LANGORON:

Music and Dance Performance Realities Among the Lak People of Southern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea.

by

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Abstract

This thesis seeks to describe the indigenous realities, meanings, and perspectives that are central to the music and dance practices of the Lak (Siar) people in Southern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. The insights recorded here are those gained through the experience of twenty-three months living in Rei and Siar villages as a participant in many aspects of Lak social life.

The music and dance practices of the region are examined in the context of the wider social and cultural setting. Lak performance realities are indivisible from kinship structures, ritual proceedings and spirituality. By contextualising Lak music and dance within the frame of the extensive and socially defining mortuary rites my intention is to show how music and dance not only reflect but also create Lak realities.

By examining the ethnographic materials relating to music, dance and performance in the context of mortuary sequence broader elements of Lak society are brought into focus. In these pages I argue that Lak society is reproduced literally and symbolically in these performances.

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Introduction.

Overview

This ethnomusicology study describes the music and dance practices of the Lak people in Southern New Ireland. The music and dance are also used as a focusing lens through which to perceive local symbols and metaphor. In the description and analysis of sound communication and the aesthetics of movement, an understanding of the ethos and nature of Lak social life is presented. The approach and presentation of materials in this thesis are informed by both the concerns of the discipline and the conceptual models offered by those who live the realities under study. The study has been directed not only by the comparative and analytical views offered by ethnomusicology but also by the concepts and performance practices of the Lak people. Both approaches contribute to a view of music and dance as suspended in networks of social and cultural significance.

In addition to the music and dance material that forms an expected part of an ethnomusicology study this thesis provides a broader social depiction of the Lak people. These contextual elements include: an account of the origin mythology of the region, a description of the magical and spiritual understandings that saturate modern secular and Christian thinking, an investigation of the creative conventions and imaginative realms, and a detailed description of the two staged mortuary rituals, which are performed in greater and lesser degrees for every member of Lak society. These rites provided the setting for most of the music and dance discussed in these pages, and the amount of information provided about these ritual processes is indicative of their importance to those who performed them.

This work argues that Lak reality is both symbolically and practically rendered visible in performance. The dance performances that are staged as part of the mortuary cycle provide the context in which Lak society performs itself into being. From the mundane tasks of gardening to the ethereal experience of dance performance, it is through cooperative actions that performers and groups display, among other things their personal identities as individuals and their power as spiritual beings and strength as cooperative groups (cf. Seeger 1987: xiv). I argue that, for a society that creates

itself in performance, and it is only in performance that many definitive aspects of society can be glimpsed, frequent and repeated displays are an essential element to social survival. The mortuary sequence provides a venue that ensures performances regularly take place, and they also create the context in which to 'replace' the deceased and re-constitute society.

The Ethnographic Setting

The Lak people live on the coastal fringe of New Ireland at the Southern tip where the otherwise long and thin island broadens to about fifty kilometres. The Lak region is alternatively known as Siar, a word that is used by inhabitants to describe their language and an historically important village site.[1] The region is bordered by the Konomala linguistic group on what is known as the east coast of New Ireland and the Kandas linguistic group on the west coast. At least two more languages survive within or at the edges of Lak's geographic boundaries. A tiny community of Guramalum speakers continues to survive in the centre of the Lak linguist area on the east coast between Kambalai and Taron villages.[2] Another small community of Label speakers exists in between the Lak and Kandas districts on the west coast.

Siar is an Austronesian language of the Patpatar-Tolai subgroup (Lithgow and Claasen 1969). The information available on the lexical correlation of Siar with neighbouring languages (from Lithgow and Claasen1969) is 70% for Kandas, 41-51% with Konomala, 31-51% and with Tanglamet (Tanga) 70%. These results, based on regional surveys, are broadly indicative of linguistic patterns in the region as Siar and several neighbouring groups remain largely undocumented.[3] The historical information collected by Albert (1987b) and anecdotal evidence from the field

[1] Siar village at Cape Siar is one of the oldest village sites in the linguistic region. The site is reported to have been occupied by large numbers of people since the early days of German administration (1886) when all inland peoples were encouraged to move to coastal regions. It is highly likely that prior to this large-scale movement, Cape Siar was periodically inhabited. Lapitan ceramic shards are frequently found in the earth in and around Siar village suggesting that the area was occupied for many years before the arrival of Melanesians.

[2] The Guramalum language appears not to be recorded in linguistic surveys of Oceania. The language group consists of an estimated fifty speakers. Most Guramalum speakers are also fluent in the Siar language. According to local accounts, Guramalum speakers were the last group to descend from the island's interior several decades after communities were established in Siar and Matkamlagir.

[3] At present SIL workers are stationed in Lambom Island.

suggest that the Siar language is a relatively recent product of population relocation and migration from inland regions brought about by Colonial influence and an associated marked decrease in intercommunity aggression (cf. Kingston 1998: 68-71). Within the Lak region the Siar language displays noticeable variation between northern, central, and southern speakers. In the areas where Lak borders other linguistic communities the linguistic and cultural boundaries are quite blurred. The Lak who occupy the northern villages are quite likely to have some ability with the Konomala language and equally in Lambom and Lamasa many people are fluent in both Kuanua (Tolai) and Kandas languages.[4]

Map 1 **Linguistic Map of New Ireland and New Britain adapted from Gunn 1997**

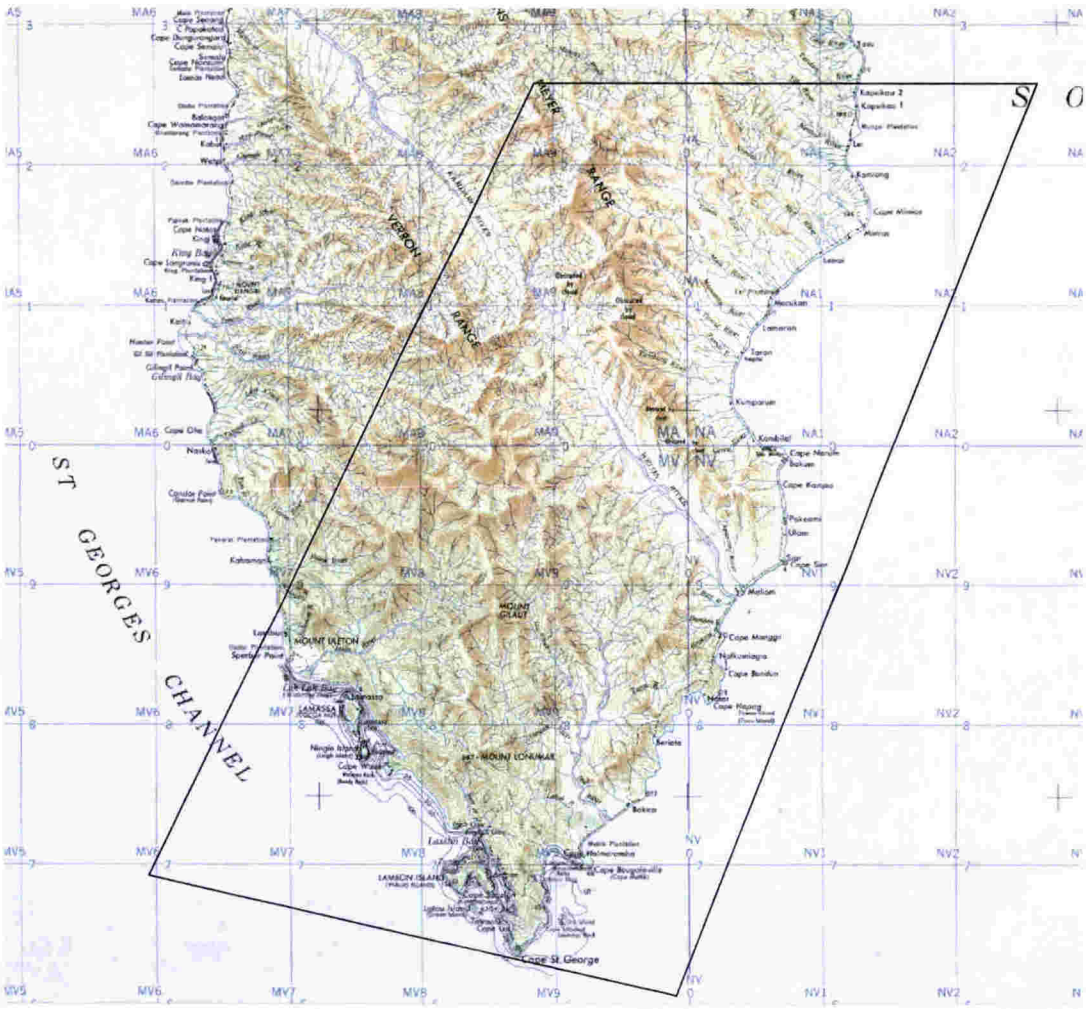
While the ethnographic material presented here was collected exclusively among Siar linguistic groups, much of the information presented in these pages is applicable to many of the linguistic and cultural groups who inhabit the southern area of New Ireland and East New Britain. The Bismarck Archipelago in general displays many features that delineate it as a distinct cultural region. Albert (1987:27-35) has

[4] Also noted by Kingston (1998: 72).

collected historical accounts from Stephan and Grabner 1907, Hahl 1907, Bell 1935 and Rickard 1892 that show the long standing and widely disseminated nature of male secret societies and female initiation procedures (known as *dal* in Siar) throughout Southern New Ireland.[5] The literature reveals that the societies in this area tend to be matrilineal with a division into exogamous moieties aligned with 'big' and 'small' birds. These societies display a preoccupation with matrilineal reproduction evidenced through an emphasis on extensive mortuary rites that publicly display the deceased's cooperative relationships. These large-scale intercommunity events often reconstitute and represent the deceased in altered forms that are important to the political relations between matrilineal groups (see Kuchler 2002, Eves 1998, Wagner 1986, Errington 1974, Clay 1986, Foster 1995, Powdermaker 1933). Although there are many pan regional similarities, there also exist subtle and not so subtle differences among many New Ireland cultures.

Map 2 **New Ireland Province (outer islands not shown)**

[5] *Dal*, female initiations, still occasionally take place in the Lak region. The initiations involve periods of seclusion for young women around the time of their first menstruation. During their time in the special constructed *dal* houses initiates learn *kamkombak* (female initiation songs) and female *pidiks* (secrets). No female initiations were practised during my period of residence in the region partly as a result of unfortunate timing and partly due to a reduction in the frequency of their practice. See Kingston (1998: 228 -63) for a detailed account of *dal* practice.



Map 3 **Southern New Ireland, Lak linguistic area is outlined**

The distance from the political centre of New Ireland in Kavieng and the cultural differences that separate the Lak from Central and Northern New Ireland societies have combined to produce a feeling of separation among the inhabitants of the Southern regions. The Lak are culturally closely aligned to the Tolai of East New Britain and the inhabitants of the Duke of York Islands who emigrated from Southern New Ireland in about the 16th or 17th century (Meyer 1995: 361). The Lak feel their geographical isolation acutely and express their physical remoteness by referring to their region as *Las kona* ('last corner'). The lack of health services, schools and permanent roads in the region compounds local beliefs that Lak is the least developed district in the region.

The exact population of Siar speakers is difficult to ascertain as census information is collected according to political electorates rather than linguistic regions. The information available suggests a population of about two thousand speakers.[6] All of the population are located along the often-rugged coastline. By far the largest community is located just west of Cape Saint George on the small island of Lambom and its adjacent mainland. Other large communities include Lamasa Island on the west coast and on the eastern side Bakok, Malumpirau (Beriota), Matkamlagir, Siar, Silur, Kumparum, Morukon, Mimias and Rei at the regions northern boarder (see map 3). There are many satellite and smaller communities scattered between those listed here. Tracks through secondary jungle join most communities but in some of the southern areas canoes provide the only means of travelling the coastline.

The Lak are swidden horticulturalists whose staples include sweet potato (*kaukau*), taro (*pas*), and cassava (*tapiok*). Their large gardens also produce bananas, peanuts, breadfruit, oranges, various green vegetables and betel nut. Fish are caught in the ocean but the lack of reefs in the region makes fishing an unreliable source of food. Many younger men hunt small game and wild pigs with dogs and spears. Domestic pigs are kept in large numbers and are important economic resources used mainly in traditional exchanges and as contributions to mortuary rites. Most households have small plantations of copra, cocoa and in recent years vanilla, providing families with a small annual income for the purchase of basic items such as clothing, salt, sugar, oil and soap. Access to cash crop markets can be extremely difficult but food is rarely scarce, given the low population and fertile soil of the region.

Lak society follows matrilineal lines of descent with exogamous marriage and a tendency toward patrilocal residence. A dual moiety system forms the broadest social divisions followed by clan groupings and sub-clan divisions (see chapter one). Communities consist of hamlet groups that, because of the tendency toward patrilocal residence, promote networks of relations between affines and matrilateral relations across hamlets and villages.

[6] Ethnologue's summation of the 2000 census gives a population of 2,076.

New Ireland and the Lak region have one of Papua New Guinea's longest histories of contact with Europeans. From the early 1600s European sailing ships took advantage of the natural harbour created by Lambom island to take on fresh water (Albert 1987b:16). [7] From the seventeenth century the Lak region has had periodic and brief visits from passing European ships exploring the region, engaged in trade and labour recruitment. The German government administered New Britain and New Ireland from 1880 until 1914 (Threlfall 1975) as part of their domain over German New Guinea. What this meant for the inhabitants of the Lak region was pressure from officials to cease intercommunity fighting, to relocate to coastal areas, plant copra, and among other social changes, to bury their dead. By 1915 the vast majority of the population resided on the coast in a reasonably non-aggressive relation with the communities on either side of them (see Albert 1987:39).[8]

It was during the early years of German rule that an attempt was made to establish a colony in Lak. The brainchild of the Marquis de Rays, the colony was named "Nouvelle France" and the colonists were sent in shiploads between 1880 and 1882. The 572 unfortunate victims of de Rays' scheme who set sail for New Ireland arrived at Port Brenton (close to Lambom island) and eventually relocated to Likiliki (close to where the current Metlik plantation is located). The settlers quickly discovered that their destination was not the delightful tropical paradise promised, but rather a particularly inhospitable piece of land ringed by mountains and a swampy breeding ground for malaria. One of the surviving colonists describes their arrival in Port Brenton: "on the 15th of August 1881 at 4pm, and what a delusion, our paradise became a hell rather than a land of promise" (Mouton 1974:49). Many people died and eventually the colonists were rescued and sent to Australia or returned to Europe, a few of the settlers eventually established themselves in New Britain. Not one remained in New Ireland (Robson 1971:225).

Throughout the twentieth century Christianity was introduced gradually to the Lak region (see Threlfall 1975). The Methodists (United Church) gained influence on the western and southern part of the eastern coast of Lak from as early as the 1880s under

[7] Lambom island and the adjacent mainland were not permanently occupied until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.
[8] For the most comprehensive historical account available on the Lak region see Albert 1987: 27b-45.

George Brown (Brown 1908). The Catholic church established mission sites on the east coast of New Ireland from Namatanai as far south as Silur (Tatamai 2000). Today, Silur is a large Lak community and the site of the region's government administration office. Primary schools are located in Lamasa, Lambom, Weitin, Silur Morukon, Mimias and Kapsipow. All post-primary education takes place in provincial schools located around Namatanai and Kavieng where Lak students board. Aid posts or health centres currently exist in Lamasa, Lambom, Silur and those in the northern part of Lak seek medical attention from the mission station at Manga in the Konomala district.

In recent years (during the mid1990s) a Malaysian-based forestry company conducted an extensive logging project in the Lak region. The environmental after-effects of the logging are still being experienced especially in the Weitin valley where waterways have been significantly altered by the clear felling. During the term of the logging company's residence royalties were paid to clan leaders and distributed among landholders. The sudden exposure to previously unprecedented amounts of wealth caused a significant rise in the amount of customary activity (Kingston 1998). The money obtained through royalty payments was used to sponsor larger and more elaborate mortuary rites. When I arrived in the Lak region, several years after the end of the logging operation in 2001, there was little economic evidence of the company's presence, no transport infrastructure, bridges, airstrips or roads remained.

In 2005 the Lak remain an isolated community, cut off from the region's political centre in Kavieng and separated from their cultural cousins, the Tolai of East New Britain by an administrative boundary and an often-dangerous stretch of water. Access to Rabaul and Kokopo has become difficult due to the rising price of fuel. The ability to travel to New Ireland's township centres of Namatanai and Kavieng in the north grows more difficult each year as the few roads remaining are no longer maintained by the provincial government. Access to markets to sell cash crop produce has become difficult and increasingly not economically viable.

Customary practices have continued to be a significant feature of Lak life. Through the changes in religious, political and economic systems, introduced over the last two hundred years, traditional rites have continued to play an important role in local

concepts of identity. Partly as a consequence of the region's isolation, the Lak people have become renowned in New Ireland for their strong traditions. Traditional rites or *kastom* as they are widely know in Melanesia have always been important in establishing and enforcing social structure and social control. In the Lak region a dual role of *kastom* has emerged; traditional practices are perceived as important to identity on multiple levels, at the level of the linguistic group and on a regional and national level (cf. Errington and Gewertz 1995; Foster 1995; Clay 1986; Tonkinson 1982).

The Fieldwork Setting

Don Niles at the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies influenced my choice of fieldwork site by confirming that the southern area of New Ireland was largely unknown as a musical region. After obtaining a research visa, National Government approvals and Regional Government permissions I embarked on a preliminary trip to visit the northern region of the Lak linguistic group. I arrived in Lak on this preliminary visit for the first time in March 2001 unannounced and unexpected to the local community. I walked from the mission station at Manga, where the road had come to an end, to Rei village, arriving in the late afternoon. My arrival coincided with a *daut* ceremony, an all-night male singing vigil that takes place a few days after a death. What I witnessed and heard that night moved me deeply, creating an enduring enthusiasm to know how the music worked and what it meant to those who performed it. In total I lived in the Lak region for twenty-three months. During my first term in 2001 – 2002 of sixteen months, I was based in Rei community at the north boundary of the Siar linguistic group. During my second period of fieldwork conducted in 2004 –2005, I was based in Kampokpok, a hamlet close to Siar point in the middle of the Lak region. My wife joined me briefly during each term but for most of the time I was alone in the field.

I entered the field with few expectations, theories or hypotheses. At the time I knew little about the region in ethnographic terms and as a result many of my first impressions of the people, culture and history were the result of first-hand experiences and conversations with locals. My initial orientation to the field, described above, was

rather haphazard but, as it turned out, fortunate. During that preliminary visit to Rei, I was accommodated in the community's most politically important men's house.[9] The Big Man associated with that particular men's house, Paul Totili, was to become a regular informant and eventually established himself as my 'father'. Totili's children became my brothers and sisters and I was given a place in his wife's clan, rendering me identifiable as a person to others in Lak. My new relationships came with pre-established networks of cooperation as well as certain obligations. After two months in Lak I was connected with a moiety, clan and family, gained proficiency in Tok Pisin ('Papua New Guinea's local *lingua franca*') and built a house from bush materials with the cooperation and assistance of my new family. In short I was equipped with all the essentials for survival in the region.

Most of the research was conducted in Tok Pisin with specialised musical, dance and cultural Siar language terms interspersed in the conversations where necessary. I was unable to gain fluency in the Siar language but capable of conducting simple conversations and understanding most of what was said to me. All of my hosts and informants were comfortable conversing in Tok Pisin with occasional usage of Siar where clarification was needed or for descriptions of movement, patterns or local nouns.

Life in Lak is punctuated by brief periods of large-scale community activity based around the mortuary rites and other *kastom* activity. Many of the descriptions that follow in these pages are set in the context of these important events because they are fundamental to Lak life and society. These exciting and momentous events are, however, quite removed from the everyday and routine activity that fills most days. Typically the day begins at first light, tubers are cooked over an open fire and the family makes its way to their garden. Clearing, planting and weeding the garden requires regular attention, with at least one family member spending three or four half days in the garden each week. Community and hamlet activities such as house building, maintaining hamlet grounds and village communal spaces typically occupy one day a week. Church activities, meetings and services are held several times a

[9] During my first term of fieldwork based in Rei village, I witnessed a political power shift from an older generation to the succeeding younger generation. The political shift was activated by the establishment of three new men's houses (*pal*) in an area where there had previously only existed one.

week and form a big part of village life. In addition to many of the tasks above, women are also responsible for young children, laundry and cooking. Between these activities and in the late afternoon and early evening men visit neighbouring hamlets, gather in men's houses to chew betel nut, gossip and make plans toward work and ritual activities. Women tend to stay closer to their own hamlet but spend a portion of each day talking to their neighbours and gossiping about recent events. Evenings are often spent chatting, singing, playing guitars and rehearsing church group performances for future events.

My daily routine in Lak varied, depending on what was taking place in the wider community. Some days were spent conducting interviews, transcribing notes and recordings, and building accounts of the mortuary rites and performance activities with informants, in my host village. Much of the early period of fieldwork focused on coming to terms with the range and scope of music and dance activities in the region. I solicited as many song genre examples as possible and in the process became familiar with aspects of performance style, intonation, melodic and rhythmic systems, in a wide variety of Lak music. I also learnt as many of the songs as I could. I found that by returning to the performer and singing the song back to them I was able to gain insight into the musical language and display my commitment and interest to the teacher. This type of work was often performed in the men's house or on the veranda of my own house. On days when informants could not be found or transcriptions and note-taking became tedious, I joined family and friends in the gardens or went fishing with hamlet members and learnt much about local values and concepts during these less formal periods of participation.

During my first term in Lak, I also recorded many hours of non-solicited material in performance. Many of the performances that I attended were recorded on video and on audio equipment simultaneously and transcribed, where possible, in the field with assistance from performers and other informants. Video recordings were watched repeatedly by large and intimate audiences for entertainment and transcription purposes. These viewing sessions often resulted in spontaneous discussions that led to new lines of enquiry, further interviewing and analysis. The discussions that grew out of listening to recordings and viewing dance performances revealed the importance of many of the unseen elements present at performance events and directed my enquiries

toward the spiritual dimensions of Lak society and the importance of the mortuary sequence in presenting the otherwise invisible reality of Lak.

As my knowledge of Lak music, dance and society expanded, so did my physical realm of activity. I travelled throughout the Lak region, seeking musicians, composers and magical practitioners. I travelled to mortuary events and other community celebrations that took place in villages throughout Lak, often travelling with other people from my host village. During my second term of residence, I took every opportunity to perform in dance groups and participate in every aspect of the region's performance life. Increasingly toward the end of my fieldwork, participation became my dominant occupation.

The Interpretive Setting

> The results of scientific research in any branch of learning ought to be presented in a manner absolutely candid and above board. No one would dream of making an experimental contribution to physical or chemical science, without giving a detailed account of all the arrangements of the experiments ... in ethnography, where a candid account of such data is perhaps even more necessary, it has unfortunately in the past not always been supplied with sufficient generosity... (Malinowski 1984 [1922]:2-3)

Since the publication of Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* participant observation has been recognised as the primary methodology employed by ethnographers. As a method of conducting research into culture, participant observation is the fundamental basis of all ethnographic work; it is central to anthropology's and ethnomusicology's contribution to social science, the discipline's collective self-identity and the basis from which it assumes the ability to represent others.[10] As the methodology of participant observation causes the ethnographer to become the primary instrument of data generation (Ruby 2000:152), there is clearly a

[10] Ironically, Malinowski's own work includes little commentary on his process beyond those found in the statement above in the text. The later publication of his "A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term" (1989 [1967]) clearly depicted the gap between his work and his aspirations to be candid about how the work was conducted.

compelling argument to systematically reveal the methods of ethnography and because these methods are mediated through the experience of the ethnographer, the whole process stands to benefit from a reflexive approach.[11] Descriptions of the producer and the process are essential to a critical and informed comprehension of the product. Ethnographers should aim to be reflexive about all aspects of their work: the production, process and the product. To be reflexive in an ethnographic monograph, is to structure the product in such a way that the audience assumes that the producer's experience, the process of construction, and the product are part of a coherent whole. Knowledge of the producer and process is an essential part of the way a reader understands the product. In these circumstances the 'instrument' of ethnography should aim to be as open or 'candid' about the process and product of ethnography as possible.

The problem inherent in this model is that the more 'scientific' ethnographies attempt to become by disclosing their subjective, biased and culturally bound methodologies, the less scientific they appear to be (Ruby 2000:163). Attempts to be reflexive about the ethnographic process are also in danger of losing focus on the task of ethnography and being sidetracked with the process, epistemological problems, or in danger of becoming a biography of the producer. Despite these potential difficulties faced in an attempt to be reflexive, they do not constitute an adequate disincentive. Knowing what data to include and what information, experience, or understandings to exclude has always been the essential determinant of an ethnographic monograph's success. The addition of reflexive data into that mix isn't likely to tip the balance and render the task impossible. As 'social scientists' ethnographers are clearly obligated to describe their methods and account for possible ways in which the investigation might affect the outcomes of the research.

Anthropology has moved away from the positivist notion that meaning resides in the world and that human beings are capable of discovering immutable, objectively true realities (Stent, G 1975: 1052-57). Those who study culture now assume that human beings construct and impose meaning on the world. Ethnographers too are bound to their own cultural constructions, some of which are altered, replaced or augmented in

[11] See Rabinow (1977),Dumont (1978), Chernoff (1979), and the work of Michael Jackson (1986;1989) as examples of reflexive ethnography.

the process of participant observation. The results of ethnographic study are 'a' view of the 'other', not an objective description of the 'other's' reality. What ethnography can provide most aptly, then, is a *method* of understanding cultural groups. I argue then, that the details of that *method* should, therefore, be an integral part of the product.

Participant observation is a curious practice, somewhat enigmatic even to those who regularly employ it as a method. James Clifford captured the awkward nature of the ethnographic process when he described participant observation as a "predicament transformed into a method" (1988:93). The ways in which I learnt among the Lak were considerably different from the ways I learn in my own culture. Having undertaken my undergraduate and graduate work in a post-modern university system, I was practiced at learning through reading, discussion and observation but quite unused to comprehension through participation. During the early period of my fieldwork, I was often reluctant to participate, preferring to sit and watch while taking notes or make recordings to study later. Over time I came to understand that not only was this approach unusual from a local perspective, it was also antisocial, and at odds with local processes of acquiring knowledge.

The more I participated in all aspects of Lak life the more I was able to learn. By participating, I was not only learning but also showing my commitment and expressing my social being to those whom I was trying to establish rapport with and learn from. By sitting and observing, or passively recording performance events, I was in effect distancing myself from what I was trying to learn. Rapport, as Marcus has discussed (1998: 105-131), is an essential element of fieldwork; it is the basis from which an ethnographer gains access to the knowledge. Rapport is the key to establishing relations. As Geertz describes it in his article "Deep Play" (1973:416), it is "that mysterious necessity of anthropology field work". A description of the process through which I gained access to the esoteric male knowledge in Lak serves to exemplify some of the ways in which I established rapport.

On my arrival in Lak, I knew very little about the secret men's society known as the *tubuan*. My first tentative enquiries about the *tubuan* society were ignored or evaded by men who were in other circumstances helpful. Further questioning eventually

elicited responses such as "go and ask Totilman in the next village, I am too old to be bothered with such things". Totilman in turn responded with, "I am just a young man, you need to talk to someone with experience, go and find your uncle, he knows about these things" and so on (translated from field notes). Eventually senior men began to respond to my enquiries by lowering their voices and instead of answering my question, telling me what they wanted me to know. This went on for several months during which time the importance and seriousness of the secret became apparent from the manner in which men discussed and referred to the *tubuan*. Their hushed tones, defensive body language and reluctance to answer questions in certain situations all impressed upon me something of the nature of the *tubuan* society. After more than six months, during an informal interview, one of my senior informants laughed to himself and then commented that I would soon be able to learn more about the *tubuan*. When I enquired how he knew, he pointed out that my attitude and manner subconsciously emulated those of my informants when talking about esoteric matters. I, too, he noted would lower my voice and check my surroundings to make sure no one was able to overhear. My actions and behaviour confirmed for others my understanding of the nature of the secret.

Finally, in my eleventh month of residence in Lak, I was invited to become an initiate into the secret society. At this point it was clear to others that I was able to understand the importance of the esoteric knowledge. I had proved my responsibility and established trust. I had come to understand many of the other rules of social edict and proved myself by participating in other aspects of society by enacting a social role. It was through my actions that I was judged to be suitably knowledgeable and capable of further participation and responsibility.

The knowledge that allowed me entry into the *tubuan* society was learnt through participation and interaction. It was, to a degree, a subconscious process. While each day in the field I tried to document and record knowledge in the intellectual process of note-taking, recording and writing, I was largely unaware of the knowledge that I was displaying through my actions and interactions. Ethnographers, like the people they study, are social animals and just as entangled in the social roles that they play as those that they investigate (Whyte 1964:3). As I became more 'entangled' in Lak society, I was able to access other areas of knowledge. It was through participation

that I was able to access and come to an understanding of the Lak world and how my host came to understand who and what I was.

The process through which I learnt and the ways in which I was able to establish rapport were, as the examples provided above suggest, gradual, and formed by a lengthy and hesitant process. For me the relationship between rapport and learning was interrelated. The more socially active I became through participation the more I displayed my commitment and sincerity to those whom I wished to learn from. The process I have described here, of a gradual accumulation of knowledge in conjunction with rapport, is, I believe, representative of many ethnographic learning processes. For those ethnographers not as fortunate as Geertz, to have the opportunity to "...flee headlong with their subjects from armed authorities..." rapport and the access to knowledge that accompanies it is a slow but essential process (1973:416).

As an ethnography based on the method of participant observation, the following thesis offers a perspective. It is an account of the music, dance and social practices of the Lak people informed by interaction and experience, a subjective account but a scientific one nonetheless. The qualitative methods employed in this ethnographic study are, I argue, ideally suited to the ethnomusicology subject. This work is not primarily concerned with a description of music and dance as artefacts. What I sought to comprehend through participation was the aesthetic, conceptual, emotional, social and experiential elements of music, dance and performance. This, I argue in the chapters that follow, is ultimately where meaning resides for the Lak and where the qualitative methodologies most often employed in ethnographic research are most successful.

The methodological practices of ethnography combined well with the indigenous knowledge systems employed by the Lak people. As an oral cultural group the Lak typically revere experience as the primary source of understanding. In Lak, society is something that is performed and enacted. For example, the secrets at the centre of many male initiations cannot be told; they must be experienced. The understandings expressed in the pages that follow are almost entirely the result of personal experience; they are specific to a time and place and the result of investigations by a fallible and potentially inaccurate human participant observer. But the weaknesses

built into any ethnography by its human component can also be its strength. The ability to assimilate tremendous amounts of ethnographic data and decide upon the relevance and accuracy of the information can only be achieved by a sensitive, sympathetic and critical human being living among other human beings.

This discussion on the nature of ethnographic research helps us to determine where the true value of an ethnographic account lies. What I hope this thesis can provide is a means of understanding aspects of Lak performance, society and culture, and spirituality, through the focusing lens of music, dance and the mortuary rites.

During the two terms of my fieldwork, several patterns became apparent, providing the research with direction and helping to establish an understanding of what sound, texts, costume, movement, spirits, maleness and femaleness, drums, death, and performance meant to the people I was living among. As I came to participate in performance to a greater degree and experience the elements of song and dance first-hand, broad patterns linked to identity and community began to emerge along with other recurring themes of revelation and concealment.

Following Anthony Seeger, and as mentioned above, in this study I seek not just to understand the mechanical structures of music and dance in the Lak region, the goal is to comprehend how these "sounds are conceived, made, appreciated and influence other individuals, groups and social and musical processes" (Seeger 1992:88-109). This study's concern for music as culture rather than music as sound leads to an ethnographic approach. The analytic and practical arguments that have helped me come to terms with Lak performance life and formulate my understandings are diverse. The ethnographic theories that are relevant to my own work include Clifford Geertz's, thick description, and interpretive theory (1973), Steven Feld's argument that sounds are capable of embodying cultural sentiment and form a symbolic system (1983) and Timothy Rice's proposal for an attempted mediation of field methods and field experience (1997).

The hermeneutic approaches offered by Geertz suggest that ethnography be undertaken as a kind of detective work in which clues are gathered and then woven together into a thickly layered tapestry of interpretation. Geertz's 'thick description'

proposes that social actions are more than just comments on themselves and that where an interpretation is derived from does not determine where it can be 'impelled' to go (1973:23). Feld perceives the ethnomusicologist's task as seeking to comprehend the relationships between symbolic form and social meaning. Meaning in a communicative sense, as Feld describes it, "is dependent on action, action which is the alignment of cultural knowledge and epistemology with the experience of sound" (1983:89). Rice argues for a combined approach that mediates between method and experience and between explanation and understanding. Phenomenological hermeneutics, he suggests, is capable of incorporating all of these. By placing the self in and among the subject, by becoming a performer, the researcher is able to understand or come to terms with the subject. The approach is particularly relevant for this ethnomusicology study because, like many other music traditions, Lak music and dance exist in the absence of verbal explanations. In a phenomenological hermeneutic approach, the participant begins with pre-conceptions of music and is subjected to a new structural explanation of music as sound, behaviour, and cognition and eventually establishing a new understanding of the world or culture, referenced by music acting as a symbol (Rice 1997:114-5).

Geertz's hermeneutic approach has informed my interpretation of Lak mythology, particularly in the myth of Soulik and Kabatarai, the two brothers who in the origin myth represent both historical and modern Lak concepts of being in the world. How aspects of these two genesis symbols are integrated and performed in cultural experience underlies the way I have rendered local notions concerning the individual and society. Among the Kaluli of the Papua New Guinea highlands, Feld has constructed a symbolic interpretation that shows how:

> expressive modalities are culturally constituted by performance codes that both actively communicate deeply felt sentiments and reconfirm mythic principles (1982:14).

In my interpretation of Lak music and dance I have followed Feld's lead and sought to show how the "expressive modalities" of the region communicate deeply engrained social structures and how the expressive forms are also capable of constituting local realities and perceptions of the supernatural. As Seeger has suggested, I have aimed to

approach Lak music as a process, as part of larger social events. This method of dealing with musical and performance phenomena requires a great deal of ethnographic data, and this data has contributed significantly to the structure and content of this work (Seeger 1987:82). Rice's phenomenological approach encouraged me to come to terms with the aspects of Lak singing and dancing in a completely ontological manner, concerning myself firstly with the task of participating and learning to become a performer and only later turning to epistemological problems. Somewhere in the course of doing I was able start knowing.

My understandings of Lak music and dance are also informed by the work of Victor Turner, in particular Turner's ideas concerning performance. Turner applies the term 'performance' to both 'social' and 'cultural' performances when he states that:

> Man is self-performing animal – his performances are, in a way, reflexive, in performing he reveals himself to himself ... Self is presented through the performance of roles, through performance that breaks roles, and through declaring to a given public that one has undergone a transformation of state and status, been saved or damned, elevated or released. (Turner 1987:81)

In the courses of this thesis, I argue that performance among the Lak, is as Turner suggests, a self-conscious process of creation. The Lak utilise music and dance performances as a means to display and present themselves, to themselves and to others. The atmosphere and the drama created by the ritual setting of many music and dance events generate a heightened atmosphere in which performers are able to create, transform, reveal and remake themselves on a personal and social level.

Outline Of Thesis

This work consists of three sections. The first section, "The children of Kabatarai", contains chapters one and two and is intended as an introduction to the social and cultural features of the region. The second section, "Music and dance", consists of

chapters three through to eight and contains detailed descriptions of Lak music and dance and the mortuary rites that provide the context for most of the material discussed. The third section, the "Appendix" provides a catalogue of Lak song and dance forms performed in the region during my residence. The DVD and CD, accompanying this dissertation provide visual and audio examples of various discussions in the body of the work. References to audio and video track numbers are indicated in the text by the symbol DVD or CD followed by a track number. The 'disc index', at the back, can also be used to link the examples with transcriptions and explanations of the material in the thesis.

Chapter one, "Suilik and Kabatarai", introduces the origin myth and its major themes. I use aspects of the myth as a lens through which to perceive social structure, kinship and concepts of individual and community identity. Closely associated with Lak notions of identity is the concept of *kastom*, which is introduced and then exemplified in the following section in which I chart the extensive mortuary rites. Chapter two, "Living with the spirits", focuses on the magical and spiritual landscape that lies beneath the visible realm of being. Supernatural forces and their natures are depicted here along with their relationships with humans. The two most important secret societies are presented as integral components of Lak society, and the mythical Suilik figure is reintroduced from the perspective of a younger generation as a very different type of spiritual force.

Section two contains the succeeding six chapters and builds on the foundational information presented in section one. Chapter three, "Music, dance and sound in the Lak world", begins the investigation of the Lak sound world by describing environmental sounds and sound environments, indigenous systems of classification, and the conceptual systems that underlie musical thinking in the region. Chapter four, "Singing through *sum*", is the first of three chapters that deals with aspects of Lak performance in the context of the extensive mortuary sequence. Chapter four studies sound expressions in the primary mortuary rites. It also provides the context for an investigation of song lyrics, composition and local concepts of creativity. The fifth chapter, "*Langoron*: the power of dance", uses the culminating ritual performance of the primary rites, the *todong*, as the context in which to present Lak dance. The

concepts that determine the local aesthetics of movement are presented. The physical and emotional experiences of dancers are detailed in the performer's own terms, the structure of dance is described in detail and shown to reflect aspects of social structure, and the role of costume as a symbolic system to communicate visual poetic notions is revealed. "*Pidik* and power", chapter six, presents the music and dance of the male secret societies in the context of their traditional performance venue, the secondary mortuary rites. This chapter presents the *Nataka* spirit beings as images of power that employ dance movement, rhythm, costume, an esoteric language, music and sound as part of their provocative repertoire. The invisible spirit voices, known as *talung*, are also shown to play an important role in the maintenance of social order and, like *Nataka*, embody cultural beliefs and aspects of social structure. Chapter seven, "New spirits, new sounds", traces the historical changes that have had an influence on the social, religious and musical life of the Lak region. The introduced musical influences are described and the resulting musical forms are depicted in order to show how introduced forms and concepts have been utilised by modern Lak performers and composers. The final chapter, "Performance society", draws together many of the arguments outlined in the pervious chapters to portray a society that renders itself in "performance". Dance performances are both a core metaphor of Lak society, implying social relations and meaning through costume, lyrics and movement, and also a practical act of physical cooperation that actually creates society at the level of individual, hamlet, and community.

Section three, the appendix, provides a catalogue of Lak song and dance forms. This section gives an account of Lak performance categories as well as textual and musical transcriptions of songs, and a typology and written description of each dance genre. The material collected in this section is based on audio and video recordings gathered during two years of fieldwork in the region[12]. As the only written and comprehensive account of music and dance material of the Lak it is hoped that this material will provide a resource for future researchers and in the years to come, the Lak themselves.

[12] Copies of these recordings are held in the Asia Pacific Music Archive at the New Zealand School of Music and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies in Boroko, Port Moresby.

SECTION ONE

Section 1: Chapter 1.

The Children Of Kabatarai

Introduction

This chapter and the next are intended as an introduction to the people and society of Lak. They aim to provide essential background information for many of the discussions that will follow in the succeeding chapters. This section aims to place Lak society within a broad historical context and the wider social milieu of New Ireland, Papua New Guinea and Melanesia. It is hoped that by presenting this introductory material together in this first section, the second section of this work will be able to focus, with few distractions, upon the music and dance traditions. The aim, here, is to present the changing social context of Lak society by exploring divergent viewpoints and shifting perspectives while trying to move toward a local understanding and perspective. This section attempts to do this by using the local mythology as a primary frame of reference.

This introduction to the Lak worldview is presented in relation to the origin myth. Several of the subsections in these first two chapters are titled in accordance with the themes of the myth, and the myth is used as reference point in a number of the discussions that follow. This section is arranged in this way because the myth provides several key insights into how the Lak people perceive themselves and think about the world around them. This structure also provides an interesting and pertinent narrative arrangement through which to present the materials in discussion. In this sense the myth is employed as a narrative device and like any other convention in use in an ethnographic account, it is likely to be as telling about the ethnographer's own culture as it is informative about the culture under study. The arrangement of information here in relation to the origin myth does not claim to represent an 'insider' view, and the section headings are not presented as Lak conceptions. The argument does not attempt to present the narrative structure itself as a local paradigm. I believe, however, that the origin myth is central to the way many Lak understand and account for their experience, and this is why I have emphasised the myth as a key to the local worldview.

The material in these two chapters is presented largely in the realist mode of ethnographic description because it allows a relatively rapid survey of important information, some of which has been covered by previous ethnographers working in Lak and in other regions of New Ireland and Island Melanesia. [1] In this way the chapters also act as a literary review, citing relevant material from other work in the region and, it is hoped, placing the Lak in a regional context.

My presentation of Lak life through the myth of Suilik and Kabatarai repeatedly and deliberately emphasises an Us and Them stance. This position is inherent within the myth, which presents a European 'other' in contrast to the indigenous local. The myth's use of Us and Them is, however, unusual in comparison to its more common usage. In most applications of these terms the purpose is to highlight the differences between two separate groups. The myth of Suilik and Kabatarai attempts the opposite; it seems to be an attempt to close the gap between Us and Them. The myth looks to reconcile the difference between a local Us and foreign Them by attributing the same origins to both parties. In this way the myth's themes coincide with a recent theoretical approach, the 'New Melanesian History', typified by the works of Errington and Gewertz (1991) and Thomas (1991) which focuses on the similarities and shared history of colonialism and commerce. The frequent references to the origin myth in my presence by friends, teachers and informants during customary events and discussions were no doubt partly spurred by my interest in things concerning tradition and ritual but also because of my obvious membership of the cultural 'other' that the myth delineates.

[1] Anthropological accounts of the region have been written by Albert 1987 and Kingston 1998.

The Myth of Suilik and Kabatarai [2]

In the beginning there were only three people in the world; they lived in Southern New Ireland in the area known as Matatai. They were two brothers, Suilik and Kabatarai and an old woman, Wan Suilik.[3] *They lived in the time when the sun never went down, there were no oceans and animals talked liked people. Suilik was the smarter and stronger of the two brothers, and it was he that made the world the way it is today.*

When Suilik broke the day with the night, Kabatarai and Wan Suilik began to shake with fear but Suilik told them not to be afraid; they would now be able to sleep and the world would be a better place. It was also Suilik who pushed the great stone from the place where salt water springs, allowing the oceans to cover the earth.

Together Suilik and Kabatarai had many adventures but a time came when Suilik wanted to move beyond his island home. He walked alone into the island's interior where he began to construct a giant ship cradled between the mountains. Kabatarai, inspired by his brother's work, began to build his own vessel. The brothers worked for many months, each on their own project until eventually both were complete. Suilik called upon the powerful ancestral tubuan *spirits to help him haul his great sailing ship into the sea.* [4] *Kabatarai sought assistance from the* talung *spirits, who dwell in the bush, to help him carry his large single-hulled canoe to the water's edge.*

Suilik said his farewells to his brother and Wan Suilik and sailed away to the land where the white men live. It is Suilik who taught the white people how to make sailing ships, automobiles, aeroplanes and many of the things that they now have. Kabatarai

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[2] The version of the myth presented here is a composite of many different narrations. The version I present here attempts to present the myth's most frequent form in a manner that is reflective of local narrative styles.

[3] Suilik's full name, Nat Suilik, literally means, 'one without parents'. 'Wan' is a prefix adjective used to indicate that the subject is an elderly woman.

[4] In Tok Pisin and the indigenous language of the Lak area 'Siar,' the 'b' in all words, as with *tabaran* and *tubuan* is pre-nasalized producing a sound more akin to: *tambaran* and *tumbuan*. The letter 'm' has been removed in these words and others in this work in accordance with the established practice.

remained on his island home with Wan Suilik where he established the secret practices of the tubuan *and* talung, *ritual and customary ways.*

The story presented here is a brief summary of the origin myth of Suilik and Kabatarai. The complete narrative contains many episodes, and today only one or two senior men know the myth in its entirety. Most people over the age of forty know of the tale; they are familiar with the protagonists, and a few are able to repeat its more familiar sections. Men generally know more episodes and their details than women, and some sections of the myth can only be recounted to those initiated into the secret male societies. Men and women under thirty years are unlikely to know much at all about the story and may even be unfamiliar with the characters. Kabatarai is a complete unknown to most young people while Suilik, as will be shown, has undergone a metamorphosis into a new cultural hero.

The narrative has features that are found in the mythologies of many New Ireland societies: two male heroes, one who is creative and clever and the other who constructs inferior but nonetheless important cultural materials (cf. Eves 1998:103-4; Foster 1995:141; Lawrence 1964:22-4). Many of the cultural heroes in Papua New Guinea were to suffer the same 'cultural translation' endured by Suilik (see Clifford 1980:9; Eves 1998:101; Threlfall 1975:55).[5]

The most frequently recounted episode of the myth, familiar to both sexes, is the concluding section. This part of the story is most often succinctly rendered with fewer words than those used in the account above. It is significant that the most familiar episode is that of Suilik's departure and Kabatarai's concern for ritual and customary procedure that has come to be known throughout Papua New Guinea as '*kastom*'. The narrative in its entirety broadly addresses the natural condition: differentiating humans from animals, explaining geographical and cosmological order, and explaining the human lifecycle. It is just the concluding and most familiar section that deals with the question of culture. It is this final section that will receive the most attention in the pages that follow, beginning with the myth's 'cargo cult'-like themes.

[5] Albert 1987b also provides an account of 'Suilik and Kampatarai'.

'Cargo cult' themes can clearly be derived from this origin narrative.[6] While the people of Lak only established minor cult-like associations (see Albert 1987b:58-62), insignificant when compared to the large movements that arose in New Britain, Madang and other parts of Melanesia (see Lawrence 1964; Burridge 1995; and Lattas 1998), the presence of the cargo cult themes in the origin myth is significant in terms of understanding the local worldview. The myth portrays Suilik as the creator of European commodities and simultaneously the progenitor, along with Kabatarai, of the local material and social culture. In effect, the myth reclaims European material production and technology as Lak in origin while simultaneously explaining the absence of western commodities in the region and accounting for a cultural focus on ritual practice. The story of Suilik and Kabatarai describes the origin of the physical universe and socio-cultural patterns, it restores the power imbalance that arose with the arrival of Europeans and their powerful cargo-based cultures by reclaiming them as Lak in origin.

The origin myth is, however, fading from the collective consciousness of Lak society. There are no formal events in which the stories are recounted, and most sections are not part of any formal lore or esoteric knowledge. As a compulsory national education system has been introduced and Christian mythology has begun to transplant traditional narratives like that of Suilik and Kabatarai, these tales are being forgotten.

I heard parts of the origin myth from several different people at various times during my time in the field. Most storytellers were reluctant to recount what they knew of the narrative, explaining that their knowledge of the story was incomplete and uncertain. Almost every informant inevitably told me to seek out one of two senior men on Lambom Island to obtain the full and correct version of the story. It was proclaimed to me several times that the myth in full would take twenty-four hours to recount. I was unfortunately never able, because of limitations on time and means of transport, to record a version of the myth as told by either of these men. As time went by I became

[6] Cargo cults arose all over Papua New Guinea when Melanesians came into contact with Europeans. The cargo movements sought to establish equality with white people by sharing in the material culture that was seen arriving on ships and in aircraft (which came to be known as 'cargo'). Many of the cargo movements were founded on the idea that *Kago* (cargo), as it is known in Tok Pisin, was being produced by their ancestors, over whom Europeans had somehow gained dominance. The cults began to perceive Europeans as inhibiting the flow of commodities from the ancestors to their rightful owners, the cult members.

less concerned with collecting 'the real version' and more interested in understanding what parts of the narrative were known among which sections of the general population.

Despite the fading social presence of the story of Suilik and Kabatarai, I was repeatedly struck by the unusual power relationships highlighted by the story and the presence of the narrative in the minds of mature men, especially in and around the context of ritual. While the adventures of Suilik and his departure refigure the power imbalance created by the arrival of Europeans as discussed above, the modern inhabitants of Lak are, nonetheless, still more closely aligned with Kabatarai, the 'poor' brother. Several times while participating or witnessing a ritual event, a hot, sweating, and exhausted man would collapse beside me and declare with a groan: "Oh, the work of Kabatarai! It's exhausting, all of this effort for a single day's celebration". (Translation from field notes). This statement summarises a deeply held sentiment of the Lak people: that ritual practice is physically and fiscally difficult, leaving sponsors out of pocket and with nothing to show for their efforts. This sentiment, often expressed as the 'work of Kabatarai', is seen to be in direct contrast to the 'work of Suilik', that of Europeans, who, according to Lak understanding, don't undertake physical labour and create things that are enduring. In this context the people of Lak clearly cast themselves in a disadvantaged role as the children of Kabatarai.

Suilik's Brother

Composite Persons

The title of this section and equally the chapter's title reflect the concept of the 'composite person', that is, a person formed of the relationships they enact with other persons. As described by Foster, "This notion mirrors its counterpart in the Western model, the notion of individuals" (1995:9). The conceptual shift is from that of "having relations" to that of "being a relation" (Iteanu 1990:41). In *The Gender of the Gift* (1990) Strathern argues that the "singular person can be imagined as a social microcosm", she states that persons are constituted by kinship and gender relations expressed in production, reproduction and exchange (1990:13). The Lak, like so many other Melanesian societies, define themselves as persons through the relationships and roles they maintain with others. People don't exist outside these social relations; a person comes into being only through a network of relations and is nurtured and sustained by them. A 'composite person' defines herself as an 'individual' through others; she is the distinctive and unique combination of her relationships. Equally a 'Big Man' is a 'Big' social person in terms of the number of relationships he maintains and with whom (Iteanu 1990: 40-1).

Kabatarai is defined by his relationship with Suilik; he will always be 'Suilik's brother', and, as I proposed above, the people of Lak are constituted by their role as the children of Kabatarai and the complex worldview that this entails. This system of relationships is evident at all levels of social life. Men and women are frequently referred to as the Father or Mother of their firstborn child; thus parents are defined by their role as caregivers. Even more frequently, people who exist in *artanat* ('avoidance') relationships – that is, in-laws, cross-cousins and siblings – refer to their *artanat* by the name of the relationship, i.e. 'brother,' 'brother/sister in-law' or affine. This style of reference highlights the relationships between people, foregrounding the cultural expectations within that relationship and simultaneously defining the actors (nominator and nominated) as relational persons. This system of nominating others in relationship terms exists at every level of Lak relationships; a person unsure of their formal relation with someone else can simply refer to them using the term 'Lak', broadly indicating a person who lives within the linguistic and geographic area. Name

avoidance acts as a constant reminder to participants of the expectations inherent in these relationships.

Avoiding personal names is a culturally acceptable way of showing respect and deferring to the relationship expectations that exist between two people. Wherever possible people try to avoid personal nouns by referring to others by their physical features, nicknames, title or in relationship terms.[7] Even outside *artanat* relationships, names are avoided as a mark of respect and in deference to the belief that names have power.

In Lak, as widely noted among other cultures in Melanesia, people are judged according to what they do, not what they say. Melanesians, in general, are reluctant to speculate on the motivations or intentions of others and rarely offer explanations for the actions of others (see Eves 1998: 35; Young 1987:249; M. Strathern 1987:23). Motivations are not perceived as accessible to others; one can recount only what has been done. Eves describes Lelet concern with mental intentions as marginal to what is significant, suggesting that "it reflects, rather, Western concern with the individual as the origin of meaning" (Eves 1998: 35).

An appreciation of how the people of Lak think about 'individuals' and 'groups' is essential to an understanding of kinship relations, social structure and as will be shown in the argument presented in the pages that follow, music and dance performance. When a composite person cooperates with others in a group, they are externalising an aspect, or several aspects, of their relational personage and by doing so become an agent, which, as Strathern suggests, causes the individual to *de*compose (see Strathern 1988; Mosko 1992: 677-701). In other words, when a composite person acts, they do so in terms of their relationships, activating certain aspects of their personhood. As Foster has succinctly put it, when a composite person acts they "externalise their internal composition" (1995:10). Foster uses this model of Melanesian personhood to explore exchange and exchange-value. He suggests that for Tangan Islanders:

[7] The local belief in the inherent power of words, especially nouns is discussed in detail in chapter four.

> Exchange is conceived not as a means for making debts and credits – though it surely is this – but rather as the action whereby persons make themselves known. Likewise, exchange-value is conceived not as a measure of things exchanged – a ratio of congenial labor, a determination of relative utility – but rather as the specific relationship between persons that the exchange of things evinces.
>
> (1995:10)

This model provides an insight into exchange relations that are in many ways similar to those enacted within the Lak region. In Lak, relationships and identities are enacted through ritual exchanges. Regular and significant acts of giving (predominantly in the form of food) allow all of the participants in an exchange network to literally see how individuals and groups are related. Exchange relations are often complicated and always influenced by political and social determinants. Before addressing the Lak systems of exchange in their mortuary context, it is necessary to chart aspects of social structure.

Social Structure [8]

The broadest scale on which Lak society is organised and group membership determined is under the term 'Lak'. The word is used widely in the region and can refer to anyone who speaks the indigenous language or lives within the Lak linguistic boundaries. The word 'Lak' is used as a designation to gain a person's attention without the use of a personal noun. The word 'Lak' may, therefore, be perceived as a loose basis for the application of group affiliation as it is in a broad sense how the inhabitants of the area define themselves in opposition to neighbouring communities. The term is important, as the Lak have come to think of themselves as a common unit only within the last century. During this period, through the influences of pacification, settlement relocations, missionaries and the development of the Siar language, a concept of being Lak has begun to emerge.

[8] The dynamics of group formation and social structure have been well documented by both Albert (1987b) and Kingston (1998), and it is not my intention to repeat their findings here. I only aim to briefly introduce the essential elements of Lak social organisation where they relate to the discussion that follows.

It is not just a common language that defines the Lak as a group. The inhabitants of the region share a common mythological chronicle, spiritual landscape, male secret practices, customary rites and religion. While in more recent times religion has come to represent a dividing element among some Lak, as new denominations compete for converts, ritual practice is a strong defining factor of what it is to be 'Lak' in the minds of many locals.

Moieties

At the next level of social structure, the dual organisation of the moiety system is the major proponent in the system that governs relationships including descent groups and marriage. There are two moiety groups:

Mangis lamtin, - literally, 'clan/moiety big' represented by the *manigulai*, sea eagle ('*Haliaetus leucogaster*') or *Bik Pisin* (T.P)

Mangis lik, - literally, 'clan/moiety small' associated with the *tarangau*, fish hawk ('*Pandion lecocephalus*') or *Smol Pisin* (T.P).

These two moieties are the matrilineal decent groups that form the basis of social organisation in Lak and many other societies in New Ireland Province and New Britain (Wagner 1986; Powdermaker 1933; Errington 1974; and Clay 1975.) Marriage is governed through this social division; all *Mangis lamtin* must marry from among *Mangis lik* and vice versa. The Lak often conceive of the moiety as "the clan that covers all the other clans", that is to say, *Koroe* is the name of the largest *Mangis lamtin* clan and the name *Koroe* is often used to identify the moiety as well. Equally, *Bongian* is the largest *Mangis lik* clan and can be used as the moiety name for *mangis lik*. For example: I was given a place in a clan predominantly resident in the North of Lak called *Silbart*. As a *Silbart*, I am 'covered by' or 'reside within' the *Bongian* ('*Smol Pisin*') moiety.

Moiety: **Mangis lamtin (*'Bik Pisin'*)** Representative clan: **Koroe**	Moiety: **Mangis lik (*'Smol Pisin'*)** Representative clan: **Bongian**
Sub-clans, (*rakan mangis*): Koroie Kamrai Kur Kaptoh Boiboi Katlar Tokbol Kore Kabaneiu	Sub-clans, (*rakan mangis*): Bongian Silbart Leo Kamlarpar Konoboa Marania Mongnon Lemut Suahboh

Figure 1 Moiety, Clan and Sub-clan Structure

As a member of a moiety, one is expected to display appropriate behaviour in respect to one's *fakereng*, ('opposite moiety'). Moiety membership entitles and obligates very little else, and it is only in times of ritual practice such as mortuary or marriage rites that the moieties emerge as something more than a broad concept.

