended to accomplish a particular end is lost, so is its function and thus what it was intended to achieve cannot be done. Each ceremony connects a context and function to powers, and when the performance can not be done, access to powers in a given situation is lost. The effect of this is to render
social practices associated with these contexts irrelevant and so they too are lost.

In summary, the Aesthetic articulates and connects the ordinary and the extraordinary, orders and makes sense of the extraordinary and while not controlling it entirely, provides avenues via aesthetics for the safest and most effective handling, and provides means with which to use and participate with the extraordinary.

Aesthetics includes conventions and directives to govern dealings with matters pertaining to the Aesthetic, conventions and directives to govern both the means and ends spheres of creation and use of aesthetic objects and acts. There are rules and prescriptions for successful execution of such that in the fashioning of aesthetic objects special rules and procedures are followed in the course of the Aesthetic process. If these are not adhered to, the object fails both as a means and as an end, and is thus a violation of aesthetics and the Aesthetic.

Here, the "limits of choice" discussed in Chapter I apply, as does the notion of style, in that art objects considered by their makers to be aesthetic objects will fulfill the canons of aesthetics as defined by their makers, whether these canons obtain with regard to visual or aural images, or the uses to which they are put. Social and aesthetic style are parallel in that they possess
commonalities as evidenced by the stylistic elements possessed by the mundane and the ceremonial. The Aesthetic is, however, the driving force in this process, directing as it does both the ordinary and extraordinary aspects of creation and production of art forms.

The next chapter provides a description and analysis of one ceremony and the events which led to its execution. This description is intended to demonstrate the operation of the moral order in ceremonial context, and as well show how principles of the moral order are manipulated to individual advantage. The chapter also contains an analysis of the metaphorical content of the ceremony, to indicate how ceremonies speak to underlying constructs of power.
CHAPTER VII

VOKOI: SOCIAL DRAMA, PERFORMANCE DRAMA, AND THE AESTHETIC

"Performance is a paradigm of process" (Schechner 1986b:8).

In this chapter, I examine one ceremony, Vokoi, in some detail. I do this for several reasons: first, because an analysis of a series of events adds flesh to what has been to this point largely an examination of norms of behaviour. Second, this particular series of events culminating in a major performance illustrates both the stated and largely adhered to norms, and in addition provides some surprising twists and manipulations of these norms for the gain of a small group of individuals, showing how individuals use power in everyday, ceremonial, and power-charged situations. Finally, the analysis of this case speaks to the relations among the moral order of social life, performance aesthetics and to the Aesthetic itself, by exploring the symbolic and metaphoric content of
the performance and indicating how these reinforce Lolo culture and the Lolo Aesthetic.

The events leading up to the performance took place over a period of approximately four months. The issue was the calling of my village name. Clearly, because of the presence of an outsider, this is not an entirely typical ceremonial event, but from what I witnessed of "typical" events among the Lolo, similar processes obtain regardless of the focus of attention. My thorough knowledge of the circumstances to me offsets the rather unusual nature of the event. I choose this series of events for this discussion because it had a clear beginning and end, I was intimately involved in the proceedings as a participant and as the object of a great deal of rather unpleasant wrangling, because I knew all those involved well, and because the men used my house on a number of occasions for their deliberations, rather than going to the men’s house as is usual in these cases.

In order to fully examine the ceremonial event itself, it is necessary to begin this analysis at the beginning of the story, for events taking place early in the deliberations laid a particular stamp on subsequent events.

The protagonists in the events came from three sibling groups, all of whom lived in close proximity in Araigilpua and Umelpua, its associated hamlet. The chart
below outlines their relations to one another, and indicates their men’s house affinities.

When I first arrived in Araigilpua, I lived with Narol and Aviua (my primary father and mother, respectively, considered primary because they adopted me when I first arrived in the village) for two months until my own house was completed. Building my house was a contentious issue, with arguments waged regarding who was responsible for providing the materials, who should build it, and how they should be paid for their labours. It struck me as odd that it was taking a long time to finish, and it was whispered to me on several occasions by many different people that Narol and Aviua were preventing people from assisting, and had “fastened” me to their house. According to rumour, they were reluctant to allow other people to have access to me and my belongings, and were upset because I persisted on visiting others and sharing my cargo with them.

The rumblings continued for some time, then Aimara brought the argument into the open by issuing a challenge to Narol and Aviua. He killed a wild pig and announced that this was his contribution to the feast to signal the start of deliberations for my village name. The pig duly
eaten and distributed among kin in the surrounding villages, Narol tried to take matters back into his hands by announcing that the pig kill had been his idea, and requesting that all households contribute a small sum of money towards the purchase of a pig to "feed the men's house" and so formally start the deliberations.

Two weeks after the initial feast, the negotiations foundered. It was said that the price for the pig was too high, and that the younger householders rebelled. In actuality, the reluctance stemmed from bitterness on the part of other villagers who resented the high-handed treatment of Narol and Aviua in regard to my presence. They suspected, and rightly so, that Narol and Aviua warned me against associating with most of the villagers, on the basis that they "knew nothing", were "dirty people" and the like. Accordingly, others refused to participate in an event that would bring renown to those who were slandering them.

Narol and Aviua in the meantime were publicly protesting what they considered an unseemly rush in calling my name. They said it was more important to finish the house, and call the name after. However, they continued to prevent people from assisting with the housebuilding, by dint of such tactics as disappearing into the bush with the only hammer and so on. These rather obvious maneuvers angered the other villagers, and the tension became
palpable. The situation became such a bone of contention among the villagers that the village councillor (Kataka) made a public announcement to Araigilpua one evening that my house must be finished, my name called, and the feast for the men's house held immediately. He repeated his announcement after church the following day. Narol and Aviua thus received a public rebuke which satisfied the others, and preparations began again.

In Narol and Aviua's house, the real issue surfaced. They did not have a pig for the naming, and had been unable to call in debts among their kin to provide one. Should this state of affairs be open to public scrutiny, their shame would be devastating. Narol, as senior male of the Umelpua men's house, had his position to uphold. In addition, he took pains to emphasize his importance and status in the village, which the absence of a pig would destroy. For hours that night, the village was loud with rancorous debate among the men in the men's house, and among the women in the middle of the village. The men were berating Narol for his treatment of my housebuilding, and the women Aviua for her slanderous remarks about other villagers. No resolution was reached that night, and all went off in bad humour. Those with whom I discussed the matter saw no solution except for Narol and Aviua to be publicly shamed and to suffer the consequences which would be felt for years to come.
The resolution came in the form of a letter from my husband who was proposing to join me in the village, putting a new slant on matters. Narol and Aviuua, as soon as they heard the news, began canvassing all the villagers and asserting that it would be a waste to call my name and have to do the same when my husband arrived. Faced with this logic, the others reluctantly agreed and the issue of calling my name subsided, although the grumbling continued for weeks afterward.

This series of events serves to illustrate certain aspects of Lolo social relations. According to Namor's instructions, Lolo are supposed to be generous with what they have. In this case, Narol and Aviuua were violating this with their attempts to keep me and my possessions to themselves. This case of "what's yours is mine, what's mine is mine" enraged the villagers and kin relations notwithstanding, norms of conduct were abandoned and kin refused to help kin. Most significantly, siblings refused siblings: Aviuua sided with her husband rather than her siblings in an attempt to keep the house from shame and some of Aviuua's siblings from Araigilpua and other villages refused to help her, as did Narol's. Not all of their siblings opposed them, and the resultant factions which developed among siblings cross-cut residential groupings as well as kin lines. Everyday affairs were disrupted by the events, in that regular patterns of food exchange and
cooperation were altered according to an individual's allegiances in the argument. For example, those who normally gave food to Aviuia but who in this case opposed her household ceased giving her food gifts. Others who supported her, but who did not regularly give food, began to do so. Similar alterations to food exchange patterns occurred among all households involved, and as the factions solidified, so did the different patterns of food exchange.

It was also clear that individual abilities and charisma played a great part in determining a person's worth. The manner in which a person behaves supercedes an official status or a kin relationship. Narol, for example, while a natavolo, was little respected by the other villagers. He was generally absent from the village when there was trouble, was notoriously unreliable, preferred to sleep in the men's house than participate in garden work, and spent, as the villagers said, far too much time with the women. He was patronized, snubbed and ignored and appeared not to notice.

Kataka, on the other hand, was a formidable rival. A firstborn himself, he is the son of firstborn parents and his first two wives are firstborn. A comparatively young man (at the time of this writing in his early forties), he was village councillor as well as being considered expert in what little knowledge remains of traditional healing, with a specialty in dealing with pregnant women. He was on
the way to becoming a song and story specialist too, and unlike many other men of his age, was occasionally deferred to in these by older men. He also possessed a quick and razor-sharp wit, a forceful personality, and was altogether a popular, if a feared man. He was Narol’s most vocal opponent, but he was backed by Aimara and Nahalo who are also powerful, if tending to remain more in Kataka’s shadow. Nahalo, the Araigilpua natavolo, was the undisputed song and performance specialist in the area. He also had the reputation of being a wise and kind man, qualities which were certainly extended to me. Aimara liked to play the village clown, but beneath this was a man fiercely protective of custom. Narol was no match for these men, and his relationship to me as primary father and his own status could not help him persuade others to his side.

As a whole this chain of events illustrates the conflict between kin group and individual and the collective good and individual agendas. In spite of their knowledge that they are expected to behave in certain ways towards kin, individuals can, if they believe that their reasons are sound, disregard the moral order. Their behaviours do not go unnoticed by others, who retaliate for these breaches by if not abandoning the moral order, by bending it in such a way as to serve their own ends. Food is still exchanged, but the norms of these exchanges are
manipulated to reflect personal opinion. Individuals are also able to manipulate the moral order to accomplish their personal goals by using force of personality to simulate group consensus.

As it turned out, my husband was unable to join me in the village, and so the issue was reopened. Two months had passed since the conflict, and with my house completed and me no longer "fastened" to Narol and Aviua, the focus was on my naming alone, although the previous events certainly coloured the deliberations. It was Aimara who opened the topic for discussion one evening in the men's house, and told me later that night that there would be no problem, he had made everyone's thoughts turn to pigs. In the next month, I was frequently brought bulletins of how different people had volunteered to provide help with pigs, with other food, with dance regalia and all the other trappings for the ceremony.

The only problem remaining was to choose my name. Kataka and Narol were the central combatants, each remembering with great clarity the events of the previous attempt. They agreed that I should be given a name of some significance, but could not agree on what name. Narol favoured a name from his kin in Aselmepua, the village to which in spite of his natavolo status in Umelpua, Narol felt his greatest allegiance, likely because his favourite sibling group resided there. Kataka wished me to have a
name from the place where I lived, by which he meant a name associated with those in a nearer village, where more of my, and his, kin resided. Kataka, Nahalo and Aimara wanted to name me Galiki and perform Vokoi, the ceremony necessary to "turn me into a man" so I would have reason to be taken into the men's house and see the masks and the flutes. This idea met with strong objections from elders from the outlying villages who were frightened at the thought of performing such an important ceremonial without the requisite knowledge and the years of preparation required to amass the appropriate amounts of wealth. Kataka ultimately gave in to their objections.

According to custom, when Lolo receive their most important name, the name itself is kept secret from all but the men who decide on the name, and a paternal aunt designated to "pull" the name from the men's house. All I knew in the days before the ceremony was that nightly deliberations carried on furiously in the men's house, punctuated by the beating of the slit-gong, indicating that agreement had been reached on a particular issue. During the day, women gathered food and firewood and pigs were brought in from other villages and tied under my house, showing that I was the recipient of honour.

The night before the day designated for the ceremony, the slit-gong sounded in three groups of three, signalling the end of deliberations. The decision had been
made and the spirits had sanctioned their choice. Shortly after this, Kataka and Aimara arrived at my house and told me what had transpired. Narol, they said, had chosen the name from Aselmepua and it was a "nothing" name. As natavolo he had used his authority in the men's house to strike the slit-gong, forcing an end to the discussion. They appeared unperturbed by this, and I asked Kataka what had changed his mind. He shrugged and told me that Narol was a powerful man and he had no choice.

Very early the next day, Kataka and Aimara with Nahalo were back at my house. They carefully shut the door behind them, an unusual occurrence, and told me that they had decided to take the situation into their hands and overturn the decision of the night before. Their disdain for Narol was apparent, and they said that natavolo or not, slit-gong or not, his decision was unacceptable. When I asked about the consequences of this, since the spirits had shown their sanction via the slit-gong, they said that Narol's connections with the spirits were tenuous at best, and that they had more power than he and could "right" the situation with the spirits. They told me that I was to receive an important name, the name of the firstborn daughter of the first natavolo of Ararau, and that Vokoi would be performed in an abbreviated version so I could see it, to be followed by a performance of Sia. I was told to prepare to give more food than anticipated for the
ceremony, since they would have to show the spirits their sincerity. They soon left so they could spread the word among the other villagers.

Their first stop was to see Aviua. They waited until Narol had disappeared, then told her their decision. To my surprise, she agreed without demur. There was less talk of the change of plans than I anticipated, largely, I suspect, because of the low esteem in which Narol was held by the rest of the village. At any rate, the change of name did not change the plans for the execution of the ceremonial, so preparations went on as planned.

Food preparations occupied most of the day of the ceremonial. First, one of the pigs tethered under my house was led to the centre of the village and killed by Aimara’s firstborn son. The pig was cut up, with pieces given to the household of each of the main protagonists in this story. The remainder was set aside to be cooked in the earth oven. Meanwhile, women from each household were busily preparing all other food. Other men were collecting betel nut and rolling tobacco into cigarettes for the dancers and drummers. To my dismay, one young man had been dispatched to get feathers for headdresses and returned to the village with three dead sulphur-crested cockatoos. Kataka, Aimara and Nahalo called the elder village men to join them in the men’s house for a rehearsal of Vokoi, since it had not been performed in several years. In fact,
the man who was the acknowledged expert in its performance had died three years before. Nahalo took his place as leader and apologetically told me that his knowledge was incomplete, but that he would try to reconstruct the performance as best he could.

Narol returned to the village and watched from his porch as Kataka and Aimara supervised the proceedings. He merely watched until it was time to prepare for the performance of Vokoi. He joined the men as they left the village to don their dance finery, but it was clearly not he who was in charge.

**Vokoi** is the ceremony traditionally used to call a name. When a girl is to be named Galiki, it is the ceremony that "turns her into a man" allowing her to be privy to the secrets of the men's house. For this reason, Galiki's name is called when she reaches puberty. **Vokoi** is also the ceremony for Galiki's marriage. The ceremony stars the akor, the blackbirds. The Lolo have an ambivalent relationship with real blackbirds: they steal food and shiny objects, but the Lolo say that their cries aid hunters by pointing out wild pigs in the bush. In **Vokoi**, young men cover their bodies with black paint and have leafy branches tied to their bodies. Those dressed as akor do not sing or drum, but dance in a tightly huddled group carrying long tree branches and painted and decorated war clubs. When dressed as akor, they have license to
steal or kill anything in their path. Before the akor arrive, the village is alive with women and children chasing pigs and dogs away, clearing porches of any loose objects, and pulling clothing from lines. In preparation for Vokoi, I was told to hang a line between my house and its neighbour and hang small goods such as sheets of newspaper, T-shirts, pens, and so on, which would be payment for akor.

The actual performance begins when the drummers enter the village from where they have hidden along a path. In this case, the group was composed of Kataka, Nahalo, Narol, and other men who stood as more distant fathers to me. All drummers were covered in black paint, and wore a headdress of feathers and purpur.

The drummers were led by Aimara, who danced alone in front carrying two spears. In contrast to the others, Aimara’s face was half black and half yellow. The yellow paint is made from the bark of a special tree and is the "bone" of magic. Once this is put on the skin, the wearer assumes great powers and strength and the ability to speak compelling and forceful words. The wearer of yellow paint is taboo from eating certain foods, some of which are intrinsically powerful, and taboo from eating food cooked with firewood from the shelf above the hearth, wood also considered to have strength. Breaking these taboos would
cause the transgressor to become violently ill and perhaps die.

The first song introduces the akor. The akor burst from the bush, ran to the centre of the village, shouting and brandishing clubs. They then ran back into the bush. As the drummers moved into the centre of the village, the akor themselves came at a run from where they had next hidden in the bush on the opposite side of the village. As the drummers advanced to the centre of the village, the akor, crying "Hoi! Hoi!" in imitation of the birds, danced to each house in the village and pounded the porches and walls with clubs. My house was last, and as they approached, the akor broke ranks and rushed the line, and in a frenzy tore away the goods. With the line itself taken, they disappeared into the bush.

The drummers continued to sing as they moved in circles around and around the village. When the akor left the village, the drummers were joined by women in dance regalia who were in this case sisters of the drummers. The women flanked the drummers in their circuits of the village. Aimara joined the line of drummers and periodically danced out in front, raised the spears in a fighting stance and turned to face the drummers. He danced toward them, feinting with the spears and then rejoined their ranks. At the end of the performance, the akor
emerged from the bush, and, still in a huddle, danced the last few songs behind the drummers.

This ended the abbreviated performance of Vokoi. The next step was to call my name, and in preparation, the men disappeared into the men's house. The women meanwhile opened the earth oven and laid the food for distribution in the centre of the village. All food that had been given in my name was given to the men's house, and Nahainge, Narol's sister, carried it to the door and summoned the men inside. This was the signal for my name to be called. All the villagers and guests assembled in front of the men's house. Nahainge stood in front of the door and began to call out names which everyone knew were false, for example "Em pasis Aikos?" ("Is the name 'the widower'"?). Each false name was greeted with hoots of derision from the men inside. She finally called "Em pasis Amaring Sangalua?" and from the men came a roar. I had received my name.

Following this, the food was distributed. All those who had put in the greatest effort for the ceremony were given large quantities of food and cooked pork. The twenty kilograms of rice I had cooked was distributed among those who had given wealth for the purchase of my name and those who had participated in leading Vokoi and who were to lead Sia.

Preparations for Sia began. The men disappeared into the bush to dress for the performance and to work the
magic necessary for a strong performance that would last the entire night. Most women ate and gossiped while several, a group of fathers' sisters, gathered on the porch of my house and sang bawdy songs about me, as the one who had entered the ranks of the Lolo.

The performance of Sia began later in the evening. This performance of Sia differed from others that I had seen in that more solo, or "specialty" dances were performed. In these, one or two men dance a story with one drummer dancing with them. The ensemble of drummers stands back while they perform. The stories often concern how men triumph over spirits. For example, in one called "The Sick Man" the story is told of a man who is attacked and made ill by masalai, spirits who reside in the ground. This man writhes on the ground until he is healed by another man. The healer dances around the sick man until cured, he rises and joins the dance. In another dance, a spirit intent on doing harm dances with the solo drummer. They "fight" until the spirit is routed and the rest of the drummers join the solo drummer and dance around the fallen spirit. In this performance of Sia, several of these dances were done. I was told that they could be performed only if there were many senior men, performance specialists, present. In each case Nahalo, as the leader of Sia, was the solo drummer, with senior men from other villages acting as solo dancers. Each soloist was known to me as a
respected individual often the arbiter in arguments and disputes over custom.

As usual, the dance broke for food after midnight and again at about 4:00 am. The food in these cases went primarily to the dancers, as payment for their efforts, and to keep them warm and awake for the rest of the performance. The food was prepared by the wives and daughters of the men who were the principal players in the ceremony as a whole. The last hour of the performance was used as a training period for younger men. Songs played earlier in the evening were repeated as Nahalo put the younger men through their paces. The young men all knew the song lyrics and Nahalo concentrated on improving their dance steps. He stood aside as they performed, shouting instructions and sometimes dancing alongside one or another as an example of correct posture and foot position. The performance ended in mid-morning, and the men retired to the men’s house to sleep while the women cleaned the village. Those from other villages collected their belongings and departed.

Performance and Metaphor
This performance, like all Lolo ceremonial, contains information about values central to Lolo life, and as well speaks to their underpinnings which I have here called the Aesthetic. As discussed in Chapter I, one way to understand how the material elements and ideological elements of performance are linked is through an analysis of metaphor. In the case of Vokoi, an examination of what can be labelled as metaphor brings a richness to an analysis of the performance and provides evidence of why a foreign Aesthetic coming from a foreign performance does not serve to revitalize a failing Aesthetic.

Performances, while enjoyable social occasions for the Lolo, are also communicative events performed to accomplish certain ends. As Barth (1975:209) states, "as far as participants are concerned, they [performances] do something, as well as say something" (emphasis original). In the case of Vokoi, it acts to legitimize and sanction the giving of a name, which is, as discussed above, a highly significant event for the Lolo.

There are four central symbols involved in Vokoi, the akor, black paint, yellow paint, and spears. As is shown below, each of these contains apparently conflicting information about reproduction, regeneration or creativity, and destruction. These seemingly contradictory messages are resolved through the underlying metaphors and brought to the realm of the powers.
The akor are symbolic of destruction. As figures in the dance they are noisy, disruptive, destructive, and steal, destroy or kill. Real akor are likewise noisy, and steal. However, they can be helpful in pointing out wild pigs to hunters in the bush. As such, they embody two messages: akor are destroyers, but they are also benevolent, in that they in reality assist hunters, and in performance, when Vokoi is done for Galiki’s marriage, their performance and gifts enable her to enter into a state whereby her reproductive powers are legitimized. Other bird spirits known to the Lolo are likewise associated with destruction and creation.

Both the akor and the dancers wear black paint. Black paint is associated with mourning and death, but is also worn on the teeth of young boys while in seclusion after circumcision, seclusion designed to stimulate a boy’s growth and begin the process by which a man acquires reproductive powers. Black, then, is a colour associated with death, growth and power.

Yellow is the colour of magic. Specifically, yellow is used in magic to reverse the effects of sorcery, and means that the wearer is capable of "strong talk". As such, it is symbolic of power, healing, and conversely illness and the omnipresence of death. Yellow paint is also painted on men’s skins to make them strong for gardening, and appears in love charms.
Spears are symbolic of war, of destruction, and of death. Conversely, since wars can also be won, they represent power, superiority and triumph.

Each of these symbolic elements is Janus-faced, in that both death or destruction and regeneration and power are represented. Vokoi itself is likewise symbolic, performed for Galiki at the onset of puberty and standing as it does for gender transformation or turning Galiki into a man, for Galiki’s marriage and the recognition of her reproductive potential, and for naming, or the marking of a "new" member of Lolo society. Vokoi is about reproduction and regeneration, specifically reproductive powers, in that by virtue of this performance, Galiki assumes both male and female reproductive powers and is doubly empowered thereby. Vokoi as a whole then, is overtly about regeneration and creation, but covertly, by means of symbols such as the akor, black and yellow paint, of death and destruction.

The simultaneous representation of symbols of death and regeneration is not contradictory if one looks beneath the surface to the underlying meanings of these symbols, and examines their fit with elements of Lolo conceptions of life, death, power and the spirits. The narogo cycle, of which Vokoi is a part, celebrates both death and the firstborn, hence death and the regeneration of special individuals created with the most potent of male and female substances hence male and female powers. Thus, the most
important aspects of Lolo ceremonial life speak to this mingling of symbols and metaphors of destruction and regeneration.

What appears to be operating here is what Barth (1975:206) describes as a "deep homology" between metaphors of regeneration and destruction and all things which the Lolo consider to have power. Women embody reproductive powers and can give birth to and maintain both individuals and social relationships. They can, however, also kill or abort those individuals and social relationships and hence have the potential to be the reproducers, regenerators, or the destroyers. Women's blood, necessary for reproduction and growth, can likewise debilitate men or ultimately kill them. The men's house, the source and physical focus of male reproductive power, likewise houses powers for destruction. Even healers, those who take responsibility for curing and promoting life are potential killers, for if one can heal, one can as easily turn the magic around to kill. Sorcerers use those things which are empowered by the powers of reproduction such as gardens and turn them into dangerous places harboring deadly poisan. Thus, all those things which to the Lolo have power in everyday situations possess this same Janus face.

The question of how the Lolo make sense of this danger and this apparent contradiction leads one to examine the nature of spirits, both ancestral and mythical. Here,
it is seen that they too possess the same life-giving and life-taking abilities. Ancestral spirits gave life to present generations. If those now living treat them carelessly, spirits can and will destroy them. The mythical spirits, those who created all life, are those who are most feared for their abilities to kill and destroy. The ground too, itself a source of strength and power and the source of things such as ceremony which are also givers of strength and power, can kill through its malevolent agents. Thus, all of Lolo life is built upon a Janus-faced conception of the cosmos, the earth, the people, and in fact, all those things worth attention. The Lolo seem to have achieved a balance between these powers: death is a given in life, however much they grieve for their dead. When Lolo discuss the deaths of individuals, it is considered tragic, but philosophically, the Lolo recognize the cyclicity of all things, a cyclicity constituted of life and death, regeneration and destruction.

The Aesthetic of the Lolo is constituted of powers that are simultaneously merciful and malevolent. Performance aesthetics, then, should concentrate on those things which reflect this, and which appropriately symbolize and represent the paradoxical nature of the powers. For occasions explicitly performed to celebrate the existence and constitution of these powers, such as turning Galiki into a man or giving a name, performance
aesthetics should demand that ceremonies operate in concert with the essential paradox. Performances, as collections of symbols and metaphors, juxtapose dissimilar things, such as regeneration and destruction, and thus

the participants do something (by the act of attending the proceedings) that opens them up to a diffuse set of sensory inputs produced by the ritual activities. These experiences are of processes that are defined as creative and energizing and viewed as communicating with a little understood world of superhuman forces. The rituals do not explain anything directly. Nonetheless, the metaphors imbedded in them give the participants a certain renewed feel for creative and communicative processes at a sensory level (Beck 1978:88).

Should a performance not contain the appropriate elements, the performance cannot work in the way it is intended. Sia, for example, as an imported ceremony, is not understood in the same way as an indigenous ceremony, and does not contain the appropriate metaphoric and symbolic elements which give meaning to the ceremony, and which connect the Lolo to the ultimate powers and to the Aesthetic. Performance aesthetics, then, is that which governs and guides the manner of the performance and the contents of the performance in such a way as to make each performance a meaningful statement about the way the Lolo world and cosmos operate, by stating the essential paradox.

The next two chapters address the musical aesthetic, and indicate its relationship to social and performance aesthetics and to the Aesthetic itself.
CHAPTER VIII

MUSIC-MAKING AND AESTHETICS

This chapter contains a discussion of Lolo musical instruments and examines the connections between instruments and humans, and instruments and the spirit world. To highlight the differences between the conceptions of instruments which participate with the realm of the spirits and spirit powers hence the Aesthetic, and those which do not, the following discussion distinguishes instruments on the basis of function.

Certain instruments participate in the realm of the Aesthetic: as spirit beings they belong to the domain of the extraordinary, and as objects they embody extraordinary powers and are thus accorded the same deference, special treatment and respect as are the spirits themselves. Simultaneously, actions involving these instruments are guided by musical aesthetics: in order to accomplish the connections with the extraordinary, their use is governed
by canons of musical aesthetics as they apply to music making in general among the Lolo.

The first group of instruments includes those loaded with symbolic associations and which are present in ceremonial contexts. Other Lolo instruments lack esoteric functions and are, as the Lolo say, just for entertainment. This second group of instruments includes those lacking symbolic associations and which are used in more casual situations.

**Instruments and the Aesthetic**

Certain Lolo instruments possess power by virtue of their close association with the extraordinary. These instruments are imbued with extraordinary powers whether these are absorbed during construction, through ritual acts, or with the aid of substances such as wild ginger associated with their performance.

I observed that drums, for example, are played in power-charged situations. They are the instruments of ceremonial and of joy and the vehicle for gaining access to extraordinary powers in the performance context. There are, however, no taboos or special prohibitions associated with their storage, handling or playing, indicating that drums as objects are not celebrated. Numerous rituals do obtain in the course of making drums, drums which, when
constructed, become the workhorses of ceremony and hence for access to power.

Slit-gongs are intrinsically powerful. Animated by powerful men, they receive and transmit messages from the spirit world. Their powers are such that when used in conjunction with other ritual acts they can be used to ward off evil. Slit-gongs are as well surrounded by power. They are kept in the men's house, the locus of male power, alongside spirit masks, ritual paraphernalia, the flutes, and other objects of power.