Sub-clans

The *kamtiken oon* or *Rakan mangis*, 'sub-clan' defines a group of people who descend from a common matrilineal ancestor. In some cases the clan's origins can be traced back through generations to a specific point where two groups separated; however, this genealogical knowledge is generally the exception. *Kamtiken oon*, literally refers to the stem of a banana tree. The analogy is clear: large banana trees sprout smaller plants in a circle around the parent tree, all connected through a hidden system of roots. The other commonly used name for clan, *Rakan mangis*, literally means 'branch of the moiety'. Clans are often named after specific instances from their origin story or the places where their segmentation from a larger matriline took place. Each clan has a link to specific geographical locations; these areas are widely known to clan members and those non-clan members who reside in the vicinity. Disputes between clans over land ownership have become more common in recent years as forestry projects have made landowners more aware of their assets. There are many clans in the Lak region, and most villages have representatives of several clan groups.

Virilocal residence is the most common practice and because of the society's matrilineal structure clans tend to be spread over large areas and across several villages. Because land held by a clan may be at a distance from many of the clan members, visiting practices are important for maintaining relationships and control over clan assets.

All clans have real estate, and many also have *marisoi*. *Marisoi* are items and knowledge handed down from ancestral clan members and have come to represent the history of the group. These items include older forms of shell currency, *kundu* ('hourglass drums'), *garamut,*('wooden slit-gong'), *tubuan* and *talung*, and *firam*, ('steel-headed axes used in warfare'). The individual entrusted with these items is normally the man in control of the clan. Among the *marisoi* the most important items are the *tubuan* and *talung* secret possessions.

While clans are known to segment into smaller clan groups they can also occasionally amalgamate. If a clan becomes too small or loses its leader, another clan may perform mortuary rites for its deceased. By doing this, the active clan takes on the possessions, land and *marisoi*, and incorporates the individuals of the other.

Communities

Local group formations, at the village level, are the most active political force in Lak society. These groups form around individual *kamgoi* ('Big Men') and are known as *kampalpal*. A *kampalpal* can be defined as a group of men associated with a *pal*, ('men's house').[9] The men in a *kampalpal* are normally but not exclusively lineage members with others in the *kampalpal* and able to trace their descent to a common female ancestor. A *kamgoi* depends on the cooperation and labour of the men associated with his *pal* and the men's house forms the focal point for a *kampalpal* group. Almost all hamlet groups have a *pal*, and most large villages have several. The number of *pal* roughly correlates to the number of *kamgoi* in a village. In order for an individual to lay claim to the position of *kamgoi*, he must construct and maintain a

[9] The term *kampalpal* is also used to identify the central rows of performers in a dance performance, drawing an analogy between the major source of a community's political and physical power and the core or heart of a dancing group (see chapter 5).

pal. The construction of a *pal* requires significant resources, and the act of building a men's house can be seen as a public display of the support necessary for an individual to achieve the position of *kamgoi*. A large body of labour is required, as according to ritual practice *pal* must be constructed within 48 hours. A feast must also be provided for the entire community by the aspiring *kamgoi* on the completion of the *pal*. Once completed, the *pal* becomes the sleeping place of young unmarried men and the living place of older and senior men associated with the *kampalpal*. Men who utilise the *pal* can expect food from the associated *kamgoi* in return for their labour and support. The men's house is an essential element in the performance of ritual activity as all mortuary rites are required to be held at one. All of the mortuary feasts take place at a *pal* and it is where those associated with the *kampalpal* are expected to make their support and resources available to their *kamgoi*.

The organisation and living patterns of Lak communities vary. Some villages are essentially one large community where the population reside in a centralised community, and all of the houses are built in or close to a central plaza. Others are subject to their geographical boundaries, spread along a thin coastal strip backed by steeply rising jungle-clad mountains. Villages are often spread over several kilometres and made up of a number of hamlet groups. Most hamlets consist of family groups, and the larger ones could be called clan groups, essentially an extended family. Most villages consist of between fifty and one hundred and fifty residents with small satellite communities, located a few kilometres outside larger ones. Villages allow for large-scale cooperative projects such as ritual observances, church communities as well as small-scale businesses and cash crop production co-ops. Hamlet groups allow for a degree of autonomy as well as small-scale cooperation such as that necessary for house building and gardening. For most people the hamlet is the most frequent realm of social interaction and the level at which daily relations takes place. The political arrangement of the hamlet is often centred around a *kamgoi* or a group of senior male residents. At the next level, the political arrangement of the village is made up of influential and senior hamlet leaders.

While the hamlet is the basis for community life where daily interaction and participation takes place, the village also plays a prominent part in community life. For the village as a whole the church is a focus point with at least weekly meetings

and the venue for a kind of weekly oral community notice board. Charismatic groups, made up of people from throughout the village, worship with a different household every week. In addition to church related activities village members form working parties to maintain communal grounds. Village members also come together for local level political and village court meetings. Men frequently move between hamlets visiting men's houses and friends to catch up on gossip and maintain cooperative relationships outside of their immediate hamlet. Once or twice a year, during the preparations and performance of large ritual or church events, the entire village is mobilised to act as a community.

Families

The smallest scale of societal structures is the family unit. Married couples live with their young children in simple one-or-two-room houses. Ideally houses are located close to gardens, which are cleared and cultivated by a husband and wife. Women are expected to do most garden work, cook and look after children. The female role is primarily that of nurturer of her children and by extension her sub-clan, a role that is at times also attributed to *kamgoi* when they provide food and other gifts in the processes of hosting mortuary rites. (See Kingston 1998: 110 – 114 for a detailed description of the 'Resonances of Kinship'.) Men share in these duties but generally have more free time than women. Men are expected to spend most daylight hours with other men, participating in working parties, meetings, in gardens or in the men's house. Married men sleep in their homes or in men's houses with younger unmarried males. Men believe that spending too much time in the presence of women causes physical weakness and is perceived as generally unhealthy. Families are usually large, consisting of three or more children. The gender expectations of children vary considerably between the sexes. Newborn babies of both sexes receive most of their parent's attention for the first two or three years or until another child is born. During these stages of infancy and as toddlers, parents and relatives dote on children; the child's every demand is fulfilled no matter how unreasonable. When a child begins to talk and is capable of comprehending instructions or with the birth of a younger sibling, their status within the family changes dramatically. This transitional age is often difficult for parents and child as he or she comes to terms with a new role. It is also at about this stage that gender roles begin to emerge. Once able to walk and

understand instructions, girls are expected to accompany their mother to the gardens, in the cooking house, while doing laundry and in all of her daily tasks. As the child gets older, she begins to perform these tasks alongside her mother. Male children, however, gradually leave their mother's side. A father may encourage this pattern by taking a small boy with him on his daily rounds or taking him to the men's house. If the boy leaves and returns to his mother, he is not forced to return. Eventually young boys begin to spend their days with other children of the same age, playing and wandering around the hamlet and beach. These gender-defined social patterns extend into the teenage years and young adulthood. Boys have few responsibilities, their participation in community work is mostly voluntary and when their help is requested, their presence is not assured. As boys approach puberty, they are expected to sleep in the men's house where the obligation for their nurture and nourishment shifts away from the parental units toward the *kamgoi* who maintains the *pal* ('men's house'). In exchange the young man is expected to be available to labour for the hosting *kamgoi*. Autonomy remains in the hands of the young men, however. Should his father or a *kamgoi* become too demanding, the young man can simply relocate to another hamlet and men's house. The gender roles and expectations produce young women who are capable of maintaining gardens, producing food and caring for a family, and young men who maintain a degree of autonomy as freelance workers.

Kinship [10]

Kinship in the Lak region is predominantly a cultural construct that is only to a limited extent the result of biological relation. Not even the most elemental relationships such as siblings are completely given; relationships must be consciously enacted in order to become socially and culturally constituted. It is what a person does that ensures their relational status, not necessarily their genetic relatives.[11] As Strathern presents it, Melanesian 'persons' are not unitary 'individuals' but 'dividuals' constituted by contributions and relations of other persons. In acting, the 'person' externalises the internal parts of contributions (1988). It is the manner in

[10] For a comprehensive look at Lak kinship structures see Albert (1987b) and Kingston (1998).
[11] This divergence between what a person does and what he/she claims or says will be shown to resonate deeply in the local ethos over the course of the proceeding chapters.

which people relate to each other and enact relationship roles that largely determines kinship in the region.

Kinship and its associated behavioural expectations resonate through all Lak relationships. *Artanat* or *tambu* (T.P), ('avoidance relationships'), are a common feature of kinship in many areas of Melanesia, and in Lak they have been linked to wider societal features. Kingston has suggested that the "positive absences" that are brought about in the environment of avoidance relations create the frame for *pidik*, 'secrets' and *pidik* societies such as the *tubuan* and *talung* societies. These 'positive absences' foreground that which is not present and make them more compelling, powerful and paradoxically present as an image in the mind (1998:129).

The *artanat* relationships include brothers and sisters, the spouse of a brother or sister and opposite sex cross-cousins. Many of the respectful terms used in these relationships are also used for members of the opposite moiety. The brother/sister relationship *tasik/tasikain* dictates that from an early stage brothers and sisters must not use each other's names and generally avoid contact with one another (cf. Clay 1977; Wagner 1986:53-56). The term *singah* is used for the *artanat* relationship of wife or husband of one's sibling and they should be avoided especially if they are of the opposite sex. '*Singah*' is used in substitution for the individual's name in address and reference. *Mal/ruato* are the terms used for one's cross-cousin. This *artanat* relationship appears to be somewhat unusual because the *mal* relationship is traditionally also that preferred for marriage. Today people recognise the cross-cousin relationship as not so suitable because 'the blood is too close'. However, the *artanat* between *mal* relations suggests that the avoidance is a way of marking a *relationship* out as special (cf. Kingston 1998:117-120 & Errington 1974:36).

Thus avoidance relationships are essentially a respectful means of maintaining important relationships. Although a brother and sister must avoid each other physically and in reference to their names, the relationship is still one of nurture and support often it is through their own children that siblings exercise nurture. Similarly the relationship between *singah* is conceived of as one of indirect but constant and reliable support. Relationships through marriage also require name avoidance in the

case of parents, in, law and the uncle/aunty of spouse. Finally, age implies seniority, and people refer to their elders with respect by using correct kinship terminology.

Kinship terminology

Nana/Nang – Mother (term of address). *Tan* is the equivalent term of reference. *Nana/Nang* may also be used to address mother's sisters.

Tata/mom – Father (term of address) and other men in positions similar to the Father like FB and others of the same sex, generation and moiety. *Taman* is the term of reference.

Koko/kowak – Applied to MB, MZ, ZS,ZD. The relationship between male child and his mother's brother is a close one. Clan knowledge, sponsorship and support is passed along through this relationship.

Artanat relations ('avoidance' relations)

Tasik/tasikain – brother/sister. This relationship is defined by its opposite sex restrictions or *artanat*.

Singah – A term of address and reference applied to a spouse's *tasiek*(-ain).

Mal/ruato – Cross-cousins.

Relations through marriage

Moksok – spouse, of either sex.

Ianmuk – a term used between a woman's parents and the husband. Lit. *ian* – meaning eat, *muk* – meaning greedy person. I.e the husband takes a wife from her parents without reciprocating.

Tau-uk – a term used between a wife and her husband's parents.

Kamlak – specifically refers to the *koko/kowak* of a spouse. In reality the term is applied more generally to relationships across moieties.

Natuk/Toi/Geu/Fanat – *Natuk*, the term for child, *toi* is son, *geu* is daughter, *fanat* is infant.

Age/relation terms

Tubuk – grandchild, and frequently any child of two generations junior.

Tete – Grandfather, sometimes used reciprocally

Wowo – Grandmother

Wan – old woman.

The most public and potent means by which kinship is enacted and displayed is in the ritual obligations surrounding death.[12] These extensive acts of 'finishing' the dead are the responsibility of those who claim kinship with the deceased. The right of a clan or kin group to host a mortuary sequence can be challenged, and the rites are frequently the centre of a political power struggle. An informed and opinionated public closely watches what is given to whom and in what quantities. Each act of 'gift giving' is wrapped in consequences for both the recipient and other parties with vested interests in the proceedings. The events that make up the rites are also closely scrutinised and held up against traditional protocols. These events are focusing points of community activity, the rites are the only public space in which kinship groups can enact their relationships through the public exchange of resources.

[12] All forms of *kastom* performance are activations of kinship relations.

Mortuary rites in Lak also provide the opportunity for important individuals (*kamgoi*) to increase their sphere of influence beyond the realms of kinship. *Kamgoi*, as the leaders of their kin groups, use the opportunity provided by the mortuary sequence to define their authority in the context of a wider network of political relationships and increase their ranking within that network (see Weiner 1992:133). The rest of this chapter is devoted to a description of the salient features of traditional practices in the region.

The Work of Kabatarai: An introduction to *Wol* and *Kastom*

At the end of the mythological narrative Suilik journeyed to the 'land of the white men', while Kabatarai remained in Southern New Ireland where he lived a life of ritual practice and established customary traditions. These traditions and rites have, in recent decades, come to be known in *Tok Pisin* as *kastom*. The word *kastom* has broadly come to define traditional practices associated with mortuary rites, marriage and initiation practices in contrast to other categories of activity such as *lotu*, ('church'), *bisnis*, ('commercial practices' and 'commodity exchange'), and *gavman*, ('government' or 'administrative and political practice').

Like many other linguistic and social groups in the Bismarck Archipelago, the Lak remain committed to what Fergie in reference to a Northern New Ireland society has described as a "complex and strenuous corpus of public ritual which they consider to be indigenous" (1995). For many Lak people their *kastom* is what defines them as unique from neighbouring linguistic groups, other Melanesian communities and Europeans. It is perceived as a source of power, a source that is understood and maintained especially well by the Lak. A certain amount of pride is detectable in any discussion of *kastom* and tradition, especially in regard to neighbouring regions to the north on New Ireland who are perceived to be less knowledgeable about traditional practices. Locals attribute their strong basis in *kastom* to the region's isolation and the strength of local *kamgoi* ('Big Men'). It is with pride and a strong sense of tradition that Lak people undertake and participate in the work of Kabatarai.

The emergence of the cultural term '*kastom*' took place within the context of an emerging nation. Clay and Foster (1986 & 1995) have both noted the rise of *kastom* as a cultural category among the Mandak and Tangga speakers of New Ireland Province during the years preceding and following Papua New Guineas independence (1975). Clay lived and worked with the Mandak for two terms; 1970 – 1971 and again in 1979 – 1980. During her second period of fieldwork the emphasis on *kastom*, encouraged by both the National and Provincial governments, provided locals with a new perspective on their traditional cultural practices. The policy of the newly

independent government of Papua New Guinea was to actively encourage the traditional customs, many of which had suffered during the years of colonial administration (Clay:1986). During this period of emerging independence the category of *kastom* came to be, in some communities, defined in opposition to other emerging social categories such as *bisnis* and in some communities *lotu*.

The emergence of the cultural category of *kastom* in Melanesia has been of interest to anthropologists and students of culture because what serves as a symbol in this debate is culture itself; questions have been raised regarding the differences between a culture as lived and a culture as abstract symbol, and the ways in which social groups wish to present themselves to others (Keesing1982: 298; Errington and Gewertz 1995:77). The emergence of *kastom* has been presented as a kind of backlash against colonial imposed systems (e.g. Keesing 1982, Neuman 1992b, Jolly 1982) or alternatively as a unifying symbol used to promote an emerging national identity (e.g. Tonkinson 1982, & Lindstrom 1982). Foster (1992,1995) presents *kastom* among the Tangan islanders as "a set of evolving conflicts... [that occur in the] progressive commoditization of Tangan society". In this process, he argues that the realms of *kastom* and *bisnis* came to be viewed as antithetical. *Kastom* was to remain the realm of Big Men and *bisnis* (copra growing), which was previously under the control of these traditional leaders, was divided between family units. The picture that Foster portrays of *kastom* in Tanga is one in which it acts as a delineating category: separating a large-scale system of social exchange (*kastom*) from the household commodity based economy (*bisnis*). Foster proposes that *kastom* in the Tangan view is a category that distinguishes social categories, and it is only on a secondary level that it is representative of local culture in a context of wider political influence.

Errington and Gewertz present Karavar, a neighbouring community to Lak in the Duke of York Islands, as having a complex relationship with *kastom*, tradition and modernity. The authors build a picture of Karavar's long-term preoccupation with nation and regional identity, and their changing postcolonial world (Errington & Gewertz 1995). In Karavar, tradition and *kastom* are represented and reproduced in many different ways. Depending on circumstance, *kastom* can be presented as antithetical to government law and to the doctrines of various Christian denominations and in other circumstances in support of Christian ideals and

government law in a separate instance.[13] Errington and Gewertz describe the Karavar relationship between *kastom* and other realms of community activity as one that is constantly undergoing reassessment and re-conception (1995).

Like other Melanesian groups (see Otto 1992:270-1), the Lak possessed a concept similar to *kastom* prior to colonial contact. It is the local concept of '*wol*' that informs much of the modern notions of *kastom* in Lak. It should, however, be emphasised that *kastom* and *wol* are not identical. *Wol* can most accurately be described as a design or plan that is impending, i.e. has a future orientation. It is most frequently used to describe up-coming events within the mortuary sequence but can also refer to a variety of events, ritual or otherwise. One of my hosts, Christian Dokon, provided an example of how '*wol*' can be used outside of a ritual context by quoting a sign on the grounds of Matkamlagir community school, which reads "*Al kodos wol tar kanasa*" literally 'I prepare a plan for the future'. Governments are said to have *wol*: plans or programs to be instigated, and almost all public events, secular or religious require a *wol* in order for them to proceed. The term *wol* can be used to describe a design or plan and also, seemingly contradictorily, a set of established regulations that require adherence. In this sense, a *wol* resembles a set of rules or unalterable conventions. This particular usage relates more to customary events but may also apply to *lotu* ('church, worship') and secular functions. All public events create a series of expectations among participants; these expectations can be expressed as *wol*. This usage correlates closely to 'tradition' in the sense that *wol* contains values and laws which have been handed down to posterity. *Tangnai ap wol*, is to literally 'follow the rules/plan', a phrase used widely in relation to impending and current *kastoms* in order to remind listeners that there are established ways of organising events and to encouraging conformance to ritual practice. If an individual doesn't conform to *wol*, he or she is guilty of not knowing the 'way of things' and may be accused of being ignorant. A *Kutuss ep wol,* one who ignores the social imperatives generated by *wol*, is likely to receive punishment or at the very least be the brunt of ridicule. Although *wol* can occasionally be altered, it self-regulates by encouraging conformity and

[13] Errington and Gewertz show how members of the New Church come into direct conflict with the traditional practices of the *tubuan* while government representatives, in the form of police officers, are presented as reluctant to take sides in the conflict or enforce the national laws leaving it up to locals to resolve the dispute (1995:122-8). In another instance the authors provide an example where *kastom* and politics are combined for the mutual benefit of the *kastom* host and the politicians involved (1995:142-6).

discouraging change. *Wol* is, therefore, both a 'plan' and at the same time a 'set of rules' that hold broad social connotations. The meaning of *wol* or the reasons behind ritual actions are not a subject of active debate or discussion. Meaning is accepted as inherently present in *wol* and simultaneously the performance of *wol* generates meaning for participants.

Many of the associations generated by the term *wol* have come to bear on the modern Lak concept of *kastom*. While it is clear that local notions of *kastom* predate the national self-identification and reification of local practices in terms of the colonial encounters outlined above, it is also clear that the term *kastom* incorporates additional perspectives on traditional practices that were not present in the pre-contact term *wol*. Elderly men complain of the substitution of the *Tok Pisin* word *kastom* in place of the indigenous *wol*, and it was clear from my investigations that many younger men are unable to define *wol* beyond the gloss of *kastom* while senior men are quick to point out where the terms differ.

Kastom in Lak is similar to both the Tangan and Karavar examples outlined above without completely aligning to either (Foster 1995; Errington & Gewertz 1995). The Lak world is conceptually split between the quadruple realms of *kastom*, *bisnis*, *lotu* and *gavman*. Locals frequently define *kastom* by what it is not: it is not *bisnis*, neither is it *lotu*, or *gavman*. Such definition's of *kastom* by negative classification suggests that these spheres of activity are interdependent as suggested by Foster (1995) and indeed, as in the Karavar example, the amount of interaction that occurs between these apparently 'distinct' realms can be confusing for an outside observer.

The arenas of *bisnis* and *lotu* appear at first to be incompatible with the practice of *kastom* but many communities go to some lengths to ensure their continued coexistence. The relationship between *kastom* and the *lotu* has, and continues to undergo, revaluation with each denomination in the region taking a different stance toward *kastom*. Early missionaries worked hard to brand *kastom* with associations of ignorance and lack of morality, and some of the recent charismatic denominations have also adopted this stance. Within Catholic communities', *kastom* has gradually been accepted and today it is welcomed and encouraged as an important feature of local life and worship. The United Church maintains a slightly more conservative

regard for many customary practices but remains generally welcoming of traditional perspectives while the newer denominations in the region, including Seventh Day Adventist, Foursquare and New Life Churches continue their opposition to many *kastom* practices, especially those regarded as *pidik* ('secret/sacred'). Some of the newer churches in the region, such as the Foursquare Church have set themselves up in deliberate opposition to *kastom*, which it portrays as rooted in a pagan belief system that is ultimately in opposition to a Christian god. This has caused, in some cases, a considerable amount of tension between churches that has led to threats and physical violence. While open hostilities are the exception, there continues to be a considerable amount of what is now a more, subtle aggression between denominations. The extent to which *kastom* comes into conflict with *lotu* is largely dependant upon denominational perspectives. And because denominations tend to be divided into relatively self-contained communities the amount of *kastom* activity that takes place in these communities is largely based upon its denominational orientations. The cultural category of *bisnis* is also difficult to locate in a relationship to *kastom*.

Lak people are conscious of the two distinct economic modes that exist within their region: customary exchange, structured around reciprocity and long term obligations and alliances established between people, which normally take place in the context of *kastom*; and the other: a cash economy established around money and the practice of buying and selling, known as *bisnis*. While these two systems of exchange are recognised as quite separate, they are not perceived to be, as in the Tangan case, in direct opposition to each other. These economic systems, once again, reflect the perceived relationship between Suilik and Kabatarai. In contrast with the Tangan case where *bisnis* and *kastom* are seen as antithetical, the Lak seek to close the gap between the two. The relationship between *kastom* and *bisnis* is a complex and at times mutually dependent one. *Bisnis* is often accused of demanding too much time and energy of a family, at a cost to *kastom* practice and visa versa. However, proceeds of *bisnis* are often used to accelerate the process of *kastom* by allowing for the purchase of essential *kastom* materials. The Lak are quick to recognise the advantages and disadvantages presented by the newer aspects of their socio-economic world. *Bisnis* allows locals to interact with the wider world and obtain many desirable commodities, but it cannot take place without an impact on traditional exchange

processes. Despite the conflicts that these two separate realms of exchange activity generate, the Lak recognise that it is in their interests to succeed within both arenas.

For a man to become a *kamgoi* ('Big Man') in what is perceived as today's multifarious environment he is expected to be a master of at least two of these categories: *bisnis*, *kastom*, *lotu* and *gavman*. *Kastom* has always been the domain of *kamgoi*, and it is through the performance of *kastom* that status is achieved. A potential *kamgoi* must begin by constructing a *pal* ('men's house') in order to host the mortuary rites of deceased matrilineal relatives. It is through the process of organising *wol* ('the plan') and performing *sulminat*, ('*kastom* as it specifically relates to mortuary rites'), that an individual can gain prominence in the realm of *kastom*. In performing these rites, he creates debt relationships and can begin to control traditional economic modes. By organising large and impressive events that involve supplying more than adequate amounts of food and presenting original dance displays, a lineage leader establishes and validates his position.

Bisnis is an equally important feature of modern life that many *kamgoi* spend considerable time, energy and resources trying to gain prominence in. While it is not essential that a *kamgoi* be heavily involved in *bisnis* realms, a certain amount of *bisnis* success will help an individual to claim the position as head of his matriline. I witnessed key moments in the careers of two men in their late thirties as they made their claims to the status of *kamgoi*. The two budding *kamgoi* resided in Rei village, and a power vacuum began to emerge as the older *kamgoi* of the village stepped back from their positions due to age. One of the young *kamgoi* had spent several years focusing on *bisnis* exchanges and cash cropping, acquiring western goods, including a small truck, generator and other appliances. The other focused almost entirely on traditional spheres of exchange. Both men constructed men's houses within the same month and in direct competition with one another. The man with experience in *bisnis* was able to host several mortuary events shortly after the erection of his men's house. He was chosen to host these events because his profile was significantly higher than his competitor. There were of course many other factors that contributed to his success but it was clear that through his *bisnis* associations and allegiances he had managed to create a reputation for success. There are similarities between *kastom* and

bisnis: both require that an individual maintain large cooperative networks of support, the ability to complete promised actions, and a certain amount of wealth.

Bisnis is not, however, an exclusive operation of *kamgoi*; in fact, almost every family in the region engages in *bisnis* to some extent. Cash cropping is the most popular form of commercial practice. Many hamlets have their own plantings that are maintained and harvested periodically or neglected, depending on several factors including: the current market value, access to these markets and the financial needs of a family. Income from these types of *bisnis* ventures is usually spent on western goods including rice and canned food and essential items that cannot be obtained through traditional means, like pots, soap and clothing. *Bisnis* has become a necessity for most families in order to pay annual school fees and buy essential consumables. However, most cash crops are worked for only three or four weeks a year in order to generate funds for these specific costs. [14] More ambitious individuals may spend much longer periods working their cash crops and can potentially generate, by local standards, substantial profits. *Kamgoi* have never held exclusive economic power in Lak, as has been the case in Tanga, so no formal opposition between *kastom* and *bisnis* has ever arisen (Foster 1995). There does, however, exist a level of unease between the cultural categories of *bisnis*, *lotu*, *kastom* and *gavman*.

The discord that is sometimes evident between these distinct realms can be observed following *kastom* events. The concluding speeches go to some lengths to apologise for the insufficient nature of the *kastom*. This style of rhetoric is a long established tradition: a host belittles his efforts to avoid accusations of rising too quickly while simultaneously slyly suggesting that the wealth displayed is of small account to him. However, in recent times, as identified by Kingston, another, "sincere discourse" has arisen in these speeches that attempts to account for the truncated form of some rites (1998:86-7). This is further reflected in a wider discourse of men throughout Lak, which lament the difficulties of 'modern living':

[14] A certain amount of maintenance must be undertaken periodically, such as pruning and weeding.

> Now there are many different tasks; before it was easy and men could focus solely on *kastom*. Today we must work for the *lotu*, work for money, work for the government and perform *kastom*."
>
> (Translated from field notes).

Indeed there is a general feeling among the senior male participants in *kastom* practice that much of the old knowledge is being eroded. The *kamgoi* of previous generations are presented by many modern *kamgoi* as being 'bigger' and more powerful than those in the present. People describe the communities of the past as having only one strong leader, where as today there are several competing *kamgoi* in each village (c.f. Albert 1987; Kingston 1998:88-9). To some extent this perceived loss of power has simply been redistributed across a wider group of 'smaller' *kamgoi*. It is in a sense possible to claim that *bisnis* has allowed the redistribution of power on a more even basis creating a more egalitarian society. Many of the sentiments relating to 'the good old days' are deeply felt but they are, of course, an expected outcome of the rapidly changing social and economic climate (cf. Seeger 1987:99). Despite the difficulties involved in maintaining the multiple realms of *bisnis*, *lotu*, *kastom* and *gavman* activities, most Lak inhabitants are careful to maintain their roles in several of these realms. The Lak have been relatively quick to try new cash crops; the Lak have put forward government leaders to the provincial level; they maintain active religious communities and are renown for their enduring *kastom* activities.

Like the example provided from Karavar island, the local context of *kastom* in Lak is a constantly shifting one, dependant upon the interrelated realms of *lotu*, *bisnis* and *gavman*. Despite the seemingly fluid and unpredictable nature of *kastom* as a cultural category, it remains a central and unifying feature for many Lak. *Kastom* helps to create an identity and remains a central aspect to life in the region.

Finishing the Dead

To 'finish' or '*pinis*' (Tok Pisin) is a term that is frequently used by the Lak in association with mortuary rites.[15] The phrase 'finishing the dead' describes the process by which deceased members of society are reformulated as spirits. Their social being is decomposed and replaced by an abstract representation that is rendered visible and audible in dance, song, costume, and in the actions of *pidik* ('secret') societies. 'Finishing the dead' describes how a human being is reconstituted, in the minds of those who survive, as a spirit being. Many Lak notions and concepts surrounding *kastom* and *wol* ('ritual plans') are founded on the activities that take place in the process of 'finishing the dead'.

Like much of New Ireland the Lak people undertake extensive mortuary rites. These rites are an important facet of Lak life and identity. The *porominat*, ('burial rites'), of the Lak have much in common with the mortuary practices of other Southern New Ireland linguistic groups (see Foster 1995; Eves 1998; Bolyanatz 1994), and informants recognise ritual similarities with the linguistic areas of Kamparam, Kandas, Label and the Konomala regions that have not been the subjects of ethnographic investigation.

The mortuary practices of New Ireland communities have received a great deal of attention from anthropologists over the last eighty years (see, Powdermaker 1933; Wagner 1986; Clay 1986; Albert 1987; Foster 1995). The remarkable amount of indigenous resources and time expended on the mortuary rites clearly indicates their cultural importance for the people who perform them. Focusing on mortuary rituals as a means of dealing with the ethnographic material has been fruitful in revealing many of the indigenous realities of the region. The present work follows the lead of these anthropological investigations by using the mortuary sequence as a complex through which to perceive and understand aspects of life in the region. This section aims to briefly describe the essential features of the mortuary sequence, according to local

[15] Foster (1995: 95) employs the same terms in his description of Tangan mortuary sequence, suggesting that the terms are likely to be a region wide Tok Pisin gloss for indigenous mortuary terms.

priorities of what constitutes the essence of the events, in order that the musical examples discussed later may be placed in context.

Before launching into a description of Lak ritual practice surrounding death, it is important to establish the nature of the information provided. During my initial period of fieldwork (2001 –2) I witnessed and participated in a number of mortuary rites (some of which are directly drawn on in discussions that follow in chapter 4, 5, and 6). While I was able to witness every stage of the rites, each stage was performed for a different individual and not in chronological order. On my return to Lak in 2004, I was able to plot the entire sequence with the help of a group of senior informants and using what I had previously observed.[16] In three separate sessions, over a period of a month, a group of six ritual specialists helped me to document the process of the rites in detail. What follows, then, is some of the results of those sessions: an abstract description of a living and evolving ritual process. The description provided here is balanced by the descriptions that follow in chapter 4, 5 and 6, where real and observed rituals are described.

The oversimplified presentation of the rites below allows a rapid survey of the mortuary process but it should be remembered that ritual practice is the product of a changing social milieu. *Kastom* in Lak should be understood as strategic practice, an improvisation on a set of rules. A host must be aware of the intricacies of *kastom* and community feeling to be able to perform well and ensure the safety of his family and clan.[17] Like so many other aspects of Lak life, these rites require cooperation but the extent of the cooperation in mortuary rites is greater than in any other event. The mortuary rites are the *pièce de résistance* of a *kamgoi*'s career and it is through such rites that men lay claim to the title 'Big Man'. The management of a mortuary sequence requires most, if not all, of a *kamgoi*'s resources; it demands the mobilisation of all of his relationships; and it engages his wits in the complicated

[16] The informants during these sessions were: Tiador Tomileshman, Patrick Tobusai, Christian Dokon, Michael Tolaiesh, Tony Pisrai and Lenny Koroierong. Several other young men attended the sessions for their own education.

[17] All mortuary rites take place in the context of *wol*, according to a plan or cultural expectations, which must be carefully adhered to. Mortuary hosts are aware that to disregard *wol* risks the health and wellbeing of his family and sub clan. Most deaths that take place in the wake of a mortuary *kastom* will be attributed to malicious sorcery.

process of giving and receiving. Knowing when to extravagantly gift and diplomatically request is an essential part of leadership in the region.

Finally, before embarking on a description of the rites, an understanding of the local notions of grief and loss must be briefly provided. The Lak use the term *sum* to express a state of grief, loss and mourning, but *sum* is not adequately translated by these terms. It is not only people who carry *sum*: places, objects, songs, dances and costumes may also have *sum,* as these can act as reminders of a loss endured. *Sum* is expressed in a variety of ways: aurally through wailing and visually by rubbing black pigments on the face and body, by wearing old clothing and in a general disregard for personal appearance. A person who suffers *sum* doesn't shave, comb or cut their hair. Those who suffer from *sum* feel heavy and uninterested in food. They avoid company, remain inactive and are considered symbolically unclean. As explained in the chapters that follow, *sum* is the antithesis of dance; it is an internal focus and disinterest in community. A state of *sum* may last for a few days or several months, depending on the sufferer's relationship with the deceased. All *sum* is gradually lifted in stages in the process of the mortuary rites and can be fully removed only through the public action of dance.

Primary Rites

The mortuary cycle divides into two parts, which are recognised by the Lak as separable.[18] These two parts are rendered here as the 'primary' and 'secondary' rites. The primary rites begin at the time of a death in a community. Once a death has been discovered the hamlet and village quickly begin to reverberate with the sounds of death. Wailing begins immediately on the discovery of a death and causes a chain reaction in which men and women come to see the source of the commotion and the women join in the wailing. Close family and kin will remain with the corpse over-night, often refusing food and water until the following day when the burial takes place.[19]

[18] The mortuary sequence described here is the modern accepted format common to most Lak communities.
[19] It is the provincial and village law that all bodies be buried within twenty-four hours of death.

The burial sets in motion a series of *aangan* ('feasts') held each day for three days.[20] The *kastom* host and other relatives that wish to express their *sum* provide the pigs for the *aangan*. *Aangan* are held in the men's house associated with the clan of the host (who will be a member of the deceased's sub-clan).[21] The first *aangan* is held on the day of the burial. As with all feasts held in and around the men's house the senior men take their places inside the house while the other men squat around the food laid outside. The second and third *aangan* held on the succeeding days take place in much the same manner as the first.

At times men seem unwilling to partake in the *aangan* feasts and only after repeated encouragement by other men and the host do they participate. This partly feigned avoidance of the *aangan* expresses the mourner's unwillingness to depart with his *sum* and his desire to continue to remember and dwell on the deceased. Each *anngan* represents a move away from the state of *sum* and a return to the normal life. For each day that an *aangan* is held a basket of pork and vegetables is sent to the house of the widow or widower. The first basket is called, *a us-iah*, literally, 'light the fire' and breaks the first restriction of mourning. Until this time the mourners have sat in the dark; once the basket arrives a small fire or lamp may be lit to provide light. The next day a second basket of food and *tambu* ('shell money') is sent, called the *a kes sidok*, ('sit and look outside') indicating that the mourners can now open their door and look to the world outside. The final basket during the third *aangan* is the *a manlar* ('bright light') indicating that the mourners can now open the house to sunlight and light a bright lamp.

Word of a death travels quickly to other villages and hamlets throughout the wider Lak region. Senior clan members who bear close ties to the deceased but live at a distance from the village in which the burial takes place may hold their own *aangan*, killing and cooking a pig and distributing it among their community. These men are called *aangan* hosts; their actions situate them as supporters of the *kastom* host. The *kastom* host eventually repays these *aangan* hosts during the *todong* rites at the completion of the primary rites.

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[20] The word *aangan* has the dual meaning of 'feast' in a *kastom* context and may be used in everyday usage as an instruction or directive to 'eat'.
[21] *Aangan* mostly involve the men of the hosting village.

On the evening of the third *aangan* feast the *daut* is held. *Daut* are all night singing vigils performed by men in the grounds of the men's house. These unusual performances (discussed in chapter four) form the climax of the first stage of the primary rites. Several pigs will be assembled and arranged in the men's house grounds where they will remain through the night of *daut* singing. The pigs are killed in the first light of the following day, referred to as the *pongor lor*. [22] The feast of the *pongor lor* (fourth day) involves all of the pigs present during the *daut*. This is often the first time that the spouse and children of the deceased will leave the house and proceed under escort to the deceased's garden. This journey is always an emotional one as gardens are potently symbolic of relationships and reciprocity. The widow and her children help to collect vegetables and firewood that is used in the afternoon's *pongor lor* feast. When all of the cooked vegetables and pigs are placed together in the men's house grounds, the food is divided into large portions for each of the women who wailed at the house of the deceased. The distributions are laid out in baskets in order of those most closely related to the deceased. Separate baskets are also provided for each of the households who provided pigs at any stage of the *aangan* feasts. Following the distributions a final *aangan* is held for the women and men. After the feast, speeches are usually given by all significant *kamgoi* ('Big Man') in attendance. The speeches which address issues that arose in the performance of these first stage rites and talks of what will follow in the weeks and months to come.

The day after the *pongor lor* is reserved for the *sar lakman*, ('sweep the village') and *ah tom ya*, ('light the fire'). These events mark the end of the first stage of the ritual proceedings and the return to normal village life and activities. For the *sar lakman* sees each hamlet in the affected village clean their communal space of debris resulting from the feasts of the previous four days.[23] A pig may be killed for the *sar lakman*, depending on the host's resources. If no pig is available, then the internal organs of

[22] *Pongor lor* literally translates to *pongor* = 'to break' and *lor* = 'skull'. In the past the head of the deceased was cut from the body at this stage of the mortuary rites. The body of the deceased was left to decompose in open view on a rock, constructed platform or in the branches of a fig tree. On the day of the *pongor lor* the head would be removed from the body and once cleaned, placed in a basket and tied to the rafters of the men's house. Years later during the secondary rites all skeletal remnants were taken into the *taraiu* during the secondary rites (see chapter 6). Kingston argues that, decomposition, on at least a conceptual level, is still an important part of the mortuary process (1998:272).

[23] During the four days of *aangan* and *pongor lor* all normal garden work and village activities are deferred until after the *sar lakman*.

the pigs killed in the *pongor lor* will be cooked and eaten. The *ah tom ya* requires a pig to be killed. A fire is lit in the garden of the deceased to signify that normal life and work in the gardens of the village can resume. Following this first stage of the primary rites, the *sum* ('grief') of the general public is removed but *mangis* members and *fakereng* ('those married into the clan') continue to endure *sum* until a later stage of the primary rites.

Ideally, about one month later the second stage of the primary rites begins with what is known as the *poopos*.[24] The *poopos* involves hands of green bananas being cut and suspended from the support beams in the roof of the men's house until they are ripe. This normally takes about a week. When the bananas have ripened, women of the host community prepare the *poopos*. These are vegetables wrapped in banana leaves with coconut milk and cooked in a ground oven. Depending on the size of the community, one or two pigs are killed and cooked for an *aangan* ('feast'). Only men eat at the *poopos aangan* in the men's house.[25] The *poopos* advertises to the community and all of the host *kamgoi's* clan and supporters that the next stage of the mortuary sequence is about to begin. The *poopos* feast provides the opportunity for the host to gather his supporters and discuss the arrangements and what he expects from contributors.

About two weeks after the *poopos*, the *arkus* begins.[26] Again bananas are suspended in the men's house for about a week until they become ripe.[27] On the day of the *arkus* feast, which involves vegetables and bananas but no pork, the *kastom* host and his supporters perform the *kus*.[28] The *kus* involves marking the heads of *mangis* and *fakereng* members who carry *sum* with *kambang* ('powdered reef lime'). The actions symbolise the removal of the 'dirt' that has clung to them since the death. The *fakereng* members receive *kus* first followed by *mangis* members. Since the death the close *fakereng* and *mangis* members have not shaved, combed their hair, cut their hair

[24] The amount of time between the first stage and the *poopos* depends on the *kastom* host's resources. While the ideal timing for the *poopos* is about a month after the initial *aangan*, it is not unusual for eight months or a year to pass.
[25] Only the male mourners, the host and supporters eat at this feast.
[26] The *arkus* is also referred to in some Lak regions as the *luluar*.
[27] It is possible that bananas are used in the *poopos* and *arkus* because they are sometimes used as a analogy for *mangis* (clans). The moiety can be referred to as the trunk of the banana from which all of the sub clans divide. It is also possible that bananas are used in these two stages of the mortuary custom because they ripen in a predictable amount of time once cut.
[28] *Kus* is the adjective of the noun *arkus*.

or been able to wear new clothing. During the *arkus* those carrying *sum* are given scissors, combs and razor blades by the host. The *kastom* host also pays the mourners lengths of shell money, about two pinas, to remove their *sum.*[29] When accepted, the relatives remove their *sum* symbolically by bathing, grooming and changing their clothes. The host himself is also *kus*-ed by a close relative of the deceased. On the evening of the *arkus* the second *daut* performance takes place.

The *daut* cannot begin until the *kastom* host stakes the *galagala* in front of the men's house. A *galagala* is a pole of about seven foot in length with several branches cut to provide hooks on which to hang shell money. Once shell money is hung upon the *galagala* it becomes a *lalamar* (plate 1).[30] The *lalamar* can be understood as an effigy of the deceased.[31] The host hangs his own shell money to make the *lalamar,* a photograph of the deceased is placed on the top of the *galagala* along with other personal items such as a basket that remains in place until the completion of the mortuary rites.

[29] The amount of shell money paid to individual *fakereng* and *mangis* members is determined by their status. Each *pinas* payment is reciprocated in the form of a pig at a later stage, during the *todong.*
[30] The word *lalamar* is translated to mean: 'happy now on the head of the deceased'.
[31] Constructed out of shell money hung by the host and other attendees at the mortuary rites; the *lalamar* represents the composite nature of the deceased. The shell money contributed to the *lalamar* represents the relationships the deceased maintained in life.

Plate 1 **Joseph Tobilsai (right) stands beside a large *lalamar* in Siar village**

The second *daut* follows the format of the first: pigs are tied around a central pole and left in the men's house grounds while men sing through the night. In the early morning, just prior to sunrise the *rangrang* and *tonger* are erected in front and at the sides of the men's house (plates 2 & 3).[32] The *tonger* are two large poles placed at the side of the men's house and the *rangrang* are constructed of three sticks, two erect poles and a cross-beam. The *tonger* and *rangrang* are prepared prior to the *arkus* in secrecy and delivered to the men's house by the *talung* spirits, if the deceased was a leader within the *talung* society.[33]

[32] If the *talung* spirits accompanied the deceased to the grave, then they will erect the *tonger* and *rangrang*. If the *tubuan* escorted the deceased to the grave, then men will erect them.
[33] For a description of the *talung* society see chapter 2.

Plate 2 ***tonger*** **(yet to be decorated) at the side of men's house**

Plate 3 **Men's house with *tonger* and *rangrang*. The *rangrang* and crossbar can be seen in front of the doorway.**

At this stage only two *tonger* are put in place, one representing the host and the other the deceased. When women who carry *sum* ('grief') see the *tonger* and *rangrang* for

the first time, they cry in remembrance of the deceased. The erection of the *tonger* and *rangrang* indicate the beginning of the *todong* sequence. At this stage anyone in the *mangis* or *fakereng* may place their own shell money on the *lalamar* to augment it. In doing so contributors signal their relationship with the deceased.

On the morning following the *daut* women of the village carry cooked vegetables to the men's house and perform the *ahohlur sum*, ('clearing or removal of *sum*'). The *ahohlur sum* consists of a short dance, often only the introductory (*lamlam*) section of a dance, to show that *sum* is no longer present. Portions of pig and vegetables are distributed to all who contributed shell money to the *lalamar*. The *kastom* host distributes the food and simultaneously returns the shell money on the *lalamar* back to its owners. Once the shell money has been returned to its owners, the *lalamar* is broken and the contents of the basket are distributed among clan members for safe keeping until the secondary rites. Each item in the basket, called *nambu*, ('memories'), are given to a clan member and must be returned during the *portung* ('secondary rites') along with a pig. These items of the deceased are called *muron minat* ('dirt of the deceased'). At this point the *mokos* ('widow') or *tanur* ('widower') is given a *purpur*, a small dance accoutrement, to signify that their *sum* has been removed. The feast in front of the *lalamar* removes the 'heaviness' and *sum* of most of the *mangis* and *fakereng*. Occasionally a daughter, son or spouse will continue their *sum* observations until a later stages of the rites.

The evening of the *ahohlur sum* the *kamgar* begin.[34] *Gar* are dances that take place in the village centre or hamlet of the deceased. Men, women and children walk/dance around a central *garamut* ('slit-gong'), singing topical songs. *Kamgar* are usually lively events, mostly involving young men and women, that continue late into the night but, because *sum* is still present these *kamgar* are subdued with no laughing or joking. The *kamgar* is performed every night for several weeks until the final stage of the primary rites, the *todong*.

Once the host sets a date for the *todong*, normally providing one week's notice, men and women begin to rehearse dance performances on behalf of the host, while people

[34] The events are known as *kamgar* while the songs in the *kamgar* are referred to as *gar*.

in distant villages do the same for their *aangan* ('feast') hosts.[35] [36] During the week prior to the *todong* further *tonger* posts are erected alongside the men's house, beside those already in place for the *kastom* host and the deceased, one post is erected for each *aangan* host (plates 2 & 3). The *tonger* are then decorated with *pulpul*, sugar, taro shoots and young coconuts, hung upside down from the head of the poles (plate 4).

Plate 4 ***Tonger* decorated with various items from the deceased's garden**

The night before the *todong,* night performances are held by anyone who wishes to present a dance. Men and women's groups perform *bohboh*, *tangara*, *tangara*, *tambaran* and other nocturnal dances.[37] On the morning of the *todong*, normally a Saturday, pigs are placed under the *tonger*, one pig for each *aangan* host. At midday a feast is held, and all of the audience partake of the pig and vegetables provided by the host. Soon after the feast the dancing begins. A dance is presented on behalf of each *aangan* host. Traditionally, the first performance is a women's *belilo* from the host

[35] The date of the *todong* is usually announced on a Friday seven days prior to the Saturday when the performances and pig exchanges take place.

[36] Rehearsal often begin well before this time but once the *todong* date is announced all other activities are put aside for a more intense period of rehearsal, *alal* (ritual fasting and isolation) and costume construction.

[37] See appendix for a complete list of Lak nocturnal dance forms.

community, followed by a men's *lebung* from the host community and then each of the other dance troupes in turn. All dancers are paid with lengths of *tambu* ('shell money') during the performances and the dance troupe is provided with a basket of food at the end of the performance.

When the dances are finished in the late afternoon, the *todong* exchanges take place. *Todong* is translated, as 'payback', although its literal meaning is no longer known. The *pas boroi* ('stand on the pig') is a series of actions in which the *sulai minat* pig, (literally, 'returning the deceased') is given to the spouse of the deceased as a return payment from the *kastom* host's clan.[38] Each *aangan* host will receive two live pigs during the *todong*. One pig is returned to him by the host, the *matin iah*, (literally, 'reciprocating fire') for the pig that he killed for his *aangan* and another pig, the *boroi tabar,* which is an exchange pig. All *aangan* hosts are eligible to bring a pig called a *gar* that is exchanged for one bigger called the *boroi tabar*, making the *todong* exchanges profitable for *aangan* hosts.

The *todong* exchanges are performed in a ritualistic manner with the host placing his foot on the largest pig (hence the phrase *pas boroi*) and then placing his foot on the second biggest indicating that the largest pig (the host's own) should be exchanged for the second biggest (an *aangan* host's) and so on until all *aangan* hosts have received larger *boroi tabar* pigs than the *gar* animals that they came with. The exchanges are closely observed by everyone who attends the *todong* feast, and judged against the context of *wol* ('ritual protocol'). Once the *pas boroi* is completed, the *todong* comes to an end and all the visiting dancers, and audience members begin their journey home. The following day the *tonger* are broken, and a small feast is held following the cleaning of villages spaces.[39]

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[38] The ritual of the *sulai minat* is designed to maintain a balance of exchange between the two moieties. When a man wishes to marry a woman, he must include a payment in the form of a pig, called a *yar ar bas* (marriage payment) to his fiancé's clan (the opposite moiety). Upon his death the wife and children of the deceased (who are opposite moiety members) must supply the *Kastom* host with a *sulai minat* pig, which he will use at his own discretion at any time during the primary rites. The *sulai minat* is returned to the spouse during this final stage of the primary rites, completing the obligation of each moiety that began with the *yar ar bas* (marriage payment) years prior.

[39] The items strung from the *tonger*, such as taro shoots and sugar cane, are often collected and replanted in what can be interpreted as a symbolic gesture of regeneration.

Name of event	***Description***
FIRST STAGE	
Porominat	'The burial'. Normally takes place within twenty-four hours of the death and may involve the *talung* and *tubuan*, indicating that there will be secondary rites.
Aangan	'To feast'. A series of three *aangan* take place in the three days following the death. The *aangan* are for men and boys only and are held in the men's house. During each feast a basket of food and shell money is taken to the mourners in the deceased's house to indicate the removal of mortuary restrictions in stages.
Daut	The night of the final *aangan*, men sing through the night. The pigs of the *pongor lor* are present.
Pongor lor	'To break the skull'. Spouse and children of the deceased go to the garden for the first time. Portions of pig are distributed to female mourners, and a feast is held for men at the men's house.
Sar lakman/Ah tomya	'Clean the village'/light the fire'. The village is cleaned for the first time since the death, and a fire is lit in the garden to indicate that normal activities can be resumed. This brings to an end the first stage of the primary rites.
SECOND STAGE	
Poopos	A feast of bananas, pig and vegetables baked in the ground oven. Only men eat at the *poopos*.
Arkus	A feast of bananas and vegetables (no pigs). Relatives of the deceased are *kus*-ed with *kambang* to cleanse them. Relatives groom and change their clothes for the first time.

Daut (2nd)	Conducted in the same manner as the first. During the night the *tonger* and *rangrang* are erected around the men's house. The *lalamar* is also put in place in front of the men's house where anyone can contribute with lengths of shell money.
Ahohlur sum	'Removal of *sum*'. A short dance is performed by the women of the host village to indicate that their *sum* has been lifted. A feast is held, and the shell money contributions to the *lalamar* are returned to their owners. *Numbu* items are also distributed to the leading clan's men present.
Kamgar	The nightly dances begin and continue until the eve of the *todong*. Preparations for the *todong* dances begin.
Asosok	'Competition'. On the eve of the *todong* women compete to provide visitors from other villages with *komkom*.
Night performance	On the evening before the *todong* dance, performances are presented by anyone who wants to participate.
Todong	The concluding feast, dances are presented by the host village and all of those who held *aangan* ('feasts') of their own. The pig exchanges are performed publicly.

Figure 2 **Synopsis of *Porominat*: Primary Mortuary Rites.**

Secondary Rites

A substantial period of time may pass before the secondary rites begin, anywhere between two and ten years. The factors that determine the length of time that separates the primary and secondary rites are again largely those of resources, clan support and organisation. Not every mortuary cycle will involve secondary rites; these are reserved for leaders within the secret society and occasionally women of

community significance. The secondary rites are glossed by the Lak term *portung*.[40] The first sign that the secondary rites are imminent is the erection of the *balbal*.

Sukai a balbal is the term used to describe the placement of the *balbal* in front of the hosting men's house. The *balbal* is a long thin branch cut from a tree of the same name.[41] The tip of the *balbal* is cut on an angle and painted with a red pigment.[42] Once the *balbal* is in place the *kamgar* begin again. These nightly performances continue until the final feast day in the same manner as the earlier *kamgar*, only this time, because *sum* ('grief') is no longer present in the village, the *kamgar* is a boisterous affair involving laughter, joking, clowning and revelry. Many of the social prohibitions regarding male and female relations are relaxed in the atmosphere of *kamgar* performances where young men and women mingle and talk between periods of singing and dancing around the *garamut*. The *kamgar* typically takes place each night for about two weeks. It is during this period that all of the men who accepted *nambu* items begin to organise and rehearse dances for the *portung*'s culminating *ngasa* feast. The men that received the *nambu* items and who will present dances in the *ngasa* are referred to as *tan a ngasa*, ('Big Men of the *ngasa*').

Shortly before the *ngasa* day, the *tangur putus* is performed. This ritual involves the destruction, removal or symbolic breaking of *nambu* objects. For example, plants and shrubs and trees planted by the deceased may be uprooted, cut down and destroyed; his house, if still extant, may be broken; a bamboo bench he used to sit on or any items associated with the deceased may be removed or broken. The most important item to be given this treatment during the *tangur putus* is a *tanget* shrub ('*cordyline terminalis*') that was planted to mark the grave on the day of the *porominat* ('burial'). The *tanget* is uprooted and removed and the construction of a concrete headstone begins. *Nambu* is what necessitates the *tangur putus*; *sum* was removed in the process of the primary rites but *nambu* is what remains. *Nambu* is a difficult term to explain

[40] *Portung* is the modern term which refers to the entire secondary rites. *Tangur putus* is an older term for the same complex.
[41] The *balbal* trees are widely available in Lak villages as they are used for shade trees and renowned for their quick regrowth after a cutting, making them useful in the construction of garden and pig fences.
[42] The *sukai a balbal* involves a small feast of pork and vegetables from the *kastom*'s host to the women of the host village, men do not eat at this feast.

for Lak people, and most attempts relate it to *sum* while stressing that *nambu* and *sum* are not the same thing.

On the night before the *ngasa* feast, dance performances are held. The performances are presented by any group, male, female or of mixed gender as a prelude to the feasting and more elaborate dancing that will take place the following day. The following morning, as the stones for the ground oven are being heated in a large bonfire, the *ngasa* host and other *tan a ngasa* take turns throwing *nambu* items into the fire in time to the beat of the *garamut* drum. These are the items that were distributed to close relatives for safe keeping at the end of the primary rites. All *tan a ngasa* also provide a *sulai muron minat*, ('reciprocating items of the deceased') pig as their contribution to the host's *ngasa* feast. At about midday the dances begin. There are normally several women's dances representing the women of each village in attendance. The *kastom* host will distribute lengths of shell money to each performer as a payment for their efforts in the dance. The most important performance of the day is the host village's women's dance, during which the pigs are removed from the stage where they have been on display and cut into portions. Every woman present and even those not present but represented by their husbands must receive a basket of food, which is carried home to each hamlet and eaten there. Men remain behind and eat in the men's house while listening to any final speeches from the host and the *tan a ngasa*.

The following day the *balbal* is pulled down and a small feast held after the village has been cleaned. It is the dances of the *ngasa* that are said to remove the remaining *nambu*. If the deceased was a leader in the secret men's society, the *ngasa* will involve several more days of *tubuan* performance as detailed in chapter six.

Name of event	***Description***
Sukai a balbal	'Planting the *balbal'*. First indication that the secondary rites are imminent. Another *galagala/lalamar* is erected beside the *balbal.*
Kamgar	The nightly dancing recommences. These *kamgar* are lively events involving the youth of the village and are not restricted by *sum* like the first *kamgar.*
Tangur putus	Clan and family members of the deceased destroy, remove or symbolically damage items in the village that are related to the deceased. These *numbu* items are the last remaining physical reminders of the deceased.
Night dances	Anyone can present dances on the eve of the *ngasa.* These performances are light-hearted and sometimes feature mixed-sex *bohboh.*
Sulai muron minat	'Reciprocating items of the deceased'. Men who acquired *nambu* items during the primary rites burn them in the fire in which their contribution of pigs will be cooked.
Ngasa	The *ngasa* performances mostly involve female performers. Each village in the vicinity usually presents a women's dance. Each female performer is paid with shell money and a basket of pig and vegetables is given to every woman present.