Flutes' voices are the voices of spirits which are animated by men. As "females" living in the men's house they embody female powers and absorb male power both from their surroundings and from the uses to which they are put. As such, they are a central part of the process of masculinization by which boys are made into men.28

The above-mentioned instruments possess intimate connections to the spirit world and the realm of the extraordinary. Each instrument is intrinsically powerful by virtue of its use as a means to engage the extraordinary. The mechanisms used to effect this symbolic connection include "building in" powers during construction, placing the instruments in close proximity to other powerful objects such as masks so that powers are absorbed, and "priming" the instruments for engagement by ritual acts and special substances such as wild ginger, a
"hot" substance ingested by the player or spit on the instrument prior to playing.

There are performance aesthetics, or rules and conventions governing the ways in which instruments are prepared and utilized, so that the extraordinary is properly united with the ordinary. Only those individuals possessing the requisite knowledge, and social and supernatural sanction, can play or use the instruments. For example, the senior male of the men's house strikes the slit-gong and is the one to interpret and transmit the spirit messages.

Certain instruments appear in specific situations. Were one to play the flutes at an inappropriate time, this would constitute a serious breach of aesthetics with the offender subject to weighty negative sanctions. Just as there are appropriate times for instruments to be played, there are appropriate places. The large flutes must never be taken from the men's house except under certain circumstances, and the slit-gong must remain hidden inside. Violation of any of these conventions would result in serious trouble both for the transgressor and likely for others as well, either from sorcery or from anger on the part of the spirits.
Musical Instruments in Ceremonial Contexts

Napareaua (Kundu) – Hourglass Drum

The most visible of Lolo instruments is the drum or napareaua (kundu). Typical of other drums found in Papua New Guinea, it is hourglass shaped with a handle either on one or both sides at the waist, and a single head of stretched and bound lizard skin (see fig. 3). On the head of the drum are four hardened globules of tree sap. The wooden body of the drum, especially the tapered waist, is carved and painted. An adult’s drum measures approximately three feet long and is about five inches across at either end. Drums made for small boys are about half this size.

Women are not permitted to know the secrets of drum construction so I was unable to accompany the men to the bush to watch the proceedings. Feld (1983) describes Kaluli drum construction, and judging from what my informants told me, the process is similar. I was told that each stage in drum construction from selecting the tree to decorating the finished drum required spells and songs for without these the drum would have a thin and puny sound.

These secrets, like the drums themselves, are ideally handed from father to son. It is especially important that a drum be passed on to a close kinsman since decorations carved on the drum are often the same as those
painted on men's house doors and walls, designs which should not pass into the hands of one who is affiliated with a different men's house group. Drums are very personal objects. Others can play them but it is acknowledged that they sound the best for those who know the secrets of their making.

Drums are held by the handle at the waist in the left hand. The right hand is cupped and with the fingertips of this hand held together, the centre of the head is struck. This creates the most resonant sound.

Numerous preparations are required before a drum can be played. The head is held over a fire to temper the skin while the heat of the flame softens the bumps of sap so that they can be adjusted for proper tuning. It can take as long as half an hour until the drum is tuned and sounding satisfactorily. Drummers are very particular about how their drums sound and often drop out of a performance to make further adjustments. In their preparations, drummers listen for tuning, and strike the drum over and over until they have achieved a full, deep sound. When playing with the correct force, struck in the proper place, and with the correct hand technique, the sound of the drums carries a great distance.

In most Lolo performances, drummers sit or stand in a circle around a fire built in the centre of the dance ground, with the performance going on around them. Whether
they sit or stand, the drummers always sway to the music since they say that to get the best drum sound the body, not just the palm and wrist, must be in motion. In other performances, especially Sia, the drum is choreographed into the dance. It is played over the head, on the left side and then on the right, held in front of the drummer at head level, at waist level, or down by the feet, while the drummers dance complicated steps in sinuous lines and figures.

Whether in solo or ensemble playing, drums must sound full and rich. In ensemble playing, a large number of drummers is preferred, with all drummers striking the skin simultaneously so that the overall effect is of one massive drum. The Lolo say this "lifts up their hearts" and gives them the greatest happiness in addition to making the best sound. Drummers who do not play in synchrony are furtively criticized and accused of spoiling both the performance and the joy.

Boys learn to play drums when they are quite young. Small drums are made for them, and their fathers and older brothers sing and play with them to instruct them in techniques for playing and dancing. Before performances, drumming specialists hold practice sessions so younger men can learn the intricate drumming patterns and, if the performance requires, the dance steps, and older men can refresh their memories. Any male who wishes can join a
performance regardless of ability. However, those less expert are encouraged to practice beforehand.

Men play the napareaua since only they have the strength to produce the proper drum sound and the stamina to play for hours at a stretch. There are no taboos associated with the care and handling of the drum. Women are permitted to carry them and the drums are hung in full view inside the houses.

The drum is the only instrument that appears in large performances. I was told that the drum belongs to happy times. Its happiness is infectious. The sound carries for miles and all who hear it want to join the festivities. Men are tabooed from playing the drums for a year or more after the death of a close male kinsman, since to engage in such exhilarating activity as playing the drums would cause them to forget their sorrow and profane the memory of the deceased.

The drum functions as the main ceremonial instrument for the Lolo. In addition to its role as a rhythmic instrument in the course of musical performances, my hypothesis is that it acts as a conduit for power. Once the instrument is primed for performance by players ingesting special substances such as wild ginger, the drum is enabled to draw power from the spirits and deliver this power to performers and thence to spectators.
Although there is no special treatment given to drums, they are produced with the aid of powers thus building these powers into the instrument and are readied for use with the aid of ritual and special substances. Thus, they are always half-prepared for action involving the extraordinary. In this way, it seems to me, drums are like Lolo men: they are created with the aid of extraordinary powers with each phase of their development treated with special ritual acts. Like men too, drums must be "primed" for interaction with spirits with ritual activities and substances. Drums and their players are partners in ceremonial performance in that both are workhorses for drawing powers to them and delivering these to the person celebrated in the performance and to the spectators. As well, when they are not required for ceremonies, men and drums return to their mundane existence as ordinary objects.

My analysis is that spirits lend their powers to the drums and drummers for the course of a performance. They are drawn into the drums and players when the players construct the instruments and when they prepare for performance. Drums act as intermediaries in the relationship between humans and spirits: drums empower the spirits to act on men during performance, and provide the means with which men can act on the powers granted to them via the drums. Hence, the powers held by the drums are
activated in ritual contexts. While drums have intrinsic powers, these lay dormant until summoned for performance.

The drums serve to reinforce the Aesthetic by engaging performers and spectators with the interplay between humans and spirits. All those within hearing of the drums are connected to the spirits. Drums play powerful music in powerful settings and those involved in the performance, whether as performers or spectators, are drawn into the interaction and are charged by the powers flowing from the spirits through drums to performers and thence to all assembled.

The drums, given to the Lolo when Namor first gave them ceremonials, are part of Namor's legacy. As such, they seem to have no separate origin story. When queried on this, my informants looked puzzled and agreed that the story of the origin of the drum must be part of the Namor story now lost. There is, however, a napu referring to the bargains made with the lizard when he agreed to allow men to use his skin for their drums.

**Nakure (Garamut) — The Slit-Gong**

The slit-gong or nakure (garamut) is an instrument not seen outside the men's house. Being female and prohibited from entering the men's house, I was unable to see one belonging to the Lolo, but their descriptions suggest that there are few, if any, differences between
their slit-gongs and those found elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. I was as well unable to see one being made. My informants did describe the instrument and its construction to me. It is a segment of a log approximately four feet long and about two feet in diameter which is hollowed out with fire and axes, with a slit carved longitudinally along one side. Slit-gongs too are built with the aid of spirit powers during construction. Some are carved with designs specific to the particular men's house, and some are plain. When struck with a beater it emits a mournful "tock" that carries over a great distance.

The Lolo do not consider the slit-gong to be a musical instrument. Rather, it functions to convey information and, typical of its appearance in Papua New Guinea (Fischer 1983:25), is used to signal important events. The senior male of the men's house is the only individual with this performance responsibility.

To announce a death, the slit-gong is struck three times. During deliberations for ceremonial, the slit-gong is struck once to inform those outside the men's house that a particular issue is settled and, at the close of deliberations, it is struck nine times in three groups of three, each group separated by three or four seconds.

The Lolo do not have an elaborate system of signalling like that possessed, for example, by the Tangu. Tangu signal phrases identify individuals, locations and
events, and as such can be used to communicate a wide range of information to those who are cognizant of the signal codes. For both Tangu and Lolo, however, slit-gong signals are "news" or "publications" (Burridge 1969:278), conveying as they do information that "starts a train of events which are going to affect the mutual interrelationships of all in the community to a greater or lesser extent" (ibid). As Burridge (1969:280) states of the Tangu slit-gong, it must, as the bearer of news and spirit voices animated by senior men, be responsible, since its messages "precipitate events in a community [and] make decisions overt and explicit."

The slit-gong does so since striking it gives supernatural sanction to activities that are to be undertaken. Spirit voices speak through it, making their opinions and desires known to men, with their messages received and transmitted by men to the villagers. The senior male of the men's house must be responsible indeed to bear this burden.

The slit-gong sanctions the beginning of mortuaries and the proceedings for major ceremonial events. Thus not only does it communicate that these events will take place, it tells the villagers that the spirits have been participants in the deliberations and have given their permission for the events. Thus, the slit-gong's presence signals the presence of spirits in everyday life. This
presence is quite frightening for children, who run and hide when the slit-gong sounds.

In addition to its capacity as a message receiver and sender, the slit-gong may be struck in the belief that domestic pigs will come in from the bush to prepare for ceremonials. Wild pigs are also thought to be responsive to the sound of the slit-gong which is struck in the hope that the pigs will be lured into the nets of waiting hunters. In certain cases, the slit-gong can cancel the work of a sorcerer, although it is most effective in stopping a rainmaker.\textsuperscript{31} In other areas in Papua New Guinea, the slit-gong is used to ward off evil spirits and forces (Fischer 1983:26). The Lolo, unless under extreme duress, use the slit-gong almost exclusively for signalling since its power is not to be trifled with and must be used sparingly.

The slit-gong thus shows the Lolo that the spirits are intimately involved in the affairs of humans. It also reminds men of the powers of spirits, since if they can sanction and approve the affairs of men, they can also reject and deny, and thus the Lolo are at their mercy, a belief which is held in spite of the knowledge that men strike the slit-gong.

The slit-gong is a source of male power. The power of the slit-gong itself comes directly from the spirits, and connects men to these powers by their close physical
association with it, and by virtue of the fact that only men can receive and transmit spirit messages. Men construct the slit-gong, providing a body so that the spirit voice can speak. The spirit voice can only speak with the aid of men, men who make the object, and men who strike it and give it voice. The role of human animation, then, is to interpret the wishes of the spirits, and it is a sign of trust indeed that the senior male of the men’s house is empowered to speak for the spirit. The senior male is, by virtue of his relationship to the men’s house, the men’s house group, the masked spirits and the other ritual paraphernalia housed in the men’s house, one who sits close to the spirits and is thus in the best position to hear and transmit the messages. His position of power is augmented by his actions with the slit-gong.
Navakauk

Navakauk, a reed pipe, is considered by the Lolo to be the "mother" of all bamboo instruments. It is a length of bamboo about eighteen inches long and one inch in diameter which is split from the playing end to near the bottom. The playing end is cut straight across, while the bottom end is cut on the diagonal (see fig. 4). To play Navakauk, about one inch of the playing end is inserted into the mouth and blown with a sharp exhalation of air, producing a piercing shriek. When I saw Navakauk made, there were no special considerations given to its construction, other than that those assembled wore scented leaves which had been collected on the way to the gardens. This absence of ceremony may have been due to my presence, since Navakauk is not a sight for the eyes of women.

The voice of Navakauk, a piercing shriek, is the voice of a dangerous and temperamental bird spirit. Navakauk is called upon to prevent theft and sorcery in gardens whose produce has been designated for a particular ceremony. The man who holds the garden and his agnates, or, a woman's male agnates should the garden be held by a woman, gather in the garden and blow into the bamboo summoning Navakauk who, once called, is believed to enter the bamboo. Navakauk's presence also promotes rapid growth of food and gives it strength. Only those who have called Navakauk can enter the garden and harvest the food for
ceremonial. **Navakauk** is called during April's *pitpit* (*Saccharum edule*) harvest, the time when preparations for the upcoming ceremonial season begin in earnest.

Women are not permitted to see **Navakauk** and when its voice is heard, run to the village and hide in their houses. According to the Lolo, if women see **Navakauk**, the spirit is angered and ensures that the food in the garden will be small and dry and unfit for ceremonial distribution.

When **Navakauk** cries, birds perch in the surrounding trees. They are said to be kin to **Navakauk** and always come when he calls. **Navakauk** is "cousin" to a bird called **kauk** whose cry signals the coming of dawn. A similar kinship between flutes and birds is noted elsewhere in Papua New Guinea (Fischer 1983: 97).

As a spirit itself, **Navakauk** has a direct link to the spirit world. My analysis is that it serves to reinforce the Aesthetic because it puts humans in touch with spirits, perpetuates fears and respect of spirits as with the slit-gong, and maintains the constitution of itself as a member of the spirit world. It thus supports and maintains Lolo conceptions of the spirit world. Most importantly, it represents the powers of reproduction. It acts to protect the production of food in gardens and thus protects the reproduction of social beings since the food it protects is an essential component of ceremonial
designed to help those individuals develop into "true Lolo".

**Napiloli Embainge - The Large Flute**

Like many areas of Papua New Guinea but unlike much of West New Britain Province, these large flutes play central roles in male esoteric ritual (see also Allen 1967, Glick 1972, Gourlay 1975, Herdt 1981, 1982, Read 1952, 1954, 1955, 1965). Large flutes are kept in the men's house where they must be hidden from women and treated with respect, while others (napiloli kaporia) have no associated taboos.

The large flutes must be made in the secrecy of the bush. Like other instruments, they are made with the assistance of songs and spells. The first step in flute construction is to choose a straight length of bamboo which ideally has a long distance between nodes. Large flutes are approximately four feet long and three to four inches across while the small flutes are approximately eighteen inches in length and under one inch across.