Figure 3 **Synopsis of *Portung*: Secondary Rites.**

This chapter has presented many of the mythological, social and community structures that support Lak society. The ways in which kinship is organised and the social practices surrounding relationships have been detailed. The local concepts of *wol* ('ritual plan') and *kastom* have been examined along with the role and importance of these traditional practices in the region. Finally the mortuary rites have been presented in order to provide a reference and context for the chapters that follow. The following chapter outlines many of the hidden realities that support and influence those visible structures presented here.

Section 1: Chapter 2.

Living with Spirits.

Introduction

The spiritual phenomena discussed in this section are as real to the Lak as the performances that allow many of these spiritual beings to take shape in images, movement and sound. It is through song and dance performance that spiritual beings make themselves known to people. All spiritual beings have a physical constitution that may be perceived through sight, sound and at times intuition. These non-human beings inhabit the same geographical space as the human population but remain, for the most part, unseen. Supernatural beings are capable of making contact with people via dreams and in visions during periods of fasting (*ialal*). Some magic specialists maintain a special relationship with supernatural beings; these relationships are considered dangerous and potentially deadly but are seen as essential for those wanting to gain power and influence. All of the spiritual beings discussed here are considered powerful and are conceptually linked with ancestors and customary practice. I intend to construct a description of these 'other realities', as they exist behind the immediately discernable visible reality. The 'hidden' aspects of Lak life discussed here are key elements of their worldview and the concepts introduced in this chapter predicate later discussions on music and dance.

The descriptions provided below have been constituted from a variety of sources, including informal discussions, interviews, and from the data of other ethnographers working in Lak or among other Island region communities (e.g. Eves 1998; Errington 1974; Errington and Gewertz 1995; Wagner). The sheer variety of description available makes it difficult to compose a definitive depiction but the information presented here is an attempt to construct a picture of the spiritual realm that is broadly representative of its prominent features. As noted by Tromf, descriptions of the nature and attributes of spirit-powers are rare in Melanesia because "one 'feels into' one's cosmos and its inhabitants through an organic process, with paradigmatic movements of disclosure into cultural secrets at initiations, until one knows what to do, rather than possess speculative knowledge for its own sake" (Tromf 1991:14). No definitive

version of the spiritual realm exists; it is experienced and understood in different ways by different people. As Tromf suggests in the quotation above, the spirit world and its inhabitant become more familiar with time and experience.

The Spirit Realm

Tanruan

Perhaps the most commonly encountered and culturally significant non-human entity of the Lak region is the *tanruan*, a spirit associated with a place or object such as a tree, rock, or pool of water. These places are the abode of the *tanruan* but the spirit can occasionally take on other inanimate and animate forms.[1] They are shape-shifters and while they are capable of metamorphosing into any form, each has one or two incarnations that are particular to it. Humans, snakes, pigs and birds are all common forms associated with *tanruan*. In his investigation of the local *tanruan* between Matkamlagir and Siar, Albert was told that "every stone, reef, rock outcropping, and stream at one time was named and associated with a particular spirit"(1987:91). This is not the case today; most people can identify only a few *tanruan* in the vicinity of their village.

During my first exploratory journey to the Lambom area, I walked over the small peninsular separating the east and west coast at the southern tip of New Ireland. As I descended on the Lambom side, the trail became indistinct. I soon found myself in a garden and, hearing voices close by, I called out in a manner used throughout the region to locate others in the bush. My call was soon responded to in kind; an old woman stood up from among the taro leaves only ten metres away from where I stood. When she saw I was the source of the sound, she dropped her basket and without a word ran to find her companions. A short time later a young man came to find me. He apologised for his mother's actions, explaining that most visitors to the region travel into the area by boat not from the mountain: "the only white men who descend from the mountains are *tanruan*" (translated from fieldwork notes). This was one of several episodes in which I was mistaken for a supernatural being, suggesting

[1] *Tanruan* are known throughout New Ireland and most of Island Melanesia, as *Marsalai*.

the constant presence of these beings in the minds of the population. The divergent forms available to *tanruan* make them difficult to recognise but the likelihood of a snake, dog, opossum or, as in the example above, human, being a *tanruan* is increased if the creature's form is abnormal or atypical – for example, white. *Tanruan* in animate form are believed to be almost impossible to kill and capable of regenerating. Snakes or lizards found around a *tanruan* site are treated with caution and assiduously avoided.

Human beings and *tanruan* are closely associated; *tanruan* spirits are often affiliated with specific clans. These spirits are known to protect clan members and their possessions; men may look to their *tanruan* for power and strength in a dance performance, and often *kundu* drums are inscribed with the name of an important local spirit. *Tanruan* play an important role in the identification of a clan with its land and are consequently of central importance in the conception of the physical and spiritual landscape. It is possible to trace the migratory patterns of clan groups through the locations of their associated *tanruan* (see Jessep 1980). *Tanruan* objects and sites are usually avoided, and the bush surrounding these areas is left undisturbed. Only clan members affiliated with a *tanruan* visit the spirit's abode, and others are careful to avoid such places. The sacred nature of these sites is associated with the fact that many of them are where the corpses of *kamgoi* ('Big Men') were once left to decompose before burial practices were introduced by colonial administrations. Some older clan members can recite the names and location of their *tanruan* and the stories associated with each one (Albert 1987:91-100 presents an account of some of these stories). Often these myths tell of an event that took place in the area of the *tanruan* abode: where extraordinary animals were seen eating corpses or where a fight between brothers took place, causing a clan to segment. The diverse nature of stories about the origin of *tanruan* sites makes them unique to each clan.

Talung

Talung are another common spirit entity that resides in remote bush regions where they consume rotten wood and leaves.[2] *Talung* are known throughout societies in New Ireland and the New Guinea Islands as *tangara, tabaran* or *defil*.[3] These spirits are rarely seen but at times heard; they are the spirits behind the *talung* (bullroarer) cult, discussed later in this chapter. *Talung* dwell in isolated areas in the interior of the island and are considered dangerous, capable of inducing illness. The introduction of Christianity is believed to have caused a successive decline in the numbers of *talung*. One man explained this to me in terms of religious belief in the afterlife. He suggested that *long tudak*, ('in pre-Christian times') a person's spirit remained in the bush around villages but today spirits go to heaven. Others see the way in which a person meets their demise as the primary factor that determines the final form of their life force. Those killed through sorcery or other malicious means are seen as more likely to become *talung* than those who die through old age. Most people consider that *talung* were at one time human, and they are at times referred to as ancestors. However, this is not to suggest that *talung* are familiar in shape or form. Discussions about the shape and character of *talung* are fraught with difficulties; Lak people are generally uncomfortable speculating about what these spirits do or how they exist.

Informants insist that encounters with *talung* are fairly rare today, compared with earlier times. People attribute this directly to the influence of the churches in the region. Individuals occasionally come across these spirits at dusk along isolated sections of trails, in deep forest areas, or at night when returning to their hamlet. Tobill of Rei village explained to me that encounters with *talung* are not necessarily visual; they can be felt or sensed, *pelim long skin* ('felt in the skin'), especially when one is alone in the bush. On one occasion while unsuccessfully hunting pigs in the Weitin valley, my companions paused to address the local *talung* directly, complaining, "What is wrong, don't you recognise us, why are you keeping us from

[2] Known as *tabaran* in Tok Pisin and sometimes referred to as *tamianpoipoi*, which is actually an individual *talung* name in the Lak region.
[3] The Tok Pisin term *defil*, from the English word 'devil', was introduced by missionaries to describe these local supernatural inhabitants. Unlike the English word, the Tok Pisin word *'defil'* does not designate the being as necessarily evil or bad.

finding pigs?" The hunter announced his lineage back to his grandfather in an effort to establish his right to the pigs in the valley and his own relationship with the local *talung*. *Talung* are often accused of helping or hindering travellers who may become disoriented and lost because *talung* have obscured their way (cf. Eves 1998:30). This was the frequently repeated explanation by members of my party for my constant disorientation on hunting trips.

Unlike *tanruan*, *talung* are not characterised as having many forms and lack individual names. Physical descriptions of *talung* are rarely given but when pushed to speculate on their form, the descriptions tend toward a mutation of the human. *Tanruan* and *talung* share a penchant toward dark and obscured abodes. At times small caves were pointed out to me as the 'house' of a *talung* but such an association is usually an informal link between spirits and dark foreboding places and not in the same sense that *tanruan* are linked to specific geographical features. Kingston draws an interesting comparison between the *ficus* (tropical fig) tree, frequently associated with *tanruan* and the nature of supernatural beings. The *ficus* grows from seeds deposited by birds in the branches of mature trees and eventually establishes an impressive root system that stretches to the ground like a giant and twisted cargo net. The *ficus* creates dark recesses and crevices eventually obscuring the host tree and killing it. Like certain spirits the *ficus* consumes the rotting remains of the old and brings forth new life from decay and death (Kingston 1998: 147). The relationship between large trees such as the *ficus*, isolated regions of the bush, spirits and people is discussed further in chapter three.

The *tanruan* and *talung* are the two most widespread representatives of the Lak supernatural world. Their relationship with the human world is a turbulent one and the source of most of the region's magic and sorcery power. It is the ability of magicians to communicate with these supernatural beings through dreams and other means that underpins most creative and artistic powers.

These two prominent spirits are not the only supernatural beings resident within the Lak landscape. There are several other paranormal and extraordinary beings that may occasionally be heard, seen or felt as a presence. The local mythology describes underwater communities of *Rousenial* ('men of the ocean'), whose song can be heard

over rough seas; the interior regions have several varieties of 'wild men', some who are extraordinary in height and others diminutive in stature. There are groups of wild women who spear men with their breasts and devour solo male travellers. Some individuals regard these creatures as the characters of stories but many locals consider them to be real and often dangerous beings. To what extent people believe in, what are sometimes described as *stori tumbuna* ('tales of the ancestors'), it is hard to accurately gauge but the imaginative world they help to constitute in the minds of all Lak inhabitants is an important social construct.

Personal spirits

The life force that resides in all living people is called the *talngan*, and death of the body comes about when this spirit departs from its host body. [4] The corpse is described as *yai bobolos*, ('the wood that remains') and is considered no longer human. The Lak believe that *talngan* can reincarnate. Occasionally some likeness between a deceased community member is found within a new born child and this is explicitly recognised as people call the child by the name of the *talngan*'s previous host. The point at which a child becomes endowed with a life-force is more contentious and views range from the moment of conception until some time in infancy when a child is able to recognise its own name. The *talngan* is an invisible component of a human that is not present among other creatures. The *talngan* is usually contained within the body but it is able to leave the confines of this space for short periods. One of the most common ways for a person's *talngan* to disengage from the body is through dreams (discussed below). The *talngan* may also leave the body temporarily while in a conscious state if an individual receives a fright. Specialist sorcerers make use of their *talngan* for the purposes of communion with *talung* and *tanruan*, and to possess other beings as discussed in the following section.

[4] *Talngan* = third person, *talngak* = first person, *talngam* = second person.

Magic and sorcery

Magic and sorcery practices employ many of the spiritual forces discussed in the previous section. The role of magic and sorcery in modern Lak society is a complex one. It has become entwined with a Christian morality and produced a syncretic cosmology that incorporates more recently introduced beliefs with older traditional ones. A detailed examination of magical practices is necessary because these practices are meaningful at the local level and deserve consideration on their own terms. To ignore magical practice would be to deny a large part of the local cosmology. The relationship between the supernatural phenomena and performance practice will become more evident as the discussion proceeds, and it will be clear that music and magic are inseparable in the local ethos. I wish to suggest here, and in the discussions that follow, the changing and evolving nature of local magical practice. Magic and sorcery practices have not been passed down through generations unaltered by time or circumstance. It is an active and continuously changing feature of life in the region that is constantly adapting in order to engage with the shifting nature of the physical and conceptual worlds.

Informants often compared magic and sorcery practices with western technology, as according to local sensibilities they are perceived as achieving the same ends. In discussions and interviews on the topic of magic and sorcery, people would suggest that sorcery practice be understood as the 'technology' developed by ancestors and compared to a remote control device or with the abilities of technology: as an aeroplane can travel vast distances, so too can sorcerers in the guise of birds. While the analogy may seem unusual to an outsider, it is a logical and enduring comparison in terms of the local world-view. Technology is conceptually allied with Suilik, and magical practice clearly falls within the realm of Kabatarai. Magic, sorcery and technology are seen in these terms, as equals and as sources of power that can manipulate objects and people for the benefit of the user. These are the terms through which the technology gap that separates the Lak from the Western world is refigured and explained.

Magic in Lak primarily involves the manipulation of objects and people through the use of sung, chanted and spoken phrases, movement, personal discipline, and a range

of botanical substances. Most major undertakings, especially ritual undertakings, have magical practices performed in connection with them. Magic is generally conducted to ensure the trouble-free execution of an event, to protect objects, resources and possessions, on behalf of a group or on an individual scale. There are several forms of magic, which locals divide into specific categories, including: weather, garden, attraction, hunting, curative and black magic. The Lak region has in recent years become renowned throughout New Ireland as the hub of magic and sorcery practice. This belief is generated largely as a result of the area's geographical isolation. Isolation has aided the retention of many traditional cultural features and simultaneously limited travel in and out of the region. The result is that most people in the more populated northern areas of New Ireland know little about Lak and consequently fear its inhabitants as potential sorcerers. Like the people in all regions of New Ireland, the Lak fear sorcery. Black magic, sorcery or *posin*, as it is known in Tok Pisin, refers to magical practices of malicious intent.[5] People clearly distinguish between "good" and "bad" forms of sorcery, which are often determined by the practitioner's intent. For example, a man who conducts rain magic in order to aid the growth of his garden in a dry period is considered entirely different to a man performing the same magic rites in order to ruin the dance performance of a rival *kamgoi* ('Big Man').

Sorcery has been outlawed and strongly discouraged by church and state for many years. However, illness and death are at times still attributed to black magic practice. Again, it is circumstances that determine the presence of black magic. For example, when a man from Morukorn village fell suddenly ill and was unable to take food or water, speculations about sorcery reached the village in which I was staying within a week. He was sent to the aid post in Namatanai town where his sickness was unable to be diagnosed by the medical staff. He eventually recovered but the unusual nature of his sickness, the inability of the medical staff to ascertain the cause of the illness and the individual's reputation as an adulterer were seen as both evidence and provocation of sorcery. It is often in cases like these, with exceptional circumstances involving unusual illnesses and controversial individuals, that sorcery is held responsible. Western medicine is believed to be ineffective against sorcery-induced

[5] I use Evans-Pritchard's definition of sorcery: "magic that is illicit or is considered immoral." (1937:10).

illnesses. The perpetrator of sorcery is not generally sought, and no motive for magical poisonings is considered beyond those of jealousy and envy. People who achieve in any area of life, by holding successful feasts or obtaining material wealth, are said to be vulnerable to sorcery attack. This belief permeates local understandings to such an extent that, according to informants, during the 1980's and early 1990's people in Siar village refrained from buying corrugated iron for the roofs of their houses because they might be seen to be overstepping their social position and thus becoming susceptible to sorcery. Once significant local *kamgoi* ('Big Man') obtained western building products, other members of the village felt safe enough to purchase the same materials.

The evidence of sorcery practice, specifically sorcery induced poisonings, is not surprisingly, scarce. The socially unacceptable nature of sorcery and the fear of retaliatory action encourage any sorcerer to keep his actions undercover. Despite the lack of evidence, the belief in magically-induced killings is still common. A few years prior to my arrival a successful *kamgoi* in Kambiram village was swept out to sea while swimming and never seen again. The death was attributed to sorcery because of his recent accomplishments as a host of a large and impressive mortuary feast and his success as a choreographer, winning a provincial competition in Kavieng not long before his disappearance. This death was followed by much speculation but no culprit was ever discovered. Untimely, accidental and unexpected deaths still generate much discussion and speculation about possible supernatural causes.

The changing context of wealth and power among the Lak exacerbates the situation and the potential for sorcery attack. Traditional wealth and valuables, like shell money and pigs, can be removed from the public eye, secreted away until they are revealed during an appropriate forum such as the mortuary rites. However, modern forms of wealth, such as outboard motors, cars and cut-timber houses are more difficult to hide from the jealous gaze of a sorcerer. Further development in the region may see these problems increase as consumer goods become more accessible. The inherent contradiction between the ideals of concealing traditional valuables and the eventual conspicuous display and distribution of those valuables during the performance of *kastom* is considered part of the hazards involved in leadership. The more

conspicuous western forms of wealth may, over time, alter the context and frequency of envy inspired sorcery attacks.

Other forms of magic, those that would be classed by Evans-Pritchard as "good magic: magic that is socially approved" (1937: 10) is not the sole realm of specialists and is practiced by a large section of the population. Among the general population males perform magic more frequently than females. Specific incantations and spells are normally passed along clan lines.[6] Sometimes the knowledge is passed from father to son and occasionally magical practices are bought and sold. Unlike black magic practices people readily admit to knowing and using these forms of magic. These 'socially approved' forms of magic are diverse but most require the performance of certain ritual practices, the use or consumption of specific botanical items and the recitation of incantations, usually sung or chanted. The language of magical songs and incantations, like many of the traditional songs among the current repertoire used in dance performance, are often archaic or foreign. The meaning of the lyrics is in most cases not known to performers and not considered important to their efficacy. This apparent nexus between magic and music is explored in chapter four in a discussion of the *Tene Buai* complex.

I encountered only two men in Lak who claimed that during their youth they practiced black magic but have long since recanted and embraced the Christian faith. In contrast many males and the occasional female confessed to knowing and using love magic. Many men claim to have attracted their wives by using love magic (*malerra*) and many women attribute their marriages to the seduction of powerful *malerra* (see Kingston 1988: 214).

It is widely believed that the efficacy of magical practices requires a period of *kunubok* ('isolation and fasting'). Non-specialist and specialist magic practitioners alike must undergo these regimes to increase their spiritual and magical capacity. The system of *kunubok* has a cleansing effect on the skin and body of the magician. The isolation of *kunubok* ensures the avoidance of sexual fluids and contamination caused by association with women. The specifics of fasting (*ialal*) and isolation vary but their

[6] The relationship between male children and their matrilineal *Koko* ('uncle') is often the source for the transference of clan knowledge.

aim is to produce a body that can transcend normal human functions and generate access to the otherwise inaccessible world of spiritual beings (cf. Eves1995: 8; Mosko 2005:61). The *kunubok* takes place in the bush in order to bring the magician closer to the spirits who reside in isolated areas of the bush. The system of *kunubok* undertaken by dance participants and magicians is largely the same as both dancers and magicians seek to make their bodies 'light' and closer to the spiritual realm. The *kunubok* of a magician, unlike that of a dancer, is punctuated by the performance of magical incantations. The sung incantations of those trying to perform *malerra* are performed twice a day for up to a week before the performer returns to the village. Specialist sorcerers may spend longer periods in *kunubok*, depending on the type of sorcery they wish to practice.

One of the aims of the *kunubok* process is to produce a body that is light and dry. These two attributes will be shown to resonate as concepts throughout the entire culture (see chapter five). Moisture and weight are associated with young fertile women, rich soil for gardening, babies, children and youth among other things. Conversely the elderly are considered dry, no longer fertile and with loose skin. Spirits are also considered to be light and without moisture and thus older people are considered not only chronologically but also physically closer to the ancestors. Magical practices are thus easier to conduct for older people who have lost many of the features that cause the young to be considered wet and heavy. Women are capable of taking on positions of power in Lak society, especially in the later stages of their lives. Following menopause, women are able to take on social roles that were previously off limits due to their responsibilities and physical attributes. Older women, as will be shown below, have the ability to engage with certain magical practices to the same extent as men.

Specialist sorcerers

There are four specialist sorcery cults, which are known widely in the region. Some of these have their origins in Southern New Ireland while others have been introduced relatively recently. These institutions have survived despite the efforts of both the German and Australian colonial administrations and the continued efforts of the Christian churches. The inability of outside institutions to discourage belief in sorcery

cults is likely due to the ubiquitous nature of socially approved sorcery practice among the general population and the widespread belief in its efficacy. Not all of these sorcery institutions are considered antisocial, some of them are regarded as a community resource while others are tolerated and considered either useful or dangerous, depending on how they are employed.[7]

The most feared practitioner of sorcery and proponent of black magic is the *wah*, ('poison man'). The *wah* hides his identity and conducts his practices in secret. His practices are kept secret for the obvious reason that if people were aware of his identity, he would be open to accusations and retaliation might be sought for deaths or injuries caused by a suspected act of sorcery. *Wah* establish relationships with *talung* ('spirit entities') who provide them with the knowledge of how to inflict sickness or death on their victims. The poisonings performed by *wah* are not literal poisonings but magical. *Wah* are reportedly without moral facility and will conduct poisonings on clan members or close relations if commissioned to do so.

The *wah* and his reputation exist largely within the realms of rumour. Fantastic stories concerning their abilities are often recounted with a sense of excitement. *Wah* are considered to be unquestionably bad men but their abilities and knowledge create a certain amount of admiration as they represent the 'cleverness' of old ways. *Wah* are notoriously difficult to catch as they are reported to be able to move about unseen. While they play a significant role within the local understanding of sorcery and black magic, *wah* remain, for the most part, an enigma.

The *singiet,* also known in New Britain and New Ireland as *ingiet* (T.P.), is a sorcerer of considerable power whose practices are openly acknowledged within the Lak community.[8] The magical practices of *singiet* are widely known even in regions where the cult has not been extant for many decades.[9] The *singiet* society continues to have practicing members in Lak, unlike most areas in the Island region.[10] Neumann

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[7] Specialist magicians can be approached by laypeople requesting services or specific incantations in exchange for payment.

[8] Known as *ingiet* in Kuanua, the language of the Tolai, and *komkom* or *ingiet* in Tok Pisin.

[9] Albert 1987:89 links the cult to the interior dwelling pre-contact communities of the Lak region called Lambel/Laget.

[10] Parkinson 1999:259-65 notes the presence of *ingiet* societies among the Tolai, Baining, Butam and Taalil peoples of New Britian.

commenting on the demise of the *ingiet* society among the Tolai suggests that while colonial administrations and church groups actively discouraged it, the Tolai saw its demise in slightly different terms, that, "*Ingiet* magic works only if the right magic is paired with a strong belief in the effects of magical formulas contained in the knowledge"(1992b: 310, see also: Salisbury 1970:160). The influence of Christianity, which is attributed to the general erosion of belief in magical formulas among the Tolai have had a different kind of impact on the Lak. The survival of the *singiet* society can not just be due to the region's isolation since the Lak have been subject to considerable missionary influence. The continued existence of *singiet* sorcerers in several Lak communities implies a local acceptance of their role in society.

Most informants describe the *singiet* as a practitioner of black magic and indeed they are capable of performing many of the same acts of poisoning as *wah* sorcerers. But the *singiet* is also capable of 'seeing' others who perform acts of sorcery, theft or vandalism. It is this skill, which has likely, ensured the *singiet*'s continued harmonious existence within his community. He may be approached by people and employed to 'sleep', enter a state of trance, on their behalf. While in the unconscious trance state, he is able to see who has performed, for example, a poisoning that has caused death or illness. Upon awaking, he supplies the identity of the perpetrator to his employer. The *singiet* may then be paid to perform a retaliatory poisoning or exact revenge on the perpetrator through other means available to him. The ability of this sorcerer to 'see' the actions of others is only one of his impressive capabilities.

The *singiet* enjoys renown for his ability to disengage his life-force, *talngan* ('spirit/soul') from his body during trance. While in this state the *singiet*'s *talngan* is capable of travelling vast distances. Once disengaged from his body the *talngan* is also capable of entering into the body of animals. *Singiet* are reportedly capable of entering into a myriad of different animals including sharks, the *manigulai* ('sea eagle'), and pigs. While in spirit possession of these creatures the sorcerer is able to travel in the guise of these creatures and carry out commissioned killings. Like all sorcery practice, the *singiet*'s transcendental travel and spirit possession are considered extremely dangerous acts. These practices are performed in isolated areas of the bush where the *singiet* maintains a secret abode to ensure that he will not be disturbed while away from his body. Should he be interrupted during the practice, his

life-force may not be able to return to its body, resulting in death. *Singiet* perform many of their poisonings via sung and chanted incantations received from *talung* spirits. The *singiet* has a special relationship with *talung* and often acts as a medium between the spirits and his community. They are capable of receiving a variety of visions and may inform village members of sickness or death in a family or clan member who resides in a distant location. Most *singiet* are also capable composers and musicians with the ability to receive songs, dances and costume design in dreamt visions.

Kakan sorcerers are described as healers with knowledge of formulas and incantations that have the power to cure sickness. Like non-specialist sorcery, *kakan* knowledge is generally passed along clan lines and practiced on clan members. *Kakan* practitioners are reportedly capable of curing sickness induced by sorcery as well as general illnesses. These sorcerers carefully guard their knowledge but may practice their sorcery for non-relations in return for payment. Some *kakan* claim the ability to identify a sorcerer by the sickness rendered on the patient and may be asked to determine those responsible for sorcery post-mortem. The most common medium for curative sorcery is reef lime, the substance normally chewed in combination with the areca palm nut (betelnut). The reef lime is sung into in order to give the powder curative qualities. The song and its text are the most closely guarded aspects of *kakan* magic. *Kakan* are normally senior men in their communities, and their knowledge is highly regarded by the general population as a community resource.

The most popular form of specialist sorcery practiced in the Lak area today is widely known throughout the Island region as *Buai*.[11] The *Buai* cult is present throughout the Bismarck Archipelago (see Nachman 1981; Eves 1995; Salisbury 1970; Webb 1995; George 1988). The cult encompasses many different forms of magical practice, determined by the 'school' or 'style' of the teacher. *Buai* practitioners are known as *Tene Buai* and perform a wide range of magical, shamanistic, sorcery and musical practices. From what I observed of Lak *Buai* practices and those of other regions, each society appears to alter the emphasis of the cult to fit local needs.

[11] '*Buai*' sorcery apposed to '*buai*' areca nut or betelnut will be signified by the use of capitalisation throughout.

In Lak society, the *Tene Buai* is a multifaceted individual conversant in several magical forms but considered first and foremost as a musician. In his role as musician, the *Tene Buai* is a composer, choreographer, lyricist, arranger, costume designer and frequently a performer. The *Buai* cult is a central aspect of the musical and magical world of the Lak. *Tene Buai* play a significant role in all major social and ritual events and are valued members of their communities. The integral role of the *Buai* cult in the region is surprising, given that it is one of the newer magical practices of the area. *Tene Buai* practices are dealt with in detail later (chapter 4); in this section I aim to provide only a brief account of the cult's history and origin.

As mentioned, the *Buai* cult is a relatively recent import into the Lak region; most of the *Tene Buai* currently practicing *Buai* magic were initiated into the cult by ritual artisans from the Duke of York Islands.[12] *Buai* practice has existed in Lak for only about 60 years. Cultural and economic ties between the Lak, Tanga/Feni, Duke of York and Tolai groups have been in existence for many years, accounting for many similar cultural and economic features (see chapter 4).[13] Following the Second World War, movement between islands in the Bismarch Archipelago, New Britain and other areas in Papua New Guinea became easier and more frequent, with job seekers moving among the islands and exchanging cultural traditions. A shared cultural and economic basis such as shell currencies and spiritual beliefs provided a fertile ground for the exchange of sorcery and musical practices.

The real origin of the *Buai* cult remains ambiguous. Practitioners on the Nissan islands claim that the cult is indigenous to Nissan and that it was practiced there until German authorities suppressed it. According to Nissan islanders, *Buai* practices fled from Nissan to the Lak region and subsequently to the Duke of York and Gazelle Peninsular (Nachman 1981:49). The presence of an "indigenous profession" of composing and choreography was noted by Salisbury among the Tolai of Vunamami area in the 1960. Composers are initiated by ritual experts, who provide the aspirant with betelnuts, which he plants as a source of inspiration for his dreams (Salisbury

[12] The Lak people recognise a cultural affiliation and similarity in *Kastom* practice with the linguistic regions of Kamparam, Kadas, Label and Konomala and recognise the Tanga and Susurunga areas as related to them in a lesser degree.

[13] Foster 1995: 32-3, provides evidence of a pre-European contact inter-island trade network between Central New Ireland, Tabar Islands, Lihir Islands, Tanga Islands Feni (Anir) Island, Namatanai district, Muliama area, Lak area, the Nissan Group and Buka Island.

1970). The dreams help him to gain access to a recognised spirits source of musical inspiration known as *tabaran*.[14] According to the Madak of Central New Ireland, the *Buai* cult was imported into their area from the Duke of York and to a lesser extent Southern New Ireland regions (Eves 1995:22). The Lak trace the origins of the cult to the Duke of York group where they believe *Buai* magic has its genesis.

As the accounts above indicate, the origin of the *Buai* cult is uncertain but its assimilation into so many different linguistic groups is evidence of its appeal. Like many song and dance forms, magical practices are perceived as desirable particularly when originating from groups who are seen as powerful. The adoption of foreign musical and magical forms is a common practice in the Bismarck Archipelago (see chapter 4). The success of the *Buai* cult in the region is in part due to the diverse range of magical practices that are collectively grouped under the term '*Buai*'. The form that *Buai* has adopted in the Lak region is that of performance sorcery, suggesting the intimate relationship between music and dance performance, and the supernatural world.

[14] Salisbury adds that these experts are particularly common in the Duke of Yorks, Northern New Ireland and Lavongai. (Salisbury 1970:158).

Pidik: Hidden Knowledge and Secret Societies.

As Barth (1990) has pointed out, there is a Melanesian-wide perception of knowledge as enhanced by veiling it and controlling its distribution. Knowledge is managed by secreting it away for long periods and then briefly revealing it in what Barth has accurately described as "frenzies of stage-managed revelations where they make mysteries immanent – but not necessarily understandable" (1990:642). The enigmatic nature of these displays of knowledge and power reinforce the perceived value of the secret (cf. Albert:1987b: 24). The problem inherent in wielding this type of knowledge in Melanesia is that it works against the pervading social ideals of exchange that are a part of community life in the region. A man who doesn't engage in transactions is a man without relations (see Barth 1990:649). The hierarchical and mysterious nature of Lak secret knowledge helps those who possess the knowledge to maintain a degree of control while still ensuring its reproduction through initiations and in effect achieving what might be considered a pan-Melanesian goal of "keeping-while-giving" (see Weiner 1992).

Locals translate the word *pidik* to mean 'hidden knowledge' or 'secret possession'. [15] [16] Several New Ireland linguistic groups use this word, including the Barok and neighbouring Madak of central New Ireland and the Konomala, Label and Kandas groups bordering the Lak region (see: Eves 1998, Wagner 1986, Clay 1986). In each locale the word carries similar connotations and cultural implications, with certain aspects adapted to conform to local cosmologies. The broad themes of *pidik* in Lak are those of obstruction and revelation, and these resonate in the primary structures of society. As suggested by Kingston, the cross moiety avoidance relationships of *artanat* (see chapter 1) and the secrecy of *pidik* are a kind of foregrounding of absence. *Pidik* practice involves the public display of an aspect of the hidden. These displays reveal just enough to inspire the curiosity and desire of those outside the secret without revelation. Like *artanat* relationships, *pidik* events and knowledge generate conspicuous absences (Kingston 1998: 129).

[15] The word '*pidik*' has varying pronunciations and is also commonly rendered as '*pindik*'.
[16] Literally translated into Tok Pisin as: *tok hait*, *samting nogut*, and *pawa bilong bipo*.

To gain a *pidik* and become acquainted with its power, an individual must show commitment and the ability to maintain the secrecy required of members. Commitment is normally sought by two methods and begins with a financial outlay that may consist of shell money, kina and pigs. This stage is referred to as 'buying the *pidik*' and is followed by an initiation procedure, a more physical and personal commitment. Some *pidik* require extended periods of isolation and fasting (*kunubok*) while others involve hazing to test the level of commitment. The initiate is ultimately transformed by the *pidik* in the process of achieving it: the outsider becomes insider, boy becomes man, and layman becomes adept. The agency for transformation is the literal secret, revealed to the neophyte during the initiation. The *pidik* is normally presented as an image or object not by itself essentially meaningful without the context of secret and hidden knowledge. In a *pidik* initiation what is revealed is only part of the nature of the *pidik*. Often the 'secret' of a *pidik* presents a conundrum to the initiate. The apparent paradox is a problem that individual *pidik* members are left to come to terms with on their own.

Pidik gain much of their power in a similar way to that off the magical practices discussed above: through the invocation of the dead and ancestral spirits. These supernatural agencies may be invoked through costume, sounds, musical and dance performance or the use of substances related to magical practice. All *pidik* are a potential source of power to those who have obtained them. The power of a *pidik* may provide a stepping-stone to further opportunities allowing individuals to gain social status or material wealth.

Pidik are realised through transmission, the number of participants and their status within society reflects on the power of the *pidik*. Marianne George relates that among the Barok of central New Ireland *pidik* knowledge is regarded as successful only when the seeker recreates the secret knowledge that he or she has been seeking (1988:108). Although this is not explicitly stated by Lak informants, evidence would suggest that displays of the public side of the *pidik* by the new adept are a necessary part of the process involved in becoming a practitioner of a *pidik*.

All *pidik* have a public dimension; they are as much about reproduction and continuation as they are about restriction and concealment. As Kingston (1998:79-80)

and Foster (1995:46-7) have acknowledged, despite the emphasis on the concealment of *pidik* power, *pidik* are much more transitory than might be expected. Each linguistic group in the region can claim to have adopted *pidik* from other communities with adaptations for compatibility with their own cosmology. In Lak, *pidik* are highly desirable, and many initiates are willing to spend considerable resources on acquiring them. The hierarchical structure of *pidik* societies guarantees senior members power over junior participants. Each stage of a *pidik* initiation requires further fiscal commitments but guarantees access to greater knowledge and consequently authority. Senior members receive greater rewards; like a pyramid system, those at the top get greater proportions of any distributions. *Pidik* inspire desire, curiosity and create an element of mystery through their public dimensions. In performance the power of the *pidik* is made evident while simultaneously controlling its transmission. Containment and control are necessary to prevent overexposure and to preserve secrecy but equally a balance must be sought to encourage new initiates. *Pidik* societies survive by carefully balancing secrecy against exposure, both of which are necessary to maintain their powerful positions in the society.

Pidik in Lak are gender-based, and they are largely a male arena of knowledge and power. Women may know a great deal about men's *pidik* but they are ultimately excluded from participating in them. It has been argued by Gourlay that gender-based esoteric knowledge in Melanesia can be understood as a kind of consensual secrecy. In order that the rituals continue and ensure the survival of the social structures that the *pidik* uphold, women remain 'consensually' ignorant of cult practices (Gourlay 1975).

Women do, however, have their own *pidik* associated with the female initiation rites known as *dal* and the birth process. The initiation rites of girls or young women are traditionally conducted around the time of the commencement of the menstrual cycle. In the past the initiates would spend many months or even years in seclusion. At the completion of the rites the girl who entered the *dal* initiation would emerge from her isolation house as a woman ready to be married. The rites have significantly

attenuated in modern times and are now conducted in two or three days.[17] The *dal* remains an important rite, and the *pidik* knowledge and songs (*kamkombak*) that are taught to the initiates by senior women during the nights of seclusion are considered essential for a girl's passage to womanhood CD Track 1: *Kamkombak*. Men have a role in the *dal* that involves the display and performance of what might be described as minor *pidik*. These 'minor *pidik*' include male dancing masks (*tipang* or *lor*) and various sounds that imitate birds and spirit calls.The *dal* is a female *pidik* that is essential to the reproductive capabilities of women. The rites accompany the metamorphosis of the initiate's body and act as a precursor to the other definitive female *pidik*, the birth, which similarly requires a period of isolation. (For a detailed account of *dal* proceedings see Kingston 1998:Chapter 6.)

Pidik in Lak are a unifying concept and practice that maintain cultural knowledge, regulate social power and control the movement of wealth. The Lak are proud of their *pidik*; they are essential elements of social structure, represent gender conceptions and are an important source of power, wealth and status. In recent years some *pidik* have become representative of Lak culture, central to local identification and are subsequently considered to be of wide economic and cultural significance. The two most significant *pidik* are described below in detail; they have their origins in Southern New Ireland and are intimately bound into the life, *kastom* and the mortuary cycles of all the people.

Tubuan and *Talung* Societies

The *tubuan* and *talung* are the most important *pidik* societies in the Lak area. My initiation and involvement in these societies limits the amount of information that I am able to relay without betraying the confidence of my hosts.[18] It is, however, possible to discuss many of the relevant public dimensions of these two *pidik* societies

[17] While *dal* initiations continue to be performed, they are infrequent rites and none, which I were aware of, were conducted during either of my two term of residence in Lak.

[18] The local concern for the protection and maintenance of secrecy of these societies is in part due to the fact that the *tubuan* and *talung* are more than objects, figures or constructions to the Lak. They are their production and the context in which they appear. The Lak and all active *tubuan* societies in the archipelago have managed, so far, to avoid the objectification of the *nataka* figures.

here. The *tubuan* or *dukduk* society, as it is commonly known throughout the Bismarck Archipelago, centres upon the spirit figures that are referred to by the same names. In Lak, *tubuan* are identified by the generic name *nataka* but each figure is an individual, displaying its own unique markings, patterns and possessing an individual name, family and clan.[19] The *talung* society is also broadly distributed through the Southern part of New Ireland and among the outlying islands of Anir, Nissan and the Tangan group (Nachman 1981; Foster 1995). While *nataka* are very much physical beings, *talung* are physically insubstantial; their presence is only signified through the sounds they produce.

As the origin myth recounts, *nataka* are associated with Suilik while *talung* are linked with Kabatarai. Suilik's explicit association with the *tubuan* and Kabatrai's with the *talung* are indicative of their relative status. While both *pidik* are powerful and potentially dangerous, *nataka* are clearly regarded as the most dominant and impressive of the two *pidik* societies.

Nataka do not represent any specific deceased individual and are not linked to humans in a direct way. The figures are female ancestors related to a matrilineage (clan). *Nataka* figures are an aesthetically powerful image to the Lak and a dominant cultural metaphor. The iconic image of the *nataka* is employed in many different situations in order to generate associations of spiritual power and mystery. Men's dances often use conical-shaped headdresses, (*kangal*) (plate 7), handheld magical dancing devices (*pampam*) (plate 8) and costume features designed to reference the *nataka* image in subtle and explicit ways in order to generate power. The *nataka* can be seen on the shafts of ceremonial axes (*firam*) (plates 5 & 6), and explicit links are expressed between men's houses and the spirit figures. Both are said to contain hidden *pidik*; the roofing is made of the same material as the body of *nataka* figures, and they are the focus of male activity. While the *nataka* design is referenced in many aspects of Lak life, the value of the *nataka* image is not undermined by this multiplicity of reference. This is primarily because, like all *pidik*, the *tubuan* society is careful to limit the exposure of the masks themselves. It is possible to find many echoes of the *nataka* spirits in aspects of daily life, and people may make reference to

[19] Here and later in this work I use the Tok Pisin term '*tubuan*' in reference to the *pidik* society and the indigenous term *nataka* when referring to the spirit figures.

objects having the same abstract qualities of the spirit masks but the real *nataka* figures are infrequently seen.

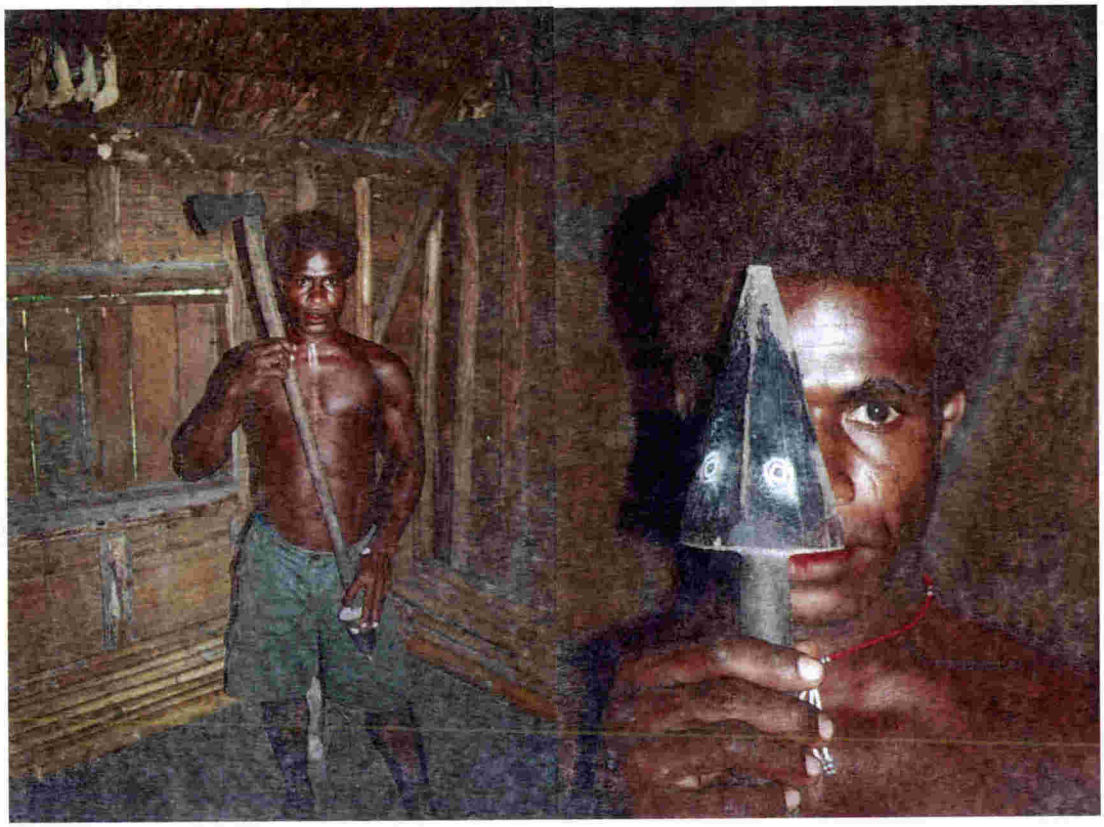

Plate 5 **(left) Tobill holds a *firam* ('traditional axe')**

Plate 6 **(right) *Firam* butt; note the conical shape and concentric circles that form the eyes like those of *nataka* figures.**

Plate 7 **Solomon dancers wearing *kangal*. The shape of *kangal* make subtle reference to *nataka*.**

Plate 8 **Three men in Morukon displaying *pampam*. *Pampam* also take their form from *nataka*.**

Nataka cognitively represent several key conceptual factors in Lak society. Firstly, the *nataka pidik,* equally the *talung pidik*, is a rite of passage and a defining aspect of the Lak male persona. The secret societies are also the most prominent representatives

of *pidik* power; that is, hidden power and restricted knowledge, a theme that has been shown to resonate throughout the society. On another level *nataka* can also be seen as 'representative symbols', summarising the very real and poignant role played by spiritual beings in the local collective conscience. Kingston presents the *nataka* image as an "elaborating" power providing a "root metaphor" through which many important categories (male:female, living:dead, hidden:visible) are "conceptually understood and affectionately felt" (1998: 188). In more recent times *tubuan* have come to represent traditional ways and beliefs, and to some degree the culture in the broadest sense. The Lak are proud of the power the figures represent and often the fear that this *pidik* generates in outsiders.[20] *Nataka* are central to the mortuary rites and in this capacity represent social structures and conventions such as the system of leadership and *kastom*. The *tubuan* tradition is now widely disseminated throughout the Bismarck archipelago from the Tolai in the south to the Nissan Islands in the north and as far west as the Madak in central New Ireland (Foster 1995:34; Eves 1995). This wide distribution is taken by many Lak as a sign of the *pidik*'s power and an endorsement of Lak spiritual power as the origin of the *tubuan* society.[21]

Like all *pidik*, participation in the *tubuan* society is possible only through initiation. Initiates must have a sponsor to enter into the *pidik*, and sponsorship is provided by senior members called *Yain pidik*, (literally 'tree bearing secrets'). *Yain pidik* are expected to provide financial aid to their initiates in the form of shell money and pigs to help them gain entry into the *pidik*. The *Yain pidik*'s financial outlay is a long-term loan that will eventually be paid back. The initiate is forever obligated to his sponsor and expected to provide support when called upon. The symbolic process of initiation into the *tubuan* society suggests a process of regeneration and re-figuration. The induction process includes a hazing, which 'kills' the initiate. His being is symbolically reconstituted and amalgamated into the *pidik* society: he literally becomes a man and a spirit. As a result his status outside the society is altered; once inducted a young man is expected to leave his family and sleep in the men's house with other young males.

[20] The *tubuan* society was banned by the Catholic Church for almost a generation following World War Two but reinstated in the late 1960's or early 70's by Daniel Toanoroi and Palus Totadai who travelled to Kavieng town in order to get permission to reinstate the rites from the Regional Bishop.
[21] Although several linguistic groups lay claim to be the originators of the *tubuan*, most indigenous and Western historical accounts confirm Southern New Ireland as the most likely source of the *pidik* society.

Yain pidik are almost always leaders in their communities; however, the secret society has its own systems for advancement that do not necessarily correspond directly with the wider society. A *Yain pidik*'s position, as a leader of the secret society, gives him an equal footing alongside the *nataka* figures. Indeed *Yain pidik* become like the spirits they own. *Yain pidik* are the only people capable of controlling the movements of the *nataka* and like the spirit figures, they can move between the visible and invisible worlds of the village and *taraiu* ('*tubuan*'s secret grounds'). All other participants remain confined within the *taraiu* for the duration of the rights. The *Yain pidik* publicly exercise control over the *nataka* in several ways. They begin the dance performance by beating the slit-gong (*garamut*), which summons the figures from the *taraiu* to the dancing grounds. *Yain pidik* lead the *nataka* by carrying the ceremonial *tubuan* spears, *sur*, and they pay the *nataka* with shell money shortly after their arrival, making it clear who has commissioned their presence and performance. They also issue instructions to the figures in the 'language' of the *nataka*. The *nataka* society like other *pidik* groups, has a large vocabulary of words and phrases that are only accessible to those who hold the *pidik*. These words are used to communicate with the *nataka* spirits directly.

The meeting place of the society is the *taraiu* (T.P.) or in the indigenous language *boiboiloulou*, (literally 'bad' or 'dangerous bush'). Uninitiated males and women are not allowed into the *taraiu*, and transgression of this rule would likely incur the imposition of heavy fines and compensatory payments. It is not, however, only the rules of the society that keeps non-members away from the *taraiu* grounds. *Nataka* are regarded as very powerful beings and considered extremely dangerous to children and women. In the past, figures were known to kill men and women indiscriminately and even today sickness and death are attributed to contact, often indirect, with *nataka* figures.

Initiates and outsiders are always conscious of their behaviour in the presence of *nataka*. The figures are treated, like all spirits, with a mixture of reverence and fear. During dance performances, like those that take place at the conclusion of the secondary mortuary rites, women and non-initiates are encouraged to watch the *nataka* perform but are expected to keep a respectful distance and not look too closely

at the eyes and face of the *nataka*. The eyes are regarded as their most powerful features. Women who stare at the eyes and face of a *nataka* can be expected to miscarry or produce a malformed child. Any death, which takes place during or in the wake of a *nataka* ritual, is likely deemed to be the result of a figure's gaze. Restrictions on behaviour and noise in a village are maintained throughout the duration of *nataka* events, which usually last about a week. The restrictions extend beyond the hosting community to include all communities who have members participating in the event. Most *nataka* events are large occasions and involve most of the active *taraiu* in the linguistic group and beyond.

All *nataka* are individuals, identified by their unique features, as already discussed. Their bodies are largely identical and constructed from green rattan leaf. It is the head of the *nataka* that holds the identifiable features and makes it unique. The details and design of each *nataka* head is owned by an individual or collective and cannot be reproduced in any form without permission. The copyright design of a *nataka* can be purchased from retiring members (men too old to ensure the regeneration of their own *nataka*), or inherited from deceased clansmen or received as a vision in a dream. All of these methods of acquiring *nataka* are equally legitimate and seen as acceptable ways of exchanging *pidik* ('secret') objects.

The two original *nataka* forms were the *nantoi* and *dukduk* but today there are four *nataka* figures in use in Lak. The *nantoi* sometimes called *marmar* are the largest figures and may also be referred to as *kamtikin-lamas*, ('base of the coconut palm') in reference to the shape of the *nantoi*'s head, which resembles the tapering lines of a coconut palm (plate 9).[22] The word *kamtikin-lamas* also alludes to the figure's status as the progenitor *nataka*; the bases from which all others have grown. Similarities can be drawn between the word for clan, *kamtikin-oon* (literally 'base of the banana') referring to a matrilineal decent group. *Nantoi* are the most important *nataka* figures and the 'base' symbol of the *tubuan* society. *Nantoi* can be owned by *Yain pidik* only, and it is this relationship that defines their position (plate 10). *Nantoi* are the 'mother' *nataka* and considered the most powerful figures.

[22] Strictly speaking *marmar* describes the 'hair' on the back of *nantoi* heads, a feature that is unique to *nantoi* figures.

Plate 9 **A *Nantoi* parading around the dancing grounds in Siar**

Plate 10 **Two *nantoi* bracket a *kamgoi*. Only *Yain Pidik* like Gabriel dare to approach *nataka***

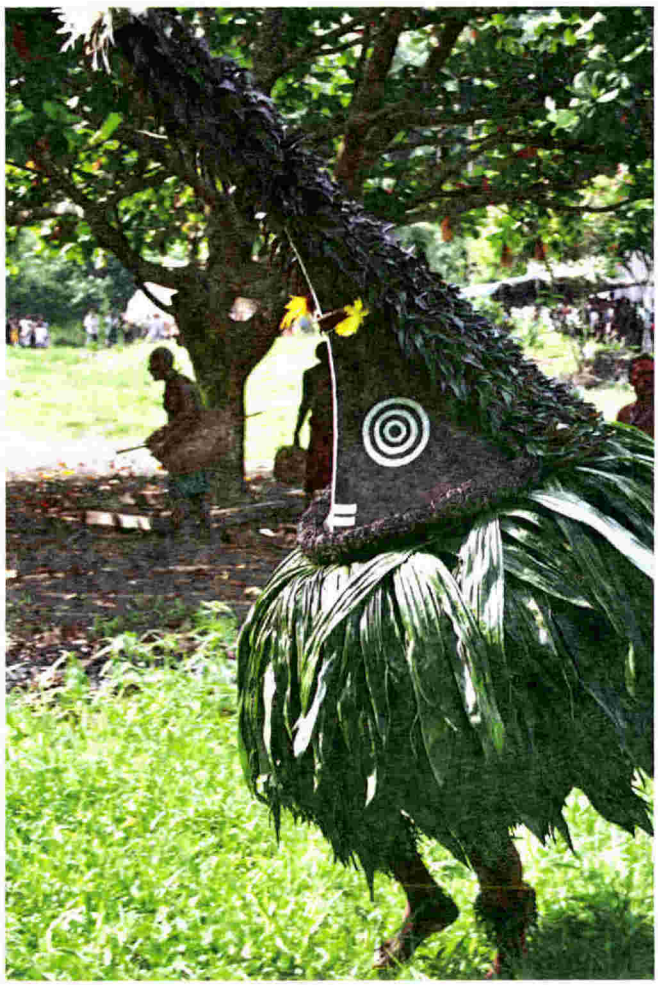

Plate 11 An image of power. A *nantoi* dances while women observe in the distance. Note the *tanget* leaves on the back of the head

Nantoi have colourful *tanget* ('*cordyline terminalis*') leaves that cover the back of the head (plate 11). During *kastom* events, *kamgoi* ('Big Men') can be recognised by the *tanget* leaves that are worn around their necks and extend down their backs (plate 12 & 13). Wearing *tanget* leaves in this way provides a visual association with *nataka* and refers to the power of the *pidik* with which the *tanget* is associated.

Plate 12 *Kamgoi* ('Big Man') wearing *tanget* ('*cordyline terminalis*') around his neck

Plate 13 The *tanget* are a symbol of authority shared by both *kamgoi* and *nataka*

The *dukduk* figures are markedly different from their 'mother', *nantoi*. The most striking iconographic difference, making the *dukduk* easily recognisable, is that it has no eyes (plates 14 & 15). It follows that *dukduk* are not considered to be as dangerous or violent as *nantoi*. *Dukduk* follow their 'mother' *nantoi* around and appear in marked contrast to the fat and boisterous female figures. Lower-ranked members of the *tubuan* society own the *dukduk* figures and, like their owners, the *dukduk* are entirely subservient to their higher-ranking *nataka*.

Plate 14 **A *dukduk* follows a *nantoi* around the dancing plaza. Note the height of the *dukduk*'s head**

Plate 15 **A *dukduk* at rest. *Dukduk* have no eyes or mouths**

Dukduk stand fully erect in contrast to the forward leaning gait of the *nantoi*. The *dukduk* heads are much simpler in design and typically consist of three of four bands of colour on a cone-shaped head.

The other types of *nataka* are relatively recent imports and are based on the Tolai style. These figures are known as *koroporou* and *koropo*. They are highly decorated and considered very attractive by most Lak males. The *koropo* style is more anthropomorphic than any of the other figures, some feature mouths and noses as well as eyes (plates 16 & 17). The eyes are smaller than *nantoi* but are of the same pattern of concentric circles, and the head itself is considerable smaller. *Koropo* and *koroporou* are considered more powerful spirits than the *dukduk* but not on par with *nantoi* figures.

Plate 16 A *koropo* takes a break from dancing. *Koropo* have heads that are more compact than *nantoi* and shorter than *dukduk*

Plate 17 ***Koroporu*. The heads of *koropru* are the same shape as *nantoi* but, unlike *nantoi*, *koroporu* have no *tanget* leaves on the back of the head**

The back of the *koroporou*'s head has no leaf coverings but may in some cases have elaborate abstract designs which may be linked to the figure's origin (plate 17). The *koropo* figures have much shorter heads, and their bodies or *noh* also tend to be shorter and less bulky than *nantoi*. Like *nantoi* and *dukduk, koroporou* have *kangal* extending out of the top of their conical heads. *Koropo* have little or no pole above their heads. The owners of *koropo* and *koroporu nataka* are likely to know the origin of their masks; *nantoi* can't in most cases be traced back through more than three or four generations. The newer *nataka* are obtained primarily through dreams in which the dreamer makes contact with *talung* spirits or specific deceased *Yain pidik* ('senior ritual practitioner') whose spirit provides the details for a new *nataka*.

Talung is the generic name for many spiritual beings in the Lak cosmos. Details of these beings have been provided earlier in this chapter. The *talung* secret societies

cultivate a close relationship with the *talung* in their vicinity. The most prominent aspect and public dimension of this society is the production of the *talung* 'cry'. As already discussed, the *tubuan* society is focused around the powerful and poetic image of the *nataka* figure, and the *tulung* society around the iconic sonic calls of these spirits. Originally, so local lore dictates, the *talung* was a *pidik* ('secret') possession held only by the interior dwelling clan groups but today, like the *tubuan* society, it has active members in almost every community. Members of the interior clans, whose numbers dominate communities in southern and central areas of the region, are likely to have more active *talung* societies and play a more prominent role in the mortuary cycle.

Like the *tubuan* society, the *talung* maintain their own grounds at the edge of the village. These grounds are known as *rakrak* and, like the *taraiu* ('secret grounds'), are accessible only to initiated members. The *talung* society is a structured group whose senior members allow new members to purchase a place in the *pidik* through similar means to those used in the *tubuan* society. Several older men in the central and southern regions recall a time when all boys were initiated into the *talung* as a rite of passage. Today boys are initiated at a time of their choosing, with support from a sponsor, and this is normally from around eight years of age and above. From my observations and as the age of initiation suggests, the *talung pidik* is not as difficult to gain entry into, the price of induction tends to be not as substantial as the *tubuan*. Essentially the *talung pidik* is considered less potent than the *tubuan*. Traditionally each *talung* society had its own particular sound. The pitch of the *talung* cry was said to differ between each sacred society. Today this differentiation is no longer evident. In the past the *talung* were strongly linked to clan or sub-clan groups but today the society is no longer linked to inter-clan rivalry. The leaders of the *talung* society are referred to as *Yai* (literally 'wood'). *Yai* are the only members who are allowed to operate the *tangaloup* (bullroarers) while the other more junior members, called *talung boiboi* ('bush spirit') operate smaller devices to produce a pulsating reed-like sound from a device called *kior*.