All are end-blown vertical notched flutes. A notch bevelled inward and shaped like a "V" is cut in the playing end and becomes the mouthpiece. Next, the two fingering holes are marked on the body. For small flutes the top hole is marked by measuring the distance from the bottom of the palm to the tip of the longest finger from the bottom
of the flute. The second hole, also measured from the bottom of the flute, equals the length of the longest finger. Fingering holes for large flutes are marked by measuring the length from the elbow to the tip of the longest finger and then from the bottom of the hand to the tip of the same finger (see fig. 4). These measurement techniques for the large flutes were explained to me while I was shown how to make a small flute.

The fingering holes are marked and then cut with a knife after carefully ensuring that they are aligned with the notch. After the holes are cut to the proper size, they and the notch are burned, sealing the holes and hardening the edges. At each step in construction the flute is tested for sound quality: it is rare to make a playable flute on the first attempt and, typically, several flutes are abandoned at various stages in construction before a good one is produced.

Large flutes are used to call for food when boys are in seclusion after circumcision. They are also used when boys in seclusion are instructed in male esoteric lore as both a part of that lore in that the boys are taught the secrets of the flutes, and as punctuation during other instruction. Men coming from other villages on business connected with ceremonial carry large flutes with them to announce their presence. Women, upon hearing them, hurry to have food prepared for their arrival. Men carrying pigs
destined for ceremonial into the village announce this by playing large flutes. They are also played when pigs are castrated and when a pig's second teeth are cut. Since they call for food, those present whenever they are played must always be fed.

The Lolo consider the flutes to be indigenous and, typically, their origin stories tell of how the flutes were given by Namor to the women. The flutes played themselves, and did not require that the women blow into them. Men tricked the women into giving them the flutes but the flutes then became mute and refused to play by themselves. Now, men must blow into the flutes. They retain their designation as female although they are kept hidden in the men's house. My male informants considered this takeover as just: women, they said, have an easy life. They grow up in their houses with their mothers and can ask for and receive food whenever they like. Boys, on the other hand, are separated from their mothers, secluded in the men's house after circumcision, and later ideally remain in the company of men in order to be considered properly masculine. For them, procuring food is more difficult. The flutes, then, should belong to the men so they have a way to call for food.

The large flutes are highly-charged and potent instruments, since my analysis is that they embody both male and female powers. Like Galiki and Natavolo, flutes
are subject to numerous prohibitions and rules governing their treatment. If a woman sees the large flutes, her menstrual blood dries and after agonies of pain she dies. Any men present also die after their skins become dried and shrivelled.

The flute origin story appears to me to parallel Lolo conceptions of male and female physiology in that when women first possessed the flutes, the flutes played themselves. When men took them, they had to work hard to learn how to play the flutes and now count this knowledge as a closely guarded secret to be passed on to boys as they are grown into men. Women are reproductive beings and achieve these powers without ritual assistance. Men on the other hand must use external, ritual means to gain manhood and fully achieved male reproductive power.

The additional element of secrecy surrounding the flutes must also be addressed, and the relationship between this secrecy and gender relations. A key issue here is the nature and extent of the secrecy itself and how this contributes to the differential powers of males and females.

As stated, the flutes were gifts to women from a spirit of uncertain sex. Since they were stolen by men, the flutes are kept hidden in the men's house and now must be animated by men, although the voice that speaks is the voice of a female spirit. The voice, the act of animation,
and the flutes themselves are kept from women, and the acts themselves are shrouded in mystery. In the literature, this mystery has been interpreted as a means for men to ensure "their status quo dominance over women (and children) through the contrivance of the flutes' mysticism" (Herdt 1982:85, see also Bateson 1958, Hogbin 1971, Read 1952).

In other areas in Papua New Guinea, the flutes may indeed be used by men as a means to dominate women and exclude them from secret powers, although I suspect that this is not the case for the Lolo. Every adult with whom I spoke, male and female, was aware of the existence of the flutes, could describe them, and told me something about them. As Herdt (1982) says, there is a difference between screaming secrets and whispered secrets, but for the Lolo it seems more appropriate to talk about the flutes in terms of mystery rather than secrecy.

My analysis suggests that the issue here is complicity: participation by both men and women in a collective mystery. Men and women know the flutes are female and embody female power, yet the women allow the men to prohibit access to them. Women, in effect, grant these powers to the men, and by doing so, participate in the masculinization process by enabling the men to use these powers as they grow boys into men. Both men and women benefit by this process of masculinization, and it seems to
me, given the manner in which male and female informants discussed the flutes and their mystery, that flutes and their associated ritual and the mystery that surrounds them, is another example of the mutual dependence and complimentarity characteristic of the relations between men and women and maleness and femaleness among the Lolo.

**Nasomsom - The Bundle Pipe**

*Nasomsom* consist of seven bamboo pipes of graduated lengths bound into a circular bundle. To play, one blows diagonally into the pipes from a distance of about three inches. During performance, the bundle itself is turned to change pipes. Because of the nature of the instrument, it is impossible to play loudly. The bundle pipe is a participant in secret activity, thus its diminutive sound contributes to its efficacy.

Fathers use the bundle pipe to rouse their sons as they sleep in the men's house. Once awakened, the sons can be told the secret stories of their families in the hopes that the sons will be even tempered and cooperative, will follow their cultural traditions, and will have strength for their work in the gardens. According to my informants, the fact that sons can be roused by the small sounds produced by the bundle pipe indicates that they are ready to hear, and be receptive to, the stories told by their fathers.
The bundle pipe is most frequently used in love charms or malera. Young men chew wild ginger and betel nut and spit this mixture on the exterior of the bundle pipe, then play it while thinking of their beloved. I was told that even if the young woman is far away and out of earshot of the pipes, she still "hears" the pipes and becomes listless, unable to eat or work because she can think of nothing but the young man who called her with the pipes. She has no choice but to go to him. If a young woman lives close by, a young man can steal up to her house in the middle of the night and crouch under the house near where she sleeps. He plays the bundle pipe, rousing her. If she is very bold, she may sneak off into the bush with the young man. A more restrained young woman will persuade her parents to agree to her marriage to the young man. The bundle pipe guarantees a young man's success in courtship. Numerous women in the village told me that they had been called to their future husbands by bundle pipes, and men bragged of their conquests won with them.

Musical Instruments in Non-Ceremonial Contexts

Napiloli Kaporia - The Small Flute

These small flutes are usually played by young men although older married men may take a turn to demonstrate their skills. Young men play these while relaxing in the
village or while walking through the bush. Owing to the small bore, the small flutes are difficult to play so most young men are content to play undulating melodic fragments rather than more elaborate melodies.

**Nakerkuli—The Raft Pipe**

Nakerkuli consist of seven pipes of graduated length, ranging in size between about six inches to one and one half inches in length. All pipes are about one half inch across. Tuning is done by ear, or by comparing the lengths of pipe to be used with those from an old set of pipes. The lowest tone is used as the reference for tuning. Individual pipes are simply bound together using lengths of vine. The pipes are held either in one hand or in both hands and while the player blows, the pipes are slid past the lips.

The raft pipes are described by the Lolo as lacking esoteric functions and for entertainment alone. The only time that the raft pipes are used with any degree of ceremony is for the galip nut (*Canarium*) celebration. Galip are prized among the Lolo as a welcome addition to the diet, and because a good harvest of galip promises a bountiful ceremonial season. Galip trees bear significant quantities only once every few years, and so every year one tree is marked as the tree for ceremonial use. On the day of harvest, the entire village gathers at the site of the
marked tree. These trees are immense. At maturity, they stand as high as one hundred and fifty feet tall, and measure up to twenty feet around the base. Young unmarried men, kin of the holder of the tree, throw ropes around the lower branches and climb up to the very top of the tree. I was told that each young man plays the raft pipes and envisions a particular woman who senses that the pipes are played for her and is drawn close to the young man. Playing the raft pipes does not, according to my informants, guarantee that a man will win the woman of his choice, but it certainly aids in his efforts. After playing, the men cut down the branches which fall to the ground where they are seized by the people below.

**Namarue – Jaw Harp**

The jaw harp is almost exclusively played by young men. They are constructed from pieces of bamboo about eight inches long which are carved in a shape resembling a fountain pen complete with nibs at one end (see fig. 4). The body is carved so that the centre consists of a long thin triangular segment or tongue attached at one end and free at the end with the nibs. The tongue vibrates and produces the sound when the jaw harp is played. A piece of string or vine is attached to the end opposite the nibs. The entire jaw harp is carved in geometric figures similar to those found on drums.
To play the jaw harp, the string is passed across the back of the right hand and in front of the little finger of the right hand. The first finger and thumb of the left hand hold the nibs together, leaving the tongue free to vibrate. The right wrist is snapped back and forth so that the string, which is held taut, and the back of the right thumb both strike the tongue and set up vibrations. It is held with the convex side against the mouth, which becomes a resonating chamber. The player breathes in and out to amplify the sound and the shape of the mouth is changed during playing to alter the sounds produced. Some players like to sing and play simultaneously, and are amused by the way the jaw harp makes the words sound.

Most young men have a jaw harp, and play them when walking through the bush or when they are sitting around in the village. They are used for entertainment, but once a man is married I observed that the jaw harp loses its appeal. Older men consider them to be rather frivolous and a waste of time that should be spent at work. From my observations and from the comments of older men, I concluded that the jaw harp is as irresponsible as the slit-gong is responsible (cf Burridge 1969).
Method of measuring finger holes for Napiloli kaporia and Napiloli embaiinge
Singing

Other than young men idly playing raft pipes, jaw harps or small flutes, music making in everyday contexts is vocal. Singing is ubiquitous. Everyone sings as they conduct their daily activities. When walking to the gardens, people invariably sing at the top of their lungs and are joined by those at work in their own gardens. The chorus continues until the walker is out of range and by then, someone else has taken up the song.

Singing is used to communicate to others in the gardens. The sound carries over a great distance and by the voices it is possible to tell who is at work and in which garden. Gardening is a solitary pursuit and Lolo find it comforting to know there are others at work in the vicinity. When a group is walking from one village to another, one person begins a song and others join in or drop out as the mood hits. While relaxing in the village people sing, although this is more true of men since women generally prefer to chat. Women sing most often to their babies and small children rather than to each other. Spontaneous singing of this sort is, like the drums, an indication of contentment.

Most Lolo ceremonies are structured such that there is no predictable and regular series of songs. Rather, within ceremonials are groups of songs.
follows another within a group depends on the preference of
the leader of the ceremony or whoever feels the urge to
sing a particular song. Individuals begin songs and later
are joined by others giving an effect of soloist and
chorus, thus each performance is unique.

The best sounding performances to the Lolo are
those in which a large number of men and women sing
together. The Lolo enjoy the sound created by the blending
of male and female voices, and are especially moved by the
immense sound produced by a large number of singers of both
sexes, supplemented by the sound made by numerous drummers.

Men and women have distinctive vocal styles. Men
sing in full, rich tones, usually in the same range as
their speaking voices. Women, on the other hand, sing in
falsetto using pinched, nasal tones. Thin, raspy or
quavering voices are undesirable for both men and women.
Deep breaths are taken at the start of each phrase making
the voice strong and preventing the singer from sounding,
as my informants said, "like a frog or a rooster". Singers
are expected to stay in tune. Those who waver off key or
are consistently flat or sharp cause others to cringe and
laugh. Children of both sexes tend to sing in very high
voices and are encouraged to do so. Young boys, after they
have been circumcised, are urged to sing more like the men
with deep, rich tones.
The Lolo consider themselves to be musical people but not consciously poetic. They believe that their forte is interpreting the music given to them by Namor and other supernatural agencies. All important music was given to the Lolo by Namor or by spirits and hence possesses powers which are transferred to those who master its techniques.

Lyrics, on the other hand, can come from people's imaginations without the aid of the supernatural but these songs, the Lolo believe, are inferior and lack the strength of those given by the supernatural. Songs can be given in dreams, for example, a woman hospitalized away from the village composed a song about her home which she sang over and over to herself to allay her homesickness. However, songs that people compose are equivalent to a young man's flute playing in that they are pleasant ways to pass the time but have no inherent import beyond this.

**Transmission of Music**

Traditional songs are learned spontaneously. Through attendance and participation at rehearsals and ceremonial events, children gradually master the songs. For days after a ceremonial event, children mimic songs and dances and are further instructed by their elders. Although everyone knows the songs, not all perform them with equal facility and so performance specialists conduct
rehearsals to hone the performers. As boys grow older, they are expected to join in these rehearsals, and men are always available should a young man want to learn some of the songs or drum patterns.

There are no formal rules of ownership of the songs, hence anyone is technically able to conduct rehearsals. In reality, however, only male performance specialists have the sanction and approval of others to engage in these activities. Should one not a specialist or a woman attempt to conduct a rehearsal, others would ridicule the upstart, since this person would be seen as lacking "cultural authority...confirmed through the display of eloquent knowledge" (Coplan 1987:415). Anyone can teach young children. Mothers, fathers, elder siblings, and other children all participate in the musical education of children.

Children are formally taught school and church songs. They are taught a basic scale in terms of intervallic relationships (rather than do, re, mi, etc., they learn cipher notation) and this notation appears printed with the words in hymn books and school texts. In this way, rudimentary notions of Western musical theory are taught, and the songs sung by the children in school and church are conventionally Western in style. Additional exposure to Western and Western-influenced music comes from stringband music and popular hit songs heard on the radio.
There is no formal apprenticeship process involved in becoming a specialist. Rather, individuals will choose the specialist whom they wish to emulate and go to that person for instruction. This may be evident during performance, when young men decide with whom they choose to sit and drum, or with whom they choose to dance. Generally, people choose to perform alongside those who have the most to teach.

The Lolo recognize expertise. Specialists, while they may indeed have innate ability making them exceptional singers or dancers, have knowledge and understanding of the total context of Lolo performance and Lolo cultural traditions. Young Lolo are not considered to be talented or gifted. Rather, they are seen as having potential. For example, two young men in Araigilpua are fine singers and drummers and in great demand for performances. These young men are not, however, specialists, but it was agreed that with time they could become such. Over time, they will with practice become better performers but, most significantly, will grow into mature Lolo possessing large amounts of cultural knowledge, well-versed in Lolo esoteric lore, and with a thorough and accurate knowledge of the background of the performances. They must grow more adept in the realm of the ordinary before being fit to participate fully in the extraordinary.
Discussion and Analysis

According to the Lolo, good performers bring joy to a ceremonial event by performing with verve and elan. They move fluidly and gracefully during the dancing, drum in synchrony, know the songs and have mastered the drumming patterns and dances. They sing with full, strong voices and are able to maintain a steady performance throughout the night until morning and the close of the ceremony.