The *talung* often invade the village during the later parts of the primary mortuary rites: during the *todong*, and occasionally in the secondary rites or *portung*. I witnessed the arrival of the *talung* and its occupation of a village during the initial

stages of the primary rites, the day of the burial of a *Yai*. The *talung* may at times perform at rites that are traditionally associated with the *tubuan* society, if circumstances require it. The *talung* society is able to mobilise performers and effectively render the presence of spirit beings in the village at short notice, a task more difficult for the labour-intensive *tubuan* society. During the *todong* rites, the *talung* will cry for ten minutes in the *rakrak*, warning all women, children and uninitiated men to vacate the village or hide inside their houses. The group will slowly proceed through the village to the men's house where they collect a pig that has been allocated for the *talung* by the hosting *kamgoi* ('Big Men'). The pig is collected and taken back to the *rakrak* grounds, from where the sound of the *talung* cry will be heard late into the night. Any appearance or performance of the *tubuan* or *talung* requires that the society be compensated with shell money and pigs. During a mortuary event, these costs are incurred by the hosting *kamgoi* and his supporters. During other occasions, like a village or church celebration, the *tubuan* may be called upon to make an appearance, endorsing the event or occasion with its presence. In these cases the entire community shares the burden of the spirits' attendance.

The *tubuan* and *talung pidik* societies are most active during the mortuary cycle of *kamgoi* but they may also mobilise in defence of their secrets or following divergence from customary practice by members and non-members (see chapter six for details). Compensation is usually demanded in the form of a pig, and the society remains active until all of its demands are fulfilled. It is quite common that, following any *pidik* performance, the society will remain active for days and sometimes weeks while all discrepancies by insiders and outsiders are addressed and rectified.

These secret societies have much in common with one another; both societies contain significant *pidik* knowledge, which is considered important to a man's role in society. The *tubuan* and *talung* societies are essential to the process of reconstituting the deceased, and it is obvious that both secret societies have a strong link to the spiritual dimensions of Lak society. It is also clear that the aim of these societies is to advertise the power and control exercised over these spiritual dimensions in visual or aural performances. The use of dance, music and sound in these secret societies is significant; these are the tools used to display *pidik* power. What remains to be shown is why these creative forms are of such consequence.

Dreaming as a Creative Power.

> Ideas about the origin and composition of music provide an important indication of what music is and how it relates to other aspects of the lives and cosmos of a community. (Seeger:1987:52)

The way in which the Lak perceive and utilise music and dance is, as Seeger suggests, intimately bound to the other aspects of local cosmology. As already mentioned, spirits entities, their power and arcane knowledge are accessible through dreams. Dreams are regarded as a means of communicating with spirits in many Melanesian cultures (c.f. Yoichi Yamada 1995:93 & 1998:21- 42; Lohmann 2003). Dreaming provides a link between the living and the dead and is a source of creative inspiration for *nataka* design, dance choreography, music, costume, and magic. This section introduces the subject of dreams as they are perceived by the Lak people: a source of creativity and subsequently power.

Ethnographic studies tend to avoid the examination of dreams because of their perceived association with the individual psyche, following Freud's interpretation: dreams are seen as a means of access to a person's unconscious mind. The role of dreams in a social and cultural perspective has been largely overlooked, partly because of this emphasis on dreams being a reflection of an individual's desires and insecurities and therefore not directly relevant to a wider social scale. Yet the images, symbolism and abstract content of dreams take place within a culturally informed mind. It is the same mind, once conscious, that relates the dreamt images, and may even provide a culturally informed interpretation of its contents (Stephen 1981:106). For the society at the centre of this study, an examination of the content of dreams does not trespass on the private workings of an informant's mind, because the content of many dreams is publicly expressed and presented in performance. The images and ideas relayed to the sleeper by spiritual beings in dreams may in turn be rendered public during a performance. It is in this context that dreams are perceived as a valid source of creative material.

Dreaming for Lak people is real experience and is not dismissed as inferior to waking reality. In fact, dreamt experience, while significantly different from waking

experience, is considered extremely valuable. It enables an individual to communicate beyond the realms normally accessible. Dreams enable part of the sleeper to travel across spatial, temporal and spiritual dimensions, a common belief in Melanesia and throughout the western pacific (c.f. Lohmann 2003: 1). The Lak, like many other Melanesian people, believe that it is the dreamer's *talngan* ('soul') that undergoes the experience of the dream. When asleep the dreamer's *talngan* wanders in a similar manner to *talung* spirits. It is while in this state that one's *talngan* is able to communicate with the deceased and other spirit beings (c.f. Firth:2001, Weiner: 1986, Stephen:1981). In fact the *talngan* can gain access to many realms that are normally hidden from people. Following the death of the body, the *talngan* is capable of continued wanderings and it may appear in the dreams of others. The entities encountered during dreamt experiences impart knowledge and power practices that can be transferred to the waking life.

Not all dreams are considered significant. Many dream experiences are dismissed as unimportant and of no consequence. Most dreams are not discussed as they are considered trivial but occasionally a person might, in the course of a conversation, relate a vivid dream along with an interpretation. Sometimes an illness can be linked to sorcery through dreams, or an individual receive what they consider to be a warning from deceased relations but portends in dreams are not considered a common occurrence.

Certain ritual experts, including the *wah*, *singiet*, *kakan* and *Buai*, are able to actively solicit communications through dreams. Over time specialist sorcerers build relationships with individual *talung* who provide them with incantations, magical poisons, dance choreography and songs. Young men frequently use magic with the aim of seducing women, a practice known as *malerra*. This magic works on the victim's *talngan* while dreaming, causing the woman to dream of the young man performing the magic and resulting in desire. Like all magical practice, a period of sexual abstinence and fasting must be endured before a ritual adept is able to dream and make contact with spiritual beings. It is through this process that certain adepts are able to access artistic creative inspiration. Kingston suggests that the process through which the Lak gain creative inspiration might be best presented as 'reverie' (1998:194-5). This word has the potential to describe not only 'sleep dreams' but also

meditative states induced through the ingestion of magical substances and/or the process of *kunubok* ('isolation and fasting'). The emphasis on creativity originating in an outside agency is reflected in almost all creative practice in the region. A Lak artist does not claim any rights over his creations for precisely this reason. Essentially, the creative subject was never his own; the only rights that he can, and does, exercise are those over the techniques for communicating with spirits in a state of 'reverie'. The rights to creativity itself are held and disseminated by *pidik* ('secret') societies. For example, *Buai* practice allows initiates access to the creative power of spirits through dreams.

For Lak the 'visions' witnessed in dreams provide a potential wellspring of creative material. Michele Stephen suggests that although the nature of dream creativity is not fully understood, one aspect is fairly apparent: dreams consist of a free play of ideas and images, free from the normal constraints of time, loci and society (1981: 116-7). It is these aspects of dreams, Stephen suggests, that makes them valuable. "The very absurdity of dreams is a key to their value: they set aside all judgements and restrictions" (ibid:116). The potential of a mind in this state to be creative and innovative is significantly greater than the conscious mind, which is constrained by logic and structures imposed upon that mind by society. The dreaming mind avoids the well-trodden paths that link conventional thought and create new paths through unusual routes or random leaps not constrained by logical process (ibid: 116). This apparent free range of association and unrestrained innovation is controlled by the conscious mind and subject to cultural conventions that allow these dreamt experiences a necessary framework. Before a song, costume design, or dance choreography can be relayed from a dream, it must first pass through the scrutiny of the conscious mind. The dream will inevitably be subject to the cultural interpretation of the conscious mind and during this process, the dream, which was born of an unrestrained unconscious, is transformed into a cultural artefact (ibid: 118). As we will see in chapter four, it is through this process that *Buai* composers claim to produce new works. The compositions produced are always innovations based on existing patterns. The unconscious dreaming mind simply provides a new way of combining aural, textual and visual images that are common among the cultural milieu.

Dreams in Lak are perceived as a potential source of knowledge and power. Dreaming links humans with the realm of spirits, to whom most creativity is attributed. For most people contact with spirits through dreams is at the discretion of spirit entities but for specialist magic practitioners the spirit realm can be accessed at any time through dreams and states of reverie. The fact that most creative products – significantly music, dance and costume – are attributed to an external spiritual origin suggests the special nature of these creative forms. They are perceived as outside normal human capabilities. Singing and dancing is a supernatural experience, the product of the relationship between the human and spiritual realms.

The Return of Suilik

In the previous chapter I presented the myth of Suilik and Kabatarai and provided a brief analysis of the origin story's relevant themes as they relate to aspects of the modern Lak world. Suilik's departure overseas and Kabatarai's stationary existence and focus upon *kastom* have been shown to be central to the local ethos. This final section deals with what might be called the origin story's most recent episode: the return of Suilik.

Christianity has over the past one hundred and thirty years become an important part of many aspects of Lak life. The social and cultural changes that have been brought about because of the introduction of Christianity appear at times, depending on the context, to be both profound and subtle. Christian doctrines and monotheism are, as the earlier section 'Living with Spirits' suggests, quite remote from traditional belief systems, but the new religion has not simply supplanted the old; Christianity has both altered and been altered by the old. The most obvious instance of this localisation in Lak society is the translation of the name 'Jesus' to 'Suilik'. Such an appropriation renders Suilik as the cultural hero returning in a new guise, bringing with him followers (missionaries) and the cargo that, according to local understandings, his knowledge has created. The return of Suilik in the form of the Christian Jesus corroborates the origin myth's 'cargo cult' claim that western goods and technology have a local genesis. God has also been rendered into the Siar language as *kamgoi* in a

very different form than that of Jesus. *Kamgoi* translates most commonly as 'Big Man', referring to a person of importance, respected community leader, and therefore is easily substituted for a supreme leader or God. Whether the use of the names Suilik and *kamgoi* as indigenous terms for Jesus and God was a Lak substitution or of foreign instigation may never be known. In several instances in Papua New Guinea missionaries have used nouns drawn from local mythology or traditional gods and spirits in order to try and avoid simply adding yet another deity to an often already crowded supernatural cosmos (cf. Clifford 1980:9). In some of the versions of the story of Suilik and Kabatarai recounted to me, other aspects of the myth also appear to have adopted Christian themes.[23] Suilik's ship is, in some renditions, called 'Araka', a Siar language substitution for 'Ark'; the ship itself is full of animals which are set down in different areas of Papua New Guinea, explaining the distribution of birds and animals through the New Guinea Islands (cf. Gewertz & Errington 1991:87 in which a Chambri man attempts to reconcile local truths with Christian truths by writing a "Chambri Bible"). Whatever the case may be concerning the introduction of indigenous terms to the Christian missions in the Lak region, Suilik is now firmly established as the local term for Jesus. In fact Jesus is, for many younger Lak residents, Suilik's only incarnation. As mentioned at the beginning of this section in chapter one the characters from the origin myth are slowly fading from the community's collective conscience.

This ethnography has been undertaken predominantly in the Catholic regions of Lak. The Catholic presence in the area traditionally extends from Lak's northern boundary at Kapsipow/Rei villages south to Cape Siar. From the Weitin Valley south to the Lambom and Lamasa islands, the United Church is the principal denomination. These rather simple original denominational boundary patterns have in recent years become more complicated with the introduction of several new churches. These include the Seventh Day Adventists, Foursquare and New Life Churches. The Seventh Day Adventists maintain a small presence in the region among the communities in Lambom and scattered along the east coast while the Foursquare church has established separate communities at Udam in the South of the Weitin Valley, at Malum ngis close to Silur government station, as well as among other communities in

[23] The Kwara'ae of Malaita reconcile biblical and ancestral stories in their origin tale in a similar manner to the Lak people (see Burt 1982).

Lambom and along the east coast. The New Life Church has members among the Lambom and Lamasa communities but has yet to make an impact within the communities on the east coast.

Plate 18 Lectern in the Catholic Church in Silur with painting depicting the emblem of Papua New Guinea, the emblem of the Catholic Church and two *nantoi* figures.

As mentioned in chapter one, Christian denominations in the area are often sharply divided by their individual stances with regard to *kastom*, *wol* ('ritual plan') and mortuary practices. The tension between these groups has recently increased because all of the new Churches have converted their congregations from among the United and Catholic communities, of which almost all Lak people were previously members. The original geographic divisions of denomination were disrupted, and now communities of different denominational orientations live side by side. This has, in the recent past, caused disputes between the members of different churches and at times led to direct confrontation (cf. Kingston 1998:88-9). During my stay in Lak, it

was evident that tensions remain but a certain amount of acceptance and tolerance has developed between the different denominations represented in the region.

The Catholic communities in Lak are arguably the most liberal denomination as regards traditional practices. The recent determination by the Catholic Church to actively create a 'cultural church', which incorporates traditional concepts of celebration, dance and song, and even the powerful, pre-Christian spirit beings, *tubuan*, is an important feature of all Catholic communities (plate 18). This movement has taken place at the same time as the church has become truly local through the establishment of indigenous ministry and internal sponsorship. In over one hundred years of missionary influence the positions of the Catholic and United Churches have not always been as liberal regarding traditional beliefs and culture. Missionaries have ushered in many changes but in most cases they haven't deterred the local appetite for traditional practices, including the mortuary rites or the male allegiances to secret societies.

The establishment of missions and the conversions that have taken place have altered local perceptions and introduced many new ways of understanding but the Churches and their teachings are, even today, understood in the pre-existing spiritual and social context of the region. Efforts by missionaries to expose or prohibit secret societies and break allegiances between people, spirits and magical practice have in most cases failed, primarily because people continue to find no incompatibility between the traditional and introduced belief systems. Catholicism, among other denominations, is a religion heavily endowed with ceremony and ritual not altogether unlike many of the traditional magical processes.[24] In Catholic communities people are dedicated to their church but still value and participate in the mortuary cycle and secret men's societies. Many instances, from my own experience and that of other ethnographers in the region, can be recounted in which individuals attempt through action or discussion to reconcile traditional spiritual beliefs with modern Christian ones. The substitution of Suilik for Jesus is only one of the most evident. In some cases people have tried placing statues of the Madonna in gardens in order to ward off pigs and thieves in a similar manner as a traditional *gorgor* might be used (Albert 1987b: 49).

[24] See Burt:1982, for examples of how other people in Melanesia have drawn parallels between pagan and Christian religions.

In modern Lak the *lotu* ('religion') is an inspiration for music and dance. The Holy Spirit and *talung* spirits are seen as equally valid sources of song and creativity. From an indigenous perspective, traditional and Christian beliefs are understood as two descriptions of the same phenomenon (see chapter seven). In many Lak communities today, especially among Catholics, the church has become the nexus between the introduced music, which includes string bands and electric instruments, and the traditional forms of music and dance. As will be shown in the chapters that follow the role of music and dance in creating an image of community within church and traditional contexts is central to local ideas about performance, music and dance.

Conclusion.

This chapter and the previous one have provided a broad depiction of the Lak people and their society with a view to illuminating the contextual path for the discussions of music, dance and performance that will follow. The shifting mythological narratives of the region have been used to bracket the content presented here in section one. Suilik's changing role reflects wider social realities, brought about by the increasing influence of non-Melanesian concepts. The myth continues to provides the Lak with a means to define themselves in contrast to the 'other'.

The importance of self-definition through relationships with others permeates Lak culture. Just as Kabatarai is defined by his role as Suilik's brother, so is each member of society composed of the relationships that encompass them. When an 'individual' is defined by their relationships with others, the gap between 'us' and 'them' is diminished because 'we' are literally dependant on 'them' for our identity. This situation has been shown here to exist at every level of Lak society: people are defined by their relationships, moieties are constituted by their opposite and the Lak distinguish themselves from other groups through *kastom*, the work of Kabatarai.

Kastom is central to who the Lak are and how they perceive the world. As the cultural category of *kastom* emerged in Melanesia, so did regional associations and definitions of the term. The pre-existing concept of *wol* ('ritual plan') has informed local notions concerning *kastom*. The dominant themes of *wol* – order, structure and the

maintenance of social relations – have been amalgamated with those of *kastom* – local, regional and political identity. *Kastom* has also developed in parallel, and in some instances in opposition, to the other emerging cultural concepts of *bisnis*, *lotu* and *gavman* and is partly defined by its relationship to these realms of activity. *Kastom* claims an all-important role in Lak society; it is fundamental to social coherence and identity. It literally makes them who they are and simultaneously defines them.

The mortuary rites are the largest and most regularly enacted *kastom* series performed by the Lak. In the chapter that follows this thesis uses the mortuary sequence as the context in which to describe much of the music and dance of the region. The long and complicated series of rites involved with finishing the dead have been introduced here as a reference to later discussions.

This chapter has provided the spiritual context that underlies the local ethos. The chapter attempts to render visible some of the invisible realities that structure Lak understandings. The supernatural inhabitants of the region and their relationship with humans influence many aspects of the natural world, from the growth of plants to the health of a community. Spiritual relationships are used by many people, both lay and specialist, to change the physical world. Allegiances and associations between men and spirits are carefully maintained and central to power relations. *Pidik* ('secret') societies control access to spiritual realms and institutionalise supernatural power through initiation and organised public display. The images and sounds associated with supernatural beings inform Lak notions and aesthetics concerning music, dance and performance. All creative activities in the region are informed by and express spiritual relationships.

This section has provided a description of the relationships that comprise Lak society, from interpersonal relations that generate identity to community and spiritual relationships that are essential to the local ethos. What remains to be shown is the way these relationships are realised and enacted. The role of music, dance and performance in constituting and displaying these relationships is the focus of the chapters that follow.

SECTION TWO

Section 2: Chapter 3.

Music, Dance and Sound in the Lak World.

Introduction: Entering the Lak Sound World

My introduction to the music of Lak was an abrupt and fortuitous one. As mentioned in the introduction, I arrived in the linguistic group's northern boundary village of Rei one afternoon following a long day of walking from the Mission station where the road had come to an end. My arrival was a curious event for all concerned. Outsiders are an infrequent occurrence in this part of New Ireland and solo travellers who arrive without transport, carrying their possessions on their backs are even more of an anomaly. I was invited to sit in the men's house grounds and introduced to some of the village's senior men; they explained that, that night there would be a *kastom* as part of a mortuary sequence for a woman who had died a few days before. The large trees around the men's house provided protection from the late afternoon sun while the old man sitting on the opposite bench of bamboo regarded me slowly through cataract-clouded eyes. As the night settled in the sound of bird-song was replaced by the echoing call of frogs and insects. The large wooden slit-gong was dragged from its place under the eve of the men's house and arranged in the centre of the fenced-off court-yard. My intention was to make no recordings until my hosts knew who I was and what I intended to do. However, I was quickly caught up in the energy of the event and astounded by my luck, having arrived on the afternoon of what was to be an all-night vigil of singing. I asked if these *daut* performances took place often and when I learned that they were a rare event, I enquired if it would be possible to record the songs. There was an awkward silence, no one seemed willing to respond to my question. At first I thought that what I had asked was inappropriate until one of the men finally spoke and explained there was no problem with recording songs, and it was unnecessary to ask as they were not possessed or owned by people.

During the course of the night I learnt that the *daut* were very old and the composers unknown. The words were indecipherable to all and it was only the older men present who knew the songs well enough to lead the group in the singing. The songs came in groups, followed by periods of rest and tea drinking. During these rests I discussed

what was happening with the men around me. It was without a doubt the strangest and most exciting performance I had ever attended. Questions presented themselves at the end of every sung phrase and between every rhythmic pulse of the drums. What is the meaning of songs that have no textual meaning? What sort of pattern keeps the three drummers in perfect synchronisation despite rapid rhythmic changes? What is the role of the slit-gong in the performance? Why do only the men sing? What role does the *daut* play in the mortuary sequence? How do the performers know what song is accompanied by which drum pattern? Where and who are the audience? These questions were only the beginning of many. They signalled the first tentative and uncertain steps of ethnographic enquiry into the world of Lak music and dance.

The coincidence of my arrival and the *daut* ceremony was also fortunate as it afforded the opportunity for me to introduce myself to the Lak. During this first night in the region, I was able to display my interest in their music and customary practices. In many ways I was also performing that night. By recording, note taking, listening and asking questions, I was exhibiting myself to those present. My lack of knowledge and rudimentary language ability would have been evident but also my persistence and enduring enthusiasm for the night's events.

During the weeks and months that followed I was able to take my time, establishing relationships and exploring the language and community of the community I was living among. The experience of learning to sing and eventually dance with my hosts was an intensely personal one, which has brought me to an understanding of the people and their music and dance. It is through these very special and intimate relationships with the people at the centre of this study that I presume to be able to represent the music and dance of the Lak people.

I began the process of learning Lak song with the worship songs that are sung as part of the community church celebrations. These songs are in Tok Pisin and provided an avenue for me to come to terms with the *lingua franca* and simultaneously an important aspect of local music. As my knowledge of the society and its concepts of music and dance grew, I expanded my field of ethnographic enquiry, both figuratively and geographically, to other Lak villages and away from the relative safety of hymns and the familiar harmonic repertoire of the church, toward the more traditional forms

of music. Lullabies constituted my first real encounter with the indigenous melodies and rhythms and they presented the opportunity to come to terms with the sung Siar language and local musical forms. Lullabies are widely known, sung by most men and women and have no restrictions on their performance or dissemination. From these starting points my experience of Lak music and dance expanded rapidly to cover male and female dance forms, the music and dance of the secret societies, and magical songs, eventually encompassing the breadth of the local performance and creative life.

This chapter introduces Lak music and dance, describing systems of categorisation, regional aesthetics, and locating these systems within the context of Lak society. The first part briefly presents each musical and dance genre, providing the functional and aesthetic description of a large range of Lak music. The diverse variety of forms presented in this section provides an introduction to the multifarious role of music and dance in community life. The second section presents the fundamentals of song and dance structure, lyrical aspects, the role of accompaniment and the processes of learning. The subsequent section presents the local aesthetics and how they relate to song, dance, creativity, costume design and performance. Exploring aspects of vocal style, musical text, ensemble structure, pitch, rhythm and melody along with gender roles and performance expectations. The final section of this chapter addresses the context in which performances take place. It explores the political and social implications of dance events and describes the often highly charged and always significant context of performance. I begin by discussing the broadest context of all, the culturally defined categories of sound and music.

The Sounds of Lak

Like many of the succeeding chapters of this thesis, this one uses indigenous systems of categorisation as a starting point from which to understand the local perceptions and concepts concerning sound and music. The use of indigenous terms and systems may, in the course of this chapter and those that follow, generate some awkward phrases and challenging linguistic obstacles but despite these irregularities I have chosen to include local terminologies and linguistic structures because they are

potentially rewarding to the task of understanding Lak music. By including these patterns and words the work attempts to familiarise readers with the way people describe their musical world and the cognitive reality of performance events (cf. Mink & Mink 1981:447).

Since the majority of the music performed by the Lak is song, I begin here by relating song to environmental, instrumental, and other sonic forms. As in many cultures, the sounds that are considered to be music or noise are not always clearly delineated, and there exists a considerable middle ground in which individuals are able to exercise their own opinions. There are also clearly designated sounds that are uniformly categorised. I begin by looking at which sounds fall into which categories and aim to approach the cultural reasoning that delineates them, beginning with sounds that are considered natural or environmental.

Environmental Sounds and Sound Environments

An exploration of Lak environmental sounds is intended to reveal the relationships between sound, symbolic forms and social meaning. Steven Feld has drawn attention to the ways in which "sounds actively communicate and embody deeply felt sentiments" and shown that such investigations should be at the centre of ethnographic concern with music (1983: 78). This chapter begins to address the relationships between social meaning and symbolic form by examining the way sounds are classified. The meaning of sounds and music reside in a social context and can only be understood in examination of "complex social facts" (Feld 1983: 78).

An important linguistic feature of the Siar language, for the purposes of this study, is the absence of a word that corresponds to the English term 'music'. The Siar language describes sound in terms of vocal production. While there is no term for 'music', there are terms for singing (*saksak*), talking (*warai*), calling (*ngeng*) and weeping (*ngek*). The Lak aural environment is perceived as an oral one. The limited range of instruments used in traditional society and the total absence of traditional melodic instruments suggests why a term for 'music', may be superfluous in Lak traditional

society.[1] Even in modern Lak no term has arisen to demarcate singing from other forms of music, singing remains the dominant means of producing music and, I suggest, defines musical activity. I will employ this local system for describing sound throughout this chapter and those that follow. In place of the term 'music' the phrase 'singing sounds' will be used to describe those aural forms considered musical. The sounds produced by insects, birds, frogs, wind and waves are among the many environmental sounds that can sometimes be perceived as 'musical' and what I will term 'potentially singing sounds', in line with the Siar taxonomy of sound. Their inclusion in this group is dependant upon circumstances and individual opinion. Among the sounds that are consistently regarded as belonging to the category of 'music' or 'singing sounds' are: male and female singing, the sound of the *talung* spirits and the sounds associated with the *tubuan* spirits.

There are two distinct realms of sound in Lak: the bush and the village. There is a considerable overlap between these two realms of sound. Sitting in the centre of even the largest of Lak communities the sounds of the bush encroach on the domestic realm but the distinction made here is one of aural focus, and it is an important aspect of how the Lak understand their physical and sound environment. The sounds of the village are naturally associated with people, from the 'calling' sounds produced by pigs and chickens to the laughter of children. The garden areas on the fringe of a village are also associated with people and their related sounds. As one moves through into the bush areas beginning with the low growth of secondary bush, the regrowth of past gardens, and on into areas that have never been cultivated or inhabited, the sound environment changes entirely.[2] The bush areas throb with the pulsing sound of insects, chattering birds and other sounds unknown in origin; it is the realm of *talung*, *tanruan* and other non-human entities.[3] The emptiness and isolation of remote bush areas is a complete contrast to the social and communal nature of village life; however, the isolation of the bush is offset by the constant noise of the

[1] This is intended as relevant to Lak society and not presented as a universal that may be applied to other cultures in Melanesia or the Pacific to explain the absence of a local term for music.
[2] When a mother completes her day's work in the garden or after walking through the bush she can be heard calling the name of the baby in her arms to make sure that the child's spirit isn't lured away by other spirits in the area.
[3] According to local sonic categorisation, birds are capable of producing the same range of sounds as humans. Birds are described as singing, talking, crying and calling to one another. Birds are also often attributed human emotions. Certain birds are described as laughing, joking or in mourning.

living jungle, which shouts its non-human but living presence night and day CD Track 2: Jungle Sounds. The presence and power suggested by this "unoccupied" realm of sound plays an important part in Lak performance life.[4]

Certain types of 'singing sounds' are associated with these two distinct realms. Often when I was trying to make recordings or learn songs a performer would insist on moving to an appropriate sound realm. Men were often reluctant to sing traditional songs on the veranda of my house or anywhere in the village and maintained that a song must be sung in the bush. The same informants would be eager to sing other songs such as lullabies or Christian songs in the village communal spaces (cf. Seeger 1987:69). Often the motivation behind a singer's appeal to perform in another aural space lay in the secret or hidden nature of the song. Moving away from the village space decreases the likelihood of women and non-initiated hearing the song. It is equally important that, in order for magic songs to have any efficacy, they must be sung in the bush in the presence of non-human entities. The bush realm may fairly be regarded as a predominantly male space and equally the village realm as a predominantly female space. An enclave of male space remains in the village in the form of the men's house. This entirely male area is often used to learn songs and can act as a substitute for the bush realm on certain occasions. All men's dances are rehearsed in the bush while women rehearse in the village communal spaces. While there is a sense of gender between the two sound environments presented here, I do not intend to suggest that these aural realms are as simple as a male/female, bush/village dichotomy. Men <u>and</u> women use the bush to perform magic songs and to give their performances a supernatural efficacy.

Environmental sounds play an important part in the local understanding of sound and music. The environment provides the context and inspiration for many creative features of Lak 'singing sounds', dance and costume. On another level, sound acts as a cultural metaphor; it is heavily laden with meaning and is an important aspect of identity for Lak people.

[4] There is a third realm of sound that acts as a liminal space differentiating the activities of the bush and the village (see chapter six).

Sound and Meaning

The categories of sound introduced above – those of singing, crying, calling, talking and noise – can be applied to the entire range of Lak sounds. It is important to provide examples of how these categories work in order to avoid the presumptive categorisation of some sounds according to Western systems of taxonomy. The sound of the *kundu* ('hourglass skin drum') provides a good example of how these local sound categories operate.[5] A *kundu* drum beaten as a solo instrument doesn't produce a 'singing sound' and is not, therefore, considered music. Only when the *kundu* is combined with a singing voice is the instrument capable of producing what the Lak consider to be 'singing sounds'. The same rule applies to the *garamut* ('wooden slit-gong'), which produces 'talking' or 'calling' sounds when played solo. The *garamut* and *kundu* sounds are described as *elngeng ep kundu* and *elngeng ep garamut* (literally 'the voice of the *kundu/garamut*').[6] The 'voice' of a *garamut* and *kundu* 'talk' or 'call' and are capable of producing a 'singing sound' only when accompanied by singing voices.

The *kundu* is never played as a solo instrument; rhythmic patterns beaten on a *kundu* are meaningful only in the context of singing. This is because drum patterns are dictated by vocal patterns. The rhythms produced by a drummer are not timing indicators or markers of a beat as in most Western musical forms. Lak drum patterns are better thought of as a superimposition of rhythm over a song rather than the foundational structure from which the singing part takes its cue.[7] The *garamut*, in contrast, is frequently used as a solo instrument and only occasionally as an accompaniment.[8] The *garamut* 'talks' quite literally through patterns in which specific instructions and information can be provided. In the past *garamut* were

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[5] *Kundu* are common to most parts of Melanesia from West Papua through every district in Papua New Guinea, including the Bismarck Archipelago extending into Buka and Bougainville in the Solomon Islands. It is also present in Eastern Micronesia (McLean, 1994).

[6] Sometimes the sound of a *garamut* is referred to as *elngeng i funoh* ('voice of the village') which clearly situates the *garamut* within the realm of village sounds. However, its identity is very much a male one. *Garamut* are always associated with a men's houses and a matriline and can only be played by men.

[7] It is possible that this pattern in Lak music is also a feature of music throughout the Bismarck Archipelago. Many similarities appear to exist between the music systems of the Lak, Tolai, Duke of York, Kandas, Konomala and other neighbouring linguistic groups.

[8] See the following section, 'Song and dance categories', for descriptions of which musical forms employ the *garamut* as a 'singing sound'.

widely used as a signalling device to the extent that most important members of each community had a rhythmic pattern that represented their name and when it was used in conjunction with standard well-recognised rhythmic patterns capable of announcing arrivals or requesting an individual's presence across large geographical areas. Many older people recall this type of *garamut* usage in their youth when the instrument was regularly used to summon communities to the village centre to be counted by *Kiaps* ('Australian protectorate officials'). Because of the size of Lak *garamut* and the effort required to construct the instruments, along with their declining usage as a means of communication, few *garamut* are built today.[9] However, *garamut* are still common and almost all men's houses have an old instrument, used for ceremonial purposes. Often informants would introduce a resident *garamut* in a village men's house and describe its aural territory; that is, the distance at which it could be heard when it was new. Like the frequently recounted stories of youth, such comments are almost always qualified by phrases like, 'but this *garamut* is old now and no longer very loud'. The use of the *garamut* as a signalling device has indeed declined but its use in ceremonial context is still common and certain rhythmic patterns remain widely known DVD Chapter 1: *Garamut* beaten in ceremonial context. The *garamut* continues to talk and call to people on special occasions, to announce a death in the community, the arrival of pigs during certain mortuary rites and the arrival or departure of *tubuan* spirits from the village. The 'talking sound' of the *garamut* remains an important feature of the local sound environment, as does its less frequently heard 'singing sound' DVD Chapter 2: *Garamut* beaten as accompaniment to song and dance performance.

Among the many crying or wailing sounds that exist in the Lak environment, issuing from birds, the wind or seawater swelling into partial submerged caves, the sound of human wailing is the most poignant and emotive. The culturally patterned system of

[9] Lak *garamut* are constructed out of hard woods and traditionally hollowed by carefully burning and carving a cavity in a large log about a metre and a half in length and 400 – 600 cm in diameter. In the past *garamut* were constructed as *pidik* ('secret activity'). Groups of men would live in isolated areas of the bush and endure periods of *ialal* ('fasting') while devoting all of their energy to carving the instrument. Some Southern New Ireland *garamut* have handles at each end used for carrying the instrument from inside the men's house to the plaza where it is most often played. It is reasonably common to find *garamut* with 'tongues' carved out of one wall of the drum just below the slit. The tongued examples are jolted with the end of a cane stick across the slit at the point where the slit meets the tongue. On the tongueless *garamut,* the instrument is sounded by jolting a cane stick against the outside lip above the slit.

wailing is always produced in a descending melodic phrase and frequently includes short sentences that situate the deceased and the wailer according to kin terminology DVD Chapter 3: Wailing at the house of the deceased. The sung phrases frequently lament the sudden departure, recount a recent activity that both mourner and deceased participated in or describe the manner in which the deceased sustained the relationship between them, in food exchange or other forms of cooperation and exchange. This form of culturally patterned wailing is predominantly performed by women, taking place immediately following a death, and significantly many months or years later when an aspect of the deceased's identity is recreated through a facet of a dance performance.

During parts of the mortuary *kastom*, sound restrictions are imposed on the village. During the early stages of a mortuary event when the 'heaviness' of *sum* ('grief') weighs on a community or during the presence of a *tubuan* ritual in the concluding stages, children are advised to play quietly, guitar playing and singing are strictly banned as is any noise including loud talking, arguing, yelling and laughing. These restrictions are enforced by either the *talung* or the *tubuan* and any transgressions of these sonic rules are dealt with severely. The punishments often involve hefty fines that affect the entire community. In both these cases the restrictions on sound encourage the community to remain conscious of their current circumstances.

The sound productions of the male secret societies are not heard frequently in Lak communities but when they do occur the sounds ignite deep-set emotions in both outsiders and secret society members CD Track 3: Sound of *talung*. The sounds of the *talung* society generate immediate action in a community. Women and children quickly retire to their houses, close door and windows and quietly remain inside until the *talung* has finished. The sound of the *talung* is considered to be a 'singing sound' by male informants.[10] There are also many sounds produced during the *tubuan* ritual including 'calling sounds', 'weeping', *garamut* 'talking sounds', and 'singing sounds'. All of these sounds have secret names and are closely associated with the aural realm of the bush. The call of the *tubuan* is produced only in the *taraiu* ('ritual grounds'); it is used to signal the presence of the *tubuan* in the secret grounds and pre-

[10] The secret societies' strict rules prevented me from gaining a female perspective on the *talung* sounds.

emptively announce their arrival in the village. Outsiders, uninitiated men, children and women call this sound *elngeng mani*, the 'voice/call [of the] bird'. *Mani* ('bird') is an allusion to the *tubuan* figures and an obvious relationship between these spirit figures, the bush realm and birds.

Weeping is a common occurrence when *tubuan* visit a village. It is aspects of their performance, their stylised movement and relationship with deceased clan members that moves women to tears DVD Chapter 4: Weeping and wailing in response to *tubuan* presence. [11] The image of the *tubuan* is, like their calls and movement, a heavily charged metaphor for Lak people. The *tubuan* dramatically alter the village sonic space when they perform. The songs of the *tubuan* are unique among the categories of Lak song; their dissemination and performance are strictly regulated and involve special performance techniques.

Understanding the Lak aural world in terms of vocal production, and environmental sounds are conceived of anthropomorphically. The sound world of the Lak is a human-centred one where animals and trees, water and wind can all talk, wail, call and sing. It is difficult to describe the relationship between a cultural group and their physical environment but the relationships illustrated here between the people and the sound environment serves to establish the strong connection between the people and place.

The Nature of Lak Song and Dance

This sub-section begins by charting local systems of categorisation and then turns to focus on the structural elements that underlie 'singing sounds'. The way in which Lak performers acquire musical and dance knowledge is explored, the aesthetic values that determine performance concepts are presented and the chapter concludes by approaching the physical and emotional contexts of these performances. The

[11] Performances also generate wept responses among the Kaluli of the southern Highlands. However, in Lak the weeping is most often a result of perceived relationships between *tubuan* or costume features rather than the poetic meanings of song text as described by Feld (1990: 191).

information presented here follows the indigenous divisions and definitions employed by performers.

In the process of carrying out my research, I endeavoured to follow the lead of my host community and teachers in the process of learning the local systems of song and dance. Once my hosts knew of my interest in *saksak* ('song') and *gusgus* ('dance'), I let them guide and direct what I learnt during the early period of study. I made myself available to record, learn and playback songs, letting informants decide what and how I learnt. I hoped that by following the guidance of my teachers I would come to employ the categories and concepts used by locals instead of superimposing Western systems of categorisation. This process eventually led to the understandings presented in the tables below. I began by asking, 'What kind of song is this?' The response would inevitably be a genre name, *pokpok, belilo, tambaran* etc. Individual songs are never given specific names although their opening lines are occasionally used to differentiate between songs within a genre. Further questioning began to reveal a specific method of categorisation that entails the gender of the song, i.e. involving male or female performers. When asked, 'What other types of songs are there?' Informants would list all the genres that could be recalled.

After several days of learning and collecting I took a list of the song genre collected to a senior informant who immediately began to recite a series of songs genres not listed. He informed me that I had collected song genres of one category only, 'songs sung during the day'. Through this process I came to understand how people think about 'singing sounds' and that the questions I asked would have to include not only, 'What types of songs there are' but also 'When and where they are sung'.

The tables below display the range of song and dance (traditional and modern) as locals conceptually group them. Each table presents a category, and each element in a table indicates a genre or group. A striking feature of Lak categorisation is the division of songs and dances into 'songs performed during the day' and 'songs performed at night', suggesting the importance of context. The categories of 'performed during the night' and 'during the day' – along with the other categories here 'magic songs', 'song of the *tubuan*', 'religious songs' and the 'secular non-traditional' forms – are divided according to function. Division by function is a key

aspect of song and dance in the region; song and dance are conceptually and practically linked to its role but not necessarily restricted by that function. The tables also provide information on the gender associations of each genre. Within the first two tables there exist a strict segregation of male and female performers. Many songs have male and female forms and just one of the dances in these two tables are performed by mixed gender groups. In this way the roles of male and female in Lak society are reflected in traditional dance forms. The final two tables describe the more recently introduced categories of performance: religious and secular non-traditional songs, in which mixed gender performances are common. The tables also indicate whether a genre involves choreography. Dance is an essential element of performance, and almost all Lak performances involve some sort of choreographed movement. Finally the tables provide information detailing what sort of rhythmic accompaniment is associated with each genre as this, like the other elements here, is perceived as a defining aspect of each genre.

Name	Male or Female	With/without Dance	Accompaniment
Utun	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Lebung	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Pokpok	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Belilo	Female	Dance	*Kundu* (held by dancers)
Tukul	Male	Dance	*Garamut*
Papariek	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Sasalie	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*/bamboo
Kurkur	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Koolau	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Solomon	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*/bamboo
Liou	Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Kambalai	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Goigoi	Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Kanai	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Wamo/Wamong	Male	Dance ('Entrance song')	*Kundu*
Papantagol	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Pinpidik	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Tuturai natnat	Male or Female	Without dance ('Lullaby')	Hand tap/brush
Leplep	Female	Dance	*Kundu.*

Figure 4 Traditional songs performed during the day

Traditional songs performed during the day represent the largest category of Lak song and dance. All of the genres within this category have much in common in terms of performance format, structure and costume requirements. The dances are, ideally, large group performances, danced in a grid formation, involving at least three sections or verses and accompanied by a separate *kundu* group. The nineteen genres presented here are in no particular order. The most popular and frequently performed genre among men's performances is the *lebung* and from among women's genre, the *belilo*.[12] *Belilo* is an exception to most Lak dance forms as the front row of the

[12] Most female and male informants site the *belilo* as the most popular and frequently performed female dance form; however, these results don't concur with the performance statistics from my own time in the region which show a wide variety of female dance forms currently in use. These results may indicate a slow shift in the genre's popularity and position as the primary female dance form or that popularity is not judged solely on the number of performances and the place on a performance schedule or status of a performance group effect notions of popularity.

dancing grid play *kundu* as they dance. This performance format is unique among the dance genres of the region. The other atypical genres in this category include the *tukul*, which is not performed in a grid formation, the *tukul*, is performed in a revolving circle around the *garamut* that provides the accompaniment. *Tuturai natant* or lullabies are also exceptional in this category, as they are not considered in most cases to be a performance genre. Their purpose and context are quite removed from those of other genre in this category. Finally, *wamong* (or *wamo* as they are sometimes known) is not a dance genre in the same sense as the other groups here. *Wamong* are 'entrance songs' involving choreographed movements that serve to move the dance troupe into position and prepare the audience for the performance.

Name	Male or Female	With/without Dance	Accompaniment
Tambaran	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Tangara	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Bobo	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Langai (Kindam)	Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Gar/Bot	Male & Female combined	Dance	*Garamut*
Tiko	Male & Female combined	Game	
Lorh	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Tipang	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Manilebung	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Rorobung	Male or Female	Dance	*Kundu*
Bwal	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Sirang/Boorm	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Daut	Male	Without dance	*Kundu*
Kamkombak	Female	Without dance ('Female initiation song')	*Kundu*

Figure 5 Traditional songs performed during the night

All of the song/dances within this category are performed during the night. Most of the genres here are, like those in the previous table, presented by large dance ensembles with *kundu* accompaniment. These nocturnal performances are normally arranged on the eve of a large celebration. The notable exceptions here are the genre of *tiko*, *daut*, *kamkombak* and *gar*. The *tiko* is a game in which two opposing groups compete to discover the identity of a hidden singer. *Daut* songs, which will be

examined in more detail in the following chapter, are one of the few Lak song genres that doesn't have a dance associated with it. The *daut* are sung as part of the initial mortuary sequence. *Kamkombak*, as mentioned in the previous chapter, are women's initiation songs and are performed nightly as part of the ritual isolation and knowledge transfer that take place inside the *dal* ('female initiation enclosure'). The other exceptional genre within this category is the *gar* or *bot* as they are widely known throughout the archipelago. This genre, like that of the *tukul*, is performed in a revolving circle around a central *garamut*. The *gar* songs, feature topical lyrics in Tok Pisin, Siar and the languages of many of the neighbouring linguistic groups and unlike most songs in Lak, the lyrics of *gar* are often narrative and comprehensible.

Name	**Male / Female**	**With/without Dance**	**Accompaniment**
Boon	Male or Female	Without Dance	None
Siaroh	Male or Female	Without Dance	None
Warabart/Kawawar/Tar	Male or Female	Without Dance	None
Luipas	Male or Female	Without Dance	None
Tim ep bart	Male	Without Dance	None

Figure 6 **Secret and magic songs**

Each of the song forms in this category are performed as part of a specific magical task. The songs are normally performed solo in conjunction with other magical practices in an isolated area of the bush. All of these forms require a period of isolation and fasting in order to have efficacy.

Name	**Male / Female**	**With/without dance**	**Accompaniment**
Kapialai	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Kabakawer	Male	Dance	*Kundu*
Mamboo	Male	Dance	*Kundu*

Figure 7 **Songs of the *tubuan***

The three genres of *tubuan* song listed here are presented according to their performance frequency. *Kapialai* is by far the most popular genre. There are thousands of *kapialai* known throughout the New Ireland and East New Britain

regions with each men's association using between thirty and fifty as part of their regular repertoire. *Kabakawer* are an older song form that is occasionally a part of *taraiu*'s ('ritual grounds') regularly performed songs. The *mamboo* are the oldest of the *tubuan* songs and rarely performed today. *Tubuan* songs provide the accompaniment to which the *tubuan* spirit figures perform. The lyrics of these songs are closely guarded as part of the *pidik* of the *tubuan*.

Name	**Male or Female**	**With/without dance**	
Hymns	Male or Female	Without dance	None
Praise/Action songs	Male or Female	Dance	Guitar/*Kundu*/Keyboard

Figure 8 ***Lotu* ('church') songs**

Most hymns performed in the Lak region are in Tok Pisin or Kuanua (Tolai language). Hymn books produced by the Catholic, United and Foursquare denominations are widely distributed among communities in Lak. The Catholic hymn book '*Yumi lotu*' contains a large selection of hymns in Tok Pisin. The United Church hymn book contains hymns mostly in Kuanua, and the Foursquare and other churches use various hymn books in Tok Pisin. Praise songs (known as action songs when choreographed) have lyrics in Tok Pisin and Siar. Many of these songs are composed by local people, and they form an important part of the local repertoire.

Name	**Male / Female**	**With/without dance**	**Accompaniment**
String bands	Male	Dance	Guitar
Power bands	Male	Without dance	Guitar/Keyboard/Kundu

Figure 9 **Secular non-traditional song forms**

This category represents the most recently introduced and developed song and dance forms. String bands consist of a group of guitars, often specially tuned and occasionally including ukuleles. Melanesian string bands have a unique sound with regionally identifiable melodic and rhythmic features (See Clark 1984: 70). String bands in the Lak area are typical of the island region forms. The songs, which are in

Tok Pisin or Siar, are performed during special events with lyrics that commemorate, venerate or celebrate local individuals or events. Power bands are a rare feature in the region with only a few of the larger villages having electric instruments or access to the power needed for performances. Power bands perform on the same occasions and with similar repertoires as string band ensembles.

Song as a 'singing sound'

> *Speaking and singing are different even though both come out of the throat. Speaking is slow and singing is faster and it follows the movements in the arms and legs.*
>
> Gabriel Bungyan.

> *[When you sing] you let your voice flow; it continues.*
>
> Leo Koko.
>
> (Transcribed and translated from field notes)

At the start of this chapter the voice was identified as central to local understanding of sound and 'singing sounds'. The salient features and cultural concepts of song and singing are presented in the pages below. The quotes provided above are typical of attempts by locals to articulate a rarely expressed but commonly understood difference between speaking and singing. Everyone in Lak can and does sing and while some people are recognised as being more skilful at singing than others, singing is perceived as a significant aspect of being a person in Lak. Singing is regarded as a social activity, and it will be shown in the chapter that follow to be an important part of the way individuals and communities present themselves and cohere.

Traditional singing in the region is monophonic; each person aims to produce the same pitch and melodic line. Large vocal groups aspire to a strong, clear and unified sound with many voices sounding as one. Males, female and children's voices are all considered pleasant to listen to but there is an often-stated preference toward a clear and high tone. Men and women's voices are said to *ros* (literally 'rust' or 'deteriorate') with age. It is the falsetto of a young male that exemplifies the ideal tone. I found that when male informants sang for recordings as a solo or in groups, the falsetto technique was frequently used for the entire song. However, during

performances the falsetto tone is not always capable of producing the desired volume and consequently abandoned. A high pitch is also the ideal for female performers, and they are often able to produce this along with sufficient volume in large performance groups. The results are sometimes, from a Western aesthetic position, a harsh or forced sound. In both large and small groups, male and female, there is a clear aesthetic preference for high-pitched singing by women and male falsetto but this is often dismissed in deference to the overriding aesthetic of volume. Volume is considered necessary to impress and attract audiences in what is often a highly competitive performance arena. Volume is seen as a critical aspect of Lak performance and is a key contributor toward the emotional effects of a performance. The louder the singing the more impact it is likely to have on the audience. During large group performances little attention is paid to the tone production and a full-throated intense delivery at maximum volume dominates over other aesthetic issues.

In most cases it is incorrect to present song and dance as separate entities as they are closely associated in local aesthetic considerations. Gabriel's statement above clearly reveals this association. The relationship between song (*saksak*) and dance (*gusgus*) is an intimate one. Two words are combined in the Siar term *mangis ngis*, (meaning: 'song and dance group' but with the literal translation of 'beautiful clan').[13] Frequently while recording songs with individuals in the field, a singer would perform the upper body movements of the associated dance while singing. It was repeatedly expressed to me that to really know songs you have to see them in performance. Singing involves the entire body in production and in reaction to the sounds produced.[14] 'Singing sounds' initiate movement and in this way are a part of dance.

The tables above show the variety of categories and genres in the region. Despite the diversity of traditional song categories shown in the first four tables, most song forms in the region have a common structure. What follows is a description of the three-part

[13] The literal translation is misleading as it might infer that a dance group consists of members of a single clan when in fact all dance troupes require members from both moieties. As will be shown later in this chapter, a successful performance requires cross moiety cooperation. In this sense the term *mangis ngis* presents an effective metaphor for describing the cooperation that moiety and dance troupes must possess in order to perform well.

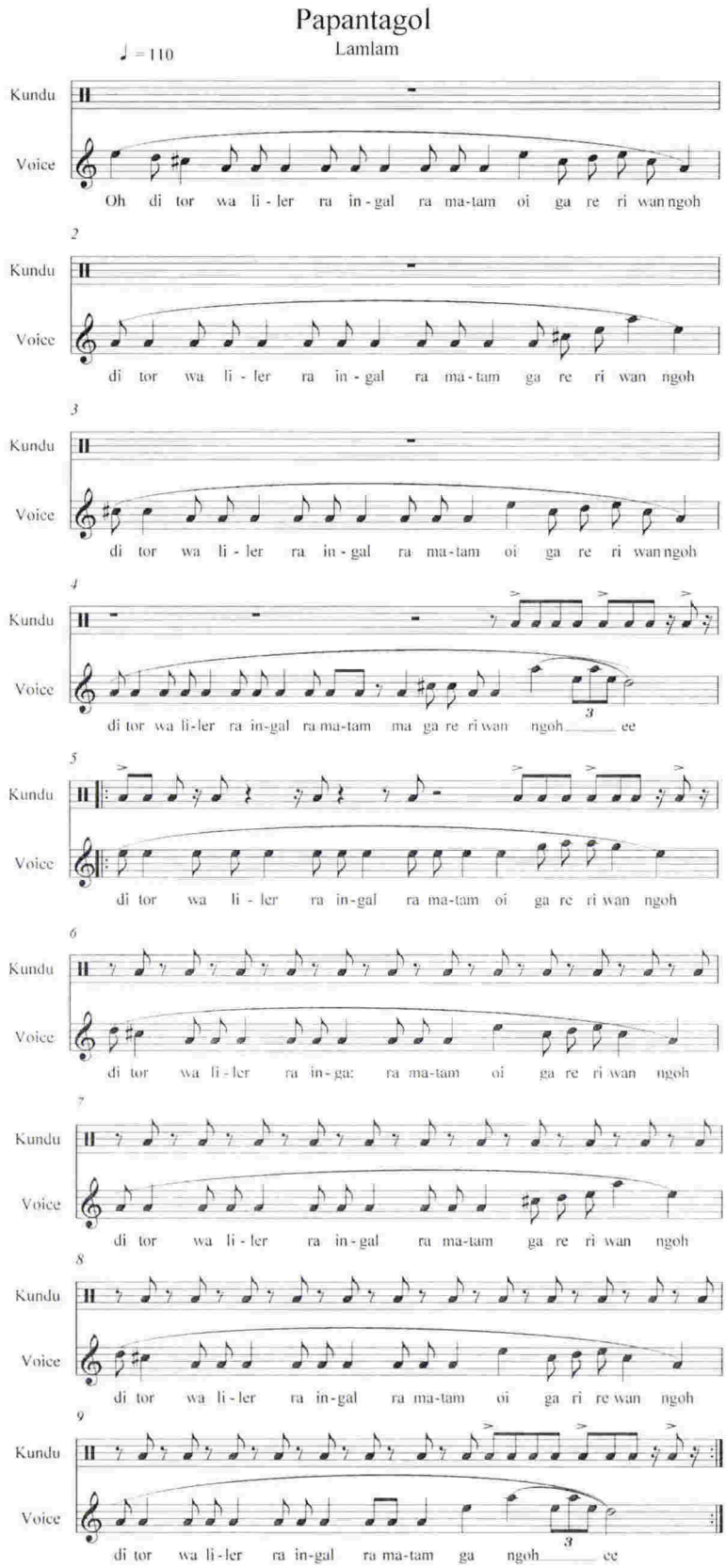
[14] Feld has noted similar behaviour among Kaluli drummers who cannot remain still while drumming. Drumming is presented as a full bodily sensation not just the hand striking the skin membrane but part of a larger body movement (1983: 83).

song structure that is common to most traditional song forms. The majority of songs (and dances) include three sections: a *lamlam* and two *pukun*. Each section is described and presented below along with a transcribed example.

Lamlam

- The *lamlam* or introduction is often the most recognisable section of a song. All songs in a genre – for example, all *papantagol lamlam* – have similar melodic lines and rhythmic patterns. Informants describe all *papantagol,* or songs common to any genre, as having identical melodic and rhythmic structures. When listened to carefully it is evident that this is not true in a Western sense; it is more accurate to say that most songs in a particular genre contain recognisable melodic and rhythmic features that are common to their genre.[15] *Lamlam* are typically constructed of one or two phrases that are repeated several times with variations of pitch (see transcription below). The amount of repetition is determined by the choreography; the phrases are simply repeated until the actions are complete. Generally, the more dancers that are involved in a performance the more repetitions are required. The dance choreography performed during the *lamlam* is generic to the genre, and all *papantagol* begin with a series of movements that are specific to *papantagol* as a group.[16] [17] In the *lamlam* transcription below, and in subsequent notations, the melodic line consists of a series of descending melodic phrases outlining a major triad and sometimes ending with a rise to the upper tonic and return to the fifth; followed by a phrase that outlines an upward leap from the fifth of the triad to the upper tonic.[18]

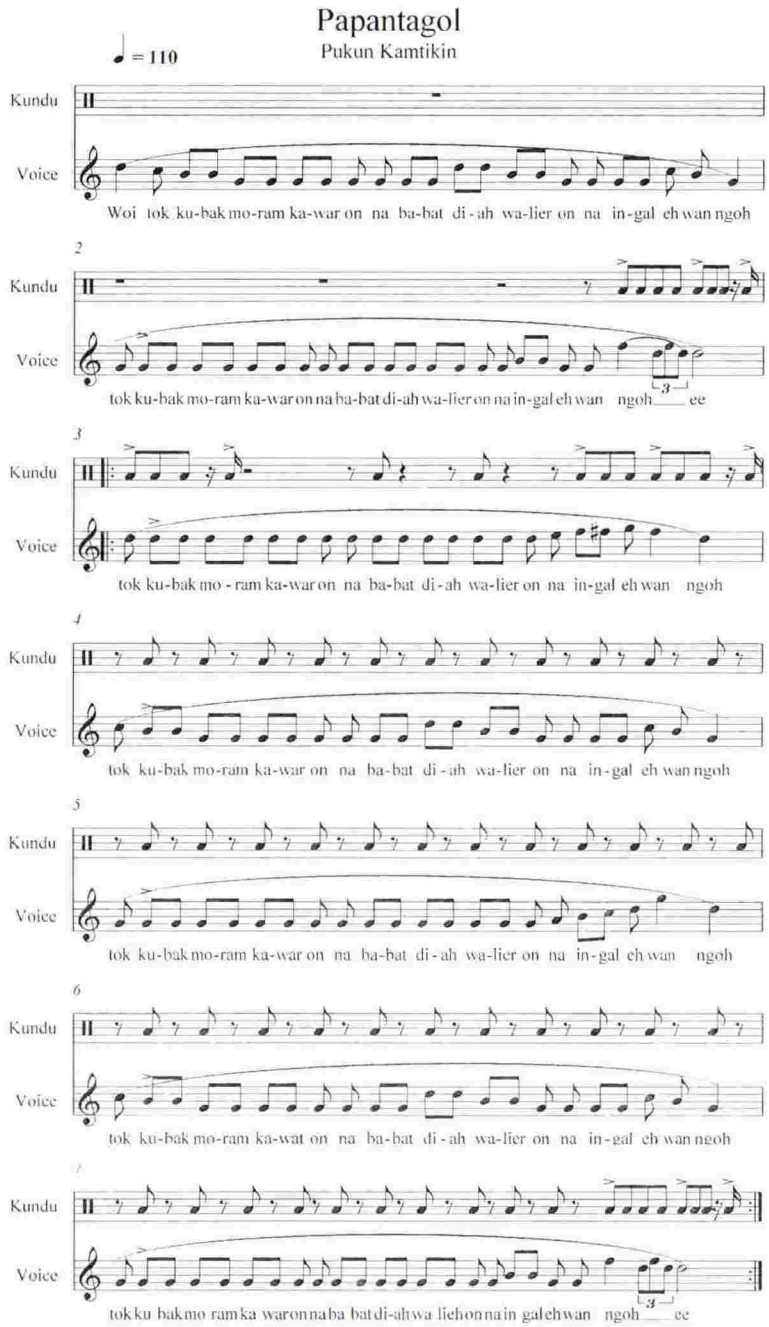
[15] See appendix for transcribed examples of *lebung*, *utun* and *belilo* traditional song genre. These transcriptions show the way in which songs in each genre are melodically and rhythmically similar.
[16] On occasions small variations in the hand or leg movements will be choreographed into the *lamlam* to generate interest.
[17] A full description of dance subsections is provided in chapter five.
[18] In all of the transcriptions of Lak traditional music that follow, I have chosen to arrange the music into bars of irregular length according to the textual and melodic phrases that structure the music. In these and all traditional music transcriptions that follow, the length of the bar is determined by the phrase. I believe this arrangement reflects more accurately the way that Lak performers think about their music.