In order to be considered a performer of high quality, I concluded that the Lolo use two evaluative criteria, skill and authority. To be a skillful performer, one must of course know the material to be performed. For the Lolo, this is a process that occurs almost by osmosis, rather than being a more structured process like that, for example, as discussed by Lord (1958). In addition, a good performer must know, thoroughly and accurately, any stories associated with a performance and its performance magic.

Most importantly, performance specialists must have authority. By this I mean that they must demonstrate their abilities in the social realm, and their abilities in dealing with extraordinary powers. Clearly, the role of performance specialist is a role for older men, since young men have not the social experience nor have they had the time to become adept in their dealings with the extraordinary. They must have fathered at least one child,
and have been raised with the benefit of ceremonial performances in order to start the process of becoming a performance specialist.

I observed that being a performance specialist is a source of prestige, especially for those asked to lead ceremonial performances and asked for advice and information, and who gain renown as a result. Younger men recognize this and use music as a means to engage in the more traditional ways to gain prestige. Young women say that for younger men, music is a good way to attract their attention and admiration so young men can, in effect, fulfill their desires for both prestige and feminine companionship simultaneously.

Music specialists are invariably men, although women are often consulted. Men are the experts on culture, although without the participation of women in ceremonial preparations and during the events themselves, their knowledge would be useless. As in matters of food, Lolo men and women, while separate and to a degree independent, are irrevocably bound in cooperation.

The flutes exemplify this separation and unity. Female flutes live in the men's house and can only be played by men. The sound of the flutes unites men's work (culture and its transmission) and women's work (giving of food), underscoring that one is impossible without the contributions of the other. Flutes speak to both male and
female reproductive powers in that women give birth to boys and grow them with food in both everyday and ceremonial contexts. Men raise boys into men by protecting their food for ceremonial and by instructing boys in the knowledge requisite for their maturation and masculinization. My informants, both men and older women (who are certainly aware of the existence of the flutes), described them as something that belonged to all Lolo, but were just not for women's eyes. Like other Papua New Guinean cultures, Lolo flutes involve idioms of male power (Read 1952, Bateson 1958, Salisbury 1965, Hogbin 1970, Glick 1972, Gourlay 1975, Herdt 1981 and 1982), but their principal emphasis among the Lolo is the complementarity and mutual dependence of masculine and feminine powers.

Music-making and Lolo aesthetic preferences also reflect the cultural value of cooperation. My informants said that the best singing consists of a blend of male and female voices. In certain ceremonial contexts, for example during mortuaries, women sing first, then men, and then men and women sing together, a pattern considered proper and pleasing to the Lolo ear. The Lolo ideal is for all to participate in any performance, especially since Lolo performances are joyous occasions dedicated to celebration. Everyone is encouraged to be involved, and specialists are tireless in their efforts to help performers acquire the skills that make them valuable performers.
Collectively, the Lolo value performance events, regarding them with a kind of civic pride. They consider their performances and the ceremonies themselves far superior to anything produced by others in the area. Performances and ceremonials act as cultural totems (Schwartz 1975) helping to preserve and maintain cultural integrity, while simultaneously allowing individuals to gain prestige, acquire traditional wealth, and so enhance their status.

There are clear parallels between the moral order of social organization and the Aesthetic. As one grows more adept in the realm of the ordinary one enters the realm of the extraordinary, since competence in the social sphere is a necessary condition for competence in the realm of the Aesthetic. Those adept in their dealings with extraordinary powers are also those who possess high status in the social world by thorough schooling in esoteric lore and from a wise and judicious use of influence in the social, political and economic spheres.

As a gift from the supernatural, music possesses enormous powers. Singing or playing flutes can summon spirits or banish them, can pull men and women to each other, keep people healthy and strong for garden work, and provide a measure of protection against malevolent forces. Specialists, rather than the best singers or drummers (although these are often the same people), are renowned
and deserving of respect and admiration since they can use the powers of music to their advantage. Knowledge is truly power. Not only can specialists influence the supernatural and the lives of their fellows, but are also in a position to receive handsome compensation for their participation as consultants and performers in ceremonial events.

Lolo music-making and instruments themselves are a significant part of Lolo cultural values as earlier discussed. Ceremonies, which are events primarily because of music performance, contribute to and reinforce values of individual and collective identity, cooperation, and continuity and growth.

Most importantly, music-making and musical instruments provide a means of access into the realm of the extraordinary, and a means of manipulating extraordinary powers to earthly advantage, thus connecting the Aesthetic with musical and performance aesthetics. Instruments serve to reinforce the Aesthetic by allowing humans egress into the realm of the extraordinary via performance, and as well connect human and spirit activity through instruments which, although they speak with spirit voices, require animation by men. This reinforces Lolo notions of the Aesthetic, in that the appearance and involvement of these instruments and the associated spirits requires that Lolo must re-constitute the spirits and their relations to them with each appearance of extraordinary powers. The
Aesthetic and the moral order of the social organization, then, are mutually reinforced and reinforcing by virtue of the spirit powers with which instruments are imbued. Symbolic associations of instruments and spirits enables the connections between human and spirit to be made. Hence, without music, the central means of dealing with the extraordinary would cease to exist.

As ceremonies are performed less frequently, the amount of knowledge about them that can be passed on decreases. Each successive generation knows less and less, and thus is less able to render coherent the connections between their social lives and performance. Performance and social aesthetics are abbreviated, knowledge of the extraordinary is incomplete, and so performances no longer achieve the connections with the extraordinary they provided for earlier generations. This is indicated by the difficulty older men have in engaging the attention of younger men when trying to teach them about the performances. Many younger men are not interested in learning, or pay only slight attention to the proceedings. Older men complained bitterly about this new attitude. In effect, this means that the transmission of knowledge of the Aesthetic is becoming increasingly difficult to achieve, hence accelerating the process of change.

The next chapter is an analysis of two ceremonies, one indigenous, the other imported. The analysis is
intended to discover Lolo structural and stylistic preferences in music composition, and demonstrate the relationship of these to principles of the moral order and to the Aesthetic. The comparative perspective is utilized in an attempt to show that indigenous conceptions of power are central to an understanding of what enables music to "work" within its social and cultural context.
CHAPTER IX

MUSIC ANALYSIS AND THE AESTHETIC

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a sense of Lolo musical style and determine what makes Lolo music "work" through a formal analysis of two ceremonies, one indigenous (Kai), the other (Sia) imported. The goal is to examine musical components that are typically Lolo and, assuming that consistent patterns are diagnostic of musical form, style and tonal systems, to attempt to explain how these represent the rules and conventions of Lolo musical aesthetics. A related issue is the question of what happens when indigenous ceremonies are replaced with foreign ones. The ultimate question is how the Aesthetic is manifest in music.

If this analysis indicates that Lolo music possesses certain stylistic characteristics, then it can be inferred that the presence of these characteristics points to the existence of stylistic and structural principles for composition of Lolo music. These can be viewed as the
prescription that satisfies criteria of Lolo musical aesthetics and which makes that music effective for the uses to which it is put.

Should these characteristics be lacking in imported music, the question becomes one of whether these differences represent violations of Lolo musical aesthetics, and if so, the question must be raised of why the Lolo adopted this ceremony in light of these violations. If, on the other hand, the differences between Lolo and imported music are not marked, then two possible conclusions can be drawn.

The first involves the first principle of analysis. Analysis "involves consideration of what is significant and what is incidental" (Nettl 1964:101). Cole (1974:105) states that the ethnomusicologist uses notation to select, differentiate, to reach an understanding of the principles of organization, establishing the differences between significant and insignificant.

The first conclusion could be then, that perhaps the Western musical analytical techniques chosen here may be inappropriate for this study.

Or, as is argued below, it can be concluded that extra-musical factors such as language, history, cosmology, custom and so on are more significant than music sound in the maintenance of musical aesthetics. If the latter is the case, for the Lolo, no amount of replacing indigenous ceremonies with imported ones, regardless of how closely
the style resembles that of Lolo music, will maintain an Aesthetic and its associated moral order.

The following is an outline of Lolo musical classification, examining those features of music which the Lolo use to define musical genres. I then turn to formal analysis of two ceremonies, Kai and Sia.

**Lolo Musical Classification**

The Lolo organize their music according to two criteria, function and significance, a division I inferred from labels used by my informants to refer to different kinds of music. There are two categories of function, ceremonial and non-ceremonial. Included in the ceremonial category, in addition to music from the major ceremonies, are mourning songs (natanga) and lullabies (nalolonga) which, although performed without the trappings associated with the other ceremonies, are an integral part of the narogo cycle. They are accorded the same attention to detail as songs from ceremonials.

The non-ceremonial category includes numerous types of music. First are songs contained in stories, both napu and pungunga. Each napu for example has a leitmotif of about eight bars in length for the animals and characters in the story, songs that are always associated with their accompanying stories. Also included in the non-ceremonial
category are songs used as love charms (malera), play songs, magic songs, songs for carrying valuable things (for example pigs or children on their way to ceremonial), and songs to give strength.

The Lolo conceive of music as being either significant or insignificant. Music performed in a ceremonial context is generally seen as significant music, while music performed in non-ceremonial contexts is treated more casually with less attention given to vocal quality, accuracy or setting. Significant music is that which helps to accomplish something. Winning a woman, performing magic, teaching children Lolo traditions, and executing narogo all need the assistance of music. Music of little or no importance includes play songs, and the songs from napu. The following table summarizes the distinctions between categories.

**Musical Classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Important</th>
<th>Not Important</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonial</td>
<td>natanga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>narogo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nalolonga</td>
<td>Sia, Murmur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-ceremonial</td>
<td>malera</td>
<td></td>
<td>play songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pungunga</td>
<td></td>
<td>napu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>magic songs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Lolo do not hesitate to use non-indigenous music for any purpose, regardless of the purpose for which it was originally intended. Sia, for example, is an all-purpose ceremony for the Lolo. In most cases in which the indigenous ceremony has been abandoned, Sia fills the void. The only instance in which there was dissention over the use of an imported ceremony was the use of Murmur in place of Vukumu. This replacement was considered inappropriate if not disgraceful, since Murmur is performed by the Arawe as a prelude to war.

Non-indigenous music does possess significance according to its function, since certain of these ceremonials are used to accomplish certain ends. However, consideration of non-indigenous music as important is only granted by virtue of its association with the event in which the situation lends credibility and significance to the music. In the case of indigenous ceremonial music, the music and event are equally important, each enhancing the power of the other. Non-indigenous music thus occupies a position inferior and secondary to the event itself.

Performance Structure

Each ceremony is divided into "movements" or segments. Lolo ceremonies have five movements including napa malamalanga (the night rises), napalo konga (the
lizard runs away), napa volaunga (all men), naolenga (marriage), and anlua (the fire burns to ashes). These segments correspond to stages in the performance and the times of night. For example, when a bird named kauk cries, this means that dawn is about an hour away and it is time to play anlua. Each segment both concentrates on a particular phase of action in the origin story of the ceremony and describes the dance style.

Structurally, the songs within each segment are almost identical, with the only differences in melody being vocal embellishments and ornaments. Each song in the movement has different lyrics. Lolo ceremonial segments thus contain a number of strophic songs. However, the Lolo view each song as distinct, because of thematic differences. Lyrically, each song develops the theme of the one preceding.

Ceremonies which the Lolo have acquired from other areas are also divided into segments. Sia (Siasi) and Nakamutmut (part Kabana, part Lolo) have eleven movements each. Aulu, the Kabana version of Nakamutmut, has eight (Scaletta 1985:396). These too are differentiated according to stage of performance and time of night.
Transcription and Analysis

It must be recognized that transcription cannot be used as a guide to performance. In Lolo musical performance, no two events are ever alike. The order of songs changes from performance to performance, and, given that the leader of the event bears the responsibility for its execution, the character of performance differs depending on who is involved. Individual performers likewise have influence in shaping the performance. Song leaders establish the pitch and tempo of each song, and as well choose which songs are to be sung.

For these reasons, the transcriptions that follow are sketetal in nature, providing the musical "bones" with which the Lolo themselves work, and represent a single musical event. Transcriptions of the same songs recorded at another time would vary, depending on the participants. Hence, details are avoided in these transcriptions precisely because they change each time a song is sung. Whoever leads a song establishes the pitch and hence the key, and sets the tempo for the song. Rhythms remain essentially the same, although individual drummers may alter basic drumming patterns by anticipating or pushing beats. Some singers are more prone to vocal ornamentation than others, adding slides, grace notes and so on, while others have a more plain style. Polyphony is most
pronounced when men and women sing together, since a group of men or a group of women tends to sing in unison.

Transcription and analysis involve several stages. Each stage is intended to isolate musical elements considered to be diagnostic of musical style. The first step involves delineation of the range. Next, the tonal centre or home tone is established. The structural notes are determined using weighted scales, followed by an isolation of the motivic units of the melody, and an examination of cadential form. Melodic contour and overall form are discussed, as are the relationships between melodic and rhythmic elements.

As a prelude to formal analysis, observations about the mechanics of performance are here outlined. Characteristics outlined below are typical of all major ceremonies, whether indigenous or imported. Each ceremony has one person in charge of the overall event. In addition, there are usually several men who can be described as musical leaders. The leaders, men who are song and performance specialists, are conductors in a very real sense. Prior to beginning each song, the leader who has decided to begin a song counts out the beat by tapping on the side of his drum. In this way, he establishes the tempo of the song. During this introduction, the leader sings an introductory solo phrase while a flutter is played on the drums. Like Kaluli drums (Feld 1983:81), Lolo drums
sound the tonic (do), with dominant (sol) as an overtone by virtue of the natural resonance of the drum. These pitches provide the reference for vocals and enable the singers to remain in tune. As well as building a sense of anticipation, the flutter serves a very practical purpose enabling the drummers to tune their drums relative to the leader’s pitch. Tuning is clearly audible during the flutters, and by the time the other singers join in, the pitch has been well-established by the drums.