Transcription 1 *Papantagol lamlam*

Pukun

- *Pukun* is the name given to all the sections that follow the introductory *lamlam* section. The first *pukun* is called the *pukun kamtikin* (literally '*pukun* the first'). Most traditional Lak songs have at least two *pukun* and sometimes as many as four, although it is common to perform only one *pukun* section during a dance performance. *Pukun* in any genre tend to have melodic and rhythmic features common to all songs in their genre. The dance structure of *pukun* is complex and is examined in detail in chapter five. Here it will suffice to say that *pukun* feature several subsections including generic movements and original choreography that is of particular interest to the audience. As exemplified in the *pukun kamtikin* transcription of the *papantagol* below, *pukun* of all genre tend to feature chant like patterns. Like those transcribed here, chant sections are often completed by a short melodic feature that brings the phrase to an end. Dance actions often visual articulate this sonic feature of Lak songs; a simple repeating action will accompany the chant-like section, followed by a quick flurry of movement in time with the melodic turn that completes the phrase. This would seem to indicate the degree to which song and dance phrases are conceptually linked in the minds of performers. The *kundu* drums, beaten by a small ensemble that usually sit in front of the dance troupe, produces a steady rhythmic pulse, but as described above, this pulse is conceptually layered on top of the vocal part rather than at its foundation. In all three transcriptions the *kundu* part enters following at least one complete repetition of the lyrics. The *kundu* generally beats an alternating pulse that is embellished at the end of a phrase or at the end of a repeating section. The *kundu* beat helps performers to keep track of the song sections and often indicates the final repetition with a terminating pattern. But it is the *kundu*'s role as coordinator of dance movement that is most significant to the *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe'). Dance movements begin with the *kundu* beat, after the vocal introduction, and the actions closely articulate the steady pulse of the *kundu* with a clear bouncing horizontal movement.



Transcription 2 ***Panpantagol pukun kamtikin*, the first *pukun* section**

Pukun

- The *pukun* that follow may include the *pukun potorrin* ('*pukun* the second') which has the same structure as the *kamtikin,* or the *pukun kawash*, ('*pukun* go up/forward'), containing the same sections as previous *pukun* with the addition of the *kawash* movement that sees each line in the dancing grid make its way to the front in stages. And finally the *pukun louloum*, ('completing *pukun*'), which contains identical sections to those of the *pukun kamtikin*. Most song and dances only consist of three sections, a *lamlam*, *pukun kamtikin* and *pukun kawash*. While this is the most common format performed today in the region, the ideal performance will contain five sections in total.

Papantagol

Pukun louloun.

♩ = 110

Kundu

Voice

Woi yow we-wa ta - le - leh ra be-ben na wol ra be-ben ah ti - gil eh wan ngoh

2

Kundu

Voice

yow we-wa ta - le - leh ra be-ben na wol ra be-ben ah ti - gil eh wan ngoh

3

Kundu

Voice

yow we-wa ta - le - leh ra be-ben na wol ra be-ben ah ti - gil eh wan ngoh

4

Kundu

Voice

you we-wa ta-le-leh ra be-ben na wol ra be-ben ah ti-gil eh wan ngoh ee

5

Kundu

Voice

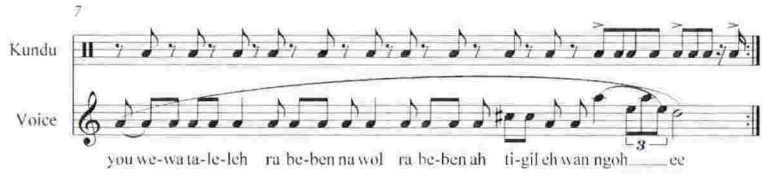
yow we-wa ta - le-leh ra be-ben na wol ra be-ben ah ti - gil eh wan ngoh

6

Kundu

Voice

yow we-wa ta - le-leh ra be ben na wol ra be-ben ah ti - gil eh wan ngoh



Transcription 3 ***Papantagol pukun louloun*, final *pukun***

All three of these *papantagol* sections feature similar melodic contours. If the first phrase of each transcription is compared, one can clearly discern a common melodic phrase that is being expressed in a slightly different manner and rhythmic syntax each time.[19] Not all song genre have *lamlam* and *pukun* sections that are so melodically similar. It is not unusual for the *lamlam* section to have a completely different melodic phrase from the *pukun* sections that follow. *Pukun*, on the other hand, always have a similar melodic pattern. As these transcriptions show, Lak vocal parts are challenging, they require that the singer is proficient at constricting his vocal cords and moving quickly between falsetto and his normal range.

One of the most striking features of Lak song for an outsider is the lack of textual understanding among performers. The lyrics of most songs performed in Lak are indecipherable to their performers. Lyrics are often in Kuanua, Kandas, Konomala, Tangga, Sursurungan, Duke of York or Siar languages. Some songs, especially those associated with the *tubuan* society, have lyrics that are in a mixture of languages, having elements of many but decipherable in none.[20] The variety of languages used in songs shows the transitory nature of song and dance in the island region. Successful songs travel far and are adapted and altered to meet local aesthetics and performance needs. The situation in Lak, and I venture in many of the surrounding linguistic regions, may seem unusual to outsiders. In Lak, dance movements follow rhythmic pulses that take their cue from lyrics that are indecipherable to their performers. This aspect of music in the region is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Most songs are accompanied by *kundu* or *garamut* in performance. When songs are taught, rehearsed or sung in small groups for enjoyment, a *telek* may be used in place of a drum. *Telek* are small (25-30cm. long by 4cm. wide) pieces of hard wood,

[19] No breath marks have been added to these transcriptions because singing is usually performed in large groups in which breathing is staggered.
[20] This is sometimes referred to as the language of the *Buai*.

pointed at both ends and beaten at one tip by a striker made of the same material (plate 19). *Telek* are easily transported in baskets and quickly constructed in contrast to both *kundu* and *garamut,* which are difficult and time-consuming to make. The *Telek* is held in the hand balanced light on the heal of the palm and on the first two fingers. When held correctly *Telek* produce a clear and sharp sound that is loud enough to be heard over a large group of singers:

Plate 19 ***Telek* and beater. *Telek* are carved from hard woods and produce a sharp high-pitched sound**

Learning songs, their melodies, text and rhythmic elements is a mimetic process. Like so many other aspects of Lak life, learning is achieved in the process of doing. Songs are taught via simple repetition with a teacher or teachers repeating the *lamlam* section of the song while the students gradually begin to join in. Occasionally a word or phrase may be clarified but more often the process is entirely imitative. The teacher(s) will eventually drop their voice out of the chorus and when satisfied that

the singing is correct, move on to the next section. It's not only the melodic and rhythmic production of the teacher that is imitated but also the tone and timbre is as closely adhered to as possible. While trying to learn a song from a recording of a very senior woman, I found the men around me imitating what I perceived to be the unintentional failings of a frail voice. When questioned, the men with me explained that they were simply trying to imitate the sound to learn. If they were to sing the song at a later date, they would do it with a stronger voice. The learning process is similar for drum patterns and dance movements (cf. Foster 1995: 131 and Wagner 1986: 127). Advice on elements of style and phrasing is not normally part of the learning process. One learns by paying attention to what others do, not what they say. The only instructions that are normally issued in rehearsal or performance are yells of encouragement to sing louder and stronger. Communication of all performance elements (including those of the secret societies) is a matter of repetition and imitation.

Song, dance and many aspects of Lak life survive through their performance realisations. When songs are not sung and performed, they gradually fade from the local collective consciousness and are eventually replaced by new forms. The same is true of people who are gradually removed from a community via the stages of the mortuary customs. Unlike Western concepts of song preservation and documentation, the Lak world is one where things are forgotten, removed and replaced as part of the patterns of living and survival.

Performance Aesthetics

A number of aesthetic elements have already been presented in this chapter in regards to aspects of 'singing sounds', song structure and vocal production. This section examines the dominant aesthetic aspects that are at play in performance, beginning with a consideration of the aesthetic involved in dance group formation.

Participant numbers are an important aesthetic element; the sound and image presented by a large group of performers is always preferred to that of a soloist or a small group. Informants often state that the more participants involved the better the performance will be:

> One man, alone isn't good because it won't be loud enough. It will only be loud enough if there are ten or more and then the *kundu* can follow the dance.
>
> Alfred Koroi.

> It's better if there are lots of people but also the song must be sung well. They must learn the song well and their voices must be clear.
>
> Remiduce Tomikalai.

> With action songs or in a *kastom* there must be many people. It's always better if there are many voices; the very minimum is two.
>
> Paul Totili

These statements from Lak community members plainly voice the aesthetic preference for large numbers of performers. While it is apparent that volume is an essential element of this cultural preference, the wider aesthetics of song and dance suggest that there is more involved than volume alone. Singing and dancing are perceived as group and community events which require the participation of as many people as possible. The number of individuals involved is, in fact, one way to judge the success of a performance. In Lak terms success requires cooperation and the larger the cooperation base the more successful any venture will be from the outset, be it a dance performance, a feast, or work on a smaller scale such as clearing ground for a new garden. Cooperation is the essential element in all ventures big and small. In a dance performance numbers equate to success; they announce the achievement of the represented community and its *kamgoi* ('Big Men') in bringing together so many participants. Numbers represent the extent and power of a *kamgoi*'s influence; they are an important aspect of a performance and go a long way to demonstrate an effective and united community. There are several other elements in play that will contribute significantly to a performance's success or failure in local aesthetic terms.

The *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe') must act as a unit; there must be unity of motion, vocalisations and costume. It is not enough to simply have the largest *mangis ngis*; they must be well prepared in order that they sing with one voice, move as one body and appear in uniformed costume. Alfred Koroi expressed these aesthetic ingredients when asked 'What do good performances look like?':

> Good dances involve beautiful costumes; the people are happy; there are no mistakes in the actions or in the *kundu* part and the actions are tightly synchronised. The voices must be together with no voices below and none above; they must all sing the same line.

A considerable amount of time may be spent in rehearsal in order to achieve these desired outcomes, and a lengthy rehearsal period is considered essential in the preparations for a men's dance.

Plate 20 **Male dancers perform an *utun* in typical dance stance**

The aesthetics that govern body position and stance in dance encompass broader social and cultural notions and understandings. The stance of male dancers requires performers to be physically fit. The feet of a dancer should be further apart than the width of their shoulders with the knees bent so that the dancer maintains a semi crouched position with a straight back (plate 20). The position is difficult to maintain for any length of time, putting strain on the thighs and the lower back. The tendency is to arch the back to maintain balance, a trait admonished by senior men as lazy. The upper body of a male dancer should be kept erect and the movements of the arms,

shoulders and torso stiff and deliberate. Typical male movements include a tilting of the torso from side to side and raising the elbows away from the body while keeping the hands close to the chest. This particular action (see plate 19) is a defining feature of Lak male dance and common to the wider cultural region. When people exemplify the action of dancing, the elbows are inevitably raised to head height with clenched fists meeting across the chest. (When small boys imitate their elders in play, they dance with their hands and arms in this position.) It is the archetypal stance of a male dancer. At times the arms are also extended out in front of the body and swayed back and forth.

Another dominant feature of male and female dance performance is a constant bounce in the knees that is maintained throughout the dance in time with the *kundu* beat. This bouncing motion is present in all dances, regardless of gender or categorisation; all movements are based on the steady repeating beat of the drums.

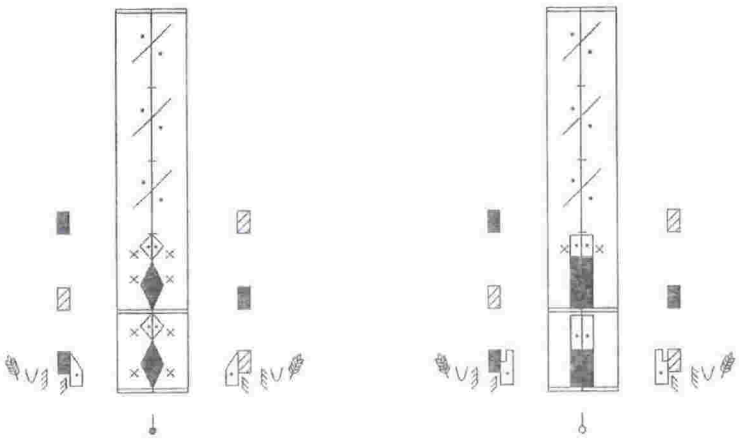


Figure 10 **Kinetograms of male (left) and female (right) dance stances**

Women's dances share this common pulse of movement and a lowered body stance (plate 21). They also maintain different aesthetic conditions. Women keep their feet within the width of their shoulders, while bending their knees and ankles as far as possible to lower their centre of gravity. It's from this position that women's dances are performed. Unlike the men, women generally keep their elbows close to their sides, occasionally lifting them above their heads or extending their arms in front of their bodies (plate 22). The defining female upper body dance movement is the movement of the hands and forearms to and fro while the elbows are kept against the

torso. The hands move in opposition to each other; as one hand is lowered and extends forward, the other comes up toward the chest (see figure 10 right). In general women's dances contain perceptibly subtler gestures; they are not as vigorous in their movements or attitude (cf. Mink & Mink 1981: 451).

Plate 21 **Women perform in Siar village. Note bent knees and lowered body position**

Plate 22 Women perform a *bobo* in lamplight. The elbows are typically held against the body

Male and female dances also include many other movements and actions, depending on both the dance genre and specially choreographed sections of each performance. The stance and basic actions introduced here represent typical movements.

Another significant trait of dance in the region is the formation in which most dances are presented. The grid pattern is in many ways the essence of a *mangis ngis*. The grid is a unit made of many 'individuals', sub-clan and moiety members cooperating together.[21] The names used to identify positions, rows and lines in the grid reflect the cooperative concepts that underlie Lak notions of the *mangis ngis* (see chapter five). Grids can consist of rows of two to eight across and lines that number between five and eight deep. Several other group formations are used in Lak including: dances performed in a circle (revolving in an anticlockwise direction), a single line of performers that changes shape during a dance to form circles and weaving motions, and several lines of performers revolving around a central position.

[21] The word 'individual' is used here in its Melanesian context as an entity defined by its relationship with others. See chapter one, 'Suilik's brother' for details of composite persons.

The aesthetics of costume, like those of movement, are a complicated multifaceted aspect of dance. Like the kinaesthetic elements, costume aesthetics resonate deeply in Lak social and cultural life. In Lak culture visual metaphors abound in daily life and these are heightened in the atmosphere of a celebration. Dance costume is more than a simple decorative element of personal adornment; it is as indispensable to the performance as the *kundu* beat or melodic structure. As much time and effort is put into the design and construction of costume as rehearsal time for dance. Male dance costumes are constructed in secrecy, away from the village and the gaze of women. The secrecy and isolation surrounding dance preparations provide a focused period for rehearsals and costume construction. From the red pigment (*tar*) that almost all male dancers paint on their skin to the elaborate props held in the hands, the elements of costume consist of much more than the Tok Pisin gloss, *bilas* ('decoration'), suggests.

Colour is of primary importance. Bright and bold colours are a favourite in all performances. Most performances rely on the bold primary colours that are sourced from the environment. The red pigment known as *tar* (produced from the ochre stone that is found in certain river beds in the area) is the most commonly used pigment (plate 23). When ground and mixed with *kambang* ('reef lime' cooked over a fire to produce a white powder), the *tar* produces a bright red powder that is rubbed into the skin, covering the entire body. *Tar* is also used to colour costume and dance accoutrements. *Tar* and one of its associated products, *langoron* ('magical substance/sensation') are essential to the production of impressive and powerful performances and will be discussed in full in chapter five. *Kambang* can be mixed with water to produce a white paste and the carbon from burnt coconut shells provides the pigment for black powders or paints. Several other colours, including yellow, blue and green are derived from plant materials and used to dye the fibres used in costume. In more recent times commercially produced dyes and paints have become available and are occasionally used but the naturally produced and locally available pigments are still more frequently used due to the inhibiting cost of store-bought dyes. Plastic sourced from bottles, bags and containers are often cut into shapes and used to embellish the colour of head-dress, accoutrements and armbands.

Plate 23 **Male dancers with *kamruruan* ('neck wreaths'). Note the abundant use of *tar* pigment worn on the skin**

Plate 24 **Dancers wearing *kabut/kangal* ('head-dress')**

The most frequently used item of costume in men's dances is the *kamruruan*, a neck wreath usually consisting of two types of plant material woven into a ring with one placed over the other (plate 23). Each genre of dance has specific costume features

associated with it, and while a certain amount of creativity is employed in the designing of costume, certain generic features are expected to be present with certain dances. For example, *lebung* dancers always use *kumruruan* and *utun* dancers always wear *kabut* ('headdress that extends upward' plate 24).[22] Women use much less elaborately constructed costume and accoutrements in their performances. These items are constructed in the village during the evenings and other periods of free time available in the weeks and days before the performance. Women wear their best attire during performances, which in most cases consists of a *meri blouse* ('short-sleeved blouse' that extends down to the knees) and a new *laplap* ('sarong'). *Kambang* is rubbed into the shoulders and forehead and a *bangbang* ('head-band', constructed of dyed feathers, plastic bags or plastic bottles) is commonly worn. Women often dance holding small sticks with feathers glued to the end, known as *uli*. In scale and effort men's costume is more intricate, involved and important to the performance than female costume elements.

An important aspect of dance costume is the rules of ownership and distribution. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, song and dance are not owned in any Western sense. The rights of performance and dissemination are not controlled or held by a composer or choreographer. In contrast to the free exchange of song and dance, aspects of costume design are, however, possessed by clans or individuals and cannot be reproduced without permission and payment. To use the *kumruruan* as an example: the materials and colours used can be patented by an individual or a *mangis* ('sub-clan') group. It is normally *kamgoi* or *tan a langoron* ('individuals renowned for their status as a song and dance teacher') who hold copyrights over specific designs.[23] When a *kamgoi* or *tan a langoron* wishes to present a dance, they *roroie* (literally 'teach') a *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe') a dance and how to construct a particular *kumruruan*. All of the dancers in the *mangis ngis* will perform in the uniformed costume prescribed by their teacher or sponsor. There are also generic costume designs that are without copyright and used by men who don't regularly teach or

[22] How *kabut* are attached to the dancer's head is a *pidik* only revealed to male performers on the eve of their first performance of a dance genre involving *kabut*.

[23] I use the term 'copyright' in this work not in the sense of a formal statute governing the rights of ownership but rather in reference to traditional forms of intellectual ownership as expressed by the Lak. A Lak individual who exercises a right of ownership over a costume design may seek compensation from those that seek to use the design. 'Copyrights' of costumes and other designs are also bought and sold or transferred to the *Kamgoi* who finishes, through mortuary rituals, a deceased 'copyright' owner.

sponsor dances and have no personal designs of their own. Other costume designs are simply created for an occasion. A costume pattern that is owned by a sub-clan can be used only by men of that particular sub-clan but may be 'hired out' to other sub-clans within the same moiety. Costume designs can be 'borrowed' across moiety lines only when a costume is owned by an individual. To hire or borrow a costume from its owner or owners, a payment of *matan tip* ('shell currency') is normally required. Following the death of a *kamgoi* or *tan a langoron*, the costume rights held by the deceased are transferred to the *kamgoi* who performs the mortuary rights or, at the host's discretion, are sold to another individual within the clan. Costume patterns and colours cannot be purchased or sold across moiety lines. These rules also apply to other male costumes like *kabut* and even specific patterns painted on a dancer's skin for a performance.

Of these costumes and designs some have individual names and are understood to be part of the clan's or individual's identity. As a consequence, each time they are used in performance they grow in significance. Some years, following the death of the costume's original owner, the costume may be used in a dance by the succeeding *kamgoi*. When viewed again, the costume acts as a direct reference to the deceased and will cause the older women to wail and cry as the performance begins. Using costume in this way is considered appropriate and can be tactfully employed in order for a host to make his event memorable, engaging and moving for the audience. At other times women may wail and weep because they are reminded of the deceased *kamgoi* who used to host such performances, perform the same genre of dance or composed the song being performed.[24] The mortuary proceedings are intended as potent social memorial services, and it is the features of dance, song and costume that make them the powerful, evocative and commemorative events that they are.

To complete this section on Lak performance aesthetics, it is pertinent to briefly discuss how appreciation or dislike of a performance is expressed within the context of a performance occasion. The sincerest form of praise, imitation, is how most song and dance performances are disseminated through the island region. A successful

[24] A similar relationship exists between a *Yain pidik* and his *tubuan*. The final stage of the mortuary rites, the *portung*, may see the appearance of the deceased's *tubuan*, which generates a similar reaction in an audience as a facet of costume owned by the deceased.

melody, dance or costume feature can generate numerous imitations and adaptations, and this is the accepted means through which new songs and dances are learnt.

During a performance there are several ways to show appreciation, which differ depending on the gender of the performers, the gender of the audience member, the status of the audience member and the type of dance being performed. For senior *kamgoi*, appreciation is shown through the practice of *bokbok*. The *bokbok* involves the *kamgoi* leaping forward from the crowd of onlookers and hopping from one leg to another while expressing his appreciation by repeating a set phrase such as '*I wakak*' ('it is good'). [25] The *bokbok* is normally performed during the *pukun* section of a dance when the new choreography is performed as it is these new sections that are the most eagerly anticipated. Older women can show their appreciation of a male performance by entering the performance grounds and mimicking the actions of the dancers. This practice is a type of clowning appropriate only to senior women. The women will mimic the dancer's movements in a comical way and pour water over a dancer.

For all other audience members, there is the practice of *abung*, which involves members of the opposite moiety to the dancer pouring water over him, forcing pork into his mouth and covering him in *kambang* powder. *Arbung* can also be performed for women's performances, again by opposite moiety members. In addition to these, there is also the practice of removing the *uli* and *bangbang*, head-dress from female performers during the *pukun* section, which is a form of appreciation but may also indicate a personal interest of the male receiver in the female dancer. There are several other methods of showing appreciation such as the gifting of a significant amount of *matan tip* to a performer who will be obligated to repay the gift with a pig at a latter stage; however, the most poignant form of appreciation is the attention of a large audience. To stop people in their tracks, make them lose interest in their food or turn their attention away from another performance is the ultimate measure of success in Lak terms.

[25] See chapter five for a discussion of the metaphor employed in phrases announced during *bokbok*.

As clearly discernable as the competition is between performance groups, most people shy away from openly judging the performances of others. This is not to say that audiences are not critical of what they observe but open criticism isn't appropriate in the context of dance performances, which are primarily celebratory events. Displeasure is expressed indirectly; audience members may drift away from the performance, wandering off to find *buai* or sit on the beach. A successful dance performance is easy to recognise; the energy and excitement generated through the dance enlivens the atmosphere, producing a distinctive emotional response described as *langoron* and discussed in chapter five.

Song and dance context.

Song and 'singing sounds' are an all-pervading feature of Lak society. It has been shown in the early part of this chapter that 'singing sounds' are perceived as an innate component of the natural world. In Lak terms, singing is a natural and inevitable consequence of living. 'Singing sounds' are capable of producing a wide range of emotional states and are therefore a part of most human endeavours and appropriate in almost any context. Dance, in contrast, is inextricably linked with notions of celebration. The context of dance and the actual performances themselves are focus points in the lives of Lak inhabitants. By examining the contexts of singing sounds and dance performance it will be possible to understand not only where they take place but also why. This section begins to explore the venues and context of both singing and dancing. The following three chapters also use the context of performance as a basis for discussion; the intention is to situate the information and experiences provided within the context of an indigenous structure. It is hoped that by approaching the material in this manner the discussion will remain close to the realities of Lak performance.

Solo singing takes place in many situations; individuals can be heard singing for their own amusement while working around the hamlet, travelling alone in the bush or to pass the time in the heat of the afternoon. In this context, singing is a form of personal entertainment and not considered performance. To constitute a performance, Lak aesthetics require two or more participants. The only solo singing that takes place for reasons other than personal amusement is for magical purposes. Most magical texts

are set against a melodic line and always sung as a solo in isolation as part of a ritually patterned sequence of activities. Solo singing has no real performance context and it is not considered as a performance form because in Lak performance is essentially a communal activity.

Group singing is organised at several levels from the smallest social unit, the family, to collaborative performances that involve several geographically related communities. The most frequent context of song performance is at the family or hamlet level.[26] Most hamlets hold Christian prayer meetings several nights a week. Depending on the denomination, the meetings may involve a series of prayers or the recitation of the rosary followed by religious songs in both Tok Pisin and Siar languages. The songs are always accompanied by guitars and performed in an energetic fashion. Praise songs come under the category of religious songs outlined above and form the biggest subsection of church music. The hamlet is also the venue for fellowship groups, which visit a different hamlet each week in a revolving cycle to sing and pray together. The active Christian life in most communities provides a nightly context for singing, guitar playing and socialisation. Groups of singers and guitarist frequently meet in the evenings to rehearse for upcoming church events or as part of a monthly schedule where each hamlet takes turns in leading the community in song as part of the Sunday service. The intensive use of song and dance as part of religious life is obviously a reflection on modern community values and, to an outsider, a nightly reminder of how religious devotion finds expression in the region. The associations between singing and dancing and spiritual expression are by no means a recent introduction. Song and dance have always been a spiritual undertaking in Lak and regardless of the venue it remains a central context to the local performance life.

At the village level there are two centres of community performance, the church and the men's house. Most communities have at least one church building or more, depending on the denominations present. The church and its surrounding grounds

[26] In Lak, hamlet sizes vary considerably from singular nuclear family groups to several extended families.

form the venue for singing and dancing on a weekly basis.[27] All church services regardless of denomination, involve hymn and praise song singing. Special events within Catholic communities involve dance procession during the service and possibly 'action song' performances following the service in the grounds of the church. The church and its grounds form the venue for all religious celebrations; their context includes: traditional Christian calendar events such as Easter and Christmas, along with specific denominational events like the Assumption of Maria or the feast day of a church's patron Saint; a visiting district Catholic Father or Minister; regional commemorative celebrations and even secular events such as National Independence celebrations. Inside the church, hymns and praise songs are sung as part of every assembly but on several of the special occasions just mentioned (within Catholic communities) dancing may occur inside the church building. The dances most commonly performed at these events are called 'action songs'. These performances often involve mixed gender groups with all performers wearing uniform head-dresses. At other times a 'procession dance' can take place as part of the liturgy. These dance performances deliver the offering plate or bible to the presiding Catechist. 'Procession' performances, as they are known, combine action song movements with the more traditional dance forms of the men's *lebung* or women's *belilo*. The costumes used in these performances also mix traditional and 'action song' costume features.

Outside the church building, in the surrounding grounds where most large community events take place, celebrations always include a mixture of performance categories and genres. For a large celebration (for instance, a pan-community event, such as the celebration of a patron saint) the dance performances will begin in the morning with most communities present contributing an 'action song' performance. 'Action songs' are usually followed by string band performances. A feast sponsored by the host community is distributed to all those not participating in the afternoon's events. The feast normally creates a short break in the performance schedule. Following the meal, in the early afternoon, the traditional performances begin. The first performance of the afternoon will inevitably be from the host community, followed by other communities, with preference given to those who must travel the greatest distance in

[27] Catholic communities frequently include dance performances inside the church as part of the service. The United Church and Foursquare denominations don't allow dance as part of any church service.

their return journey home. Following each performance, a basket of food is distributed to the performers. All large religious and secular community celebrations involve 'action songs' and traditional dance forms with most communities in attendance contributing several performances. These celebrations, focused around the church, religious events and community on a regional and national level, form the context for many music and dance performances in the region.

The other major venue at the village and inter-community level is the *pal* or men's house. Most traditional performances take place in the plaza in front of a village *pal*. There may be several *pal* present in any one village, depending on the size of the community, with each men's house signalling the presence of an active *kamgoi* ('Big Man'). The area in front of the men's house, the *matam a pal* ('eye of the men's house'), is the traditional meeting-place and the village's political centre. It is in this space that power negotiations are publicly enacted, speeches are given, traditional wealth is distributed, feasts are held and traditional dance performances take place. The context for all these performances is the mortuary rites. Mortuary rites can vary greatly in size, depending on the social status of the deceased and his or her surviving sub-clan. Regardless of these factors, there are certain rites and expectations or *wol* (ritual processes'), which are essential for any deceased and their surviving community. It is these rites that form the traditional context of song and dance performance.

So far I have presented the various physical contexts of performance; the emotional context of all performance is primarily that of celebration. A *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe') is a powerful symbolic and social entity. The *mangis ngis* is principally a vehicle of celebration intended to move audiences in an emotional way. Through skilled dancing and singing displays, colourful and original costumes, and exhibitions of spiritual and magical power, dance performances create a heightened festive experience. No other artistic or ritual practice is capable of generating as much energy and social impact as the *manis ngis*. All significant community events involve dance performances. A *mangis ngis* can be assembled from individual hamlets, a collection of hamlets, a *kampalpal*, ('group of men associated with a men's house') or from the wider village level. In each instance the performance groups are representing their community or a section of it. The celebrations that are the venue for dance inevitably

involve food distribution to all the performers and audience members who attend. These events, the feasting that is part of them and the essential dance performances are highlights of the local calendar. Individuals and communities at large look forward to such events with eager anticipation. People regularly walk distances of twenty kilometres to attend and participate in such events. Children in those communities involved are not expected to attend school on such occasions, and the community or garden work of all concerned is put on hold for the opportunity to participate in a celebration. It is in this context that most performances take place.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced several Lak concepts underlying 'singing sounds' and dance, using terms that reflect Siar descriptions. It has shown that the nature of the Lak sound environment is perceived in terms of vocal production; that is, the aural world is perceived as an oral one. Additionally, specific sounds have been shown to be appropriate to certain places, and the relationships between sound and environment have been explored. The categories of sound, according to local systems of classification, have been explored. The identification and distinguishing of the sound categories of singing, crying, calling, talking and noise, and their application to Lak instruments, to the environment and to birds as well as other animals has been expressed.

The nature of Lak song and dance has been introduced by exploring the local systems of classification. 'Singing sounds' have been analysed to reveal the underlying concepts of singing and vocal production. The relationships between song and dance have been shown as almost inseparable in Lak perceptions, and their interrelated structure has been introduced. The role of lyrics in song has been shown to make a non-essential contribution toward performance meaning and the mimetic process of learning has been shown to disclose much about local understandings of memory and regeneration. The section on performance aesthetics has shown cooperation to be of the essence of dance performance and the details of stance, form and group structure to be analogous to society on a wider scale. The sections on costume, design, reproduction and ownership have revealed the importance of visual metaphor in Lak society. When performers paint their skin and put on their costumes in preparation for a dance, they initiate a visual and conceptual transformation. Finally the section on

the context of song and dance has explored the essential nature of Lak performance. Group song and dance takes place in the physical context of the hamlet, village, community church and men's house. The emotional and psychological context of celebration, worship and the mortuary rites, have the additional context of power relations and politics, mourning and spiritual evocation.

Section 2: Chapter 4.

Singing through *Sum*:

Sound expression in the primary mortuary rites

This chapter explores salient features of the Lak song and sound world by examining several issues central to the local understanding of 'singing sounds'. These features of song and sound are examined in the context of the mortuary rites. The sonic and performance events that occur in the primary mortuary rites supply the material used to exhibit aspects of Lak song, including lyrics, performance meaning, composition and creativity. The *Tene Buai* complex is presented in detail in order to approach local notions relating to composition, lyrical meaning, and the role of the composer as spiritual medium. In the final section concepts of creativity which link the living world of singing and dance to a spiritual realm of inspiration and creativity are outlined. The chapter begins by returning to the primary mortuary sequence, previously outlined in chapter one, to examine the aural response to death, from the initial wailing to the culminating large-scale performance events that conclude the primary rites.

The Sounds of Death

As a community composed of a network of relations, a death in Lak creates a tear in the fabric of society. The size of the tear is directly related to the role of the deceased in the community. The death of a community leader creates a rupture that has far-reaching effects; the deceased's relationships in life will have extended beyond their immediate family and village. A *kamgoi*'s ('Big Man') sphere of influence is likely to encompass members of many villages in and beyond the region's linguistic boundaries. Through interaction and cooperation with others, people invest part of their own composite reality in their relationships. Death severs these relationships, and a part of those who remain dies along with them.

As described in chapter one, *sum* is the immediate response to death. The word *sum* describes a state of being in which people become immobile, 'heavy' and non-responsive. Those that suffer from *sum* seek solitude and neglect the usual activities of daily life, such as eating, bathing and communicating. *Sum* occurs as a direct result of the diminishing of one's composite being. *Sum*-like symptoms also occur when visitors depart or at the completion of large *kastoms* when participants from other villages return to their own homes. In both cases the response of those that are left behind is identical to those who suffer grief following a death (c.f. Kingston 1998: 269). The physical responses of those who suffer a loss of their social composition are the antithesis of those expressed in dance; indeed, as described in the previous chapter, physical movements are restricted in the atmosphere of death and *sum*. Much of the movement normally present in a Lak community is removed by a death. Its reinstatement is gradual and intimately related to the reparation of social structure and the composite reality of those affected.

The information presented in this section is based on observation and participation in three primary mortuary rites held in Rei community in 2001. Each of the rites was unique: two were conducted, following the death of senior women, and one for a male of some political importance. The descriptions that follow draw from all three rites but are predominantly based on the proceedings held for the male deceased, as these were the most comprehensive.

A death literally stops all work in the village. Gardening, fishing, building and harvesting are all brought to a halt by the death of a community member. The *kastoms* of death begin immediately.[1] The first signs of a death are aural. The wailing sounds quickly spread, and soon men and women from the entire community begin to gather in and around the deceased's house. The church bell or *garamut* may also be sounded to attract the attention of those working at a distance in their gardens. To hear a *garamut* being beaten outside of a ceremonial context immediately attracts the

[1] The Lak only perform mortuary rites for individuals who were a functioning part of the community. A child who dies in birth or within the first years of life will not be the subject of a mortuary sequence. The point at which the Lak people generally distinguish a child as a functioning community member occurs when they are capable of verbal communication and interaction. Similar beliefs also exist in at least one other New Ireland linguistic group (see Powdermaker, 1933: 313).

attention of those within the aural vicinity. At the house of the deceased where the body lies, covered with a sarong, the chief female mourners gather to wail. As the news spreads, women of the village slowly make their way to the house. Entering to view the body, the mourners bring their hands to their heads and begin to wail. Each new mourner who enters the house prompts the women already present into another series of lamentations. As women arrive, they wail for a short time before taking their place beside the other mourners to sit quietly in a state of *kes umbah* ('to sit heavily/uncomfortably'). Mourners from other villages continue to arrive throughout the day: women join the others inside the house, and men sit at a distance and begin to organise the *porominat* ('burial rites'). In the instance of the death of a community leader, young men are sent to other villages to inform relatives and the deceased's exchange partners. The day is punctuated with the sounds of grief; each time a new person arrives at the house of the deceased, the pattern of wailing begins again. The wailing continues into the night at intervals as people arrive in the village. Eventually the chief female mourners are left to sleep beside their deceased relative one last time.

It is primarily the role of female relatives to wail over the deceased but close male relatives may also visit the house and spend a short time wailing close to the body. As mentioned in chapter three, the culturally patterned system of wailing is always produced in a descending melodic line, frequently including short sentences that situate the deceased and the wailer according to kin terminology. The sung phrases vary considerably from the simple repetition of relationship terms such as '*koko*, *koko*, *koko*...' ('mother's brother') to complex descriptions of the type of exchange relationship maintained between the wailer and the deceased or recent activities undertaken by both DVD Tracks 3: Wailing at the house of the deceased. Wailing is performed with a descending melody, beginning with a swooping wail up to the highest pitch and a slow descent that may consist of a mixture of wailing sounds and sung phrases.

As soon as news of a death has spread through a village, immediate restrictions on noise and inappropriate sounds begin. The previous chapter introduced the separate sound realms of 'bush' and 'village' and showed that the sounds of the village are associated with community and those of the bush with spiritual beings and isolation. A death changes these dynamics. A *talngan* ('spirit') is now loose in the village, and

sum ('grief') hangs a veil of silence over the community. Traditional beliefs regarding the movements of a *talngan* spirit after its release from the body describe it staying close to the house, garden and other dwelling places. To some extent these beliefs have been usurped by Christian ones but in the wake of a death most people remain wary about movement through the village after dark. Noise restrictions following a death mean that no one should laugh or talk loudly around the house or hamlet of the deceased (see Wagner 1986: 178-9; Kuchler 2002: 93). The taboos extend to any noisy activity, including arguing, singing or playing a guitar and continue for as long as there is *sum* present in the village (until after the *sar lakman*). If these restrictions are broken, those involved in the indiscretion will be subject to a hefty fine, normally amounting to a pig to be paid to the *kastom* host.[2] Noise is also believed to attract the attention of the wandering *talngan*, and the children and spouse of the deceased are seen to be particularly vulnerable in the days following the death. The deceased's spirit may try to pull its children into the afterlife with them and young children especially are watched closely in the days following the death of a parent.

The day after the death, preparations are made for the burial of the corpse. In the morning the leaders of the deceased's sub-clan arrange for pigs to be killed and placed in a *mumu* ('ground oven'). The pigs are given to the clan leader by family members, debitors of the deceased and taken from among the deceased's own pigs. The *kamgoi* ('Big Man') who has taken on the responsibility of the first stage of the rites will organise the young men of the village into working parties. A group of men will be set the task of cooking the pigs while other parties are sent to dig the grave, collect drinking coconuts for the feast and numerous other tasks. While the pigs are killed and placed in the ground oven, the older men prepare the coffin. For the death of a *kamgoi* a canoe will be cut down to shape and a lid constructed. If the deceased was a leader in either of the secret societies, his death will cause the *tubuan* or *talung* or

[2] As with most breaches of ritual lore, an accusation is enough to generate a retributive payment, whether or not the accused admits guilt. Prompt payments are necessitated in order for the accused to ensure his safety and that of his family/sub-clan. It is widely believed that non-payment spurs the jealousy of malicious sorcerers. Matters concerning the breach of *kastom* lore are almost always paid, and the accused's inevitable pleas of innocence are of no consequence in these cases. No court judgments are made as accusations are generally enough to determine guilt. (Matters of domestic law are dealt with in the village court, *warkurai,* where senior men and appointed ministrants seek to reach conclusions through agreement.)

both to make an appearance. The coffin of a senior member of the *tubuan* society (*Yain pidik*) will be painted with the distinctive pattern of his *nantoi* figure.

As the men prepare the food and materials for the feast and burial, mourners from other villages continue to arrive. When completed, the coffin is carried to the house. In the case of *Yain pidik*, the coffin may be accompanied by the high-pitched pulsing sound of the *talung*. The way in which the *talung* cry is produced is the central *pidik* ('secret') of the society only revealed to initiates. (see Gourlay 1975 & Bell 195.) The women and children assembled around the deceased's house gather their possessions quickly and run to their houses where they remain quietly inside until the *talung* has passed. The sound of the *talung* creates an immediate reaction of fear in women, uninitiated males and children. The *talung* accompanies the coffin to the deceased's house where the body is placed in the coffin and carried to the men's house associated with the deceased's moiety.[3] At the men's house the cry of the *talung* ends, and gradually the community begin to assemble around the men's house grounds. At this point a local Catechist may conduct a short service and shortly afterwards, if the deceased was a *Yain pidik,* the *tubuan* will make their entrance. The *tubuan kinarot* ('walk/dance') along the beach to the men's house where they dance around the men's house perimeter. [4] The arrival of the *tubuan* spirit figures sees the women and children retreat to a vantage point where they can view the proceedings from a safe distance. One of the *tubuan* will be associated with the deceased, and its appearance at this stage of the rites stirs emotion in the men and women present.[5] A group of young men will act as pallbearers closely followed by the *tubuan*. At the graveside the coffin is lowered into the grave, and the *tubuan* dance around its perimeter until they are led back to the beach where they wait. Once the *tubuan* have left, women and children join the men at the graveside where further prayers are given and hymns sung.

It is common, at this stage, for one of the older men present to perform the *sakiyanyan poipoi* rite (literally, 'eat rotting wood'), dividing a stick into several sections and throwing it into the grave on top of the coffin. The stick is divided into a number of

[3] Most large villages in Lak have at least two men's houses, one associated with each of the moieties.
[4] *Kinarot* describes the action of the *tubuan* 'walking/dancing' to or from a customary event. When the *tubuan* arrives in a canoe or boat the word *kinawai* is used.
[5] The number of *tubuan* who appear during this stage of the initial mortuary observances is indicative of the size of later rites.

pieces each corresponding to a child of the deceased. This rite is performed in order to 'trick' the spirit of the deceased into thinking that his children have joined him in the grave. Steve Albert reflects on the significance of this rite, suggesting that wood is used to substitute children as the spirits that dwell in the bush are widely believed to eat rotting wood (1989). If the spirit of the deceased is fooled by the *sakiyanyan poipoi* rite into thinking the sticks are his children, he will consume them instead of his real children.

With the service completed the grave is filled and once the mourners have retreated the *tubuan* return to the grave, dancing around it for several minutes. *Tanget* ('*cordyline terminalis*') branches are placed at the foot and head of the grave to mark it. A *dok* ('small payment') of shell money is made by all of the members of the *tubuan* society present to the host who in turn pays the *tubuan* with ten fathoms of roped shell money before they return to the *taraiu* ('secret grounds'). The deceased's *tubuan* will not appear again in the village until many years later in the final stages of the secondary rites.

In the late afternoon the feasting cycle begins. During this first *aangan* ('feast') the wife of the deceased or eldest male child presents a *yaikip* (six foot pole cut on an angle with red paint on the tip) to the leader of the deceased's sub-clan. The receiving individual will in most cases accept the leadership role in the ceremonies that follow.[6] The *kamgoi* ('Big Man') who accepts the *yaikip* can 'cash it in' for a pig at any stage of the primary rites. The exchange of the *yaikip* is always closely observed by the men and women present as it is a moment of political importance. The man who accepts the *yaikip* takes on the responsibility of the entire mortuary rites that will follow. The recipient may in turn pass the *yaikip* to other closely related clan members if his personal resources are already obligated elsewhere. Once a recipient or group of clan leaders have accepted the *yaikip*, the eldest son of the deceased will make a further payment of shell money to the new host. The host then begins to call in his debts and put himself in the debt of others by placing a *param* ('ten fathoms of shell money') at the feet of other *kamgoi* in his clan. These *param* are also referred to

[6] *Yaikip* are frequently used to represent pigs, and in this case the pig represented is the *sulai minat*. *Sulai* is to 'carry' and *minat* means 'corpse'. The *sulai minat* pig is a payment and symbolic transfer of responsibility for the deceased (hence the term 'carry [the] corpse') back to the members of the deceased's clan and away from his wife and children who are *fakereng* members.

as *minat*, and each of the recipients is obligated to provide pigs at a later stage in the mortuary rites.

With his supporters publicly confirmed, the newly established host will begin to distribute shell money among all of the attendees. Following the distribution of the shell money, speeches are given by the host and other *kamgoi*. The speeches are almost entirely rhetorical explanations of what has taken place and the mortuary actions that will follow in the days, weeks and years ahead 'on top' of the deceased. The speeches also focus on the customary events just held and any divergences from tradition. The young men who make up the labour are usually the target of accusations concerning their inability to follow instructions and their lack of knowledge about traditional ways (cf. Bolyanatz 1994b). These speeches and their remonstrations are usually delivered with mock anger but are carefully directed to those young men of no political standing. While the anger may be a feature of stylistic posturing, the message is a sincere one, concerned with the continuation of correct *kastom* procedures. It is in these speeches that young men and women are taught about the intricacies of *kastom* activity. It is the aesthetics of customary practice that underlie the speeches. The speeches provide opportunities to communicate *kastom* processes in the traditional oral manner.

The two days that follow the initial *aangan* feast involve further feasting by men and are characterised by quiet social gatherings. No work of any kind can be conducted during this period, and people take the opportunity to socialise with people who have travelled to the village to be a part of the proceedings. On the evening of the third *aangan*, the *daut* performance begins.

Singing to the Dead

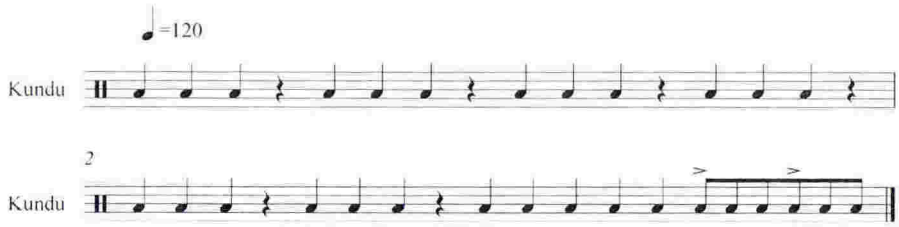
This section examines the organised performances that take place during the first and second stages of the rites. The *daut*, *ahohlur sum* and the *gar* performances are central to how the Lak express and come to terms with grief.

Daut Songs & Ceremony

The *daut* performances are held twice during the mortuary sequence as part of two separate all-night singing sessions. The first performance is held during the night preceding the culminating *pongor lor* feast in the first stage of the primary rites, and the second heralds the recommencement of the primary mortuary sequence, setting in motion the series of customary exchange and musical events that end with the *todong*.

On both occasions *daut* songs are performed at night in the men's house grounds. The male population of the hosting village, men from surrounding communities and a few older individuals solicited for their knowledge of *daut* songs attend. Soon after sunset the *garamut* is carried out of the men's house and placed close to the performers. The *kundu* drums are tuned to produce a similar pitch, although this is often just a token attempt as the width and length of *kundu* vary considerably, making the task almost impossible. During the singing the *kundu* are passed around amongst the men who are confident enough in their knowledge of the songs to beat the accompanying rhythms.

The performance begins with the *bel angre* (literally 'hungry belly') songs. The older men sit together in a group and decide which song will be performed. One of these men will begin the rendition by beating the entire rhythm of the *daut* on a *kundu* (roughly the equivalent of seven bars in 4/4). At the end of the pattern, the *kundu* player will begin to sing the first verse of the *daut* as a solo. This verse is then repeated as a chorus with the other *kundu* players joining in.



Transcription 4 ***Daut kundu* rhythm**

The *kundu* pattern shown here is one of the more common played with *daut* songs. There are a variety of rhythms beaten against *daut*; all of them consist of a repeating pattern.[7] The *daut* is repeated an indefinite number of times until the leader, normally the man who started the singing, makes a hissing sound to indicate that the current verse is the final repetition. *Daut* often conclude with a single *kundu* player beating a finishing pattern as exemplified in the transcription below.

Transcription 5 ***Kundu* finishing pattern**

A short break ensues while the older men decide which song will be next. The singing continues in this manner for twenty minutes to half an hour until the session ends.

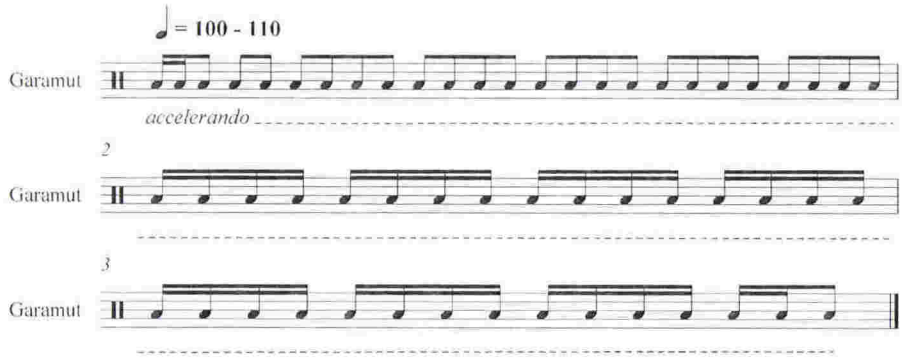
Daut are some of the oldest songs known in Lak and among the least well-known of all songs. The songs are sung in a language no longer comprehensible. Some informants speculate that the language used in *daut* is Guramalum, a language used during the time the Lak inhabited the interior region of the island. Very few people are capable of comprehending any of the lyrics but some of the older men are able to recognise individual words. It is only the older members of each community who know the songs well enough to lead the men in the performances. Many of the middle-aged men are able to participate in the singing but don't take part in deciding

[7] See page 317 for a more indeepth explination of the nature of the role of the *kundu* in the musical structure.

which songs will be sung and rarely play the *kundu*. The younger men present may occasionally join in with the singing but mostly observe and listen as they sit behind the performers. Although I saw no evidence of *daut* performances being removed from ritual proceedings, Kingston mentions that some villages no longer perform *daut* because none of the residents know the songs well enough and that "the success of *daut* performances relies on a small group of people" (1998: 7, 11). Indeed the performances that I witnessed were dependant upon two or three senior members of the village who have a good memory for songs.

After several hours of *bel angre* songs, the young men are instructed to raise the *mumu* and bring the cooked pig to the men's house. A feast is held, and all of the men eat. The next session of singing, called *bel pulap* ('belly full') takes place in the same manner as before. Because of the length of the *daut* performance, and the limited number of songs known, many of the songs are repeated throughout the course of the night. Just before sunrise a final session of songs, called: *san kamap*, ('sunrise') are performed.

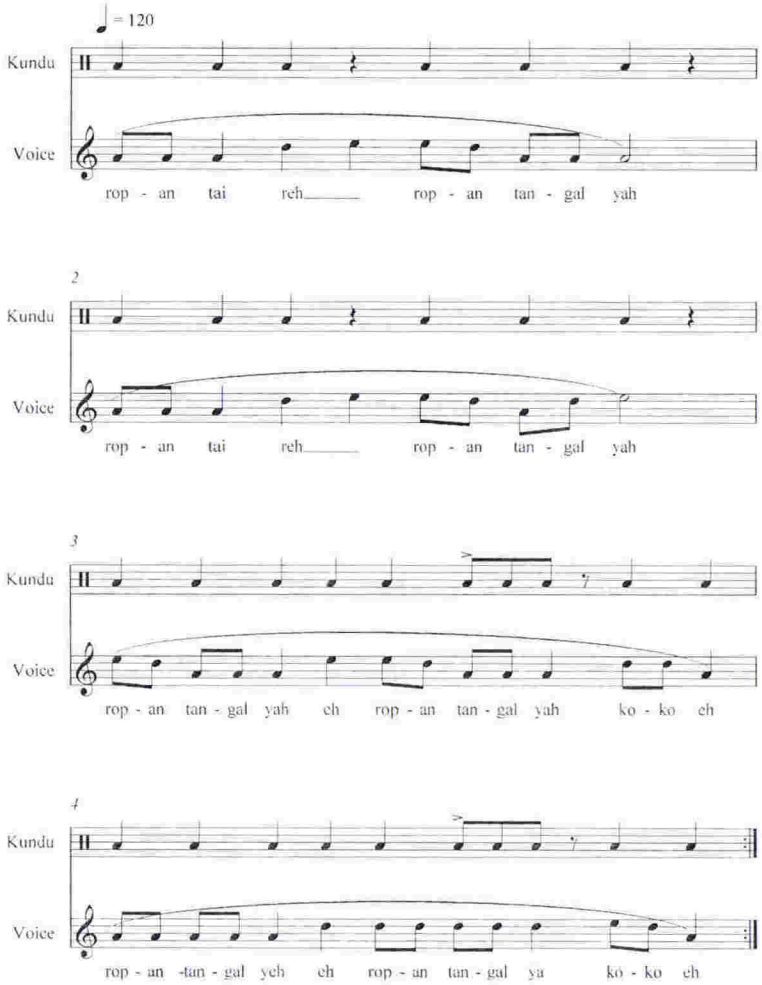
The *garamut* is played at various stages during *daut* performances. As discussed in the previous chapter, the *garamut* most often produces 'talking' rather than 'singing sounds'. The idiophone's role in the *daut* is clearly that of the *elngeng i funoh* ('voice of the village') announcing, calling and signalling at intervals throughout the night. What exactly is being announced and to whom remains ambiguous. The rhythmic pattern played on the *garamut* during the *daut* performance is described below.



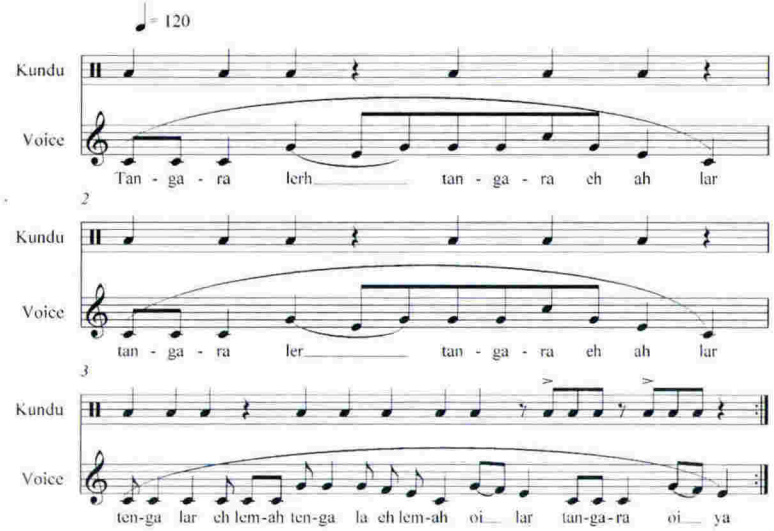
Transcription 6 ***Daut garamut* rhythm**

This accelerating rhythm is normally beaten over the singing and bears no relation to the rhythmic aspects of the song or the *kundu* rhythm.

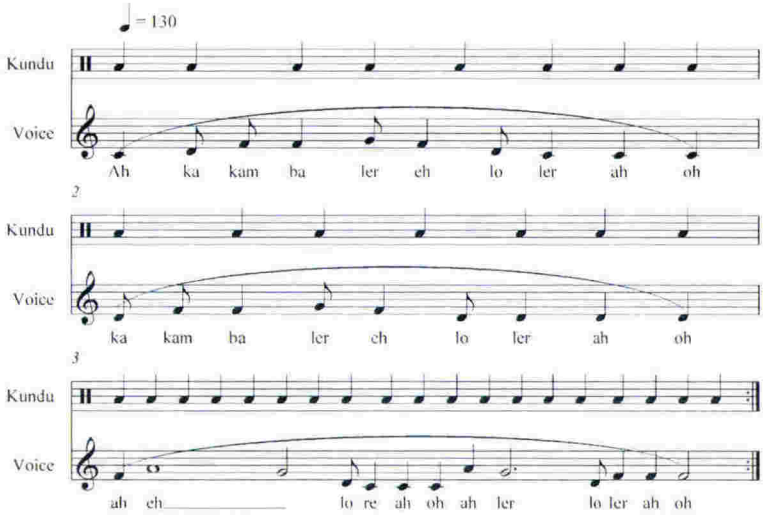
All *daut* have similar melodic lines, and it is this feature of the songs that identify them as *daut*. Unlike other song forms that contain a *lamlam* and two or three *pukun* sections, *daut* consist of only a single section.



Transcription 7 ***Daut***



Transcription 8 ***Daut***



Transcription 9 ***Daut***

In each of the three transcriptions provided above, the melody ascends through the first half of the phrase and descends to the starting note at the end. The phrase or phrases that follow repeat the lyrics presented in the first phrase against a melodic line that may have a slight variation on those accompanying the previous bars. In the final phrase, the melodic line becomes chant-like. This structure is common to all *daut* CD Tracks 4 & 5: *Daut*. Lak performers say that *daut* songs all have the same melody. It is the broader aspects of melodic and rhythmic patterns that the Lak refer to when they state that all *daut* have the same melodic structure. According to Lak sensibilities, the minor variations between the three extracts presented here are of little or no

consequence to the broader melodic and rhythmic shape of the melody, making them 'the same' in Lak terms.

Daut continue to be performed despite the limited number of songs known, the incomprehensible nature of their lyrics and the small number of men with a fluent knowledge of the songs. To gain some understanding of the role of the *daut*, I will present some of the more remarkable features of the songs and their performance context. *Daut* songs and their performance are unique within the larger body of Lak song in several significant ways: firstly, the songs of the *daut* are all in a language no longer comprehensible to the performers; secondly, *daut* are performed by a large group of men without dance accompaniment; and thirdly, the performance has no immediately perceivable audience.

The first point, that *daut* lyrics are not comprehensible to the participants, is not unusual in the wider context of Lak songs. Many other songs feature lyrics in foreign, old or esoteric languages but *daut* is one of the few genres in which all of the songs are impenetrable. This situation is partly due to the fact that *daut* are no longer composed. Many of the oldest song forms indigenous to the area, such as *tukul*, *belilo*, *leplep*, and *kolau*, continue to be composed, and today these forms consist of songs in the old and modern vernaculars of the Lak.[8] The fact that *daut* are no longer composed but continue to be sung suggests that the antiquated vernacular of the songs and performance have significance.

The second feature of *daut,* the fact that they are not accompanied by dance is unusual. By far the majority of Lak songs have a dance associated with them; song and dance are generally perceived as co-dependent features of performance as expressed in the term *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe').[9] *Daut* is the only traditional song form (with the exception of women's initiation songs) performed by a group that does not have dance, costume or choreographed movement associated with it. This is easily understood within the context of the performance. Ostensibly dance in Lak is a vehicle for celebration, and it would be inappropriate for a dance performance to take

[8] *Tukul*, *belilo*, *leplep*, and *kolau* were identified as old song forms indigenous to the Lak by several older informants.
[9] See chapter three for details.

place during the initial stages of the mortuary custom prior to the *ahohlur sum*. During this first stage of the mortuary rites, *sum* ('grief') is still an active presence among the performers of the *daut*. Singing, however, is an expressive form of a different nature; all songs are believed have 'power' and purpose and 'singing sounds' are capable of producing the range of human emotions and appropriate to all situations. The 'power' of the *daut* resides in the capacity of the songs to communicate. What exactly is being communicated and to whom leads to the third unique feature of the *daut* performance.

The absence of an audience, in the traditional sense, is perhaps the most unusual feature of the *daut*. The 'audience', I argue, is the ancestral spirits and the deceased who is now among them (cf. Kingston 1998:287). The link between the spirits and the language in which *daut* are sung is evident to most of the performers. The reasoning here is clearly discernable; the spirits are literally the ancestors of the performers and the language of the *daut* songs, *Guramalum,* is the *tok ples* ('indigenous language') of those ancestors. In this way the *daut* communicate between the living and the dead. The meaning of the songs, or what the songs actually communicate within their lyrics is, I suggest, irrelevant. The *daut* performances are nights spent singing to the spirits and drawing the deceased close to the performers while the *garamut* is beaten with rapid staccato rhythms periodically throughout the night to summon the spirits from their bush spaces into the village space. *Daut* performances can be seen as a way in which the living communicate with the dead through songs in their language.

It is the archaic language used in the *daut* songs that empowers them as a means of communication with the spirits. The audience of the *daut* performance is the spirits but the focus of the performance is *sum*, which will be compensated by the pigs of the *pongor lor*. The pigs that will be eaten during the *pongor lor* are the antithesis of *sum*, symbolically replacing the 'emptiness' that is *sum*. The first performance of the *daut* summons the spirits and *sum* of the performers throughout the night building to the eventual release from *sum* during the *pongor lor*. The second *daut* performance, at the beginning of the *todong* sequence, again summons the spirits and *sum* of the

performers for the continuing rites performed in their honour. [10] The second *daut* performance reawakens the state of mourning within the performers and community paving the way for the continuation of the mortuary rites.

Ahohlur sum

On the morning following the second *daut* women of the host village perform the *ahohlur sum* ('clearing or removal of *sum*'). The *ahohlur sum* is a short performance, in most cases only the *lamlam* section of a dance. Patrick Tobusai commented on the importance of this performance for the women of the village: "The *kundu* drum has already been beaten for the men during the *daut*; the women beat the *kundu* for the first time during the *ahohlur sum*." Patrick's comments refer to the *daut*'s role in the removal of male *sum*, and the *ahohlur sum* performances clearly do the same for women. The *ahohlur sum* is most often a *belilo*; as the popularity of this dance form means that little rehearsal or preparation time is required. The women quickly assemble in the men's house plaza with little in the way of costume and begin to dance. The population of the village determines the size of the *belilo*; most female inhabitants over the age of fifteen years participate in the dance. During or soon after the *ahohlur sum* performance, the *mokos* ('widow') or *tanur* ('widower') is given a *purpur*, a small dance accoutrement, to signify that their *sum* has been removed. The *mokos/tanur* are able to dance from this point on but this generally doesn't occur publicly until the completion of the primary rites, with the large-scale male and female dances of the *todong*. On the evening of the *ahohlur sum* performance, the *gar* begins.

Gar

Gar performances (the event is referred to as *kamgar*) have several features in common with the *daut*. *Gar* songs, like *daut*, are performed twice during the mortuary sequence, during the primary and secondary rites. Both *daut* and *gar* are also nocturnal performances in which singing is the central activity. The *garamut* is used in both song forms, and the performances of *daut* and *gar* act as preludes to major

[10]See figure 2: Table. Synopsis of *Porominat*: Primary Mortuary Rites, chapter 1, for details of the structure of the rites.

events in the mortuary rites. But the two also differ in significant ways. Unlike the *daut*, males, females, young and old can perform *gar*. In this respect *gar* are exceptional. They are the only traditional dance form performed by mixed gender participants.[11] The most remarkable contrast between these two song forms, however, is that, despite the lyrics of both genres constituting the focus of the events, the *daut* song lyrics are not understood whereas the *gar* songs are often in intelligible languages.

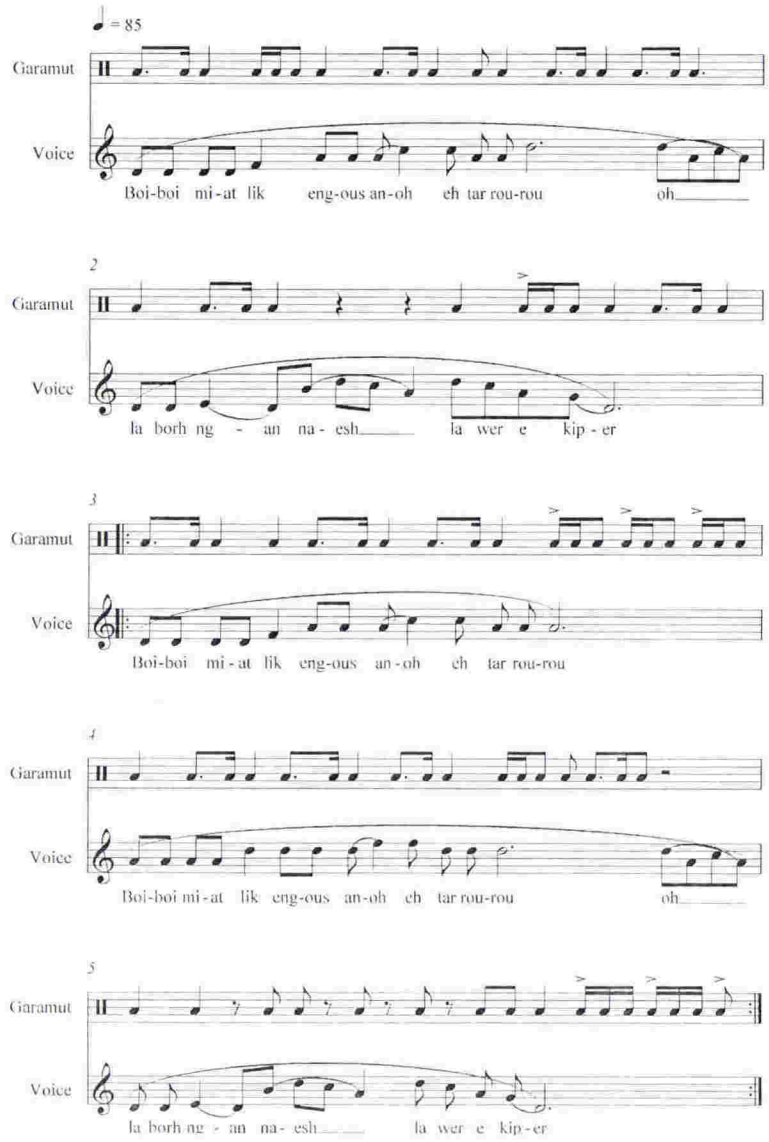
Gar is the Siar term for the song form that is practised throughout New Ireland and parts of New Britain and widely known as *bot* (Tok Pisin). These performances are danced in radial lines that move around a central *garamut* in an anticlockwise direction. A male participant beats the *garamut*, and the events usually involve predominantly young people. In many parts of New Ireland, the islands of Lihir, Tabar, Tanga and the Duke of Yorks, the *bot* dances exist in one form or another in association with mortuary rites. On Karavar island in the Duke of Yorks, *bot* are known as *gara* and performed only by women who walk "a slow shuffling dance with occasional bursts of rhythm" (Errington 1974: 190). Among the Usen Barok the practice of *ben* is described by Wagner as "a nightly promenade about the sounding *garamut* by radial lines of slow stepping singers..." (1986: 202). The *bot* performances held in Northern New Ireland are similar to the others here but are just one part of a larger night of "songs, dances, inversion, travesty and courtship" (Kuchler 2002: 105). Clay briefly mentions *eben* "sung by both sexes while walking around the large slit-gong drum nightly", as part of the Mandak mortuary rites (1986: 207). In Tanga Island the events are known as *bel* and can be performed as part of the celebrations upon the roofing of a men's house or during the mortuary sequence. The Tangan *bot* are similar to the Lak version and, according to Foster, utilise Siar language songs (Foster 1995:129) just as some *bot* sung in Lak are in the Sursurunga, Tangga, Tolai and other neighbouring languages.

The local versions of the *bot/gar* are essentially celebratory events but the first performance differs from the second in an important way. The first *gar* performance

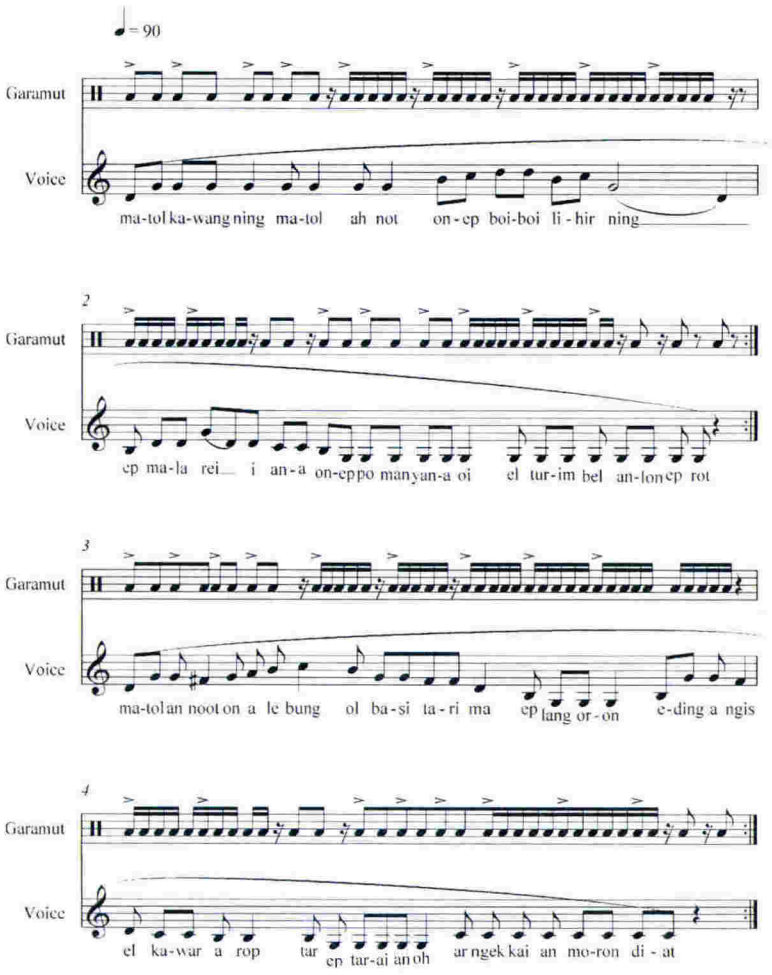
[11] While *gar* are performed by men and women at the same time the extent to which they perform 'together' is limited. Generally, groups of men and separated groups of women circle the *garamut* at the same time.

in Lak takes place in the context of *sum* ('grief') and should therefore be conducted with restraint. The second *gar* performance, during the secondary rites, is a lively affair akin to the description presented by Kuchler of the Northern New Ireland *bot*. In both instances the *gar* occur in a marginal period, in the days and weeks preceding climactic feasting and dancing events. During the period separating the announcement of the *todong* or *ngasa* feasts and their execution, the *gar* are performed nightly. During the first few nights it is just a small group that attends, and the *kamgar* typically last only until eleven or twelve at night. As the culminating feast approaches, the number of participants and the length of the performances grow until the second to last night when the *gar* is performed from early evening until dawn.[12]

[12] On the last night, before a *ngasa* or *todong*, night performances are presented but *gar* may still be performed following the other dances.



Transcription 10 ***Kamgar***



Transcription 11 ***Kamgar mas***

As these two transcriptions show, *gar* tend to consist of between two and four melodic phrases that encompass all of the *gar*'s lyrics. The phrases are often repeated with variation and the entire piece is repeated an indefinite number of times. *Gar* songs are melodically and rhythmically diverse partly as a result of them being composed and exchanged throughout New Ireland and its outlying regions. The *garamut* part bears no rhythmic relation to the song; the timing of the *garamut* beat is only loosely associated with the singing part, shortly after the *garamut* begins the singing commences. The *garamut* pattern simply repeats without stoping until the singing stops, when the *garamut* finishes its current repetition and also comes to an end. The *garamut*'s role in the *gar* songs is similar to the part it plays in the *daut*; it acts almost independently of the vocal part, announcing a rhythmic pattern against the backdrop of the *gar* melody CD Tracks 6 & 7: *Gar*.

The final two nights of a *gar* that I attended in Siar village in preparation for a *ngasa* feast in 2005 involved mostly young male and female participants from many of the communities within a two-hour walk. The performance was well under way when I arrived at eight in the evening. Groups of young men and separate groups of young women and children slowly pace around the *garamut*, pausing at times to complete a verse before parading on. The entire 'dance' consists of a slow pacing, followed by brief pauses.[13] After about half an hour the dancing stops, and the performers remaining in their gender groups sit on opposite sides of the *garamut*. Older men and women watch the proceedings from close by and occasionally join in for a few revolutions of the *garamut*. By ten thirty the number of participants had swollen to forty, and the rest periods between the dancing had became almost as noisy with chatter, laughter and yelling as the performances. Several different men took turns beating the *garamut*, and as the night continued the older members of the community began to retire to their houses leaving the younger people to continue the *gar* intermittently until sunrise. As the night advanced and into the small hours, interaction between the male and female groups increased. *Gar* undoubtedly provide an increased opportunity for sexual liaisons, something reported in other New Ireland societies (see Kuchler 2002: 105; Foster 1995: 129; Kingston 1998:304). *Gar* also have a competitive aspect. After performing *gar* all night, the members of one hamlet may challenge others to do the same. *Gar* events are enjoyable occasions for all participants and spectators. *Kamgar* events, it seems, play an important role in building community excitement, expectation and participation in the lead-up to the concluding acts of the primary and secondary rites.

The Lak distinguish between several types of *gar*, including *tumlos*, *gar mas*, *kangkang*, *gar rahrah* and simply *gar*. The *tumlos* is a type of *gar* specific to the Lak region. *Gar mas* refers to songs entirely in the Siar language. *Kangkang* is a style of *gar* that the Lak associate with the Susurunga language group. *Gar rahrah* is a form of *gar* performed by children in the afternoon, and finally the form known simply as *gar* refers to the largest section of songs that are sung in a mixture of Tok Pisin, Siar

[13] *Gar* are only marginally considered dances. The term 'dance' is used here consistent with Lak usage but informants readily agree that *gar* are not dances in the same way as other choreographed and organised movement systems to which the term is applied.

and dialects from other regions. The lyrics of *gar* are often topical with subjects such as humorous events, exceptional occurrences, personal experiences and occasionally subtle jibes or accusations at other community members. The examples below provide typical *gar* lyrics from among the *gar mas* and *gar* styles.

<u>*Gar*</u>

Oi kiahoi Lak det
Oi umtool nama bill la
Rei eh duroogai ma
Long solwara bilong Duke of York
Wai tait I kisim ol
Wai tait I kisim ol
Long sol wara long Duke of York.

Translation:

Oi kiahoi every one
Where are you all now I can't
See you, eh (To)duroogai
In the ocean at Duke of York (Islands)
Wee the current carries them
Wee the current carries them
In the ocean at Duke of York (Islands)

This *gar,* performed for several nights as part of a *kamgar* sequence in Siar during 2005 in the week prior to a large *ngasa,* featured as a popular highlight of the nightly performances. The *gar* recounts an incident that occurred in late 2004 when a group of men from the Lambom community and an individual from Siar were swamped by a wave while travelling across the Saint George Channel from Rabaul in a small outboard motor boat. Although the boat was closer to New Ireland at the time that it sank the strong channel currents pushed the men back toward the Duke of York islands where they all safely came ashore after ten hours at sea. The next *gar* example was recorded in Wilo village during a *kamgar* event on the night prior to a large *ngasa*. Wilo village is in the middle of the neighbouring linguistic group of Konomala but many people from the Lak region attended due to clan ties. This particular example is a *gar mas*, entirely in the Siar language, and performed in a neighbouring linguistic group by Konomala speakers.

<u>*Gar mas*</u>

Yow oi-gi-oi ol kam long yow ma
Onep pelat rice nging
Eee ting gau wan lo roomai

Tong kawash an Kapokpok

Ru ah nat sai ding ru a nat America
Dera nging an lon ep rom eee

Translation:

I call out to the little girl to
Get me a plate of rice
Inside the house
In Kapokpok

Who are those two boys? two boys from America
Inside the room

The lyrics of this *gar mas* would probably be understood by a few of the performers in Wilo. People of neighbouring linguistic groups tend to have a surprising comprehension of the languages around them but it is unlikely that any of the performers know the incident or event recounted in the song's text. The composer of this *gar* died a number of years ago and even his brothers are unaware of who the lyrics relate to. This pattern is common to many of the songs for which I was able to gain translations. Roughly half of the recordings that I made in Lak could not be translated by performers and of the half that were comprehensible, the incidents, events, people and places cited in the lyrics were rarely known to the individuals or groups performing them.

Gar is a very popular song form. During my twenty-two months in the region, I was able to record nineteen examples and witnessed many more performances. The *gar* genre like many of the song forms of the region travel widely. I recorded *gar* in the Siar language in Konomala, the Duke of Yorks and Tolai regions and it seems certain that Lak *gar* travel even further afield. The first *gar* example provided here was popular because of its topical subject but the lyrics remain a small part of what makes any song popular. The second example serves to illustrate this point. This *gar* example was recorded in another linguistic region where the words may have been understood by some of the performers but the actual meaning is unlikely to have been known to any of the participants. Most of the *gar* I learnt and recorded fit this category.

Lyrics & Meaning

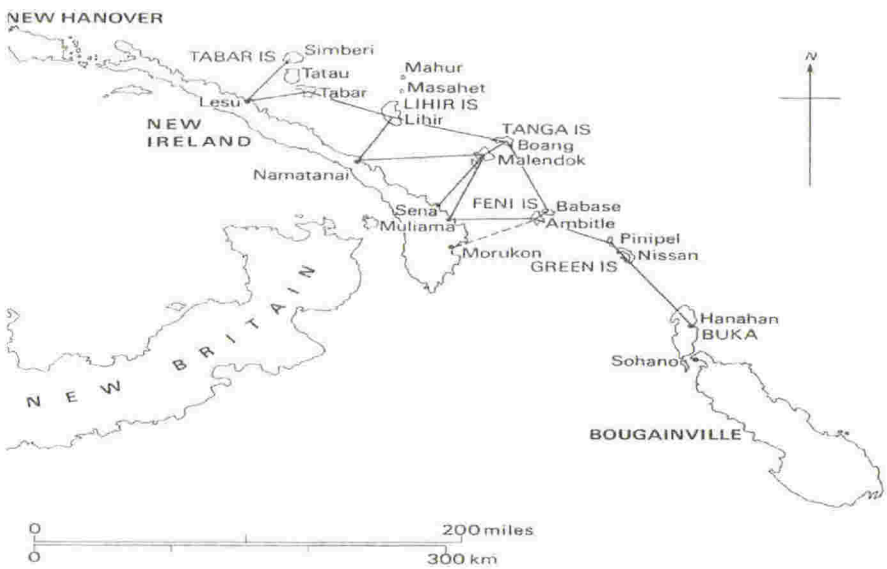
The *daut* and *gar* songs discussed above highlight a curious feature of local 'singing sounds' that are also common to many other societies in the Bismarck Archipelago. The absence of narrative lyrical meaning in song texts and the transmission of music across linguistic and cultural groups have been widely noted by ethnographers working in the islands of Papua New Guinea. Here I examine the transitory nature of song and dance in the region and the nature of song lyrics in Lak and by implication the Bismarck Archipelago.

For many ethnographers the task of coming to terms with a society's music and dance begins with lyrical analysis. The words, phrases, concepts and metaphor presented in song frequently provide insight into cultural themes and the subtleties of language usage. The subjects dealt with in song texts and the use of poetic tools can reveal much about how a society uses music as a creative form. Merriam suggests that "one of the most obvious sources for understanding human behaviour in connection with music is the song text" (Merriam 1964:187). For many societies in the Pacific this approach proves invaluable. In Polynesia (see Firth & Mclean 1990; Pond 1995:49-63; Thomas and Tuia 1995: 109-123; Mclean & Orbell 1975) and parts of Melanesia (see Weiner 1991, Wassmann 1991, Hesse & Aerts 1996), lyrical poetry forms an integral feature of performance. However, it is also true that many societies in Melanesia perform songs in foreign or archaic languages; for example, the culturally important *gisalo* songs of the Kaluli in the Southern Highlands Province are entirely in non-Kaluli languages (Schieffelin 1976:178). McLean in his study of the "Diffusion of Musical Instruments and their relation to language migrations in New Guniea", has noted that "non-meaningful" song texts occur especially among esoteric songs, and in regions where musical borrowing is reported (McLean 1994:67). Similarly, many of the songs performed in Lak originate from neighbouring linguistic groups or feature archaic or spirit language texts.

The songs sung throughout New Ireland Province and among the Tolai of East New Britain seem to be predominately epigrammatic: "songs with short texts, repeated many times in performance ... Performances emphasize the excitement of singing

(and often dancing), rather than the logic of narrative sequentiality" (Thomas *et al.*1998: 331). The short repetitive nature of song texts makes them easy to memorise and perhaps, as a result, more mobile.

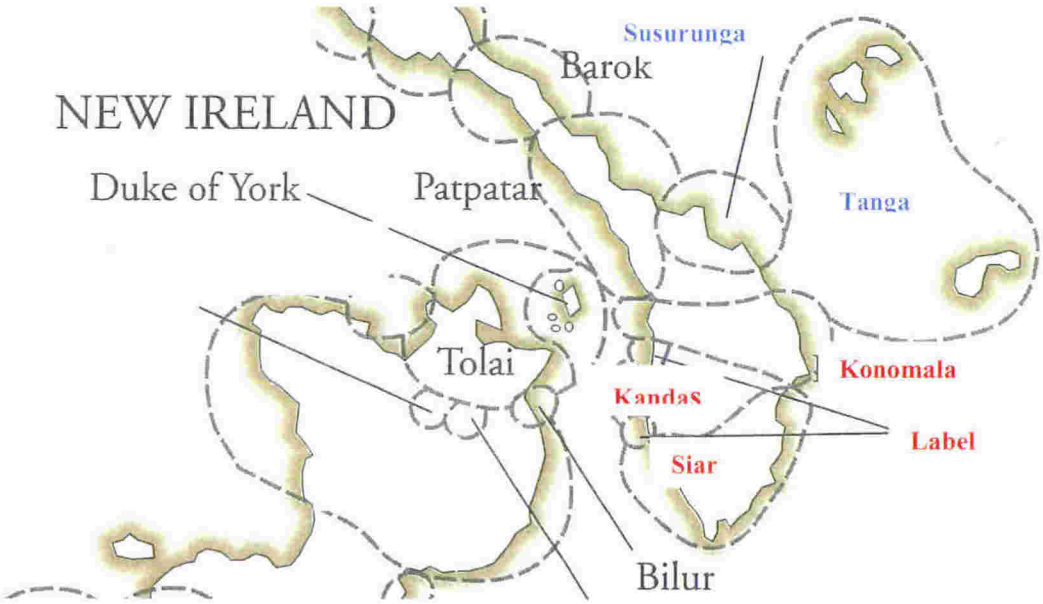
The broad diffusion of song and dance has been widely noted by ethnographers of the region (see Clay 1986: 207; Kuchler 2002: 144; Foster 1995: 34). Several Lak informants detailed how, prior to European contact, they maintained trade associations with many of the neighbouring linguistic groups. Local mythology includes a variety of stories that describe the content and style of these exchange relations. These accounts reveal an enduring relationship with the inhabitants of the Anir (Feni) Islands, the neighbouring Tanga island group and the Kandas and Sursurunga linguistic groups on the mainland of New Ireland. These relationships were made possible by the use of large single-hulled canoes known as *mon*.[14] According to Foster, these exchange relationships connected a network of islands that extended as far north as the Tabar group and to the southwest as far as Buka Island in Bougainville.



Map 4 **Reconstructed inter-island trade network (from Foster 1995: 32)** [15]

[14] *Mon* ('large single-hulled canoes without outriggers') are no longer extant but details of their construction techniques and materials are still known to a few senior men in the region.
[15] Information from Lak informants confirms the trade links between the Lak region and Feni group, which Foster has tentatively indicated in this map with a doted line between Morukon and Ambitle.

The items exchanged on these journeys included all manner of foods, shell money, pigments and cultural items, such as the *tubuan* and *talung* cults.[16] Undoubtedly songs and dances were part of the cultural flow.[17] There is, partly as a result of these pre-contact trade flows, a broadly definable Southern New Ireland regional culture that is recognised by Lak inhabitants. The map below indicates linguistic groups that are considered culturally closely related and other groups that on a broader scale are regarded as sharing cultural and *kastom* practices with the Lak region. An even wider group who might be considered cultural cousins and have in common what Foster has termed "power practices" which include *talung*, *tubuan* and *Buai* are the Tolai and inhabitants of the Duke of York Islands, the Nissan Island group to the east and most of the linguistic groups in south and central New Ireland, up to and including the Mandak (Foster 1995:34).



Map 5 Areas highlighted with red text are those Lak informants consider have practices closely aligned to their own *kastom* practices. Regions highlighted in blue are considered to have similar *kastom* activities. The regions in black type are considered to have distant cultural and ritual similarities (adapted from Gunn 1997).

In modern times the *tubuan* has spread as far north as the Lelet plateau in the Mandak linguistic group where some of their *tubuan* are said to be sourced from the Lak

[16] The Lak maintain that both of these societies originated in the Lak district and were spread to other regions through exchange relations and regional migration.

[17] In 2004 I was able to record two *Kamaie*, a genre of song that has almost entirely been forgotten. *Kamaie*, a type of *malara* ('magic song'), was traditionally performed by a group of men while paddling *mon* to ensure the sea remained calm and the winds weak.

district (Eves 1998: 51). The Mandak linguistic group is a marginal area, unusual in containing both *tubuan* and *malanggan* figures.[18] Apart from this liminal area, New Ireland can be neatly divided into two distinct cultural regions aligned with the *tubuan* in the south and the *malanggan* in the north.

The traditional trade routes and the *mon* that provided the transportation have attenuated but the desire to learn new and 'exotic' song forms and dance patterns is still strong. Powdermaker, working in Northern New Ireland in the 1930's noted the patterns through which dances were disseminated; " Sometimes if a boy from another island is in the village, he will teach the natives a dance from his island" (1933:106). This continues to be a major source of song and dance diffusion today. People regularly travel to visit and stay with relatives in linguistic groups throughout the region. Such 'visits' can extend to several months, even years, and give people adequate time to teach and learn new musical forms. On rare occasions following the death of a prominent community leader, the mortuary rites will extend to include members of more distant language groups. Mortuary events provide an ideal opportunity for the dissemination and cross-pollination of aspects of song and dance performances. These patterns of 'visiting' along with large mortuary rites and the occasional marriage across linguistic groups help to maintain a flow of creative material across linguistic and cultural groups.

The exchange and transmission of song and dance throughout Southern New Ireland explains the presence of foreign language songs but these account for only part of the indecipherable nature of Lak song texts. Archaic and spirit languages are also regular features of Lak lyrics. Because of the rapidly changing nature of New Ireland's linguistic landscape (over the last century several smaller linguistic groups have been absorbed into neighbouring groups), it could be argued that these texts merely represent 'forgotten' linguistic groups but I suggest that these texts correspond to more than just linguistic remnants. As Kingston (1998) has pointed out, following Bloch's (1974) argument: as propositional meaning diminishes, the mystical and authoritative potential of the words can increase. Song lyrics may, as a result, actually acquire value and prestige through their perceived 'exotic' nature (see Barth 1987

[18] *Malanggan* is the generic name for the funerary ritual that culminates in the production of carved effigies, their revelation and eventual destruction (Kuchler 2002.).

&1990). Over time the words can develop aesthetic power and consequently attract greater value and in turn meaning.

It would be incorrect to presume that songs that have no narrative lyrical significance are meaningless to the performers and audience. The lyrics of all songs sung in Lak are important to some degree and in some capacity. As explained in the previous chapter, the rhythmic patterns of the *kundu* drums follow the words, and in this way the lyrics possess a mechanical significance as rhythmic signposts. However, the words in Lak lyrics go well beyond that of simple beat markers. Keesing points out that "in pre-Christian Melanesia words themselves had the power to change the world", and I suggest that the language of these words is inconsequential. In fact, foreign and unusual words may serve to increase that power (Keesing 1982: 299).

The songs of the *tubuan* society, for example, play an essential role in the production of power. All *tubuan* songs are in the language of the *Buai*, a spirit language that contains words and phrases common to several Southern New Ireland languages and the Kuanua language, as well as phrases and terms that are said to derive from the language of the spirits (*talung* and *tanruan*). Despite the fact that *kapialai* are narratively incomprehensible to initiates, members of the secret society go to extraordinary lengths to ensure that women and other non-initiated are not able to 'catch' the words (see chapter six).

Many of the words and phrases used in the *kapialai* are impenetrable even to the *Buai* masters who retrieve them from the spirits. The lyrical phrases regularly consist of collections of words that have meaning in themselves but do not combine to construct any narrative sense. These phrases may consist, for instance, of the names of powerful spirits (*tanruan*), words that refer to the spirit world and phrases that describe dance movements, magical practice, and plants that are associated with magic or dance. The lyrics can generate images and emotive reactions in performers and listeners, despite the fact that they don't combine narratively. My status as a member of the *tubuan* society prevents me from discussing *kapialai* lyrics, so a *sirang* (non-secret song genre) will adequately serve as an example here.

Lamlam:
Lambor eh wa-winah lambor
Eh wa-winah i lambor eh wa-winah
Yow gereh tara pakan eh tomasik
I lambor eh wa-winah

Pukun:
Eh malimali kumba, mali mali
Kuma, mali mali kumba mali mali kumba
Toaler dat ya toaler tali go.

Informants explained that this song was locally composed and features lyrics in Kuanau and spirit languages. The use of Kuanua in many Lak songs can be understood as an attempt to make a song more powerful. Foreign languages, especially those belonging to what are perceived to be successful neighbouring cultural groups are often used in compositions. The Lak perceive the Tolai as successful and sophisticated due to their location in and around the largest towns in the Island region. By composing songs in the languages of neighbouring linguistic regions a composer seeks to make associations with powerful cultural groups. There is also an aspect of prestige and exotic associations with other languages whether they be neighbouring linguistic groups, spirit languages or English. Many Kuanua words like those from other languages in the region are comprehensible to the people in Lak. The *sirang* above contains several words that are familiar to Siar speakers. Informants recognised the words *lambor* ('chilli') and *wa-winah* ('woman'). Chilli is often used as a magical ingredient in love magic ('*malara*'). The other recognisable phrase in this song is, *pakan eh tomasik* ('leaf of the *tomasik* tree'), again possibly a reference to *malara* ingredients. The narrative congruity of the songs is by no means decipherable from these two extracts but what is decipherable is a general theme. In this case it is likely to be that of love magic. Enough of the song's lyrics are understood to generate some level of understanding within the performers and the audience. Other songs, especially those like *kapialai* that are predominantly in spirit languages, remain largely inaccessible.

My efforts to understand where meaning can reside outside of the lyrics reflect the experiences of other ethnographers working in the region. Clay, working among the Mandak speakers of Central New Ireland, remarks that "the content [of songs] is not related to the song's success. In many popular traditional songs some words are not understood because they are either archaic or from other languages" (Clay 1986: 208).

Clay also makes the point that Northern Mandak is a rapidly changing dialect evident to any native speaker over the age of thirty-five (1986: 208). The same is true of the Lak language and, I would venture, many of the linguistic groups in the region as a result of the increased mobility of the people in the region and the influences of other languages such as Tok Pisin and English. Change is nothing new for the Mandak, Lak or any cultural group in New Ireland Province, and an essential element of the cultures in the region is their ability to modify and adapt. Clay concludes that "The communication features of song composition are in the sounds of the words and their fit to music, for this is what determines the social acceptance and approval of the song, not its content" (1986: 216). Foster, in reference to *bot* composition, states that they "communicate not primarily as lyrics, but as words that, in the context of song, evoke commonly shared and strongly felt images" (1998: 260). Efforts to translate Tangan *bot* songs were, Foster found, often "fruitless; for their significance lay not in the words themselves but in the images conjured and experienced only in the act of singing them" (1988:260).

Indeed, the experience of performing in a group cannot be underestimated as a locus of meaning for the Lak people. Wagner's account of his experiences in trying to learn the Barok dance form known as *tinie* shows that the way the Barok think about performing, learning and teaching was quite different from Wagner's expectations:

> I was instructed in how to hold the ... drum, how to brace it against my knee, and how to hold my fingers in striking it. I was not, however, given any instructions in anything relating to the substantive 'content' of the *tinie*, either in terms of rhythmic or melodic patterns, or in those of its 'meaningful' verbal or mimetic intent...My task was simply to begin drumming along with the others...trying to keep their rhythm and figuration, stopping or changing when they did, and hoping not to be 'caught out' when the whole barrage came to a halt (1986: 127).

Wagner was in fact being instructed about the *tinie's* 'content' and its 'meaningful' structures. He had been shown all that was necessary to participate; he was instructed in how to 'hold the drum' and as a result he was equipped by his informants to come to terms with the performance's meaning. The meaning of a Barok *tinie*, Tangan *bot*, Mandak *eanis* or Lak *daut* are, in this respect, all the same; and can only be

discovered through the experience of participating with others in the acts of song and dance. Wagner summarises the process of learning and understanding the songs by stating that their essence "is only to be experienced, and only through experience to be imitated, and only through imitation learned, in this procedure" (Wagner 1986:127).

Of course many songs, regardless of their lyrical aspects, acquire a greater meaning over time. Through rehearsal and performances meaningless lyrical phrases can begin to generate meaning in the minds of the individuals who perform and observe. The long periods of fasting and isolation that pre-empt most male dance performances do much to create feelings of male solidarity. The long periods of isolation and fasting are punctuated only by song and dance rehearsal. During these often arduous and challenging times the lyrical aspects of songs no doubt develop additional meaning for the performers as individuals and as groups. Indeed this is the case during large ceremonial events where the opening lines of a song are responded to by a barrage of weeping from the audience as they recall poignant associations generated by narratively 'meaningless' lyrics.

Composition and the *Buai* Complex

A description of Lak composition, its role in society and perceived value must include an account of *Tene Buai* and the *Buai* complex. At the outset it should be made clear that not all composers are *Buai* adepts but the ideals encompassed within the *Buai* system underlie much of the region's composition practice. The following description of *Buai* composition lays the groundwork for an in-depth understanding of Lak 'singing sounds', dance and creativity. *Tene Buai* perform several important roles as members of a dance troupe and in wider Lak society. They are magicians and envoys as well as composers and choreographers. Like *kamgoi* ('Big Men'), *Buai* masters range in ability according to their level of skill and ultimately their relationship with spiritual beings. This section focuses on the compositional capacity of *Tene Buai* but to understand their creative powers it is necessary to come to terms with how *Buai* knowledge is disseminated.

Buai Initiation

Buai practice, like other 'power practices' in the region, is a *pidik* ('secret') and can only be fully comprehended through an initial payment, physical sacrifice and eventual revelation. [19] Initiation into the *Buai* practice is achieved under the guidance of a *Tene Buai*, and prospective initiates seek out successful *Buai* practitioners to request initiation. *Buai* knowledge is achieved through a revelatory experience in which the initiate enters an unconscious state. While in this condition the neophyte establishes contact, through visions, with *tanruan* capable of providing access to several types of sorcery practice. The unconscious state can be achieved through a variety of methods determined by the *Tene Buai*'s 'school' or 'style', all of which involve the ingestion of substances.[20]

It is widely believed that *tanruan* 'come close' to men only when they are 'dry' and 'light'. This state is achieved through a substantial period of *alal* or *kunabok*. *Kunabok* normally involves two weeks or more of isolation in the bush with no liquids and a small ration of food delivered daily by the *Tene Buai*. The practice of *kunabok* enables the initiate to avoid the potential contaminated substances and contact with women who are perceived as a weakening influence. Women are described as 'heavy', and the *kunabok* process is intended to make the initiate 'light' (see chapter 5). Once the isolation induced by *kunabok* has cleansed the initiate and rendered him 'light', he is given a combination of substances to ingest. This process is described as *wom buai* (literally 'to eat *buai*'). These substances are not foods, the materials are intended to induce the trance. They also represent the transformation taking place; the initiate is moving away from the human realm toward the spiritual. Despite the range of potential methods of inducement, several aspects of this part of the initiation are always the same; in each method, wood shavings are an obligatory

[19] See chapter one, '*Pidiks*: Hidden Knowledge and Secret Societies' and chapter six '*Pidik* and Power'.

[20] One of the most popular practices in the region involves the consumption of *buai*, the nut of the Areca palm or *betel nut* (Tok Pisin). In this process the initiate eats a large amount of the nut causing most participants to vomit; the sputum must then be re-consumed in order to complete the initiation. Consumption of Areca palm nut is one of the most common initiation processes and is cited by some as the reason for the cult being called *Buai*. Other informants suggest that the cult's name is derived from the common use of the Areca palm and its produce as adjuncts in the magic performed by *Buai* practitioners.

part of the magical mixture. The shavings are taken from a range of trees known only to the *Tene Buai* and associated with a specific ability of the *Buai* master – the capacity to accurately remember songs and languages. Once consumed the wood shavings are believed to lodge themselves in the brain where they act like a net catching and storing songs, dances and words.

Several aspects of the *Buai* initiation process suggest a kind of imitation is taking place. The initiates reside in isolated areas of the bush commonly associated with *tanruan* and *talung*. They refrain from eating and drinking which are obviously human activities and they complete the *kunabok* period by consuming, among other things, wood, the only substance that these spirits are reported to eat. Lenny Roroierong described the special relationship between *Buai* and *tanruan* in the following terms: "*Tene Buai* eat parts of the same food as the *tanruan*." Micheal Tolaiesh described the relationship in different but related terms: "The *Tene Buai* gives the initiate the faeces of his *tanruan* [to eat]." These comments suggest that in order to establish relationships with spirits an individual must imitate the spirits themselves. The emphasis on food, sharing and contamination in the process of *kunabok* highlights local concepts surrounding the nature of consumption, and will be explored further in chapter five. The result of these practices is a relationship with *tanruan* spirits that is supernatural, giving an initiate the ability to produce powerful performances and manipulate those around him. However, these skills are not acquired without risk. As with all sorcery practice, the *Buai* initiation is a dangerous procedure, perceived as a test of the initiate's strength, endurance and bravery. The initial visions experienced by initiates while in the trance are described as terrifying. Should the initiate panic in fear and leave the isolation of the *taraiu* ('secret grounds'), he will never be able to gain access to *Buai* knowledge. The following account by Patrick Tobusai. describes the initiation procedure.

> I was initiated in 1974. I was just a child at the time in sixth grade. I hadn't yet gone to high school. I didn't go to the Duke of York Islands. One man, Paul Totandai who learnt about *Buai* in the Duke of Yorks, came here [Siar] on the occasion of a song and dance (*singsing*) performance. I wanted to get this thing [*Buai*] from him so I obtained ten fathoms of roped shell money and gave it to him as a payment. When I did this he said, "I will give you *Buai*." Now, in this case, *Buai*

doesn't mean betel nut. I was given the head of the *karawa* fish to eat. The *Buai* master, he wrapped the fish head in leaves and placed it on top of hot stones to cook. When it had cooked, he placed the fish head on some leaves in front of me. Even though it had just been pulled out of the ground oven, it smelled rotten and was full of maggots. I said, "I'm not going to be able to eat this." Totandai said, "No, you must eat it."

I figured that this was part of the initiation process so I ate it. I closed my eyes and I ate it all. I also had to eat all of the leaves, tree shoots, and wood that were placed around the fish head. When I finished eating, I became unconscious. In my sleep I began to dream.

I had been fasting for over a month in preparation before I ate the fish head. My father would come and hang two coconuts or two small bananas beside the hut and then leave. At times Totandai too would leave me, and I would be by myself through the night and day. I lay there dreaming. I saw many scary things and I continued to sleep. The whole day I didn't eat a thing. In my dream I saw skeletons walking up to me to try and make me afraid. Totandai had told me that if I was afraid all would be lost, I wouldn't be able to get the *Buai* and it would all be a complete waste of time. I had been fasting for a long time and I didn't want it all to be in vain, I wanted to get this thing. When I saw all these things coming toward me, I just stared. A dog came up to me and tried to bite my neck but I wasn't afraid. I followed my instructions. It was all just a dream; it wasn't real. These things continued to come at me until finally, as Totandai had said it would happen, two men arrived. The first man carried a black basket with him and he wasn't well dressed. He walked close to me and I said, "I don't want you." He was the poison man. He came to offer me black magic. If you decide to accept this basket, you miss out on all of the good things and only get the poison to kill people with. If you take this basket you will become a poison man and before too long you will be tempted to use this knowledge to kill people. It is not as if you can hold this knowledge and not use it. The knowledge uses you. When the man with the black basket came, I said, "No, I'm not here for you, you can go." He got up and left. The man I was waiting for arrived next. I said, "I'm waiting for you, no one else, hurry up." This man took his basket off his shoulder and gave it to me. He explained many things to me, giving me their names and their uses and when he finally finished, I awoke. Once awake I saw Totandai. He had cooked two bananas and left them for me. He smiled and laughed a little and asked me if I had

> got what I had wanted. I wasn't sure yet because it hadn't yet come back to me but I got up and ate. Later, when all the boys began to learn the songs and dances, I heard the *kundu* drum and all that I had learnt began to come back to me. As they began to learn the songs, I remembered all that I had been taught in the dream. I began my work and sent the boys to go and find all of the things I needed to make dance magic.
>
> (Transcribed and translated from a recorded interview).

Toarbusai's experience is typical of the accounts related to me by *Buai* practitioners in Lak and similar to those recorded by Eves among the Lelet people in the Madak region and George in the Barok region (Eves 1995: 8-10; George 1988: 163-4). During the magically induced trance the initiate is shown the various types of magical ingredients, chants, songs and images associated with the type of sorcery he has chosen. Like the common magical forms, *Buai* sorcery requires many plant materials that are widely believed to contain magical powers. *Gorgor* ('ginger'), coconut milk as well as many other leaves and barks that are revealed to the initiate along with their uses during the initiation process. [21] [22] The knowledge transferred to the initiate is extensive and detailed. Here Toarbusai describes how he acquired the knowledge from the *tanruan* spirit:

> ...I saw too how to catch the snake, how to hold the snake. As he told me about these things, the knowledge came into my hands. He said, "This is how you hold the snake by its head and this is where you press to make it excrete." He showed me the leaves... All of this was in his basket, which he gave to me and then he preceded to feed me the information and the spells...

All forms of specialist sorcery allow the ritual adept to transcend and move beyond the realm of the physical world, and these powers are only available to those who can exercise sufficient control over their bodies during *kunabok*. Once initiated, adepts must continue to control what they consume. Pork is frequently tabooed to *Buai*

[21] *Gorgor* is a plant with profuse, small white flowers, used also as a sign of taboo to protect property.
[22] Ginger, (Tokpisin: *kawawar*), is a common magical adjunct used throughout Melanesia and used extensively in Lak.

practitioners and, depending on the school or style of *Buai*, the restriction can continue for anywhere between several weeks following initiation to the entire lifetime of the practitioner. Recent adepts must also be cautious in their interactions with others for a period following their initiation. A recent adept is in danger of losing his acquired skills inadvertently in the process of offering food and objects to others. Such things must be given indirectly to avoid transferring the *Buai* knowledge along with the object offered.

Composition

Music, like sorcery, is not the exclusive realm of specialists. Everyone is capable of composing songs and dances and by doing so can potentially manipulate the emotions and energies of an audience through the magical medium of sound and movement. A *Tene Buai* is an advanced practitioner in the magical art of music. Using the power of music and movement, the *Buai* master is able to promote performing groups, manipulate audiences and advance his own position. The song and dance performances created under the guidance of a *Tene Buai* gain their power through their association with spiritual beings.

For *Tene Buai* composition is a supernatural act, the result of communication with spiritual beings. The songs and dances are 'seen' in revelatory dreams in which the *tanruan* spirits demonstrate things figurative. Like the initiation process in which *tanruan* disclose secret information, these dreams communicate musical performances to the *Buai*. No *kunabok* period is required; the song and dance visions are offered as a result of the special relationship between the *tanruan* and *Buai*. In the revelatory dreams an entire dance performance is witnessed from start to finish. All of the performance's details, including the melodic, rhythmic and textual aspects of the music along with the choreography and costume design, are learnt from a single performance. The ability to recollect or 'catch' all of these details is one of the remarkable abilities attributed to *Buai* magicians.

The way in which *Tene Buai* communicate with *tanruan* spirits for the purpose of composition is complex. As explained in chapter two, all living people possess a *talngan* spirit and the *talngan*'s absence from the body for any significant period

indicates death. *Buai* possess a *talngan* like all other living humans and an additional spiritual force known as *ingal*. *Ingal* come into a *Buai*'s possession as a result of their initiation. *Ingal* were described to me as the *wokman* (literally 'work man') of a *Buai*. These spirits enable communication between the *Buai* and their *tanruan*. In most cases *Buai* uses their *ingal* while they are in a sleep-like state. *Ingal* are capable of journeying to the realm of spirits where they can witness events and communicate with spirits. The *ingal* can also be used by *Buai* when in a conscious state to see what is taking place in a neighbouring village or even a distant island. When a *Tene Buai* dies, his *ingal* returns to the *tanruan* from which it came, and his *talngan*, in modern Lak, goes to heaven. It is through the *ingal* spirit that a *Buai* is capable of establishing an enduring relationship with a *tanruan*.

As mentioned above, there are many styles of *Buai* practice known in Lak. Each style may have slightly different initiation procedures, and each is aligned with a different *tanruan*.[23] Although *tanruan* are related to a specific clan group, initiation into a 'school' of *Buai* is not determined by clan or sub-clan affiliations. The table below describes the commonly known styles of *Buai* practiced in Lak, their associated *tanruan* and famous practitioners.

***Tanruan* associated with the style**	**Prominent *Tene Buai* practitioners**
Tamanbalana	Toalieta. Resident in Kandas
Tolakona	Toaloshwin. Resident in Lamasa Island, Lak.
Maroot	Toruruai. Resident in Duke of York Islands.
Alirh pukai	Toluluai. Resident in Duke of York Islands.

Figure 11 ***Tene Buai* Styles in Lak**

Each of these styles is recognisable to senior *Buai* adepts through aspects of content, vocal technique, phrase structure or drum pattern. For example, the *tanruan*, *Tolakona* is associated with the *nataka* (*tubaun*) spirits and provides its adepts with

[23] Initiation into one 'school' of *Buai* does not preclude membership of others. Many senior *Buai* are adepts of several styles.

kapialai (*tubuan* songs), spirit figure designs and magical substances associated with *nataka* dance. The *Buai* styles of *Maroot* and *Alirh pukai* are associated with singing styles that are considered 'heavy' and 'light' respectively. Pelman Toraringen, a *piteal* adept (lower grade of *Buai*) familiar with songs of both styles; *Maroot* and *Alirh pukai*.[24] Pelman described the difference between in these two styles by explaining that *Alirh pukai* are more melodic, sung in a lyrical manner and suited to solo performers while *Maroot* is a more rhythmic style suitable for large performance groups and a large accompaniment of *kundu* drums. [25]

Most songs produced by *Tene Buai,* as a result of communications with *tanruan,* are in a language described in Tok Pisin as *Tok ples bilong ol tanruan*, the 'language of the spirits'. Like the other languages used in songs in the Lak region, many of the words and terms in the *Buai* language are recognisable. The terms are effective as prestige words recognisable to non-initiated. For example, the words; *ingal, langoron, Buai, pepenai yap* ('fire') are widely recognised and considered powerful.

It is the *tanruan* who decide what songs are communicated and when. In most cases songs, dances, costume design and magical procedures come to *Buai* in dreams at the discretion of the *tanruan*. However, *Buai* are able to exercise their own aesthetics by never relaying or teaching songs that they do not consider attractive. In rare cases, powerful *Buai* practitioners are capable of obtaining specific materials of their own volition.[26] These senior adepts gain these skills as a result of long-term association with *tanruan*.

The western term 'composition' doesn't accurately describe what it is that *Tene Buai* are doing when they receive songs in dreams. *Buai* practitioners act as musical mediums capable of picking and choosing among the assortment of performances offered to them by *tanruan*. In some cases powerful *Buai* are capable of obtaining songs from the spirits, according to their own volition. In addition to these sources, the ability to recall the details of a performance following a single performance

[24] *Piteal* is a lower grade of *Buai* that requires initiates to consume plant material of the same name. No *kunabok* period is necessary but the *piteal* adept stands to gain similar memory facilities as those claimed by *Buai*. *Piteal* doesn't, however, enable communication with *tanruan*.
[25] Pelman claims that George Telek, the PNG pop musician is an adept of the *Alirh pukai* style of *Buai*.
[26] Informants believe that a *tanruan* would never supply two *Buai* with the same song but admit that it is, in theory at least, possible.

means that *Buai* masters can return from customary events in neighbouring communities and relay the music and dance features of a performance to their own community. No limitations or ownership rights restrict the transfer and performance of songs and dances. A *Buai*'s success as a musician and composer is largely determined by the popularity of his work and the strength of his dance magic (discussed in chapter six). It is the knowledge of how to produce songs and dances that are owned by the *Tene Buai* not what he produces. A curious economy exists where songs are shared freely but creativity itself is a marketable product that can only be obtained through payment and a lengthy initiation.

Creativity

The actual number of practising *Tene Buai* in the Lak region may be as few as twelve and certainly no more than thirty (my own estimate), but these small numbers belie the influence of the *Buai* complex on the wider Lak society. The concepts of *Buai* magic and practice are widely known in Lak and the Southern New Ireland region where they resonate extensively as creative ideals. It is important to recognise that *Tene Buai* are not the only people capable of receiving songs in dreamt visions from *tanruan*. Many non-initiated men and women can claim to have received visions from spirits in dreams at some point in their lives. The male children of recently deceased men are often reported as having received costume designs, songs or even *nataka* spirit designs from spirits. Every living person possesses a *talngan* and is, therefore, capable in some capacity of communication with other spirit entities. What separates most individuals from *Tene Buai* is an enduring relationship with *tanruan*.

It is also important to understand that creative acts such as singing, dancing and costume design are not limited to the realm of spirits. *Tene Buai* and non-initiated alike are capable of producing songs, dances and costume designs from their own imagination. Informants maintain that most people, whether *Buai* adepts or not, are able to produce creative material from their own *tinktink* (Tok Pisin), 'thoughts'. Indeed the *gar* songs presented earlier in this chapter present a prime example of 'imagined' songs inspired by topical events and emotional reactions. Songs produced by an individual's imagination are not considered (according to Lak musical aesthetics at least) to be less exciting or inferior in any way to songs that come to

people through *tanruan*. Despite the perceived equality of these compositional sources, songs and other creative material derived from spiritual sources continue to dominate.[27]

It seems that the creative process in the Lak region is firmly based in supernatural agencies. Lak concepts of creativity are significantly different from Western models. Composers in a Western tradition claim authorship over their work and seek to be closely associated with their creative productions. Although such terms as 'inspiration' and 'genius' exist in Western models of creativity, their definitions are not universal or necessarily related to supernatural intervention. It can be argued that, in the Western model, creative products are expected to be the result of an internal process, the workings of a solo mind with a degree of control over the process. The *Tene Buai* complex, by contrast, positions the 'composer' as relay agent or messenger only associated with the creative material, not the author of it. While *Buai* 'compositions' are original, they are the result of collaboration with an external power. While a Western composer claims authorship, ownership and prestige, the *Buai* can claim association, dissemination and, as a result, power. The *Tene Buai*'s association with the powerful and dangerous *tanruan* bring him prestige. The 'compositions' which result from these collaborations carry no copyright restrictions, their very success depends upon their dissemination and circulation.

Lak ideas concerning creativity, like Western ones, recognise it as an important and valuable process. Unlike Western composers, those in Lak attribute their creativity entirely to an external source. This position is reflected throughout Lak society and forms a core concept at the heart of the local ethos. From creative endeavours such as costume design and song composition to large-scale mortuary events or a sick child, at every level of the community and in any event unseen powers are present for better or worse. Such power requires control and management but equally display and exhibition. *Tene Buai* epitomise the role of music, dance, costume and all creative endeavours. They play an essential role in mediating the unseen and unpredictable realm of the spirits while simultaneously displaying their power over it.