With the song underway, drummers are free to relax. Melodies and rhythms within melodies are highly dependent on the natural rhythm and melodic contour of the language and as such can be characterised as syllabic. With basic rhythms established by the singers, all of whom are very familiar with the language and all parts of the songs, the drummers have the freedom to manipulate the basic rhythms by anticipating or "pushing" beats. However, should melodies become very complex, or should the singers falter, the drummers play strongly and in strict rhythm. Drums and voices are used, then, as both tonal and rhythmic instruments, each reinforcing the other. In general, the beat of the drums is regular (\(\overline{\text{-}}\overline{\text{-}}\overline{\text{-}}\overline{\text{-}}\)), with alterations in pattern deliberate and stylized. Each song has this pattern of regular beats and a "break" in which the drumming patterns are altered (\(\overline{\text{-}}\overline{\text{-}}\overline{\text{-}}\overline{\text{-}}\)). This break is signalled by a stylized "whoop" from the leader in
the preceding phrase, providing a cue for the drummers to follow.

Given these factors, there is no strong performance if the leaders cannot get correct pitches on the drums. If drummers lose pitch, they can be heard to play with the tuning. The lead singer sings a reference note very strongly, and drummers tune their drums relative to that note. If drummers lose the beat, they play softly until they find it from the vocalists. If singers have a solid sense of both pitch and tempo, then the drummers can be heard to subtly alter the pitches and the beat. In this way, every member of the ensemble is important and contributes necessary information to other members of the ensemble, reaffirming the centrality of participation critical to Lolo ceremonial and secular activity.

In the following section, I examine one Lolo ceremonial, Kai, in some detail. This was the first ceremony the Lolo received from the spirits as a result of Namor’s intercession. Although Kai is currently performed only as an adjunct to Sia, it is still considered by the Lolo to be their premier ceremony and typical of Lolo ceremonial music. By way of contrast, Sia, a ceremony purchased from the Siasi via the Kove, is examined. I have chosen Sia because it is the most widely used replacement ceremony. Interestingly, while everyone enjoys its performance, it is held in low regard by Lolo elders. They
say it means nothing to them as Lolo, and is only suited for having fun since it demands a large number of drummers and dancers. It differs from indigenous ceremonies in that drummers dance as they play as opposed to sitting in the centre of the dance ground while the dance flows around them.

Kai

The following is a condensed version of the origin story of Kai as told to me by Bom, an old man and song specialist from Lepo, an Idne-Lolo village.

In the beginning the Lolo had no songs or dances but merely worked all the time. They lived very close to the spirits. A log bridge spanning the river where they bathed went to the land of the spirits. Frightened of the spirits, the Lolo avoided this bridge. One young man decided he would just stand on the bridge to see what would happen and was whisked away to the land where the spirits live. He was met by an old man who took him to his house. They sat down and were met by a man with no head who spoke from his armpit. The headless spirit invited the Lolo man to dance, but the man did not know how. The headless spirit then taught him the ceremony called Kai. First he gave him betel nut and wild ginger to eat, then taught him the songs, the dances and the way to play the drums. The Lolo man joined in the dance and was happy.
The dance finished and the Lolo man wanted to return home. The spirits, however, did not want him to leave. Under cover of the night, the man escaped and ran home to his village. When he arrived, he told the villagers of his experience and, gathering the men, told them to eat betel and wild ginger. The entire village then joined in the dance, and so the Lolo received their first ceremony.

Like other Lolo ceremonies, Kai is divided into five sections. In Kai, the first segment sets the stage by calling the villagers to dance, while later songs refer to normal elements of Lolo life as warming skin by the fire, watching blackbirds fly against a clear sky, and so on. The next segment chronicles a man's journey into the mountains. In the third, he is captured by spirits and taken to their home where he meets the headless spirit who speaks from his armpit. The spirit teaches him Kai and they sing and dance together. In the fourth segment, it is told how the man "captures" this knowledge and runs away to his village. The final segment sees the man teaching the villagers the ceremony he learned from the spirit and describes how the villagers danced together and how the first ceremony impressed the women.
Analysis

Each segment of Kai consists of a number of strophic songs, each having different lyrics. In this section, I outline the formal elements of Kai, section by section, according to the techniques described above. Each song consists of repetitions of sections (ABAB) and so for reasons of economy I include below the transcriptions of the sections rather than the entire piece, since the entire melody is contained therein. For a presentation of the songs in weighted format, see Appendix 1.
Napa Malamalanga (the night rises)

Weighted Scale:

Motivic units:

Cadences:

Melodic contour:
Napalo Konga (the lizard runs away)

Weighted Scale:

Motivic units:

Cadences:

Melodic contour:
Napa Volaunga (all men)

[Musical notation]

Weighted Scale:

Motivic units:

Cadences:

Melodic contour:
Naolenga (marriage)

Weighted Scale:

Motivic units:

Cadences:

Melodic contour:
Anlua (the fire burns to ashes)

Weighted Scale:

Motivic units:

Cadences:

Melodic contour:
Certain stylistic parameters are clear. In each case, the range is narrow, generally close to an octave. All songs are based primarily on five tone scales whose construction is formed by an irregular alternation of intervals of basically major seconds and occasional minor seconds and minor thirds. From an examination of weighted scales, the significant tones are the root, third and fifth, plus the second. Examination of patterns of melodic movement indicates that movement generally proceeds in a stepwise pattern, given the gapped scale, both ascending and descending, although this is more marked in descending melodic lines, pointing toward a tonal system based on repetition of scalar sequences. This is also seen in the motive units. Motive units are typically three tone, and are usually in stepwise progression with the largest interval being a major second. Cadential formulae reflect this preference. The form of each song follows the pattern of ABAB alternation, with the number of repetitions dependent on the leader’s preference. Polyphony is created through the overlapping of phrases A and B, and is emphasized by the overlapping of male and female voices.

It will be noted that there is a sense of "key change" or rising pitch from one song to another. Lacking a clear answer as to why this may be so, I offer the following speculations. First, there may be a sense of heightened excitement over the course of the performance,
which has the effect of raising the pitch of the songs. Second, the rising pitch may be because different songs are begun by different singers, which has the effect of raising pitch over the duration of the performance.

Having examined the structure of Kai, the question must be raised of how these stylistic conventions reflect or reinforce the Lolo Aesthetic. Attempting to make correlations between aspects of musical sound with social action or beliefs is highly problematic and often speculative. However, Lomax' (1968) study of cantometrics provides some clues on how these connections might be made.

Lomax (p. 3) states that "some traits of song performance show a powerful relationship to features of social structure", and that "song style seems to summarize, in a compact way, the ranges of behaviour that are appropriate to one kind of cultural context" (p. 6). He argues that this underlying message about social structure is one facet of song performance giving a performance authority:

In fact, the performing arts acquire their quiet and unobtrusive authority in the lives of men precisely because they carry their message about social structure beneath the surface. They deal, not with any specific social interaction, but with the boundaries within which behaviour must fall to be acceptable (p. 7).

Lomax assumes (p. 120) that "every cultural system has an internal congruence reflected in its expressive and communications system". Given this assumption, he argues
that this congruence will be reflected in two fundamental human activities, song and work. Lomax uses a cultural ecology model to categorize social complexity according to subsistence type.

In the Lolo case, when the music is examined according to certain of the cantometric parameters, it appears that what song style analysis reveals is less about social structure than about Lolo cultural values underlying social structure. For example, in his discussion of subsistence complementarity, Lomax discovered that polyphony, defined as "the use of simultaneously produced intervals other than in unison" (p. 165), and counterpoint are "concentrated in those [subsistence] categories where women are significant contributors to production" (p. 166), and that "polyphony is closely related to the [societal] level of complementarity" (p. 167).

Two issues need to be addressed. The first is the involvement of women in subsistence. It will be recalled from previous discussion that women bear the primary responsibility for food production and distribution. This is dependent upon the cooperation of men which leads to the second issue, that of complimentarity. Men assist in garden work, but spend much less time on a regular basis than do women. Men do, however, do the dangerous work of conducting ritual to protect gardens, work that is considered by the women to be harder than theirs and
critical to the success of a harvest. It would seem, then, that the Lolo would conform to Lomax' criteria for a high level of societal complimentarity in subsistence production.

Lolo songs begin with a male leader who is joined by a male chorus. A women's chorus joins in, and the men and women sing in unison or the women sing a different part. In the examples from Kai, the polyphony created by overlapping phrases A and B by the men and women is clear as the following diagram indicates.

Men  A----------B----------A----------B--------
     Unison

Women  A----------B----------A----------

Lolo music clearly fits Lomax' description of complementarity of men and women. Not only is Lolo subsistence dependent on the cooperation of men and women, but Lolo women are seen as the producers and reproducers of society.

Lomax sees vocal blend, tonal cohesiveness, and choral cohesiveness as indicators of social solidarity (p.170-171). He argues (p.174) that

"the level of coordination of the singing group, then, reflects and reinforces the level of synchrony essential for the continuance of the whole society and should be discoverable in the relatively higher level of groupy behaviour in other aspects of social organization."

"Groupiness" (p. 170) is most definitely an attribute of Lolo singing. Large choruses are preferred, and there is a
marked degree of cohesion in men's parts, women's parts, and in their blending. Hence, Lolo music is a strong indicator of social solidarity, and is also reflective of complementarity among men, among women, and between men and women.

Another aspect of Lolo music making that suggests complimentarity is the relaxed vocalizing characteristic of Lolo singing in general, and male singing in particular. Lomax (p. 199) sees this "complimentarity indicator" as standing for the significance of women in subsistence, and argues that vocal tension is most likely to be found in societies in which men have the greater responsibility for food production. As Lomax (p. 201) states, "Some degree of social stability must underlie the sexual complimentarity of a community before its people can truly act and sing with full-blown solidarity."

The question of perceived male dominance in music making in the face of societal complimentarity must also be addressed. Performance is the public forum for men to express their powers, and their powers are enhanced by the public nature of the events. This, however, needs to be placed within the overall context of male and female powers. It will be recalled that creativity is a male domain and the locus of male powers, a domain complemented by reproduction, the female domain of power. Neither could
exist without the other, and so the issue again resolves to complimentarity rather than dominance.

These aspects of Lolo song style can be clearly correlated with the Lolo values of participation and cooperation. Lolo performances are events in which everyone can and should participate. While there are acknowledged song specialists, those less expert are not discouraged from performing, but are encouraged so that they may become more proficient. Participation is not restricted to humans: spirits too take part in performance.

Likewise, cooperation is an essential part of Lolo life. This is especially evident in the relations between men and women not only in subsistence activities, but in the conception and constitution of male and female reproductive powers. Polyphony in Lolo songs speaks directly to the relations between men and women in everyday life, but as well to the reproductive powers of male and female, and thus ultimately to the nature of the extraordinary powers themselves.

Lolo song style can be seen as homologous to the Lolo conception of social aesthetics, and thus coherent with Lolo musical aesthetics. In this way, Lolo song style can be seen as a means to reinforce and reflect the Lolo Aesthetic.
Song lyrics too speak to the Lolo Aesthetic. In the following examples, the first two songs transcribed from Kai, there is evidence of principles of Lolo moral order, and of the underlying cultural values.

**Napa Malamalanga**

O gale lemo  
Legva io sunga iom - o  
O gale lemo  
E kiau - o sunga iom - o gale - o

(0 my dance, that which is mine, from you, spirit, for me, my dance)

**Napalo Konga**

O Rige Rige  
Koie tale ire ko tang - o  
Lemba lindo, ba lindo  
Ire ko tang - o

(O Rige [tree where a spirit lives], just now cut down, everyone cries for my loss, everyone cries)

Both of these examples demonstrate the importance of links between Lolo and that which they consider important. The first song emphasizes Lolo ownership of the dance and by extension the ceremony itself. Also emphasized is the fact that the dance was given to the Lolo by spirits. The second song identifies the Lolo with a sacred place, the site of a tree where a spirit lived. Destruction of the spirit's home is a cause for mourning, and for tears. Repetition of the lyrics serves to focus attention on these links and to emphasize their significance (see Meyer 1967 for a discussion of repetition in music).
Both songs too emphasize the importance of links between the Lolo and the spirit world. Song lyrics describe an intimate and sympathetic relationship between humans and spirits, and the Lolo and their ceremonies which were given to them by spirits. This commentary on the relations between humans and spirits and hence Lolo values is reinforced by and in turn reinforces the messages implicit in the style and structure of Lolo music.

Regarding Kai, lyrics and music together speak to the moral order, especially regarding the nature of the relations between humans and spirits, the relationships between men and women, and the relationships among social groups. In this way, Lolo music and lyrics are coherent with social life and cultural values and beliefs.

Sia

Sia is a ceremony indigenous to the Siasi. The Siasi developed extensive trade routes along the north coast of New Britain, and traded music along with other goods such as pots and bowls. Sia, performed by the Lolo in Siasi vernacular, is ubiquitous in West New Britain and is performed with regularity by all groups in the area. Having heard numerous different accounts, I was unable to learn exactly how the acquisition of Sia took place, although all agreed that the Lolo received Sia from the
Kove, a group living east of the Kabana on the north coast.

Unlike other groups in the area, or unlike the Kilenge at least, the Lolo perform Sia for any reason. The Kilenge perform Sia in the context of a yam festival, a performance played out over three days. The Lolo version of Sia is abbreviated in that it is performed in conjunction with Kai, with the performance of both together lasting one night. Although the Lolo brag about their ability in performing Sia, saying that the Siasi do not perform as well, the Lolo feel that they best perform Sia when a person from the Siasi is present to lead the dancers. When a Siasi was present for a performance of Sia, all Lolo dancers imitated his mannerisms.

Although the form of Sia is different from Lolo performances in that drummers dance as they play, the mechanics of the performance are the same. Sia is likewise divided into movements with each movement containing numerous strophic songs which differ lyrically and not melodically. There is no order assigned to the songs played within each section. Rather, the song leader typically begins to sing one song from the section which is picked up by the others. Or, anyone, dancer or audience member, may begin to sing. Typically, once a song is begun, the others join in.