[27] With the exception of *lotu* ('church') songs most song composers cite *tanruan* spirits as the source of their creative work.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the performance and sound events that take place in the primary mortuary rites. Song and dance have been shown to play an indispensable role in a community's expression and removal of *sum* ('grief'). The *daut* performances express the grief of performers and simultaneously communicate with the spiritual realm. The *ahohlur sum* has been shown to be the equivalent for women, enabling the female members of the village to take part in the process removing the *sum* from the community. The *gar* performances express community solidarity while building excitement in the prelude to the completion of the primary rites. The second part of the chapter, beginning with the section on 'lyrics and meaning', explores some of the unusual aspects of Lak 'singing sounds', making comparisons across the linguistic regions of New Ireland province and beyond. Lyrical meaning, where it does exist in song texts, is accessible on a personal and group level mostly as emotional metaphors and triggers. The experience of participation is the major locus of meaning in performance across the region. The *Tene Buai* complex has been examined here as an underlying concept within music, dance and the creative arts in Lak. The initiation and composition practices resonate widely as creative ideals, and the intimate relationship between *Buai* and spiritual beings is the basis for the 'power practice' so important to Lak society and creativity. The final section, dealing with concepts of creativity, reflects on the creative process as a means of communication between the living and the dead. Both spiritual beings and human beings share a common interest in 'singing sounds', dance and all aspects of performance. Song and dance act as a bridge between humans and spirits, a mutually beneficial meeting place through which spirits are able to access the vitality of dance and humans tap into a higher creative force. The location of creativity outside of the individual reveals deep-seated local notions regarding music, power and spirituality.

Section 2:Chapter 5.

Langoron and the Power of Dance.

The previous chapter provided an account of the primary mortuary rites from the discovery of a death through to the *gar* performances, which precede the culminating *todong* rites. This chapter begins with a detailed description of the *todong* rights. Like the previous chapter, this one uses the performance events of the mortuary sequence as a context within which to describe aspects of Lak music and dance. The *todong* provides the venue for large-scale dance performances. The first part of this chapter focuses on the *todong* event, describing the process of the *todong* and expanding on the information presented in chapter one. The second part looks at the rehearsal practices of both male and female dance troupes, examining the physical and spiritual preparations of the groups. The third part investigates the local aesthetics of dancing and the key cultural concepts of 'heavy' and 'light'. Performers and audience members discuss their experience of dance, and the technical aspects of dance performance are examined and lastly aspects of costume are shown to be essential contributors to Lak performance.

Todong rites.

I witnessed and participated in several *todong kastoms* during my residence in Lak. *Todong,* like all stages of *kastom*, proceed according to strict protocol. As I was fortunate to observe a number of *todong*, I was able to develop an understanding of which aspects of the rites were flexible and which were considered essential and irremovable. The account that follows is based on a specific *todong* rite conducted in kambiram village in northern Lak in April 2001.

The *gar* performances continue every night following the second *daut* (see chapter. four), slowly growing in participants as the *todong* approaches. The date of the *todong* is publicly announced seven to ten days preceding the event, and the dance troupes

representing their *aangan* ('feast') host begin rehearsal.[1] The *aangan* and *kastom* hosts don't necessarily have much to do with the preparations for the dance; a close supporter of the sponsoring *kamgoi* ('Big Man') normally undertakes the task of organising participants and rehearsals.[2] As described above, the *tonger* of the host and the deceased have already been erected beside the hosting men's house.[3] In the week before the *todong*, the rest of the *tonger* are put in place, one for each of the *aangan* hosts (see plates 2,3 & 4 in chapter one). Once all of the *tonger* posts are in place, the food that will be hung upon the *tonger* is ritualistically carried into the men's house plaza to a rhythmic pattern beaten on a *garamut*. These food items, know as *pulpul*, are carried to the men's house grounds where they are laid in piles. The *pulpul* items normally consist of sugar, taro and young coconuts. When all of the food has been ritualistically placed in the men's house grounds, it is carefully attached and lashed to the *tonger* poles DVD Chapter 5: *Pulpul* delivered and attached to *tonger*.

Two days prior to the *todong* (normally a Thursday), the women of the host village begin to make *komkom* (a type of bread produced from tapioc) for the *arsosok* (literally 'competition') in which each female competitor tries to outdo her rivals by distributing the most *komkom* among the guests from other villages. The *arsosok* competition serves the very practical purpose of providing food for the visitors in the village. On the morning before the *todong*, the host distributes *bakan serh* ('coconut leaf spines with a strip of *tanget* leaf on the top in the shape of a small flag') to all of the men who hosted *aangan* feasts. Recipients of *bakan serh* prepare baskets of food, which they carry to the *kastom* host before the night performances as an indication of their support.

On the night prior to the *todong* the village is crowded with people from neighbouring communities. Visitors stay with family members or are accommodated in the men's

[1] Mortuary hosts provide only the bare minimum of time between the announcement of their event and its commencement. Although most people in the region will be aware of a host's preparations for many months prior, the actual date is kept secret until about a week beforehand. The secrecy is said to protect the impending event against malicious sorcery attacks; similar to *pidik* practices, a *kastom* gains impact through concealment and revelation.

[2] Unless the host is a renown *Tana langoron*, ('specialist of in dance').

[3] One of the most significant changes that have taken place in the last century to Lak mortuary rites is the insertion of a pig feast in the *todong* rites. Originally only *komkom* was consumed during *todong* rites. The introduction of a pig feast in the *todong* is an adaptation designed to encourage the attendance at the *todong*. The term *todong miat* describes a *todong* rite that involves a feast of pig and has now become the established *todong* practice in the region.

house and church. Soon after dark the *gar* singing and dancing begins and continues until the first of the night performances is heard singing its *wamong* (entrance song). Any group who wishes to take part can present dances during the night performances. In contrast to the dances held during the *todong*, which can be presented on behalf of only the *aangan* and *kastom* hosts. The night performances provide an opportunity for dance displays of a more informal nature.[4] Men, women and children present dances during the night in an atmosphere of celebration and revelry. During one of the large mortuary events that I attended in 2004, the nocturnal performances included more than twenty-five dancing groups, beginning in the early evening and continuing until the small hours. On this occasion the performances began with a *kanai*, a men's dance in which participants wore coconut leaf spines extending from their fingers in imitation of feathers. On their heads the dancers carried a small carved image of a *kanai* bird CD Track 8: *Kanai*. The *kanai* dancers entered the plaza, one at a time with arms extended. Each performer came to rest in a squatting position at various places across the plaza. When the singing began, the dancers formed into a more familiar grid and a rhythmically rapid dance ensued. This opening dance was well received by the audience of about 200 people who had begun to assemble to watch the night's performances. A women's *bobo* was next and followed by several *tabaran*, *sirang*, *tangara*, *tipang* and many more *bobo* CD Tracks 9,10, 11 &12: *Bobo, Tabaran & Sirang*. In the short gaps between performances the sounds of other groups rehearsing their performances in the bush on either side of the village could be heard. As the night proceeded, the festive nature of the event built, a group of men danced a *bobo* dressed in women's clothing, much to the excitement of the female audience. The audience kept awake chatting to their neighbours as they smoked and chewed betelnut while children slept across their legs and on mats beside them. Toward the end of the night two *tipang* masks performed a short dance to the amusement of the adults and terror of the children who where woken especially to watch. When all of the performances were completed, the *gar* began again. The few remaining people still awake performed the *gar* until sunrise.

[4] All nocturnal performances whether part of the *todong*, secondary rites or church events take place in a relaxed atmosphere of joking, celebration, and fun, and in contrast to the often formal day time performances.

Despite the long night, activity in the host village begins again shortly after sunrise. Women rise early to cook and distribute *komkom*, providing many of the visitors with breakfast. At the *todong* held in Kambiram village in 2001, a community service was held in the village's church in remembrance of the deceased honoured by the rites. The church bell, an unexploded nose casing from an American bomb and the striker, a rowlock from a boat used by the Australian administration to collect copra, spoke volumes about the region's colonial history as it rang to summon people to the church. The church itself was a humble structure made almost entirely from bush materials, walled with bamboo and roofed with corrugated iron sheets. The short service conducted by the local Catechist included several hymns and prayers in remembrance of the deceased women for whom the *todong* was being held.[5] When the church service finished, the number of people in the village had swollen as members of neighbouring villages continued to arrive.

Sometime during the morning live pigs were placed under each *tonger*, one for each *aagnan* host, and under the deceased's *tonger* the *sulai minat,* for the surviving spouse. By midday most of the audience had arrived, they sat in groups around the edge of the dance plaza and awaited the commencement of the day's activities. Cooked pigs and vegetables were raised from the ground oven, cut into sections and distributed in baskets under the guidance of the host. Baskets of food were put aside for the men's performance groups who remained outside the village in the bush waiting their turn to perform. Once the guests in the village had eaten and the baskets and leaves used as place mats for the food had been cleared away, the first performance was signalled to begin.

Belilo and *Lebung*

The first dance at all *todong* events is performed by the women of the host village and is in most cases a *belilo*. The first two performances are presented on behalf of the *kastom* host and referred to as the *mangis ngis kes* (literally 'dance sit' or 'host community dance'). The *belilo* contains the close female relations of the deceased and the second performance, invariably a *lebung*, includes close male relations. The

[5] In this case the deceased were the mother and elder sister of the hosting *kamgoi*.

dancers in both these performances are likely to wear black costume elements or body paint to signify their *sum* ('grief'). If the deceased was male, the *belilo* performance will include the *mokos* ('widow'), and in the rites for a female deceased the *lebung* dance will involve the *tanur* ('widower') DVD Chapter 6: Men's *Lebung mangis ngis kes*.[6] All the close relatives dance in the host village *belilo* or *Lebung*, publicly signifying the end all *sum* ('grief') observances.

At *todong* events *belilo* performers, dressed in their finest *meri* blouses and sarongs, wearing headbands of dyed feathers (*bangbang*) and carrying small decorated sticks (*uli*), enter the plaza from the village side. Occasionally women's groups may enter the plaza in formation singing an entrance song (*wamong*) but more frequently the women quietly assemble on the dancing grounds. The *belilo* is unusual as it is the only dance form in the Lak repertoire in which *kundu* drums are held by dancers who beat as they perform. Like all dance forms, the performance starts with the *lamlam* section, which largely consists of a series of movements generic to the *belilo* genre. The *lamlam* is also likely to contain the most recognisable melodic and lyrical material. The *belilo*'s dance movements are predominantly based on arm and hand gestures. Elbows are kept against the side of the torso and occasionally lifted up or to the side. The women walk forward and back in close formation, and frequently the whole troupe appears to lower itself slightly as the women bend their ankles and knees while maintaining an upright upper-body position DVD Chapter 7: Women's *pinpidik mangis ngis kes*.

As soon as the second section (*pukun*) begins, members of the audience rush forward to remove the dancers head-bands and accoutrements. The women continue to dance despite the commotion that accompanies the removal of the performance decorations. The dance implements are kept by those who retrieve them to decorate the interior of their houses. Because of the pressure on time, dances in the *todong* normally consist of only two or three sections (for example, a *lamlam* and two *pukun*). Even when performances contain only two sections, they never omit the *kawash*, the subsection in which each row of dancers works its way to the front of the group and performs for the duration of a single melodic repetition as the front row of the troupe. The

[6] The widow or widower always perform in the back row of the *mangis ngis*.

indispensable nature of the *kawash* section is reflective of the communal and social ideology inherent in Lak dance performances. The *kawash* provides each dancer with time in the most prominent position in the plaza and the opportunity to be seen participating with their communal group. As a result, the *kawash* takes a significant amount of performance time. The *mangis ngis kes, bililo* or *lebung* are likely to be the largest dances performed in the *todong* as most members of the host community participate in a symbolic gesture to signify the end of their *sum* observations and to reaffirm their composite being following the loss suffered as a result of the death.

The *mangis ngis kes* are the most important performances of the day, and the audience reaction to these dances tends to be the most pronounced. Wailing and crying from female members of the audience is loudest during the *mangis ngis kes* as it is these performances that are most likely to trigger memories of the deceased. The particular *belilo* or *lebung* performed, the costumes employed and choreography used by the *mangis ngis kes* groups will have been specially selected by the groups for their emotive properties in connection with the deceased. During all traditional performances, the most vocal members of the audience consist of the one or two *kamgoi* ('Big Men') who welcome, encourage and celebrate each of the dance troupes. These *kamgoi* perform what is known as *bokbok* on behalf of the host.

Bokbok

Wearing *tanget* leaves around their necks, *kamgoi bokbok;* leap from foot to foot, waving their arms while encouraging the dancers to sing loudly and perform with energy (plates 25 & 26). These *kamgoi* act as a kind of master of ceremonies, welcoming the dancers forward into the plaza, they twirl *tanget* branches in their hands like cheerleaders, encouraging the dancers and indirectly inciting reactions from the audience.

Plate 25 **Two *kamgoi bokbok* in front of a *koolau* performance**

Plate 26 **During most *kastoms*, one or two senior *kamgoi* assume the role and *bokbok* on behalf of the host. The host may be seen to *bokbok* occasionally but generally assumes a more reserved role**

The stock phrases produced by *kamgoi* during the *bokbok* can be separated into two groups. The first of which includes such terms as *miyah*, a simple expression of joy, *I*

wakak, ('it is good'), *mumai*, (an instruction 'to chew *betelnut*') –though in this context the word acts as a humorous allusion to the audience who are, it is suggested, so engrossed in the performance that their mouths hang agape. The phrases used in this first group are all aligned to the theme of celebration. The other set of phrases used by *kamgoi* indicate a very different discourse. These include *karwas i ngongos*, ('the *karwas* [fish] continues') *bilbil ma* ('no one but me') and *sannanan minat* ('all dead through poison') and all refer to the *kamgoi*'s supposed state as the last member of his sub-clan. These stock phrases demonstrate an underlying metaphor present at all dance events in the mortuary rites. The phrases used by the *kamgoi* invoke an emotional state of emptiness and isolation that is the antithesis of the dance event.

The *bokbok* celebrate the dance occasion and simultaneously recall the circumstances of the event, a death. Every death is a partial erosion of the sub-clan, a diminishing of the composite relational personage of each sub-clan member and a breach in the affected community's composition. The dance performances, especially the *mangis ngis kes*, ('dance troupe of host community') can be understood as an attempt to reconstitute the community. Through performance, dancers are both physically and metaphorically restoring their community by working as a cooperative unit in dance. It is also in dance performances that people declare their 'relational identity' (see chapter one), by exhibiting their active role in a cooperative group. In phrases like *karwas i ngongos, bilbil ma* and *sannanan minat*, the *kamgoi* expresses a rich series of metaphor. Each of these announces the *kamgoi*'s (imagined) status as the last of his line, the only surviving member of his sub-clan, alone in the world, an orphan. To Lak feelings, the position is deeply moving. The phrases stir emotions in the audience, to be alone in the world inspires sympathy and compassion, the position is the most fearful imaginable: to have no community, clan or relations. The *bokbok* reminds the audience through metaphor that conjure images of emptiness and death of the power of dance. The *kamgoi* heightens the dance event with poetic references to what the dance performances are striving against DVD Chapter 8: *Bokbok*.

Memory In Motion

During the *mangis ngis kes* dances, many of the senior women in the audience wail in a similar manner to the way they do in the first stages of the primary rites. The women recall the deceased being commemorated by the rites along with other deceased *kamgoi* who have hosted similar rites. It is aspects of costume, music, dance, the atmosphere and a combination of all of these things that have the potential to move audience members to expressions of grief and, as is often pointed out by informants, joy as well. People react in particular to the dance performances because they form the hub of the mortuary event, a combination of meaningful movement, sound and design that are carefully constructed to form a deeply moving performance. They are also a strange melancholy mixture, capable of spurring tears of joy and grief.

Following the host community *belilo* and *lebung* performances, the groups are given a basket of food. The host determines the order of the dances presented by other communities with preference given to those groups who have had to travel the greatest distance to attend. Performance groups who travel to a dance event are referred to as *tar mangis ngis,* ('painted dancers'). *Tar mangis ngis* are expected to spend much more rehearsal time than that of a group who dance in their own village. Performing away from one's home village is considered more difficult, and there are higher expectations among the audience for *tar mangis ngis*.

During the *todong* I attended in Kambiram community, the men's *tar mangis ngis* proceeded along the beach to the plaza, singing their *wamong* until they reached their starting positions in front of the men's house. Their accompanying *kundu* group sat in front, and the performance proper began. Male audience members crowded around to watch with sombre concentrated expressions and payed close attention to the dance movements. Female audience members stood behind the male observers and watched from a distance. The second male dance performance of the day was a *lebung* as was the first of the *mangis ngis tar*. The *lebung* has been the most popular and regularly performed genre among men for several decades now. Its familiarity to most performers makes it an easy dance to prepare, accounting for its continued popularity. As the *lamlam* section began, the audience crowd around the plaza and watched with quiet speculation. During the *pukun* sections of the dance, the newly choreographed

sections drew the most attention and caused the greatest response from the crowd. The audience eagerly anticipates the *pinpit* sections of new choreography. In response to an exciting series of choreographed movement, senior *kamgoi bokbok*. During these moments of excitement, the highlight of any dance performance, a host may *bokbok* his way into the grid of dancers, leaping and yelling for a short time before returning to the periphery.

The dances proceed by alternating between male and female groups until each group has performed. In the late afternoon the *pas boroi* pig exchanges are made to each of the *todong* hosts, and the *sulai minat* is given to the deceased's spouse (see chapter 1 'Finishing the dead' for an account of these exchanges). With the *pas boroi* completed, the *pulpul* items are removed from their *tonger* and people begin their journey home. The following day the *tonger* are deconstructed, and a small feast of pig is held for those men of the host village who help to clean the village.

Dance Preparations and Rehearsal.

Many of the preparations undertaken for a dance performance are the same as those used to generate magical efficacy and reflect the activities of an initiate into the *Buai* complex (see chapters two and three respectively). Music and magic, as suggested earlier in this work, are so intimately entangled in the Lak world as to make their separation impossible. The preceding chapter has shown how music forms a nexus between the spiritual and human realms. Songs such as the *daut* can be understood as a form of communication from the living to the dead while composition is the means through which the spirits communicate with the living. As a result creativity in the region is based on relationships between humans and spirits.

The length of time required to prepare body and soul for a dance performance is determined by the context: the type of event in which the performance will take place, and its size, which will be ascertained by both the renown of the deceased and wealth of the host. Size, which has already been shown to be a critical determinant of a dance performance's success is also a prevailing measurement of the success of a mortuary

custom. The simple axiom that the more one gives away the greater the success, underlies and motivates all mortuary sequences and their hosting *kamgoi*. A large mortuary rite encourages performers to undertake a longer period of preparation, mindful that they will perform in front of a large audience and risk more should something go wrong. Certain dance forms also require longer periods of preparation, according to the perceived power of the dance genre.

The essential differences in male and female dance forms can be perceived clearly in the preparations undertaken prior to performance. The distinctions in preparation and performance ultimately reflect social perceptions of gender and have been widely commented on in the literature (see Lutkehaus and Roscoe 1995; Strathern 1988). Hogbin's comment below broadly captures Lak notions surrounding gender roles and could also be true of many other linguistic and social groups in the archipelago:

> Men... were akin to the spirits and could at certain times acquire the same sanctity... Women, on the contrary, were outside the spirits' pale – they were essentially profane and could never attain sacredness (1951: 213).

The *kunubok* ('fasting') period begins with a ritualistic cleansing of all the participants' skin. The dancers wash in the sea while rubbing a combination of leaves into their skin and then submerge their entire body into the water and let the leaves drift over their heads and be carried out to sea (cf. Eves 1998:50; Munn 1983:285). The cleansing is believed to remove the impurities that a man's skin acquires when he lives in close and prolonged habitation with women. This process removes the impurities but it is only the first step in a much larger practice of decontamination. Once cleansed the dancers avoid the village and other spaces where women are likely to dwell or urinate and reside mostly in the bush areas outside of the village. Most communities maintain practice grounds known generically as *kamar* (some grounds have individual names by which they are referred).[7] *Kamar* are usually set just off the beach and are maintained only for the period of the dance preparations. It is only when occupied that these spaces are off limits to women and children. During the *kunubok* period, the participants practise one or two times a day and spend the

[7] *Kamar* is also the word used to describe the process of distributing shell money during a *kastom*.

intervening periods collecting materials and constructing costume, magical devices, accoutrements and the *langoron*. From the first day of the *kunubok*, the men refrain from consuming any water and eat only two small meals a day of baked bananas or vegetables baked on hot stones.

Dances with carved head-dress or carved hand-held accoutrements normally require the most substantial period of *kunubok*. Only a few men have the necessary skills to carve the dance items and are consequently required to spend the most time in the *kamar*. Notably not all participants in a dance will *kunubok* for the same length of time. The *Tene Buai* or individual who *roroies* ('teaches') the performance will undertake the longest period of *kunubok* along with any other performers involved in the construction of the costumes and magical materials. Other participants may *kunubok* for a period of days rather than the weeks that are undertaken by the most committed members of the group.

In the early period of the preparations for a dance, the ingredients for the *langoron* are collected. *Langoron* is both a substance that is rubbed into a dancer's skin and hair in order to generate a magical state and a feeling generated by dance performance. Both the substance and the sensation ultimately have the same effect on an individual; they are said to make one 'light' and energised. *Langoron*, the substance, contains ingredients that are widely known to many men with an interest in dance. The ingredients include a red stone, which is baked to make it brittle and then rubbed against a rough surface to reduce it to a powder; this substance constitutes what is known as *tar* (plate 27). Coconut flesh is cooked and then squeezed to produce an oily extract called *ku*. The *ku* is added to three separate containers of wood shavings, finely scraped wood from three different trees, all with a strong perfume. Once the *ku* oil has been mixed with the wood, the *tar* is added and mixed through. The result is three coarse powdery substances each with a strong aroma. The three mixtures are transferred into dried palm-skin receptacles and placed on a small stage constructed in the *kamar* (plate 28).

Plate 27 **Joseph mixing ingredients to make *langoron* powder**

Plate 28 **When completed, the *langoron* is placed on a specially constructed table where it is left to bake in the sun for several days**

The mixtures are left in the sun to dry for several days as the aroma from each grows stronger. Finally, the *Buai* or someone with knowledge of dance magic will perform a magical practice to empower the substances and create *langoron*. An immature coconut is held between the hands and chanted to, as a result the liquid of the coconut becomes possessed. The magician punctures the skin of the nut, sucks the liquid into his mouth and sprays the three receptacles carefully to distribute the liquid evenly. The following day the *langoron* is packaged in banana leaves and put aside until just prior to the performance.

Another common occupation during the *kunubok* ('fasting') period is preparation of the *babat*. *Babat* is a form of magic intended to protect performers against the malicious sorcery of rival dance groups or *Buai* who might wish to see the dance fail by using *kwar* ('offensive magic'). *Babat* construction is usually the role of the *Buai* (cf. Nachman 1981). While there are many forms of *babat*, the most common practice employs a small bundle of scented wood shavings wrapped in leaves to constitute a package about the size of a thumb. The ingredients are imbued with a magical chant and strung around the neck like a necklace; the *babat* can be worn by every dancer or just the *Buai* to achieve protection against *kwar* magic.

The most important restriction imposed during the *kunubok* period is against the consumption of water, which is linked to local notions concerning fertility and weight (as explored in the following section). Drinking restrictions during initiations and on ceremonial occasions have also been observed in several regions of Papua New Guinea's (see Barth 1987:33; Eves 1998:50-1; Nachman 1981). After three or four days of isolation and fasting, the *kunubok* is said to 'become strong', (*kunubok i rorot*). At this stage the participants have overcome the barriers that usually restrict human access to a state that is more spiritually aware. Through their control over their body in the tasks of isolation and fasting, the men gain greater access to their own spiritual capacity. Each day the dance continues to be rehearsed, and as the time of the performance approaches the numbers in the *kamar* increase and rehearsals become more frequent. In the final days the costume materials are gathered under the supervision of the *Buai* who gives instructions on their design and construction. The painting of the costumes is usually left until the morning of the performance in order that the colours appear vibrant.

Several other practices can be undertaken during the course of the *kunubok* period. The magical spirit possession devices known as *pampam* are often used in dance performances to display spiritual prowess and power. The *pampam*, which will be discussed later, require an extended period of *kunubok*. *Malara* is a well-known form of magical practice, common to many regions in New Ireland and New Britain. *Malara* ('love' or 'attraction magic') has many uses and is frequently used to attract an audience and urge them to ignore other performances. *Malara* can also be used by performers for individual ends, to attract the interest of a woman who will attend the performance. The business of helping others conduct attraction magic, make *pampam*, protect dancers with *babat* and other forms of magic are among the most important tasks of a *Tene Buai*. Composition is only a part of what it is to be a *Buai* practitioner, they are equally responsible for protecting and promoting a dance troupe.

Women's dance preparations and rehearsals are significantly different from those of men. Women rehearse in the communal village spaces and require no physical preparations akin to the men's *kunubok*. Women's performances do, however, require a period of rehearsal. Women usually begin rehearsals about two weeks before the performance date or less, depending on the amount of preparation time available.

During a rehearsal period women typically meet every day in the late afternoon following the day's work in the garden. They assemble in a village communal space with children in tow. As with the men's performances, a senior woman will lead the dances through the rehearsal by dancing in the front row of the grid. The practices continue in this manner every day until one or two days before the scheduled performance. Anyone can attend these performances and often older men watch from a distance, yelling encouragement in the form of the occasional *saksak*! ('sing'). In the final few days, normal work activities may cease in order to accommodate a more intense period of rehearsal and costume and accoutrement construction. Most women's costumes consist of *bangbang*, ('head-dress') and *uli* ('decorated sticks held in dancers hands'). The colour and design of these items will be determined by the women who taught (*roroie)* the group but each participant is expected to construct her own costume.

Women's performances don't normally entail any magical preparations but occasionally senior women can be seen wearing *babat* around their necks intended to protect all of the performers. Although the dance rehearsals are held openly in the village, the *bangbang* and *uli* costumes and accoutrements are kept under cover until the performance. Women perform in their best clothes: blouses and sarongs.

Men's *tar mangis ngis* ('painted dance troupe') may travel to the host community several days before the event to establish a place in the bush outside the village to complete the costume construction. Most often men's groups travel to the fringes of the host community during the night prior in order to avoid contact with women and men who have not been enduring *kunubok* and are consequently potentially contaminating. In the hour before the performance, the dancers assemble their costumes, adding finishing touches. The dancers affix their *laplaps,* which are shortened to above the knees and rub the *ku* oil into their skin and hair on every exposed surface. The oil makes the skin shine and provides a surface to which the *langoron* powder will stick. The *langoron* is rubbed all over the body: legs, arms and hair. When every skin surface is glistening with the fragrant red powder, the costumes such as *kamruruan*, *kangal*, *pulpul* and additional markings are affixed. Finally, as the dancers stand ready to perform, they are sprayed with the water of a young coconut from the *Buai*'s mouth.

Ideally male dancers should enter into *kunubok* and disappear from the realm of the living for its duration, only to reappear in the dramatic revelation that is a dance performance. By the end of a substantial period of *kunubok*, the performers are noticeably altered. Two weeks or more of no water and very little food produce a gaunt and sunken body. On rare occasions performers become so weak from hunger and dehydration that they are unable to complete the performance. Informants claim that those who have obeyed the strictures of *kunubok* diligently, can be identified by the brilliance of the shining red of the *langoron* on the performer's skin. The *kunubok* period produces a body that is said to be 'light' and powerful. These are the essential qualities of any male dance performance.

'Heavy' and 'light'

> When you have performed the *kunubok* well and you are ready to go to the village and dance, your steps are so light it is almost like you are about to fly.
>
> Michael Tolaiesh

There is no doubt, according to informants, that in order to dance well a male performer must be 'light'. One achieves a state of 'lightness' through the *kunubok* practice described above. 'Heaviness' rests on the skin (*falinok*) and causes men to become lethargic, slow and lazy. Etymologically, the Siar adjective for 'heavy' (*mamat*) is linked to the Siar word for death (*mat*). Informants readily describe the substances, including water, pork and contact with women, which make a man 'heavy' and must be assiduously avoided in preparation for a dance performance. Beyond these commonly recounted facts the intricacies of 'heavy' and 'light' and what they mean in relation to the wider society are not immediately evident. Informants are not able to offer explanations for why women are 'heavy' and men are 'light'. Here I present the perceived qualities of 'heaviness' and its other.

At the outset it should be made clear that the notions concerning 'heaviness' in the sense in which the Lak employ it do not correspond to measurements of weight. In interviews and surveys designed to understand the local notions concerning 'heaviness', informants consistently rated men as 'lighter' than children and women (an obvious inversion of weight-based realities). When asked to arrange spiritual beings, magicians, men, women and children from 'heaviest' to 'lightest', respondents consistently identified spirits to be the 'lightest', followed by magicians, men, children and women as the 'heaviest'. These results paralleled an earlier survey in which informants were asked to order the same group according to how powerful they are perceived to be. Although the surveys used different groups of people, the results were exactly the same; power and 'lightness' were attributes that consistently combined. This clearly suggests a correlation between Lak perceptions of power and 'lightness'.

Other usages of the terms 'heavy' and 'light' are also telling. For example, following the completion of large-scale secondary rites the host and his supporters are often described as 'light'. Having distributed all of their earthly wealth in the form of pigs and shell money during the course of the rites the host gains prestige by losing attachment to possessions and becoming more in communion with spiritual forces. After days or sometimes weeks spent in the *taraiu* ('secret grounds') in the company of *nataka* spirits, the host is perceived to be like a spirit. Kingston (1998:114) in conversation with Daniel Toanaroi, Siar village's dominant *kastom* host, recorded the following comments.

> After the death of the *tubuan* he is no longer heavy, but is light –*al al*. Thinking goes 'nothing', no things hold him. *Nuknuk I al* (thoughts are light). When *al*, when given everything away, is like a spirit (*talung*) (Kingston 1998: 114).

Other factors said to weigh down the skin (*falinok*) and make a person 'heavy' include sickness for the obvious reasons that people who are unwell suffer from lethargy and are generally immobile. As discussed earlier, a person suffering from *sum* ('grief') displays the same qualities and any contraction of one's composite being as the result of a death or feelings of abandonment results in feelings of 'heaviness'.

The reproductive attributes of women are likely to be the determining factor in their perceived 'heaviness'. In response to the question "what makes women heavy?", Patrick Tobusai offered the following:

> It is difficult to answer this but there is a natural sense that women have this heaviness from the time that they are born; it doesn't change. From the time that they are born, this heaviness is there because they will carry children. Men must avoid women and the smell of women and even the urine of women …

When asked who is 'heavier', a child or a women, Tobusai said:

> If it's a boy child he will be lighter than a girl. If a young boy hasn't yet left his mother's side, he is still heavy from the time of his birth so he must be washed before he can participate in a dance so that he won't

> bring this heaviness from his mother into the dance. He could ruin the whole dance and everybody's *kunubok* preparations. I am not able to tell why women are so heavy; it is just their natural state.

Age has been cited as a crucial aspect of a magician's power over the spiritual realm, (see chapter four) and the same is true for women's power and influence (see chapter two). As previously stated, moisture and weight are associated with young fertile women, rich soil for gardening, babies, children and youth (see Kingston 1998:114). Conversely the elderly are considered dry, no longer fertile, with loose skin. Older people, like spiritual beings, are dry and not reproductive and, as a consequence, 'light'. Although women are described as 'heavy' and among the least powerful when compared to spirits, it is clear that as part of their 'heaviness' women possess a different type of power. The reproductive potential of women cuts them off from the type of power wielded by spirits and aspired to by men. Women in this sense represent the opposite end of the scale to spiritual entities. Lak notions of 'heavy' and 'light' are presented in the table below according to their perceived associated representatives.

Spirits	**Women**
'Light'	'Heavy'
Dry	Moist
Powerful	Weak
Creative	Reproductive
Death	Life

Figure 12 **'Heavy' and 'light' associations**

The oppositions described in the table above suggest why women don't engage in *kunubok* ('fasting') or seek communion with spiritual beings in the same ways as male members of Lak society. It also provides potential rational for the perceived polluting effect of women on male dancers. Men stand between the two poles represented by creative spirits and reproductive females. Males can be creative and reproductive but not at the same time. The *kunubok* period can be seen as isolating the male creative potential by denying their reproductive potential.

The difference between male and female dance is accordingly determined physiologically and described in terms of weight; men's dances are 'lighter' than those performed by women. According to informants, the difference can be seen: men are described as jumping and making big movements with their legs while women are said to dance with their arms and hands and are not able to jump (*kalap)*. It is the upward movement of male dance, common throughout Melanesia (see Kaeppler 1998:482), that is a definitive feature of men's dances and masculinity in the region (cf. Eves 1998:51). A constant bounce in the dance movements of men and women has been described in chapter three but the vigour, buoyancy and energy of male performances is more prominent.

A disappointing performance can be described as *ep mangis ngis mamat* ('heavy' dance troupe'), *mangis ngis boon boon* ('heavy'/slow dance troupe') or *kawash beriou* ('climb breadfruit [tree]'), a metaphor that compares the dance to that of a breadfruit hitting the ground with a thud. A dance that is impressive can be described by the commonly used terms *mangis ngis alal* ('light' dance troupe') and *mangis ngis arat* ('sharp dance troupe'). Most of these frequently used terms evaluate a performance according to its perceived weight except for the last which refers to the image presented by the dancers in their costume. The phrases and terms used to describe dance reflect the region's preoccupation with movement and its perceived qualities. This is unlike the highland regions of Papua New Guinea where dance movements are kept to a bare minimum as dance in the region is for the primary purpose of displaying costume (see M. Strathern 1979:244 and Kaeppler 1998:484). Dance in the Lak linguistic group and among neighbouring regions is principally focused upon movement, and while costume is also important, it is in most cases only part of the spectacular energetic choreography displays.

An example of how 'lightness' is expressed in a dance performance can be seen in the *kanai* dance, mentioned in the first section of this chapter. Every aspect of this particular dance genre seeks to communicate an impression of 'lightness'. The dance takes its name from a small bird famous throughout the region for its perceived weightlessness. The bird lives on the region's beaches and is revered for its ability to stand on small pieces of driftwood and coconuts as they float in the ocean. On occasions where a performer requires to be especially 'light' in preparation for a

dance he may, during various stages of the *kunubok* ('fasting'), consume the droppings of the *kanai* and rub a mixture of *kanai* droppings and *ku* into his skin. During the *kanai* dance, performers wear *kangal* in the shape of the bird, and their movements during the dance's opening sequence are closely modelled on studies of the birds twitching movements (plate 29). The body of the dance consists of very rapid and vigorous movements that can only be performed by those who have undergone *kunubok* and become 'light'.

Plate 29 ***Kanai* dancer.**

Langoron: The Experience Of Dance

The feelings generated by dance are, according to descriptions, not comparable to any other experience. The Lak express the unique sensation with the word *langoron*.[8] As previously explained, *langoron* refers to both a magically imbued substance and the sensation it creates. Webb has described *langoron* among the Tolai as a:

> Magical power imbued in the various components of a dance performance ... so that it will attract and engross a large audience. It is a mark of prestige for the sponsor and the composer-choreographer when a performance generates intense excitement and crowd movement ... When working to its fullest effect, *langoron* captivates spectators, as though against their volition (1995:33).

The experience of *langoron* is difficult for dancers to express: some simply refer to a feeling on the skin; others explain it like a shiver up the spine or in terms of energy and electricity (cf. Epstein 1992:260).[9] To gain an understanding of this aspect of performance reality, I sought explanations of *langoron* from a range of dance participants:

> When I sing by myself and I'm in the bush, I won't feel anything. But when I start to dance, all the power comes close to me and I feel the *malara*, and the *langoron* and all the other things. When I start to sing, I will feel that I am sad and when I feel like this and I focus my thoughts on a woman then she too will feel like this ...
> When you dance in a large group, it's different, if you have made all of the preparations in the bush with all of these things like *malara*. When you arrive [in the village] the feeling in your body is like you are very happy and when you finish the dance then you will see it; the women will cry after you...
> Sometimes when you watch [a dance] if they carry the *uli* and you're not dancing you're just on the side watching. The power of these things comes to your skin and as they walk along the beach coming to the

[8] The term *langoron* is used throughout Southern New Ireland and among the Tolai of East New Britain and the Duke of York Island (see Webb 1995:33; Epstein 1992:260).
[9] Epstein's footnote to his comments on *langoron* on page 260 (footnote on 291) seem to suggest that the term is used slightly differently among the Tolai. Epstein describes its use in association with attracting crowds to a softball game; however, in Lak the term is exclusively associated with dance.

dance, you too feel happy and excited and your body begins to shake and your skin begins to *langoron*.

(Translated from recorded interview). Gabriel Mongnon

The *langoron* of a dance that you are watching, if it's good, can make your skin stand up [Goosebumps].

(Translated from recorded interview). Remiduce Tomikalai

You can feel it [*langoron*] inside you, your insides get up, when you see a good dance you are happy and your body will start to move about.

(Translated from recorded interview). Alfred Koroi

Langoron describes the sound of the *kundu* and the music. *Langoron* is something that *Tene Buai* perform. They do it using the bark of trees ground up and the roots of trees, leaves, *kambang*, *tar*, seeds from trees and bushes. All of this is mixed together and ground up and sun-dried so that it is hot. When this is done, the *Tene Buai* or someone who knows how to call spirits will calls spirits using *boom* (young coconuts). They use magic spells to call the spirits close so that they can possess all of these substances. The *tanruan* come because they are summoned by the *boom* – that is what it is for – for summoning *masalai* like snake *masalai*; this is what they say. So it comes and possesses the substances and when you put the powder mixture (ground wood, *tar*, *kambang*, etc) on your skin or in your mouth, you will feel your skin begin to shake. You will feel energised to do what it is you are going to do. When the *kundu* beat starts to sound, the *langoron* on your skin it makes your ears open but your mind goes blank. As soon as the *kundu* beat begins, the hands begin to shake and the skin comes alive like they want to dance.

Sometimes when a group of men are dancing and have *langoron* on their skin, the power of the *langoron* can also effect the skin of the audience. Then all of a sudden a *Yain pindik* will get up or someone else will begin to dance with the group. He will *bokbok*, dance with a *tanget*. *Bokbok* is when you are moved by the performance; this type of *langoron* feeling makes him wants to get up and join in.

Women have *langoron* too but the *langoron* of women is different. It's not very powerful; it's more like *ku*. Women's *langoron* is like *ku*. They eat it and use the oil of the *ku* by rubbing it on their skin but it's not very powerful. It's just enough for the women's performances. But with men you will see that the hands shake and things like that. It

> [*langoron*] makes you feel like you want to join in; it encourages you and makes you feel happy and like you want to join in, like that, *langoron* is like that. It [*langoron*] only occurs around a dance. Because *langoron* is only made for dances.
>
> (Translated from recorded interview). Pinir.

The comments above provide unusually descriptive accounts of the *langoron* experience. Much like the notions of 'heavy' and 'light', understandings of *langoron* are rarely articulated and difficult for informants to describe. Like *pidik* ('secret possessions') and other aspects of Lak life, *langoron* defies verbal description; understanding is something that is achieved on a personal level through experience. However, from the accounts provided, it seems that the experience of *langoron* can be compared to a type of possession. The *langoron* is said to "make your skin stand up", "to make your ears open" and " to make you want to get up and join in", and while informants never describe it in terms of possession, it does alter perceptions and changes a dancer's state of mind. Many informants describe the experience in a similar manner to Pinir: "your mind goes blank". When in this state a dancer doesn't need to think, the body takes over, and the dancer is believed to be incapable of making mistakes. The mind-altering effects of the *langoron* are comparable to that of a drug.

Indeed, the comparison between *langoron* and a drug is fitting. The use of ingested substances in the Pacific such as kava, betel and alcohol to induce altered physiological states in conjunction with music is well-documented (Love 1998:172) However, unlike these substances, *langoron* is exclusive to and dependant on dance for its effect. The feelings produced by *langoron* are, as the interviews suggest, strongest when the performance is large, and the participants have undertaken a substantial period of *kunubok* ('fasting'). The desire to extend, prolong and reproduce the experience of the *langoron* drives some individuals to tirelessly travel from village to village, participating in dance events because as explained by Pinir above, dance is the only experience that can produce *langoron*. Because of their addictive style of behaviour, these individuals develop a reputation for their willingness to take part in dance and *kunubok* and become known as *tana langoron* (literally 'Big [man of] *langoron*'). *Tana langoron* are not necessarily young men or even skilled in composition; they are simply men who regularly pursue the *langoron*. Many of these

men eventually become teachers and choreographers in their later years as a result of their extensive experience with dance.

The ceremonial occasion in which dance performances are conducted enables participants to create and express certain aspects of their identity. The hosting *kamgoi* ('Big Man') makes the largest and most visible expression of identity in the course of managing and sponsoring the rites but the occasions also provide plenty of opportunities for supporting and competing *kamgoi* to publicly express their character and position. In dance performance every member of the society is able to participate and express their identity at some level. Just as in other New Ireland societies (see Fergie 1995: 127), performance is capable of changing a person's status or state of being. *Langoron*, the euphoric feeling generated on these occasions, can be linked to social identity and the reproduction of society.

Langoron is the very essence of the dance experience. It produces a sensation that lies outside of the normal states of being. The raw energy of the *langoron* is infectious; it can spread to audience members and create a desire in them to dance and participate in the social identity being forged in sound and movement. Through *langoron*, dancing becomes a social and spiritual expression of being, a statement of raw energy and life itself.

Costume As Visual Metaphor

Certain aspects of costume construction and design have been discussed earlier (see chapter 3) including the rules of ownership and dissemination, which were shown to be a crucial component of the memorial power of the costume. Many costumes encompass more than just designs that are affiliated with an individual or group; their shapes, materials and patterns make reference to powerful entities. This section describes the metaphor encapsulated in Lak costume design.

The differences between men and women's costumes discussed in chapter three and the circumstances in which costumes are constructed, described earlier in this chapter,

show that men's costumes differ significantly from women's, not just in shape and form but in the ideology underlying them. The 'decorations' and accoutrements employed in men's dances are not only physical but also spiritual adornments. The *kunubok* ('fasting') period moves participants away from the 'heaviness' of being human toward the 'lightness' of the spirits, and costumes present the visual dimensions of a spiritual realm. Like the *nataka* spirits, men's costumes are prepared away from women because of the spirits associated or contained within them. Both men's costume and *nataka* figures contain *pidik* ('secrets') and, as a result, the performers become "men transformed"(Kingston 1998:179).

The *kanai* dance discussed earlier provides an example of how the use of an image can augment a performance. The carved image of the bird that sits on the dancers' heads is intended to generate an association between the dance and the revered 'lightness' of the *kanai* bird. The associations, although not necessarily accessible to all audience members, work as a metaphor, generating associations of 'lightness' on the dancers. Almost all men's costume and accoutrements operate in a similar manner; while some are obvious, others are subtle and accessible only to adepts of the *tubuan* and *talung* societies.

The most important and without doubt the visual metaphors considered the most powerful are those that use the image, shape or even materials of the *nataka*. The most overt usage of the *nataka* image is also considered the most powerful and is consequently closely guarded. The *koolau* dance employs the image of the *nataka* figure in hand-held accoutrements called *pampam nalakor* (plate 30). Because the *koolau* uses carved representations of the *nataka*, it is considered dangerous for both audience and performers.

Plate 30 **Mongnon holds two *pampam nalakor* moments before performing the *koolau* dance. Each *pampam* is unique and features a different *nataka***

Plate 31 ***Koolau* performance.**

Only initiated males can perform *koolau* and the preparation for the dancers, including the construction of the costume and accoutrements, takes place in the *taraiu* ('secret grounds') instead of the *kamar* ground. The *koolau* performance begins with the dramatic revelation of the dancers who walk into the dancing grounds behind a wall of palm fronds that are symbolically broken by the host, who whips a *pinas* of shell money against the wall, causing it to part and reveal the dancers. In a similar manner to an actual *nataka* performance, women keep their distance from the *koolau* and are urged not to look too hard lest the image cause them to become sick (plate 31). The *koolau* finishes with the dancers throwing the *pampam nalakor* to the ground, causing them to shatter. Men associated with the dance troupe carefully collect the shards of wood, and magical powder is scattered over the dance grounds to remove any spiritual residue left by the devices. The use of the *tubuan* image, its revelation and subsequent dramatic destruction heighten the performance's impact. For the short time the dancers perform, they become spiritual envoys carrying sacred images. When the dance ends, the images are reduced to wood, and the performers who quickly retire to the *taraiu* shortly there after emerge as men once again DVD Chapter 9: *Koolau*. Another overt representation of the *nataka* can occasionally be seen during *todong*. Miniature *nataka* figures called *tobotobo* are attached to *lebung* dancers' heads as a premonition of the spirits' presence during the impending secondary rites. The same rules of preparation and participation apply to *tobotobo*.

Kangal or *kabut* head-dress were often quietly pointed out to me as more abstract representations of *tubuan*. *Kangal* come in many shapes and sizes; most consist of fern woven around carved wooden conical and geometric shapes that are attached to the top of male dancers' heads. Many *kangal* can be said to only loosely depict *nataka* and to the eye of an outsider, unaware of the *nataka* figure's deep resonance in the region, the relationship may go undetected (plates 32, 33, 34, 35).

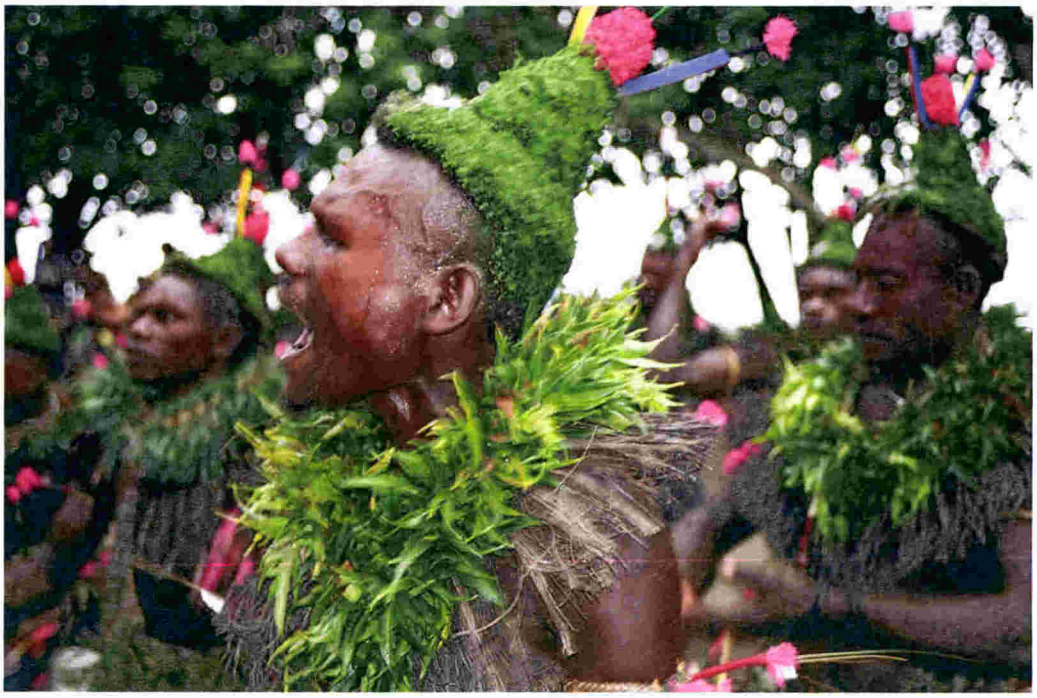


Plate 32 **The manner in which *kangal* are attached to the head is a *pidik*. Note the conical shape of the *kangal***

Plate 33 ***Kangal* are made in a variety of different shapes and styles. All loosely are based around the shape of the *nataka***

Plate 34 **The colour and design of *kangal* are largely at the discretion of the *Tene Buai* or man who *roroied* the performance group**

Plate 35 **Extremely large *kangal* are worn during nocturnal male dances, such as the *tambaran* and *tangara***

Unlike the *pampam nalakor* and *tobotobo* designs where each dancer carries a depiction of an individual *tubuan*, all the *kangal* in a dance will be of a uniform design. Like all other costume features, *kangal* may be copyrighted by individuals or groups. The manner in which the *kangal* are attached to the dancers' heads is a *pidik* ('secret'). Like the most powerful *pidik* in the region, the *tubuan* society, the *pidik* of the *kangal* is concerned with the hidden aspects of construction and the method of attachment to the body. The way that these spiritual forms interact with the human body is guarded as a *pidik*, and it is the *pidik* that regulates and controls the power the forms contain. Despite the relationship between *kangal* and *tubuan* figures, many younger dancers wear the head-dress without apparent awareness of the significance of the designs.

Other aspects of male costume contain more subtle but nonetheless powerful symbolic modellings of the *tubuan*. The most common feature of male costume is the *kamruruan* or neck wreaths, which appear in many sizes, colours, styles and materials and are used in *lebung*, *pinpidik*, *utun*, *papariek* and many other male dances (plates 36 & 37).

Plater 36 Large *kamruruan* like those in this *lebung* are widely used in male dances. The colours and materials used are likely to be 'copyrighted' to an individual or group associated with the dance (*mangis ngis)*

Plate 37 *Kamruruan* come in a variety of forms. The *kamruruan* worn in this *papariek* simply consists of cane leaves tied into circle

Plate 38 Note the similarities between the neck piece of this *nantoi* with those of the *lebung* dancers in plate 36.

When compared closely, the *kumruruan* can be seen as comparable to the neckpieces of the powerful *nantoi* figures (plate 38). The association is not explicitly recognised under normal circumstances and not normally worthy of comment. I only became aware of a connection toward the end of my second term in Lak when a woman who had married into the area from a distant linguistic group began to prepare a costume for a church dance display that included a *kamruruan*-style neck-wreath. As a result the church celebration was called off, and the *Yain pidik* (senior ritual practitioner') who presides over the women's hamlet was eventually fined for his perceived failure in not maintaining his role as a guardian of the *pidik* ('secret'). As the senior representative of the *pidik* in his area, the *Yain pidik* is ultimately responsible for the *pidik*'s integrity and he is expected to maintain control over those non-initiated whom he lives among. This entails, in theory, educating the women in his hamlet through his wife as to what must and must not be done, although in reality social expectations surrounding *pidik* are more subtly engrained in men and women from childhood (see Gourlay,1975:105-13).

Many items of male costume work as metaphors, alluding to the most powerful and striking image in Lak, the *nataka*. The *kamruruan* and *kangal*, like so many other aspects of costume, are visual references to the spirit figures and are restricted in their use to male performers. The fact that so many of the male costumes and accoutrements employ referential images suggests the presence of an underlying and dominant cultural metaphor in the *nataka*. Like aspects of costume, the *nataka* image and figures themselves are carefully controlled and regulated. It is through the control over these images used in costume that their significance and thus power is generated, maintained and wielded.

Dance Structure

Chapter three introduced the broad structural elements of song and dance; the *lamlam*, *pukun kamtikin* and *pukun potorrin* were introduced as the basic level upon which all song and dance is organised. This section provides a more detailed description of dance structure, presenting the indigenous terms used to explain the intricacies of dance composition and performance. The examples provided here represent ideal structures that are frequently altered or shortened to fit the requirements of a particular performance. Although the ideal structures are rarely performed, they are worthy of inclusion here as they reflect a pervasive cultural concept of dance. The following structure represents the ideal for the majority of male and female dances.

Mangis Ngis Formation

Once a dance troupe has entered the plaza, either by performing a *wamong* or by simply walking in, they stand in their grid formation at the back of the dance area. The formation of the *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe') and the names of the rows and individual positions are described below.

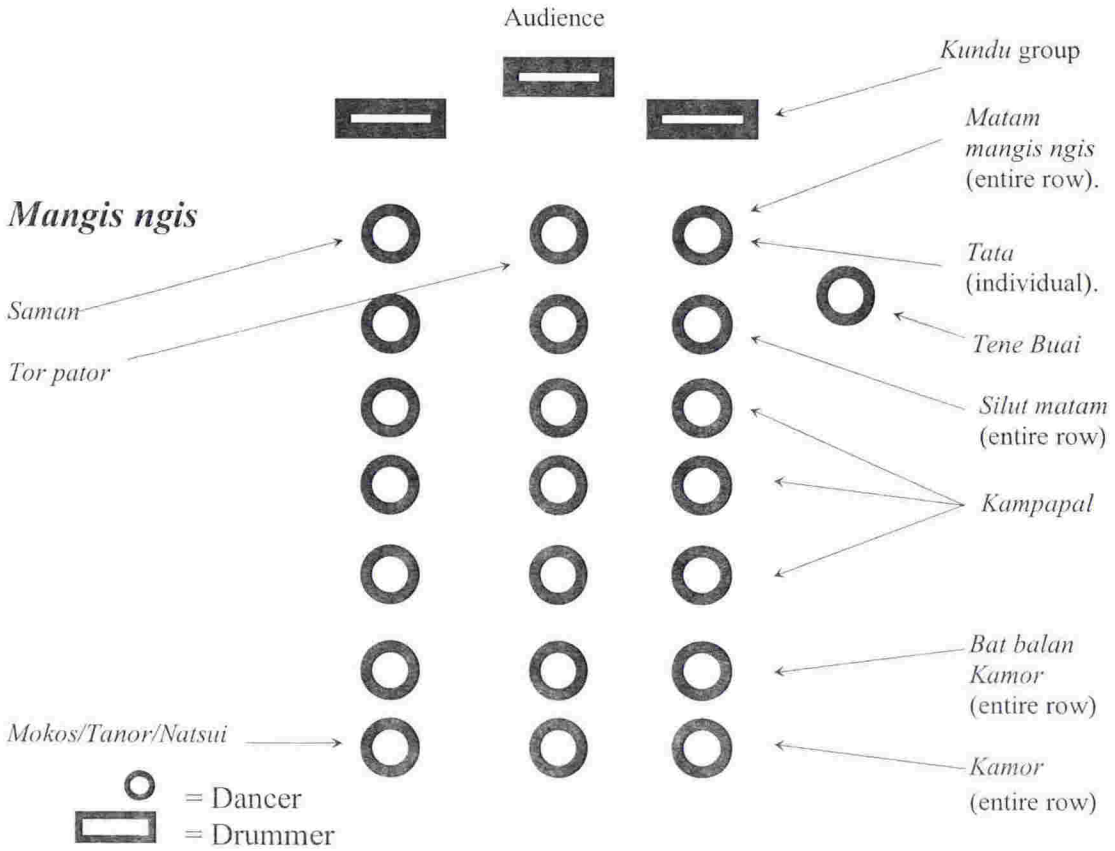


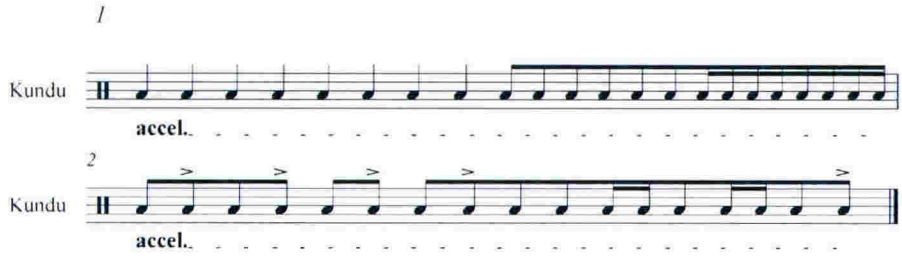
Figure 13 **Dance troupe format**

The terms used to describe the positions and rows in the dance troupe provide access to some of the cultural concepts associated with group performance. Like the term *mangis ngis* which describes the entire dance troupe as a social group or clan, many of the words and terms used to name the rows and positions in the *mangis ngis* are also the names or metaphors for cooperative social entities. The central body of dancers – all of the performers who are not in the first two rows or the last two rows – are referred to as the *kampalpal*. Normally this word describes a group of men who form a cooperative group under a leading *kamgoi* ('Big Man') and are associated with a particular men's house (*pal*). In the case of a *mangis ngis*, the *kampalpal* is the core

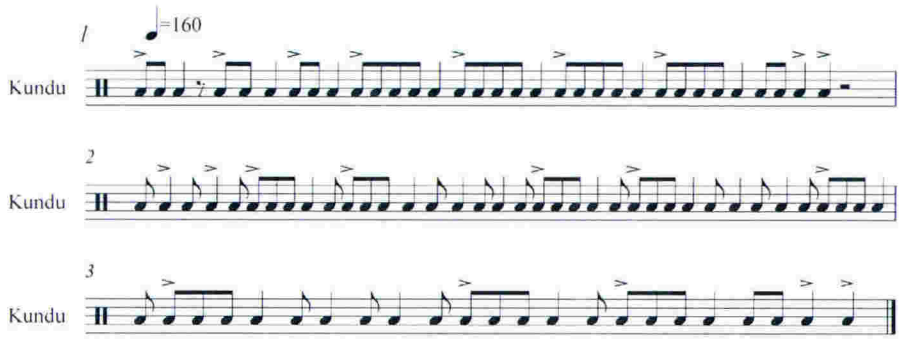
group of dancers, consisting of three or more rows. The leader's position, in the front row on the left (from the audience's point of view), is known as the *tata* (literally 'father') and his opposite on the right-hand side of the troupe is the *saman* ('outrigger'). These two positions are the most important in the *mangis ngis* as the *tata* and *saman* provide signals to the other dancers to indicate sectional changes. The terms *tata*, *saman* and *kampalpal* combine to form an image of a cooperative unit. The *tata* or father is the head of the most basic cooperative unit in Lak, the family; the term *saman* likens the co-leader's position on the opposite side of the front row to the outrigger of a canoe, essential to balance and stability, and the *kampalpal* forms the essential labour unit at the centre of any village or dance group. The entire front row is referred to as the *matam mangis ngis* ('eye of the dance troupe'), the second row the *silut matam* ('support the eye') the second to last row the *bat balan kamor* ('in front of the bellies of the back') and the final row the *kamor* ('back'). Each of these rows is named after parts of the body and consistent with the metaphor of a cooperative unit. The metaphors employed to describe positions and roles in dance troupes emphasise cooperation and group affiliation and are central to the conceptual style of dance performed by the Lak.