When performing Sia, the Lolo are more casual about which songs they choose and in which order they choose
them. As a result, the performances are even less structured than are indigenous ones. For this reason, I was able, in spite of seeing numerous performances of Sia, to record representatives from only three movements. The Lolo are aware that other movements exist, but do not perform them saying that they "don't like them". Why this is so I was unable to ascertain, unless these movements are radically different from those performed and thus violate Lolo musical aesthetics. For a presentation of the songs in weighted format, see Appendix 2.
Napagalenga

\[ \text{Motivic units:} \]

\[ \text{Cadences:} \]

\[ \text{Melodic contour:} \]
Motivic units:

Cadences:

Melodic contour:
Malailai

Weighted Scale:

Motivic units:

Cadences:

Melodic contour:
Clearly, Sia and Kai share certain characteristics. Most songs are built on a gapped, five tone scale, motive units are in stepwise progression, with cadences constructed in a similar manner. Sia too exhibits ABAB phrases in alternation. Kai has a narrower range than Sia. The wider range of Sia, coupled with a tendency to use notes higher in pitch, gives Sia a brightness that is lacking in Kai.

Discussion

The comparative analysis of Sia and Kai points out certain differences between the two ceremonies, but it is apparent that similarities in formal structure are more numerous than differences. However, the Lolo Aesthetic and Lolo moral order are changing despite the replacement of indigenous ceremonies with similarly structured imported music. It would appear then, that music sound alone is not sufficient for the maintenance of an articulated Aesthetic and moral order. If the musics are similar, what can account for the changes in the Aesthetic and moral order?

First, the issue of language must be considered. Sia is sung in the Siasi vernacular, automatically marking it as alien by virtue of the Lolo equation of language and custom. Nakamutmut, although partially alien, is sung by
the Lolo in Maleu. This, plus the fact that much of it is believed to be indigenous, renders it familiar.

Sia resembles Kai closely in terms of style. An analysis of Sia according to Lomax' indicators of complementarity and social solidarity would provide a picture of a society quite similar to that of the Lolo. However, according to most of my informants, Sia does not "work" in the same fashion as indigenous ceremonies, largely, I suspect, because Sia has no connection to Lolo mythological and spirit powers. Sia was purchased from another group, rather than being a gift from Namor or any of the lesser spirits. There is no connection to the Lolo spirit world, the Lolo ancestors, to Lolo land, or in fact, to anything Lolo. Because it lacks these vital connections to Lolo cosmology and social life, Sia also lacks any means of connection to the Aesthetic as described by my informants as traditional, specifically to the extraordinary powers constitutive of the Aesthetic. Sia thus also lacks any means to engage in the moral order of the society given its lack of engagement with the Aesthetic.

Thus, while the replacement of Lolo ceremonials with Sia makes musical sense in that it is structured similarly to typical Lolo music, it makes less sense culturally or socially, according to the norms of the moral order as presented to me. Blacking (1986) proposes an
analytical distinction between musical ideas and ideas about music, a distinction which is pertinent to the Lolo case. While the musical ideas in Sia may be similar to those in Kai, Lolo ideas about music do not include replacement within their constitution of musical aesthetics. In addition, Feld (1986:157) states that

Meaning then, in a communicative sense, is dependent on interpretive action, action which is the alignment of cultural knowledge and epistemology with the experience of sound. Meaning does not reside 'in the notes' because the way notes are formed, listened to, and interpreted derives from prior social imposition.

Sia, then, while it can fit within Lolo parameters for music sound, has no connection to the Lolo Aesthetic and to the moral order. The introduction of Sia can not maintain the Aesthetic, but because it is used so frequently and in place of central ceremonies, it hastens changes to the Aesthetic and hence the moral order. It would appear that were maintenance of the Aesthetic and the moral order the issue, the addition of Sia is less problematic than the omission of indigenous ceremonies which possess the intrinsic connection to the extraordinary, hence to the Aesthetic and the moral order.
CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has addressed the nature of the Aesthetic and its relationship to culture from the perspective of the following two questions. First, how do Lolo concepts of being and power produce an Aesthetic that can be contrasted to the European notion of "art for art's sake"? And second, in what ways are changes in the Aesthetic related to changes in these concepts of power?

The Aesthetic is defined as that aspect of religion referring to dealings with extraordinary powers intended to maintain proper relationships between humans and those extraordinary powers. Humans interact with the powers via social, performance and musical aesthetics, the guides, prescriptions, and proper modes of access to the extraordinary powers. These proper modes of access, plus the definition of spirits and spirit powers, constitute the moral order according to which the Lolo engage in social action. Moral behaviour is that which conforms to Lolo principles and conventions of what is taken to be right, appropriate and proper, depending on circumstance.
Evidence of the articulation between the Aesthetic and culture was found in numerous aspects of Lolo social life. Lolo social organization, a network of interconnected moral units derived from their myth of parthenogenesis, is based on a set of moral principles articulating proper relations among kin, among social groups, between men and women, and between human beings and spirits. These moral principles, most apparent in dealings with food and food exchanges, address the fundamental nature of masculine and feminine and human and spirit, and have as their source Lolo concepts of power, specifically powers of creation and reproduction. Hence, social organization is predicated on concepts of power and ontology, connecting social action with the Aesthetic. Proper connections are made via social aesthetics which guide human and spirit interaction.

In performance too articulations between the Aesthetic and culture are evident. Performances, themselves gifts from spirits, provide the vehicles with which human beings engage spirit powers and assume these powers themselves. By conducting ceremonies, Lolo enable those celebrated as well as other participants to achieve humanity. Humanity, for the Lolo, involves development of morality, or expertise in social relations and relations with spirits. Achieving humanity means acting according to the principles of the moral order, and this is made
possible in part through performance of ceremonial. Thus, by adherence to performance aesthetics and in the act of performance, humans enter the realm of the spirits and spirit powers, and so engage the powers in the realm of the Aesthetic.

The "soul" of ceremonial performance is music. Musical aesthetics provide stylistic and structural guides for music and music performance. The examples used in Chapter IX demonstrated that music and lyrics together reinforce and are reinforced by cultural constructs, rendering music and lyrics meaningful and enabling them to act as potent communicative devices. Musical aesthetics, in conjunction with performance aesthetics, allow for the successful execution of ceremonial, in that proper connections to the spirits and spirit powers can be made. Together, these three forms of aesthetics constitute the means according to which the Lolo interact with one another, with spirits, and with spirit powers.

However, this picture of coherence does not reflect the current reality of the Lolo. It was argued that three agents of change, Christianity, Western bio-medicine and money, are contributing to changes in conceptions of power hence the Aesthetic, and in so doing are also contributing to a change in the moral order. These agents of change are moving the Lolo away from their previous concepts of extraordinary powers and away from the associated
aesthetics, meaning that the Lolo are less and less able to access and assume the powers. The previous moral order, based on these concepts, is becoming less relevant in the daily lives of the Lolo.

Recalling discussions about the relationship between religion and the Aesthetic, it was noted that both religion and the Aesthetic were concerned with ultimate and extraordinary powers. Burridge (1969:7), states that despite the conservatism of religious orthodoxies...religious activities will change when the assumptions about the nature of power, and hence the rules which govern its use and control, can no longer guarantee the truth of things.

He further states (ibid p. 8) that 'periods of social unrest' and the 'weakening or disruption of the old social order' refer to situations where the relevant assumptions about power are weakening and no longer enable individuals to perceive the truth of things.

Given the intimate connection between religion and the Aesthetic, it would be expected that similar trends would be apparent in the relationship between the Aesthetic, aesthetics and performance. The Lolo case demonstrates that definitions of power, sources of power, and effects of those powers are changing. Individuals do not "perceive the truth of things", and are clearly in a time of "social unrest".

What appears to be at work in the Lolo case is a process of secularization, defined in the Introduction as
the process by which the sacra becomes separated from daily life, and cosmology or religion ceases to act as an organizing principle. That this is the case for the Lolo is apparent if ceremonies no longer performed are examined.

In the Lolo example, much of narogo, the major ceremonial cycle dedicated to mortuaries and the firstborn, is either lost or rapidly disappearing. Given the Lolo emphasis on creation and reproduction and their opposites of death and destruction, this loss is significant.

Interestingly, those ceremonies which are lost are those dedicated to the firstborn and not those ceremonies for the dead. Ceremonies lost or in the process of decay include Naosung, Malanggan, Netutnetne, Navoltomare, and to a lesser extent, Vokoi and Vukumu. Each of these ceremonies speaks directly to powers of reproduction and to the assumption of these powers of reproduction by human beings. Most specifically, these ceremonies emphasize the powers of the feminine and speak to the essential complementarity of male and female.

Especially potent is the loss of ceremonial associated with the names of Galiki and Natavolo. All firstborn are significant by virtue of having been conceived and grown in the womb with the most potent of the finite supply of vital essences. Galiki and Natavolo occupy special status because they are firstborn, and because they are directly descended from the first men to
whom Namor gave men's houses. They assume the powers of reproduction of their opposites, and hence are rendered doubly powerful.

Loss of the Galiki/Natavolo complex means that the Lolo are losing their most powerful beings, and loss of firstborn ceremonies means that the next most powerful category of person is likewise being lost. In addition, the Lolo are losing the means of access to the powers of reproduction inherent in the performances. This impinges on the ways in which the Lolo conceive of masculinity and femininity, hence contributing to further changes to the moral order.

This process of secularization means that humans, as they become less powerful, are becoming less mysterious. Spirits, on the other hand, while still considered to possess the same powers, are increasingly mysterious hence more dangerous. Always unpredictable, they are now seen as more malevolent than not, because, according to the Lolo, they are angered because the Lolo no longer know how to deal with them.

This loss of access to spirit powers has left a vacuum that has been partially filled by sorcery. Spirit powers are in many ways unattainable but powers of sorcery are readily available and used by a large number of Lolo. Currently, the Lolo are caught between two forces: the powers of the spirits on the one hand and the powers of
sorcerers on the other. This contributes to further changes in the moral order, and, with specific reference to sorcery, a pervasive sense of disharmony and unease.

In essence, the process of secularization means that the Lolo are losing connection with the extraordinary powers perceived as being traditional (hence the Aesthetic), and are losing means of access to these extraordinary powers (hence aesthetics). The principles of the old moral order are losing their relevance and coherence with contemporary social life and are increasingly hollow.

Sia provides the indicator that this is indeed the case for the Lolo. The old order of extraordinary powers as described in this dissertation is falling away, and Sia appears as the harbinger of a new order: a new order of powers, responses to these powers, and means of access to these powers. As such, Sia signals the break of the Aesthetic and aesthetics from the "old" religious tradition, promotes and supports a "new" religious tradition, and in short, signals secularization.

Sia provides the clues to where to look for the new powers, which are those of a more secular world and which, for the Lolo, include powers of money and Christianity. Money, which appears in both secular and religious or ceremonial contexts, is scarce, can be used to acquire goods and services, is used as a valuable item itself in
ceremonial exchange, and is something associated with Europeans and European power. Money also represents the powers of Catholicism by virtue of the collection plate and the frequent references during mass to stewardship. As a result, I suspect that money in this context is seen as a means to gain access to the powers of Catholicism.

Christianity, specifically Catholicism, is likewise seen as powerful, but perhaps much "easier" than Lolo religious practices. Other than weekly attendance at church, small donations of food or money for collection, and participation during special services at First Communion, Easter and Christmas, the demands made by the church are few. This is in direct contrast to Lolo ceremonial activities with their onerous burdens and what the Lolo see as lifetime servitude to preparation and execution of ceremony.

In addition, Christianity is less terrifying on the whole and punishments for transgressions less severe than those of spirits. As well, the "new" religious order makes fewer specific demands about observances: while mass follows the order of service, it is permissible, and even encouraged by the current priest, to incorporate indigenous music and stringband songs into the service. Church is something done only on Sunday, and in their observance of the "day of rest" normal village activity ceases, making, I
suspect, Christian religious activity separate and distinct from everyday life.

Sia, as the harbinger of a universal and secular order, is possessed of similar characteristics. It is performed in another language, a significant change given the Lolo perception of Maleu as the first and foremost language. Sia was purchased, and while not bought with money, its purchase gives credence to the powers of money. It is also flexible in that it can be used for a wide variety of purposes in a wide range of circumstances. It lacks connections to powers of the "old" order and the associated burdens of massive preparations of food and collections of wealth. For the Lolo, that it lacks these heavy social and economic burdens makes it a desirable and preferred alternative. There are also no punishments should the performance be poorly executed or done "wrong". Sia can safely be done in conjunction with "modern" events, like dances or fund raisers. Sia also points to a changing social order. Christianity has a masculine perspective, the Lolo are losing and have lost ceremonies which focus on the reproductive powers of the female; Sia, too, is a masculine event. Men sing and dance, while women participate only as spectators and singers in the audience. Thus, Sia is resonant with a new social order in which the focus is on male power. In short, Sia is easy, is fun, and
lacks connection to an "old" order which is increasingly irrelevant in the lives of the Lolo.

Sia then, is a signal of increasing secularization and social change. It marks a shift to a way of life not dominated by religious principles and the powers of spirit beings. Not only is Sia the signal of change, Sia can also be seen as the signal of the development of an emergent Aesthetic. The powers to which this Aesthetic is directed are of a secular nature and involve powers of economy and given the widespread performance of Sia, perhaps a pan-Papua New Guinean political consciousness supported and promoted by Independence and post-Independence political activity. Future research documenting the process of change in Papua New Guinea may reveal the new Aesthetic.
Appendix 1

Songs from Kai in Weighted Format

Napa Malamalanga

Napalo Konga
Appendix 2
Songs from Sia in Weighted Format

Napagalenga

Anua
NOTES

1. See Nketia (1984) for a discussion of these perspectives in the ethnomusicological study of aesthetics.

2. Terminology is often problematic. Terms like art, aesthetics and the aesthetic experience have common sense as well as philosophical and academic usages and are thus especially loaded terms. This creates confusion and misunderstanding. To avoid this confusion, some have elected to use different terms for these concepts. See for example Armstrong (1971, 1975, 1981), Kealiinohomoku (1979).


4. I am indebted to Dr. K.O.L. Burridge for providing me with the term "metaculture" and for his thought-provoking conversations on the sui generis and its relationship to culture.

Maleu has three forms of possessive pronouns, including neutrals, inalienables and, interestingly enough, edibles. Following is an example of each of these classes (linguistic material from Goulden, personal communication 1985).

1) Neutrals

'le' [+ va]

1s leg(va) mi 1in ler(a)va yumi 1ex lem(ba) mipela
2s lem(ba) yu 2pl lemi(va) yupela
3s le(va) em 3pl le(re) ol

leg naniu - "my coconut palm"

2) Inalienables

This class of possessives includes such things as body parts and kin.

airo - "eye"

1s airo-k 1in airo-ra 1ex airo-em
2s airo-m 2pl airo-mi
3s airo-a 3pl airo-re

tama - "father"

1s tama-ge 1in tama-ra 1ex tama-em
2s tama-m 2pl tama-mi
3s tama-e 3pl tama-re

3) Edibles

As its names suggests, this class of possessives refers solely to those things which are eaten.

'a' [+ va]

1s ag(va) 1in ara(va) 1ex aem(va)
2s am(va) 2pl ami(va)
3s e(va) 3pl are(va)

uas - tobacco

1s aguas 1in arauas 1ex aemuas
2s amuas 2pl amiuas
3s euas
3pl areuas

amuas i-mai na kane - "give me one of your cigarettes to smoke"

The inclusion of edibles as a separate category is noteworthy, given the Lolo emphasis on food (see Pollock 1986 for similar findings in other Pacific societies).

This chart uses Tok Pisin and not English as the basis for translation since glosses from English are awkward.

1s - first person singular. English I, TP mi.
2s - second person singular. English you, TP yu.
3s - third person singular. English s/he, TP em.
1in - first person inclusive. There is no gloss for this in English since the TP form refers only to the speaker and the listener, TP yumi.
1ex - first person exclusive. Again, there is no English gloss; the TP term mipela excludes the listener but includes the speaker with a separate group of people.
2pl - second person plural. The TP term yupela excludes the speaker but includes all listeners in a group.
3pl - third person plural. TP ol_ refers to everyone, speaker and hearer included.

The Lolo do not differentiate between sorcery as practiced inside or outside of kin groups. They do, however, make a distinction between sorcery (actions with malevolent intent) and magic or actions performed for a positive effect such as garden magic, performance magic, love magic and the like. In general, Lolo sorcery conforms to sorcery elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. There is an extensive literature on this topic, a few examples include Bateson 1958, R. Berndt and P. Lawrence (eds.) 1971, Fortune 1932, P. Lawrence and M.J. Meggitt (eds.) 1965, Lindenbaum 1971, 1979.

At the present, most published works on food involve either analyses of the nutritive values of various foods (e.g., Arnott 1975, May 1984), or view food as one aspect of a total ecological system (e.g., Robson 1980). Interesting as these topics are, they fall outside of the scope of this dissertation. Pigs, although a standard subject in Papua New Guinea ethnography, and are only secondarily considered here, since the Lolo themselves see pigs as epiphenomenal to the food network.
Dealings with food can also influence the way that a cultural group is perceived by those in the surrounding area. An anthropologist working in the Bariai are on the north coast of WNB supplied me with the following anecdote (Scaletta personal communication 1985). On their way to conduct marriage negotiations in a Lolo village, a Bariai woman, thrown off balance in the canoe, inadvertently stepped over the food intended for their Lolo hosts. The food was fouled since she had exposed it to her genitals. The woman was most upset and assumed that the food would be thrown away and replaced. The others, however, said that it did not matter. The food was for the Lolo and they are dirty people accustomed to eating fouled food. On the other hand, the Lolo are suspicious of food coming from the Bariai, since they suspect it is unclean.

The teachers occupy a position different from that of the other "officials". Villagers tend to resent their presence and their influence over the children. In addition, the teachers demand that the children bring them food on a daily basis, despite the fact that there are gardens allocated for the teachers' use right beside the school. These gardens are weedy and unkempt. Teachers blatantly throw food away. Reports of these transgressions invariably reach the ears of the donors who are understandably affronted. The teachers, then, because of the way they abuse food, are by definition dirty, making villagers' opinions of them and their "official" and influential positions uneasy bedfellows.

For example, one woman in the village was sentenced to a year's term in the district jail in Cape Gloucester because she assaulted another woman with a large knife. Her act of violence, while not condoned, took second place beside the indignation the villagers felt since while in prison, the woman would eat rice and tinned fish every day. This woman, notorious for her taste for "white" foods, was not being punished in the eyes of the Lolo. Rather, she was rewarded for her crime, a clear abuse of food.

During ceremonial deliberations, women publicly state that they have discussed the matters with their husbands, have made their opinions known, and will leave the decisions to the men. In private, however, men are subjected to lengthy harangues from their wives which not infrequently refer to the dire consequences should their wishes go unheeded.
Special leaves called ner are used to wrap food for ceremonial distribution. These leaves are beautifully coloured in pinks, reds and yellows and are valued for the visual display when arranged for exchange.

In one family, seven members died in rapid succession. Their kin were unable to fulfill their obligations to provide wealth for other ceremonial events since providing goods for mortuaries had all but exhausted their resources. Their meager showings at ceremonials were excused and pitied.

Some violations of the moral order concerning food include inappropriate giving of food for example if siblings refused to exchange food; selling food to kin; hoarding food; failing to help when requested with food-getting activities, especially if these requests are made by kin; giving poor food or not enough at ceremonials; failing to cook in daylight hours; and failing to adequately feed one's family and guests. Each of these happened on numerous occasions while I was in the village. In most cases, those transgressing the moral order considered their behaviour just punishment for the actions of others. These transgressions were cause for gossip. If the transgressors were not supported in their actions, those in violation were ostracized and given a taste of their own medicine, keeping the cycle of transgression/punishment operative.

Previous generations conducted ceremonial dedicated to success in war, ceremonies which are now not performed in their entirety, although elements of these ceremonies have been incorporated into others, or used for other purpose, for example naming. Currently, Catholic church ceremonies are performed, but because there is no resident priest and because of the exigencies of travel, it is impossible to predict when these events will be held. Hence, the Lolo have not incorporated these into their indigenous ceremonial cycle, but perform Catholic rites as an external ceremonial cycle.

Scaletta (1985) provides an exhaustive study of the firstborn among the Kabana of the Bariai area of West New Britain Province. The Lolo and Kabana are related culturally, and hold in common certain ceremonials dedicated to the lautave. The Lolo, however, place less emphasis on the firstborn than do the Kabana, differences which are discussed further in the text of this chapter.
In his discussions of narogo among the Kilenge, Dark (1973) glosses narogo as equivalent to the TP term sinqsinq, an equation which is misleading as Zelenietz and Grant (1980) point out, since among the Kilenge, and like the Lolo, narogo refers only to those events which are part of the larger ceremonial cycle.

Croton are the mark of the dead, and are used as symbols of death throughout all phases of mortuary work and in ceremony for the firstborn. They are planted in cemeteries and behind the houses of those who have lost kin. The most significant is natem, the red croton. Red is associated with strength and power which emanate from the ground via the supernatural and, used in connection with mortuaries and firstborn ceremonial, highlights the close relationship of the dead and the living to the spirit world.

Fortes (1987) notes that the three-generation span is critical in the development of a person both as an individual and as a social being. The Lolo would concur with his notion that the three generations embody past, present and future. The tivuge relationship collapses the temporal dimension of past, present, and future, and creates instead a "here and now" that operates outside of the boundaries of actual time.

Not wanting to be responsible for such an event, I attempted to solve the problem by volunteering to supply Narol and Avuia with the funds to buy the pig. This was not welcomed by Narol and Aviuia, nor was it popular with the other villagers. It would be a serious breach of protocol to have the recipient of honour put in a position to purchase the wealth for distribution. Narol and Aviuia realized that their stock would sink much lower with their kin and with other villagers should they have chosen this option.

At this point, Narol and Aviuia were prepared to provide the wealth. They had discovered their own solution. It was time to perform nalolonga (the singing of lullabies) for Alphonse, the firstborn son of their adopted fistborn daughter Sophia. Grandparents are responsible for sponsoring this event, and since there was fierce competition between Narol and Aviuia and Alphonse's other grandparents, Narol and Aviuia jumped at the chance to "double" my ceremonial work with that for Alphonse and so re-establish their stature in relation to me, perform the work for Alphonse and achieve renown through this, and
as well gain the upper hand in relation to Alphonse’s other grandparents.

23 This song is also used as a lullaby and a mourning song. The lyrics are as follows.

\[ \text{Akor i lolo} \\
\text{Kasokaso ai e} \\
\text{Kasokaso elo i la ie.} \]

The blackbird flies
It is black
It is black, it flies and is gone.

24 When Vokoi is performed for Galiki’s marriage, the villagers make no attempt to clear away their belongings since all the akor collect goes to Galiki. It is important that Galiki’s marriage be celebrated with large quantities of goods.

25 Amaringaliu was the bird spirit responsible for the origin of Nahalo’s family. Amaring was the name given to the firstborn daughter of the first natavolo of Araru.

26 For the first installment of the purchase of my name, Aimara gave two clay pots, five fathoms of the finest shell money, and one adult male pig. In addition, as my major sponsor, he in future will have to give the final payment of two more clay pots, three fathoms of shell money, and host a ceremony.

27 All Lolo bird spirits likewise represent regeneration and death. For example, Navakauk, the protector of gardens, kills if crossed. Oirom, the central figure in Vukumu, aids in the growth and maturation of male lautave, but can render women barren or cause them to miscarry.

28 These flutes are played while boys are in seclusion in the men’s house after circumcision, and later when the boys are being taught their fathers’ stories. In general, too, they are included in the on-going instruction with which boys are taught the secrets of male reproduction powers and the male perspective of female reproductive powers.

29 Kundu has become the generic name for this type of drum and is used in such reference sources as the New Grove Dictionary.

30 Garamut has likewise become the generic term for slit-
In one instance, a rainmaker was holding up a ceremonial by causing torrential rains to fall without cease for days on end. He was angry because he had been marked to provide a pig for a ceremony and had requested that his affines provide the pig. He believed this to be fair compensation for the work he had done for them, but his affines refused to comply. The rain showed no signs of stopping and because it was a critical ceremony (the first performance of Vukumu in a generation), desperate measures were taken. The men belonging to the men's house groups sponsoring the event gathered and after working magic, sounded the slit gong. In two hours, the rain stopped and the sun was shining. There was no rain until the performance was over and those visiting the village were returning home.

The degree of secrecy invested in an object parallels its significance. That flutes are hidden and shrouded in secrecy adds to their mystery and import. See Armstrong (1971), Feld 1983), and Gourlay (1975) for discussions of secrecy and special handling requirements for art objects.

I was shown the large flutes when they were removed from the men's house and brought to the bush behind my house.

Flutes played a more significant role in the masculinization process for previous generations. Before attendance at school was mandatory, older boys of about eleven years were secluded after circumcision for at least two months. Now, boys are circumcised the year before they are to start school, making them about four or five years old. Thus, they are not instructed in much of the male esoteric lore since they are considered too young. They now spend about a week in seclusion since they cry for their mothers, cry to be playing outside, and cry because they are frightened by things men tell them. Formal masculinization is abbreviated.

For example, in the story of how a man saved his village from a spirit snake, there is a song for the man which is repeated three times during the story, each time when he either reappears or does something noteworthy.
REFERENCES

Allen, M.R.

Armstrong, Robert P.

Arnott, Margaret L.

Barnes, J.A.

Barth, Frederik

Bateson, Gregory

Bauman, Richard
Beardsley, M.C.  

Beck, Brenda  

Berger, P. L. and T. Luckmann  

Berndt, R.M and P. Lawrence (eds.)  
1971  *Politics in New Guinea.* Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press.

Bernstein, Richard J.  

Blacking, John  


Blythe, Jennifer  

Boas, Franz  

Bohannan, Paul  

Bratu, H. and Marculesca, I.  
Brenneis, Donald  
1987  "Performing Passions: Aesthetics and Politics in an Occasionally Egalitarian Community"  

Broeckx, Jan L.  

Brown, Richard H.  

Burridge, K.O.L.  

Cassirer, E.  

Chernoff, John Miller  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Crawford, Donald</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td><em>Kant’s Aesthetic Theory.</em> Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fernandez, James W.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Fischer, Hans  

Forge, Anthony  

Fortes, M.  

Fortune, Reo  

Geertz, Clifford  


Gerbrands, Adrian  
Glick, L.B.  

Goldwater, R.  

Goodale, Jane  
1985  "Pig’s Teeth and Skull Cycles: Both Sides of the Face of Humanity" American Ethnologist 12(2):228-244.

Gourlay, Ken A.  


Grant, J. and M. Zelenietz  

Greene, Theodore M.  

Hanna, Judith L.  

Hanslick, Eduard  
1957  The Beautiful in Music. New York: Liberal Arts Press. (Originally published 1854)

Harding, T.  

Herdt, G.H.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


Lindenbaum, Shirley 1971 "Sorcery and Structure in Fore Society" Oceania 41(4):277


Liamzon, Benjamin S.
1978

Lomax, Alan
1968

Lord, Alfred
1958

May, R.J.
1984

McLean, Mervyn
1986

Meigs, Anna
1984

Meggitt, M.J.
1965

Merriam, Alan P.
1964

1969

1971

1977
"Definitions of 'Comparative Musicology and 'Ethnomusicology': An Historical Perspective" Ethnomusicology 21(2):189-204.
Meyer, Leonard B.


Mills, George

Munn, Nancy


Murphy, Robert F.

Nketia, J.H. Kwabena

Osborne, Henry

Payzant, Geoffrey

Peacock, James L.

Pollock, N.J.  
1986  "Food Classification in Three Pacific Societies: Fiji, Hawaii, and Tahiti"  
*Ethnology* 25(2):107-118.

Rabinow, Paul and W. M. Sullivan  

Rader, M. and B. Jessup  

Read, K.E.  


Richter, P.E.  

Robbins, Sterling  

Robson, John R. (ed.)  

Sachs, Nahoma  
Salisbury, R.

Scaletta, Naomi
1985 Primogeniture and Primogenitor: Firstborn Child and Mortuary Ceremonies Among the Kabana (Bariai) of West New Britain. Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University.

Schechner, Richard

Schieffelin, Edward L.

Schwartz, T.

Schwimmer, Eric
Seeger, Charles  

Sieber, Roy  

Singer, Milton  

Smith, Michael French  

Steager, Peter  

Stone, Ruth M.  

Stout, David B  

Stravinsky, Igor  

Thurston, William  

Turner, Victor  


Wagner, Roy


Watzlawick, P. et. al.

Weiner, A.

White, David A.

Young, Michael W.
Zelenietz, M.

Zelenietz, M. and J. Grant