Umum Kundu

Often male dance troupes will assemble directly in front of the seated *kundu* group for the performance of an introductory dance routine. When ready, the *tata* or the *tene buai* (who may stand to the left of the troupe, see figure 13) provides a signal to the drumming group to begin the *umum kundu* ('retreat from *kundu*') introduction. The *umum kundu* is an original piece of choreography that moves the dance troupe from their assembling point, directly in front of the *kundu* group, to the rear of the dancing grounds. *Umum kundu* are typically rapid *kundu* rhythm to which the dancers perform quick staccato movements that move them back across the dancing space. Examples of *ummun kundu* drum rhythms are transcribed here.



Transcription 12 ***Umum kundu* for *lebung***



Transcription 13 ***Umum kundu* for *papantagol***

Umum kundu are designed to attract attention and they achieve this with an explosive rhythmic introduction. During several of the *umum kundu* that I witnessed, drum-skins were torn as a result of the strength with which these patterns are played. The actions, which accompany the *umum kundu*, are also choreographed to attract attention and normally involve quick, energetic and large movements. The beginning of any dance is one of the most important parts and little can rival the intensity of a well-rehearsed opening sequence. It is during the first few seconds that audiences are attracted to watch a dance, and audience numbers are an important gauge of success.

Ideal Dance Structure

The table that appears below represent the sections and subsections of Lak dance, along with explanations of the actions that take place in each. The sectional map provided here represent an ideal and complete dance structure while the example provided on the DVD shows a more typical performance realisation of the structural rules presented in the map DVD Chapters 10,11,12: Men's *tabaran*, Women's *lebung* & Men's *lebung*. Annotated examples.

Sections	Subsections	Description
Lamlam.		As soon as the *ummu kundu* pattern finishes the dancers burst into song and the dance proper begins. The *lamlam* is the simplest section of the dance. The movements of the *lamlam* are generic to the genre of the dance. For example, all *lebung lamlam* will feature the same movements but may contain slight alterations in specific hand and arm movements to generate interest for the audience. Several distinct actions will combine to form a genre's *lamlam* patterns that will be repeated several times. During the course of the *lamlam*, the dance troupe will advance across the plaza and finish at the front at the feat of the *kundu* group.
Pukun kamtikin (first pukun).	Introduction to *pukun*	All the *pukun* of a particular genre will feature this generic introduction. As a result, this section is simply known as *pukun*.
	Umalari	Refers to the finishing section. A brief section of movement normally lasting only a few seconds which indicates the completion of the *pukun* introduction.
	Louloum	The *louloum* actions involve the front row of the grid quickly dancing its way down the side of the troupe to the back row while the back row dance their way up the opposite side of the grid and briefly dance in each others positions before returning to their places. The methods and style of transition differ according to the dance genre.
	Malep	This literally means 'go back'. The *louloum* takes place in front of the *kundu* group so the *malep* is essentially a choreographed set of actions that carries the dance troupe toward the rare of the dancing grounds. The actions in most cases involve the dancers walking backwards in a stylised fashion. The *malep* positions the dance troupe for the following section.
	Pinpit	The *pinpit* is the most important and anticipated section of any dance. The *pinpit* contains new dance especially choreographed for each performance. The *pinpit* is closely watched by audience members it is the creative heart of any dance performance. *Pinpit* often depict familiar actions and scenes, fishing, climbing, scraping coconut while other imitate the actions of bird and fish and most are simply a series of interesting movements that display the dancers' dexterity and strength. In many cases the *pinpit* contains a series of choreographed movements in between more familiar movements which move the dancers forward. The *pinpit* finishes with the dance once again at the front of the plaza. The can be several *pinpit* sections in a *pukun*, and each one must be followed by an *umalari*, *louloulm* and *malep*.
	Umalari	This section returns (as above) to indicate the completion of the *pinpit*.
	Louloum	As above.
	Malep	Transports the dancers to the back of the plaza (see above).
	Concluding dance.	A brief finishing section that marks the completion of the *pukun kamtikin*.
Pukun Potorrin.		The *pukun potorrin* contains all of the sections listed in the *pukun kamtikin* without variation. The *pinpit* sections will contain choreography different from that used in the previous *pukun*.
Pukun Kawas.	Introductory dance	Introduces the *pukun kawas*.
	Umalari.	This section completes the introduction

	Louloum	The Louloum section contains movements specific to the style of the genre
	Malep.	This section returns the dancers to the back of the plaza.
	First *Pinpit*.	This section contains new choreography
	Umalari.	This part marks the completion of the *pinpit*.
	Louloum	As above.
	Larep kawas,	This means 'to show the *kawas*' and signifies that the *kawas* is about to begin. The *larep kawas* usually involves the dancers performing the actions of the *kawas* without changing their positions.
	Kawas,	This literally means 'climb up'. The last row of the *mangis ngis* dances its way forward along the side of the troupe and takes the place of the firsts row, The *kamor* (back row) takes the place of the *matam mangis ngis* and so on until each row has briefly danced in the position of the front row and then shuffled back to allow the next row to take their place. The *kawas* completes when the *matam mangis ngis* is returned to their original position.
	Umalari	Section signifies the completion of the *kawas*.
	Louloum.	Repeats as above.
	Malep	This section carries the troupe to the rare of the plaza
	Second *Pinpit*.	Another *pinpit* may be added at this point.
	Umalari	Is performed to complete the *pinpit*.
	Louloum,	As above.
Pukun Louloon (final *pukun*).		Contains all of the same sections as the *pukun kamtikin*.

Figure 14 Dance structure

The table above and the annotated examples on the DVD present the complicated structural makeup of a dance performance. The video examples show that the structure allows for a certain degree of flexibility but also requires strict conformance to standards such as the order of sub sections. The most common changes and deviations away from the ideal structure are explained in terms of time restrictions. Most performances, like those in the DVD, consist of a *lamlam* followed by a *pukun kamtikin*. The *lamlam* is an essential element of all dances; it contains choreography that identifies the genre and is thought of as indispensable to a performance. The *pukun kamtikin* is also always present in even the most truncated performances. Despite begin called *pukun kamtikin*, according to its position in the dance as the 'first

pukun', the structure is more likely to reflect that of the *pukun kawash*, and contain a *kawas* section. Most dances performed today consist of a condensed structure, a *lamlam* followed by the *pukun kamtikin*. Dance troupes that wish to present longer or more elaborate dances normally add additional *pinpit* sections and may conclude with the *pukun louloon*. This format reflects the reality of dance performance much more accurately than the table presented above but the table's ideal structure still represents the way in which many Lak conceptualise dance structure.

The complicated structure of dance requires performers to know the movements well and be highly aware of the movement of other performers around them. As we have seen, rehearsal is an important part of the preparations for dance and is necessary for performers to move in unison. The sections and subsections suggest a concern for balance of movement: where one section carries the performers forward, the next moves them back as a result, the dancers are always in motion in some direction, forward, back or up and down. The structure of the dance also involves careful regulation of generic and expected material with new choreography, maintaining the traditional expectations while continuing to provide interest.

Conclusion

When all of the elements of preparation, both magical and physical combine with careful rehearsal, vibrant costume, original choreography and the staging within a mortuary complex combine in the right way, the result is among the most vivid and powerful experiences of Lak life. The dance transcends the realm of physical display and becomes an energy that can infect audiences, move them physically and inspire memories and emotions only accessible through a dance display, a unique experience defined as *langoron*.

This chapter began by describing the events that take place in the *todong* rites and exploring the critical role of dance in the *todong* practice. The sections that followed sought to uncover the social and spiritual resonances of dance performance. Beginning with an account of preparations and rehearsal practices, the relationship between spiritual beliefs and dance was shown to permeate all performance aesthetics. The construction of costume and accoutrements that occupy a considerable amount of

preparation time are prepared and presented as manifestations of spirituality and power, and are publicly presented only in the atmosphere created by dance. Concepts concerning gender roles and the social behaviour of the sexes are displayed in dance performances and expressed in the local notions of 'heavy' and 'light'. A description of the emotions and sensations generated through dance provides insights into the place that dance performance occupies in the minds and hearts of both performers and audience members. The close examination of costume elements has described a pervading visual metaphor in the *nataka*, and exposed the profundity of the spirit's importance in the local worldview. The final section on dance structure provides a practical explanation of the physical formation of dance and its complicated sectional and sub-sectional structures. The descriptions also offer a means of comprehending the formation of the dance troupe as representative of social and political ideals. This chapter has sought to show why dance occupies the privileged position at the end of the *todong* rites that bring to a completion all *sum* ('grief') observances and the primary rites. It is clear from the explanations provided here that a dance can perform a multitude of functions simultaneously, reflecting and producing community and personal identity, providing visions of the unseen but ever present spiritual realm, as a political stage and memorial occasion and much more. Put simply, for the Lak, dance says more than can be expressed in any other form; each performance is a climactic and inspirational event.

Section 2: Chapter 6.

Pidik and Power

This chapter examines the role of sound, song and dance in the secondary mortuary rites and investigates the use of these elements in the *talung* and *tubuan pidik* societies. These societies are essential to the secondary rites and a vital part of the social, cultural and performance life of the Lak. This chapter attempts to present the *nataka* figures and *tubuan* societies as the Lak understand them. It also seeks to appreciate what these *pidik* represent to both sexes.[1] The *nataka* figures are presented here as 'an image of power' with multiple levels of meaning. The movements of the spirit figures are shown to be a crucial to their nature, and the singing sounds that accompany the dance are revealed as an important part of the *pidik*'s power. The section entitled 'sounds of power' begins by revisiting earlier discussions of the relationships between gender, geography and sound and examines how the *pidik* societies fit into these sound realms. The lyrics of *tubuan* songs are examined and their musical structures analysed. This section also explores the voice of the *talung* as the basis of the *pidik* and as a tool of social power. The final part 'ashes to ashes' describes the concluding actions of the mortuary sequence and details how the *tubuan* society maintains control over its members and influence over the wider society. As in the previous two chapters, all of the information presented here is placed in the context of the funeral sequence. The *portung*, the final stage of the mortuary rites provide a heightened atmosphere in which otherwise dormant aspects of society, such as the *pidik* associations, become the focus and in doing so bring definition to aspects of social interaction and continuity.

[1] *Nataka* is the Lak word for what is known throughout the region as *tubuan*. The Lak regularly use both terms in reference to the figures and the society. For the sake of clarity, throughout this chapter, the term *nataka* is used solely in reference to the figures, and *tubuan* is used to identify the society and complex.

Portung: Secondary Rites.

Removing Memories, Replacing People.

A substantial period of time may pass between the *todong* performance and the beginning of the *portung*.[2] Most *portung* take place within two to ten years of the primary rites. The period of time is determined by the host's resources and plans. *Sum* ('grief') has been removed through the course of the primary rites and is no longer a factor in the rites. It is *nambu* that necessitates the *portung*. Some informants describe *nambu* as 'memories' but discussions soon reveal the complex nature of the word. *Nambu* is used to describe objects previously owned by the deceased and places associated with them. As noted else where in Papua New Guinea (see Maschio 1994:204; Halvaksz 2003), food-bearing trees may be named after and thought to embody some of the spiritual energy of their planters. *Nambu*'s closest equivalent is *sum* but informants stress that *nambu* and *sum* are not the same thing. Just as the primary rites are responsible for the removal of *sum*, the secondary rites 'finish' the *nambu* and complete the work 'on top of' the deceased.[3]

The primary and secondary rites in Lak can be understood as attempts to reconstitute the deceased in a non-human form and, as Hertz has suggested, as an assertion of social order over death. Hertz describes mortuary rites as containing two phases – the removal of the individual and the reinstatement of society, which requires a successor to replace the deceased – and these reflect the two-stage structure of Lak rites (1960:76-86). Bloch and Parry associate mortuary rites with a desire for social order. They argue that the rites ensure the continuation of groups and the structures that sustain them by regrafting the social persona of the deceased onto another host (1982:3-4). The Lak simply refer to this process as 'finishing the dead', a frequently repeated phrase that encompasses what is expressed here as: reconstitution of the individual and reassertion of social order.

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[2] An older but still well-known and occasionally used term for the *portung* rites is *tangur putus*.
[3] As mentioned in chapter one, not all mortuary sequences involve secondary rites; these are normally reserved for leaders within the secret society and occasionally women of community significance.

The reconstitution of the deceased and the stature of the host are intimately bound in the process of the rites. The host is under considerable social pressure to correctly 'finish the dead', fulfil community expectations and 'finish talk' (cf. Clay, 1986: 120-121; Powdermaker, 1933: 313-14). A *kamgoi* ('Big Man') who undertakes a large *portung* will be the man most likely to succeed to the deceased's social role. In cases where there are several competing *kamgoi*, a cooperative compromise may be reached in which competitors co-host rites. Cooperation is the preferred method as it lessens the burden on an individual *kamgoi*'s resources and increases the host's ability to produce large and spectacular displays of wealth involving pigs and shell valuables. In addition cooperation helps to avoid the dangers inherent in the promotion of one individual over others.

The risks of sorcery attacks are acknowledged by *kamgoi* as part of the burden of success. Sorcery attacks, along with the potential dangers involved in dealing with the powerful *nataka* spirits, form part of the anticipated side-effects of any mortuary rite (cf. Errington, 1974: 238). Sorcery attacks may not necessarily be concentrated directly upon the host; his family and clan are all considered potential targets. Any deaths that take place in a host community in the weeks following a mortuary *kastom* are perceived as the result of sorcery attack. The problems incumbent in trying to produce an impressive event while avoiding accusations of rising too quickly are constant factors in the consideration of aspiring *kamgoi*. Preventative magic may be employed to pre-empt malicious attacks in combination with various other strategies.

The sheer size and complexity of the secondary rites mean that the preparatory stages are often lengthy and delays are inevitable. Hosts will regularly use these factors to their advantage and be ambiguous and duplicitous about their preparations. The host may even deliberately provide misinformation to maintain some of the intended mystery of the rites. While everyone in the region will be aware of the host's intentions, the actual dates and particulars of the rites are kept secret in order to preserve an element of surprise. Secrecy and revelation are something of a cultural theme and help to generate impact and ultimately a successful event.

Regardless of circumstances, a large secondary rite will devour most of the host's resources, including pigs, shell valuables, vegetables and, increasingly, cash needed to

cover the costs involved in transporting men and pigs to and from the host village. A host will call upon all of his debitors and exhaust any other cooperative alliances. The more *nataka* and men involved in the rites the greater the expense and risk but also the greater the potential fame.

A *portung* may involve participants from throughout Lak and members from neighbouring linguistic regions. Preparations for these large events are considerable and require well-honed organisational skill, large resources and a dependable body of labour. All of these can be obtained only by *kamgoi* who have already succeeded to a high level through consistent displays of largess and generosity, and an equal determination and skill in acquiring wealth. *Portung* are as a result performed only by senior *kamgoi* and form the highlight of their career.[4]

Setting The Stage

The first public sign that the secondary rites are imminent is the placement of the *balbal*, a leafless pole of between six and eight foot outside the hosting community's men's house. The *balbal* is ceremonially brought to the men's house grounds to the beat of the *garamut*. For many months prior to the placement of the *balbal*, members of the hosting and surrounding communities have been aware of the impending rites. The *sukai a balbal* ('to plant the *balbal*') requires a pig to be slaughtered and the meat distributed among women of the host village.[5]

A *galagala* may be erected at the same time to provide a display for shell money but, unlike the previous instance where *galagala* becomes the *lalamar* through the shell money contributions of community members, this *galagala* displays only the host's wealth. This point of difference is indicative of the shift in focus between the primary and secondary rites. This *galagala* doesn't display community *sum*; it is a display of

[4] A few *kamgoi* of regional renown can claim to have hosted several *portung*. These men are referred to as *tan a wol* ('big-men of *kastom*') and are respected as exceptional *kamgoi*.

[5] The *balbal* is cut from a tree of the same name; it is widely planted to provide shade and to rapidly establish boundary fences. The *balbal* cutting is stripped of any branches, the head is cut on an angle and the exposed wood of the tip painted red with *tar*. The capacity of the *balbal* tree to quickly establish roots and foliage from a cutting is probably a significant factor in why the plant is chosen for this role. By the time of the culminating celebrations, the *balbal* will have established new branches and a leaf-covered head.

personal wealth. The first *galagala* represented the relationships maintained between the contributors and the deceased. The second *galagala* represents only the host, his wealth and power.

On the same evening of the *sukai a balbal*, the *kamgar* performances begin and continue for several weeks until the final *ngasa* feast. During the previous *kamgar* performances, those that precede the *todong* feast, there could be no laughter or revelry and only *gar* songs were performed, the presence of *sum* imposed a restrained performance atmosphere. The *kamgar* performances that herald the *portung* are quite different. During the *portung kamgar*, *gar* songs are still the central part of the nightly performances but other songs are regularly performed and taught. Men and women laugh, joke and generally enjoy themselves in an atmosphere that is free of many of the normal social restrictions (see chapter four).

The *kamgar* continue for about two weeks depending on the host's plans. It is during this time that *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe') groups begin to prepare their dance performances. Women's dances play an important role in the *ngasa* rites, and all the women who participate receive a basket of cooked meat at the end of the *ngasa*. The men who accepted *nambu* items during the primary rites (see chapter one), referred to as *tan a ngasa* ('Big Men of the *ngasa*') are obligated to present a dance performance during the *ngasa*.[6]

Close to the time of the *ngasa* feast, the *tangur putus* is performed by the family of the deceased. This rite involves the destruction of items planted, associated or owned by the deceased. Items such as the house of the deceased, his garden or a bamboo bench used by him are destroyed. In cases where the objects are still in use, they may be symbolically broken, a branch of a tree may be cut off or a part of a house wall broken. The most important part of the *tangur putus* is the removal of the *tanget* (*cordyline terminalis*), the colourful shrub planted over the deceased's grave immediately following the burial. If the *talung* escorted the coffin to the grave, then the *talung* must remove the *tanget*. If *nataka* accompanied the coffin during the *porominat* ('Burial rites') , then *nataka* will reappear to 'finish' the deceased by

[6] Alternatively, if the *portung* involves the *tubuan* society the *tan a ngasa* may arrange for the *nataka* from their *taraiu* to attend the rites.

removing the *tanget* along with any other *nambu* items and carry them into the *taraiu* ('secret grounds'). Today headstones usually replace the *tanget* and permanently mark the grave. As a result the modern *portung* ('secondary') rites are sometimes referred to as 'cement' *kastoms*.[7]

On the night prior to the *ngasa* feast, dance performances are held in front of the *galagala*. As with all nighttime dances, anyone who wishes to present a performance can do so. Both male and female groups perform modern action songs, and more traditional *bohboh* and occasional mixed sex *bohboh* groups perform to the amusement of the audience.[8] When the prepared performances end, the final *kamgar* session begins and continues until sunrise.

On the morning of the *ngasa* as the stones for the ground oven are being heated in a large bonfire, each of the *tan a ngasa* bring their *muron minat* ('items of the deceased') to the fire and to the beat of the *garamut* take turns throwing the items into the flames. If a *tan a ngasa* wishes to keep his *muron minat*, he simply circles the fire and places the items in his basket. Each of the *tan a ngasa* have also provide a *sulai muron minat* ('reciprocating items of the deceased'), a pig as a contribution to the host's *ngasa* feast. When the pigs are cooked, they are placed on a stage (*ep long ngasa*) constructed especially for their display. The foreheads of the pigs are painted white with reef lime and their intestines hung from poles above the stage. Once the pigs have been arranged on the stage, the dancing begins.

Enter The Spirits

It is at this stage that the *portung* rites can differ dramatically in their content. If the deceased was a leader in the *tubuan* society the *ngasa* feast sets in motion several days and occasionally weeks of *nataka* displays.[9] The role of the *tubuan* in the *ngasa*

[7] The introduction of permanent headstones to mark graves seems to run against the dominant theme of Lak mortuary rites, that of 'finishing' and 'forgetting' or reconstituting the dead. However, it is interesting to note that none of the headstones that I saw in the region bore names. Unlike Western headstone memorials, designed to commemorate, Lak headstones are simply grave-markers. Like *nataka*, headstones symbolise ancestors without direct reference to individuals.
[8] See chapter five for a description of nocturnal dance events.
[9] *Tubuan* rites have many aspects in common with the *Malanggan* mortuary practices of Northern New Ireland as described by Powdermaker (1933:315) and Kuchler (2002:83-108).

rites is central to removing the *nambu* from the community. If the deceased was not associated with the *tubuan* society, the opening performance, the men's *mangis ngis kes* ('host community's dance troupe'), will remove the *nambu*. This dance will involve dancers who have undergone a long period of *kunubok* ('isolation and fasting') and may include costume or accoutrements that are perceived as particularly powerful. A *ngasa* witnessed in Wilo village in 2004 was opened by a *koolau* dance, an infrequently performed dance that features *pampam nalakor*, large handheld props featuring the carved image of the *nataka*. Because of the blatant representation of the sacred image, the dance is considered especially powerful and consequently a fitting substitute for *nataka* DVD Chapter 9: *Koolau*. The men's dance is followed by the women's *mangis ngis kes* and then the *tar mangis ngis* groups from other participating communities.

During *portung* rites that do involve the *tubuan* society, only women present dances in front of the men's house while the men watch DVD Chapter 13: *Goigoi*. As the women perform, the pigs are lifted from the stage and under the watchful eye of the host, carefully cut into large segments. When the dancing has finished, several rows of coconut fronds are laid on the ground with loose woven baskets placed at regular intervals. Informants often describe *ngasa* as food distributions to women, indicating the importance of this particular feature of the rites. All the pork is divided evenly in piles to be distributed to women. When the host is finally satisfied with how the meat has been distributed, the baskets are carried to the women, an act known as *sasak* (literally 'to give women meat'). Once the women from surrounding communities have their baskets of meat, they are free to return to their villages; however most stay and await the arrival of the *nataka*.

***Mat A Matam*: The Dead Come And Look.**

The entrance of the *nataka* into the village space is always an impressive, awe-inspiring and dangerous event for men and women. There are two methods by which the *nataka* can arrive in the village: *kinirot* or *kinivai*. *Kinirot* describes their entrance into the village on foot and *kinivai* their arrival from the sea. *Kinivai* is the preferred

means of transportation as the giant figures can be watched from a safe distance as they dance in the canoes or boats that carry them slowly toward the shore (plate 39).

Plate 39 **A *yain pidik* and *nantoi* of the host community welcome *nataka* from visiting *taraiu* as they *kinavai* their way toward Siar beach**

Most *tubuan* events involve *nataka* from several different *taraiu* ('secret grounds'), and it is those from visiting *taraiu* that enter the village via *kinivai*. The *nataka* who *kinivai* (normally no more than three or four), two to each vessel, stand with their legs firmly braced against wooden struts, lashed inside their craft, for support. The boats also carry members of the visiting *taraiu* who sing *kapialai* and beat *kundu* as they approach the beach. The dance performed by *nataka* during *kinivai* is entirely in the upper body as the legs remain stationary. The movements of the *nataka* are tightly synchronised and involve rapid turns, twists and bends DVD Chapter 14: *Nataka kinavai*. Two audience groups on the beach watch the display closely: women and children remain on the village side of the beach; and men closer to the sea. While they watch the *nataka* dance, *Yain pidik* ('senior ritual adepts') *bokbok* in the shallows to welcoming the *kinivai* groups ashore.

The *kinivai* performances normally last for about half an hour, during which time the *nataka* dance almost continuously with only brief rests in between *kapialai*. Accounts of the famed 'lightness' of the *nataka* include descriptions of six *nataka* dancing in a single canoe or their ability to almost walk on water buoyed only by four coconuts lashed together. Consistent with the discussions in the previous chapter, *nataka* must exhibit a 'lightness' equivalent to their status as spirits. When the vessels carrying the visiting *nataka* and the men of their *taraiu* come to shore, the *nataka* leap from the boats and begin to perform a particular sequence of movements known as *malamala*. *Malamala* occur each time that *nataka* meet *Yain pidik*.[10] Described in more detail below, the *malamala* involves a series of leaps, stylised footwork and a 360° turn. In response to the *malamala*, *Yain pidik* of the hosting *taraiu* perform an energetic *bokbok*, leaping while holding a large spear, *sur* (literally 'bone'), which is wielded aggressively. The visiting *nataka* eventually follow the *Yain pidik* who brandishes the *sur* up the beach.[11] Simultaneously several *nataka* from the host community *kinirot* their way along the beach from the local *taraiu* (led by a *Yain pidik* holding another *sur*) and head toward the visiting group. This is a moment of importance, highly anticipated and particularly dangerous for both the audience and participants. As the two groups of *nataka* converge, the *Yain pidik* leading each of the groups steps to one side to avoid what will follow. Without warning the leading *nataka* of one of the two groups throws a projectile at the opposing group, which immediately responds in kind. The result is a large powder plume of varying colours that hangs above the converging groups before drifting away.[12] Women and children are particularly cautious to avoid contact with the powder cloud and carefully select an upwind position from which to watch as the *kambung* is believed to cause sickness and potentially death. When the two groups of *nataka* have passed through each other under the cloud of powder they reform as one group and are led by the *Yain pidik* away from the beach to the village space.

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[10] In most cases only the leading *nataka*, the *nantoi*, will perform the exchange on the beach.

[11] *Sur*, sometimes called *kior* ('spear') are made from a hard wood sharpened to a point and with a bone attached to the rear. Previously the bone would be from a deceased *Yain pidik* but today cassowary leg bones are substituted. Each sub-clan has it own totemic *sur* that is part of the group's *marisoi* ('ritual knowledge or possessions').

[12] From a distance it appears that both of the *Kambung* projectiles are thrown at the same time but in fact one is a challenge and the other is a response. The challenging projectile is duplicitous and may contain dangerous magic or an antidote. The projectile thrown in response will always be of a pacifying nature and is referred to as *siaro* ('to make sleep'). The *siaro* negates any dangerous power that may be contained within the first projectile.

The entire arrival sequence is known as the *mat a matam* ('the dead come and look'). The *mat a matam* is the first time the deceased's *nataka* has been seen since the *porominat* ('burial') rites years previously. It is an emotional time particularly for the senior men and women present. Older women wail on such occasions because they look upon the *nataka* of the deceased and see the transformed spirit/ancestor that the mask now encompasses, the deceased for whom the rites are being held and other deceased whose relational identity the mourners have shared. By participating in the *mat a matam*, the deceased's *nataka* shows itself to be *sum*-free in a similar way that grid dances do the same for people.

Once in the village the group may be joined by more *nataka* from the host village who *kinirot* their way out of the *taraiu*. During the *mat a matam* sequence, the accompanying *Yain pidik* make a lot of noise, constantly calling to their *nataka* and issuing instructions in their secret language. The *dukduk* and *koropor* (see chapter two for a description of *nataka* figures) join the others when they reach the village. When all of the *nataka* are assembled, the *wo* begins. The *wo* involves a split of the *nataka* into moiety groups and then a reformation into a long line with the two moieties meeting in the middle. The *wo* involves a hopping action in time with a *kundu* beat. A series of hops are made on one leg followed by a quick change to the other leg (plate 40). During the hopping motions the entire line curls itself into a spiral shape.[13] A senior *Yain pidik* will lead the procession beating a slow repeating rhythmic phrase to which other *Yain pidik* respond in hocket with calls of "wo, wo, wo ...".

[13] *Wo* only occur in rites where there are ten or more *nataka* present.

Plate 40 ***Nataka* performing the *wo* in front of the men's house in Siar**

The procession of *nataka* is led around the village by several *Yain pidik,* visiting the house and the grave of the deceased being honoured in the rites where the *Yain pidik* remove the marking *tanget* and any boards or planks that were used in the construction of the headstone and concrete grave overtop. These items represent the final work that has been completed in honour of the dead. Like the *nambu* items disposed of earlier in the day, these items are collectively referred to as *sur* ('bones'). The *nataka* remove the 'bones', with the assistance of the *Yain pidik*, and carry them into the *taraiu*, symbolically removing the last earthly remains of the deceased and allowing the spirit to join with the *nataka.*[14] All the *nataka* retire to the *taraiu* and reappear a short time later.

When the *nataka* return, they once again *malamala* as they approach the *Yain pidik* and dance around the perimeter of the men's house before sitting with their backs to the *taraiu*, facing the women who watch the proceedings from a distance. When all the *nataka* are seated, the *dok* begins. The *dok* ('payment') consists of one *pinas* ('ten fathom lengths of roped shell money') for each *nataka.* One at a time *pinas* are

[14] In the past this process involved the deceased's skeletal remains being taken into the *taraiu* (see footnote 22 chapter 1).

removed from the *galagala* by the *Yain pidik* associated with the *nataka*, and swinging the *pinas* above their head they lash the shell money against their *nataka*'s body (plate 41). This process is repeated by each of the *nataka* owners until all of the figures have received the *dok* and the *pinas* secured to the side of their bodies. Once the *nataka* have been paid, they make their way back to the *taraiu* completing the *mat a matam*.

Plate 41 **Receiving payment. *Yain pidik* whip *nataka* with ropes of shell money (*pinas*)**

During the *mat a matam*, the initiated men who are not *Yain pidik* ('senior adepts') watch the proceedings from the *taraiu* side of the men's house while the women, children and non-initiated observe from a greater distance on the village side. During the *mat a matam* and *dok* sequence, older women may venture close to the seated *nataka* while wailing. Because they are no longer reproductive, older women are without the fear that keeps the younger women at a distance. *Nataka* pose the greatest

threat to young women of child-bearing age and may cause sickness, death, miscarriage and deformity as a result of any contact with residual material which may have fallen off the figures or even from staring for too long at the spirit's eyes. Consequently pregnant women will remain at the greatest distance if they attend at all. Other women, girls and small children watch from a safe distance in a large group. Only older women venture forward in the performance of their very public laments. It is openly accepted by men that all women have a part to play in the *mat a matam* and the events that follow. Their presence validates the performance because without an audience no revelation can take place. Tobusai describes the role of women in the *tubuan* rites:

> Women must go and see the *nataka* dance; it is not just for men to enjoy. That would be silly, the *nataka* are supposed to bring happiness... It's true that women must not stand too close or look too hard but they must come and see.
>
> (Transcribed and translated from field notes.)

Women are not simply invited to the *mat a matam* and dancing sessions that follow; they are obligated to attend. Confusingly, *nataka* demand contradictory responses from the female population. Women must attend but must not 'look too hard' as they may become unwell as a result. The *nataka* are feared by women and non-initiates and, to an extent, this fear is encouraged as part of the maintenance of the *pidik* but events of recent years have in the eyes of many senior adepts caused non-initiates to become too fearful of the *nataka*. In the past decade the deaths of several small children in the wake of *portung* ('secondary rites') events have escalated fear to what many men consider an unreasonable level. The deaths were attributed to the *kambung* thrown during the arrival sequence of the *mat a matam*. The result has been female avoidance of attendance, creating a quandary that male members of the *tubuan* society fear might result in the society's loss of relevance. The *tubuan* society needs women to perform their role as audience, legitimising *nataka* dance. Today women are encouraged to attend but constantly reminded to maintain a safe distance.

The *nataka* reappear in the village a short time after the *dok*, to collect the initiated men. Only some of the *nantoi* figures enter the village this time to *burbur*

('ritualistically beat the initiates') with three-foot long wooden batons to allow them entry into the *taraiu* ('secret grounds'). The *burbur* (literally to 'sleep') can be understood as a symbolic killing of the initiates allowing the living to join the dead in the realm of the spirits, the *taraiu*. The *burbur sup* ('beating to enter') begins with the hosting *Yain pidik* who takes up the *sur* spear and *bokboks* his way toward the *nantoi* who stand in a line swinging their batons and dancing on the spot. [15] As the *Yain pidik* approaches a *nantoi*, he turns to face away from the line of *nataka* and thrusts the spear into the ground (plate 42). Keeping his hands on the spear, he leans over, his hands stretched in front to expose his back to one of the *nantoi* behind him. Once in this position the *Yain pidik* must remain absolutely still until he has received two blows from the baton of a *nataka*. The *nataka* take their time dancing forward and then retreating before finally inflicting the blows. When the host has been beaten, all of the *Yain pidik* follow and receive two blows and when the *Yain pidik* are finished all of the other adepts take turns and receive one blow each (plate 43).

Plate 42 Gabriel, a *Yain pidik* holds a *sur* as he prepares to receive a blow. All three *nantoi* in the background are brandishing sticks to perform the *burbur*

[15] This style of *bokbok* performed during *nataka* rites by *Yain pidik* differs subtly from those performed by *kamgoi* on other occasions. *Yain pidik* perform with the *sur* in hand yelling phrases only comprehensible to senior adepts and *nataka*.

Plate 43 Every member of the *pidik* society must receive a blow from the *nataka* as the women of the community look on from a distance

The *burbur sup* is an important moment for neophytes as it is the first time they receive blows in front of women and non-initiates. The new initiates have been watching the proceedings from among the women. When the other adepts have received the *burbur*, the *Yain pidik* and other senior males retrieve the new comers from among the women. On these occasions women cry and struggle to hold onto the boys but they are eventually pulled free by the men and taken to the *nataka* to be beaten. Once the initiates have received the *burbur*, they quickly disappear into the *taraiu* and are not seen again until the rights are completed.

An Image Of Power

The *nataka* present a difficult epistemological problem to cultural outsiders. For the Lak *nataka* are spiritual entities and ancestral representations and, on another level, men in elaborate costume. Comprehending how the Lak are capable of balancing and maintaining these apparently contradictory understandings is essential in coming to terms with the deeper realities of Lak society. For women *nataka* are fearsome and

unpredictable but also familiar, intriguing and engaging. The rules that govern the conduct of women during *tubuan* rites are diligently observed out of respect and fear of the *nataka* and the *pidik* society. However, women also watch *tubuan* proceedings with interest. They closely observe which men are performing which roles during the *mat a matam* and watch intently who *doks* ('payment') which figure to ascertain ownership and relationships between men and *nataka*. Women may also quietly whisper to their neighbour suspicions over whose legs support which *nataka*.

From an initiate's point of view the *tubuan* are no less complex a phenomena; the power of the spirits is more dangerous to those who know its *pidik* and retributive acts upon initiated who are indiscreet are harsh. Initiation into the secret society does not reveal all its secrets to adepts and in many ways the *pidik* only becomes more complex and mysterious to initiates. To Lak the spirits are an image of unseen power that require cooperation with men in order to become substantial. They cannot be described simply as ancestral beings; while it is true that this is in part what the figures depict, they are not specifically associated with deceased individuals. For all who participate in Lak society, the *nataka* are not simply spirits, men, ancestors or masks, they are all of these things and consequently greater than the sum of their parts. What *nataka* are and what exactly they represent to the Lak cannot be simply summarised. It is through a detailed description of what the figures do that a level of understanding may be achieved.

Dance costume and accoutrements have been shown to be the medium for spiritual display, association and containment. The *nataka* takes this to another level usurping the man and replacing his identity with that of something bigger. *Nataka* encompass the identities of their previous owners, their present *Yain pidik* and many deceased clan members. In this way *nataka* are the ultimate transformation. Men who dance in *lebung* spend weeks in *kunabok*, preparing to present their spiritual capacity in dance. *Nataka* performances require even greater preparation periods, and the result is a total transformation. As described above, when the *nataka* remove the *sur* ('bones') of the deceased during the *mat a matam*, they carry the last remnants of the deceased with them into the *taraiu* where his spiritual being is amalgamated with the *nataka*. The immortal nature of the *nataka* spirits means that each time they are incarnate and appear in the village, their presence recalls generations of deceased ancestors in the

minds of the living. They are remembered, not as individuals, because their individual existence has long since been 'finished' but as generic ancestral beings. Similar to the Wahgi who build sacred structures on posts that never decay to symbolise a clan's immortality, the *nataka* spirit figures act as a bridge through time. Decades may pass between their incarnations but they remain unchanged and as constant as society (O'Hanlon 1989:78). In this way the figures represent and celebrate social survival in a particularly Lak way. As a consequence, *nataka* form a central image in Lak society and, as I have shown, resonate in other areas where identity and power are on display (cf. Epstein 1992: 242-3).

The *tubuan* society has been an important part of Lak society and identity for many years.[16] The form of the *nataka* and the power associated with it resonates through the culture in images and perceptions. The *pidik* is so ingrained in Lak existence and so important to local perceptions that it is an indispensable part of society. The changes that have come about in recent decades and seen the emergence of *kastom* as a cultural category (see chapter one: The work of *kabatarai*) have bolstered the importance of the *nataka* in the eyes of the Lak. The Lak claim to be and are widely recognised as the originators of the *tubuan* society. Like other power practices in the archipelago, such as the *Tene Buai*, *talung*, *wah* and *ingiet*, the practice's success is gauged by its proliferation. The Lak region's close affiliation with this successful power practice has promoted associations between the linguistic group and power.[17]

The Dance Of The *Nataka*.

In the late afternoon on the same day as the *mat a matam*, the *nataka* emerge from the *taraiu* once again. This time they enter the village space to perform the action for which they are most renowned. Dancing is what the *nataka* do for the remaining duration of the rites, and the figures are predominantly defined by their role as dancing spirits (plate 44). They perform in groups accompanied by *Yain pidik* ('senior ritual adepts')who sing and beat *kundu* drums. Unlike the dances performed by men

[16] Many early descriptions of the Lak region include descriptions of *nataka* figures, such as Mouton 1974, which shows that the nataka were well-established in the region prior to European contact. (see also Albert 1987b: 27-30).

[17] Although the Lak region is widely known in the Southern New Ireland and Eastern New Britain areas as the birthplace of *tubuan*, the Tolai of East New Britian are the *pidik* societies' most famous practitioners due to their location in the Island region's largest towns.

and women *nataka* do not form grids; they dance in their own space orientated in such a way that the accompanying *kundu* group are at the front. It is in their dance movements and the way the *nataka* walk and move that their essence can be perceived. *Nataka* movements reflect their spiritual nature, whether dancing or walking all their locomotion is stylised. Like male dancers who aim to project an image of 'lightness' in their buoyant and bouncy actions, the movements of the *nataka* involve predominantly vertically orientated movements. The *Tok Pisin* words *kalap* and *kalkalap* (to 'jump' and 'hop') are used frequently to describe *nataka* movements. It is easy to see why these terms are appropriate when *nataka* are seen in motion, their large bodies serve to highlight movements as each action results in a flurry of vertical movement and flapping leaves.

Plate 44 ***Nataka* dancing**

Plate 45 The bodies of the *nataka* generate loud rustling and swishing sounds as they perform the boisterous and vigorous motions of the dance

The rhythmic aspect of the dance is visually articulated in the *nataka* bodies as their leafy bulk moves in time to the music. The *nataka* bodies also produce a beat of their own, the bouncing motion produces a staccato 'whoosh' each time the leaves strike the side of the figure (plate 45). At other times the *nataka* bend forward from the waist and make rapid side-to-side movements that produce rustling sounds in time with the *kundu* beat. These aspects of the *tubuan* performance underline the strong rhythmic facet of the music and dance. All the movements of the *nataka*, whether walking or dancing, are intended to promote the impression of 'lightness'. The 'lightness' of the *nataka* in dance and general locomotion is characterised by a bounce in the legs and flick in the foot during the weight transfer from one leg to the other. This is a characteristic action of *nataka* movement seen most clearly in the *malamala*.

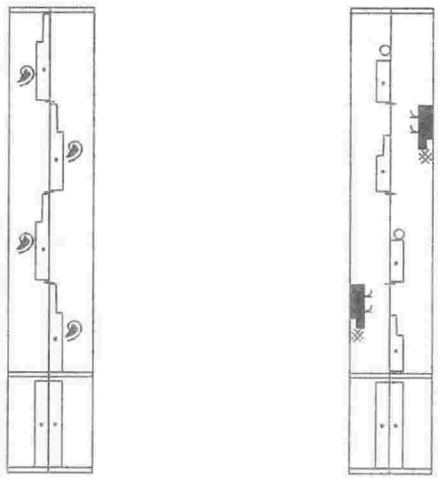
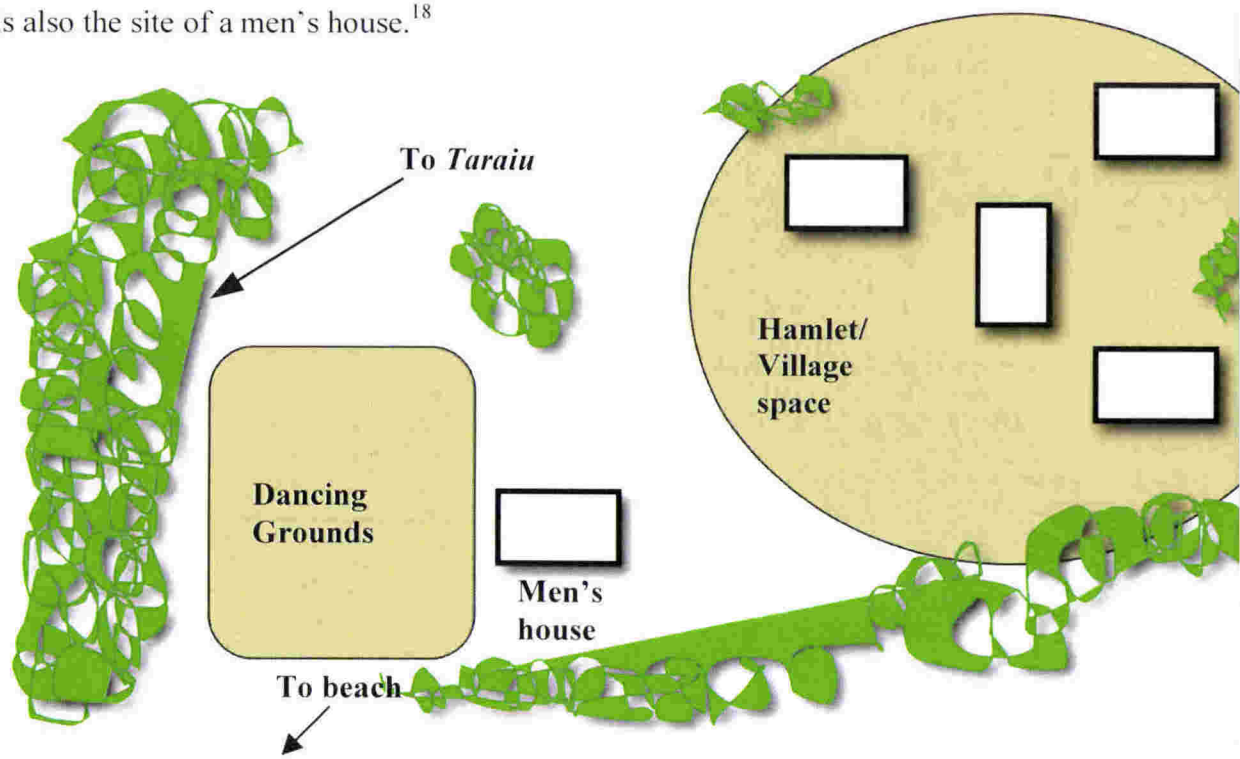


Figure 15 The *tubuan*'s normal mode of locomotion (left), and the hopping and flicking of the opposite leg motions performed when the spirits are excited at key moments in the ritual proceedings (right)

For the duration of the secondary rites, from the *mat a matam* until the release of the men from the *taraiu* ('secret grounds'), the *nataka* emerge from the *taraiu* three times a day to dance in front of an audience of women, children and non-initiated. *Nataka* dancing always takes place in the area at the edge of the *taraiu* that in many villages is also the site of a men's house.[18]



Map 6 Siar village

[18] This common arrangement creates a space at the edge of the village that is only accessible to men. It ensures a degree of privacy and allows men to come and go from the *taraiu* without being noticed.

During the rites *Yain pidik* ('senior ritual adepts') are the only men allowed to move freely between the *taraiu* and village, exercising the same powers as the *nataka* figures. *Yain pidik* also exercise control over the *nataka* and are the only humans capable of communicating with *nataka*. In the early morning soon after sunrise on the day following the *ngasa* food distributions *Yain pidik* gather in the awning of the men's house and chew *buai* quietly while waiting for others to arrive. Within twenty minutes a large group of *Yain pidik* have gathered and while some of the men set to work on tightening the lizard skin membranes of the *kundu*, one of their number begins to beat the *garamut* rhythm (*se ai uti nataka*), used to call the *nataka* to dance.

Kapialai singing begins immediately regardless of whether the *nataka* have emerged from the bush (plate 46). All *nataka* performances begin with an introductory *kapialai* known as *ten der mora lom*. The *ten der mora lom* is known as the *lamlam* of all *kapialai*, or 'introduction to *kapialai*', and all *nataka* performances begin with this song. Unlike all other *kapialai* that are structured in the same way as other traditional genre and include *lamlam* and two or three *pukun* (see chapters three and five), *ten der mora lom* contains no *lamlam* section and simply consists of three *pukun* sections. Informants explain that *ten der mora lom* has no *lamlam* because the song acts as a *lamlam* for all *kapialai*. As the *nataka* emerge from the *taraiu*, they may dance around the perimeter of the men's house and even venture into the village where they move between houses or complete a circuit of the village. The *nataka* visit the village every morning for the duration of the rites, a gesture of their constant presence in the village and their control over the people in it.[19] When the *nataka* return to the men's house, they *malamala* in front of the *Yain pidik* and begin to dance. *Nataka* normally dance for two or three *kapialai* before returning to the *taraiu* and reappearing a short time later to continue.

[19] Modern *tubuan* events held during secondary rites typically last for between three and five days but occasionally rites may continue for several weeks.

Plate 46 ***Yain pidik* singing *kapialai* in the shelter of the men's house**

Like male and female dance, *nataka* dance forms are highly structured. All *kapialai* begin with the *toi kundu*, a repeating three-beat pattern, sounded on the *kundu* drum. A typical dance begins with the introduction, *lamlam*. During the *lamlam*, *nataka* move about the dance grounds freely. There is no pattern of movement to the *lamlam*, the *nataka* simply weave their way across the plaza and between the other figures, changing direction and speed as they please. As the first *pukun* begins, in unison the *nataka* turn away from the *kundu* group and dance their way to the far end of the plaza. Once the *nataka* reach the rear of the plaza, they begin to work their way forwards again and during their advance the *um-mu-mi* is performed. All *kapialai* contain sections of choreography that are individual to them; these sections are known as *pukun kundu*, a unique *kundu* pattern to which a series of movements called *um-mu-mi* are performed. Each *kapialai* contains unique variations of the *pukun kundu* drum pattern and *um-mu-mi* choreography. While the *pukun kundu* is unique to the particular *kapialai* (unlike *pinpit* sections), the *um-mu-mi* choreography is not original or recently composed. The *um-um-mi* actions normally consist of a series of three or four distinct movements. These for example, might involve: the *nataka* bending over from the waist and while in this position twisting the upper body to face left and then right; performing a figure eight in the air with the upper body in one

fluid movement, then hopping on one leg while revolving 360°, and finally kicking forward with each leg in turn. When all of the *nataka* figures turn towards the rear of the plaza and begin to dance their way back, the *pukun kundu* finishes and the normal rhythm resumes. When the *nataka* reach the back of the plaza, they turn and begin to dance forward again until the *pukun kundu* starts over. The performances provided on the DVD provide examples of *nataka* dance structure DVD Chapters 15: *Nataka kapialai* performance.

In most cases the next and all following *pukun kundu* will be the same. However, there are exceptions. Some *kapialai* contain a series of *pukun kundu* patterns and *um-mu-mi* choreography to match. With most *kapialai*, the *pukun kundu* is repeated several times followed by the *pukun potorrin* ('second *pukun*'). If the *kapialai* has two *pukun*, each will have its own *pukun kundu* and *um-mu-mi* and be performed in the same manner as the previous *pukun*. When the singers decide that the song should finish, one of the *Yain pidik* will indicate that the current repetition is the final one by producing a hissing sound. *Kapialai*, like other songs in the region, don't simply come to a stop: a degree of fading dynamics and slowing in tempo helps to give the feeling of completion. Among male performers this effect is known as *ongori* ('to lead out').

The *nataka* dance for as long as the *Yain pidik* continue to sing *kapialai*. The gap between the songs is usually only brief, a matter of seconds, while the men decide which song will follow. During performances, *Yain pidik* continuously call to the *nataka*. The figures are addressed by their individual names, comments are made in the language of the *nataka*, and instructions given consist of commonly heard, but indecipherable, phrases such as *taragau*, *i tukali*, *i leke*, *o te bung* and *togali tobung*. The phrases are intoned in specific ways; the pitch and speed of calls are as important as the words they contain. All of the calls are instructive but their meanings are carefully guarded as part of the *tubuan pidik*. Often during performances *Yain pidik* will get up from their place among the drummers and venture forth onto the dance plaza to *bokbok* among the *nataka* or simply wander between the dancing figures. Such actions are often displays of confidence and power for the benefit of the women

watching. Only the most senior of the *Yain pidik* dare to move among the *nataka* while they dance.

The atmosphere among the *Yain pidik* is often one of excitement; *nataka* performances are for these senior adepts events of considerable anticipation. *Nataka* dancing rarely takes place, and the events generate a *langoron* (state of excitement or euphoria generated in association with music and dance') type reaction in these older men. As in other dance events, the number of *nataka* present increases the impact of the performance. Large secondary rites involving many *nataka* are emotionally poignant events for *Yain pidik* who are reminded of the *kamgoi* ('Big Men') that they succeeded each time they see the individual faces of the *nataka*. The emotion, excitement and air of celebration is often overtly present in the atmosphere, and during these performances it is clear that the *Yain pidik* gain considerable satisfaction from the events. After an hour or so of singing, the performance is brought to an end by another *garamut* rhythm (*se ai soi ep nataka*). Two more performances are held on the same day, one in the early afternoon and another in the hour before dusk. The afternoon session is usually the longest; it involves all the *nataka* and is witnessed by the largest audience. The pattern of dancing described here continues for as long as the rites do.

The styles of dance performed by the *nataka* differ slightly according to the type of *nataka*. The female *nantoi* figures and the *koropor* often lean over and bend forward from the waist but the children of the *nantoi*, the eyeless *dukduk*, never lean forward. *Dukduk* always remain vertical and perform different actions to *nantoi* and *koropor* during *um-mu-mi* sections of *kapialai*. However, consistent with their role as children, the *dukduk* perform in a much more buoyant and bouncing manner than the more senior spirits.

Following the dance sessions, several *Yain pidik* walk over the dancing area to collect any residue material that may have fallen off the *nataka*. The task is performed diligently because of the threat that the material poses to the female population of the village.

Sounds Of Power

Gender, Sound And Space

As explained above (chapter three), certain geographical areas are associated with specific sounds. The village, as the hub of domestic activity, is associated with the sounds of animals, children, women's songs and non-traditional song forms, such as popular music and Christian songs; men also maintain a space at the edge of the village in the men's house (*pal*). The village is also a gendered space (see chapter one) associated with women. The uninhabited jungle areas beyond the gardens and away from the paths that lead between communities are associated with the sounds of insects, avifauna, men's dances and spiritual beings.

The presence of the *nataka* changes the aural atmosphere of the village and its adjoining areas similarly to the way that a death affects the sound environment (see chapter four). No loud sounds should be produced during *portung* ('secondary') rites; children are encouraged to play quietly, and no laughing, singing or calling is tolerated. As with *sum* ('grief') observances, the *tubuan* require a respectful silence to prevail over the village during their occupancy. The *tubuan* demand community attention, and other sound events act as distractions.[20] During their occupation of the *taraiu* ('secret grounds'), *nataka* also alter the aural environment in other ways.

During *portung* ('secondary') rites three distinct sound environments are established. These spaces can be simply defined as the village space, the dancing grounds, and the *taraiu* (see map 6 above). The presence of the *tubuan* in the *taraiu* is announced night and day for the duration of the rights through a distinct pattern of sound. The cry of the *tubuan*, the *takaun*, is a high pitched 'woop woop woop' call that continues for between ten and thirty seconds. Throughout the rites this is the only sound that will issue from the *taraiu* CD Track 13: *Takaun*. The *takaun* call serves to aurally define the realm of the *nataka* and act as a constant reminder to those in the village of the spirits' presence. As the *takaun* is the only vocal sound produced by *nataka* and it is

[20] Individuals who breach of the *nataka* peace may be fined by either the *nataka* or *talung* societies.

only made in the *taraiu*, the sound is closely linked to the spirits. At a more symbolic level, the *taraiu* can be seen as representing the realm of the ancestors, especially during the heightened atmosphere of the *portung*.

Next to the *taraiu* is the dancing ground, which can be seen as the gateway between the *taraiu* and village, the realms of the spirits and the living. To enter the village, *Yain pidik* and *nataka* must leave the *taraiu* and pass through the dancing grounds. It is in this liminal space between the living and the dead that the *nataka* perform their dances. All *nataka* dancing takes place exclusively in this area, just as it is the only public place in which *kapialai* can be sung. The music and dance produced in this area is literally the combined product of men and spirits. In this way the dancing ground becomes a liminal space where spirits can cross over to move among the living, and the living can view the performance of the spirits. This is also true of traditional men's dances during the *todong* sequence. These dances during an earlier stage of the mortuary rites are also likely to have been performed on the same dancing grounds. The men's dances of the primary rite, as discussed in chapter four, are also deeply spiritual undertakings and benefit from the status of the venue as a liminal space between two realms.

The liminal space of the dancing ground and the men's house can be understood as figuratively and practically the essence of masculinity for the Lak. It has been shown that men seek to dwell in between the realms of the reproductive human and immortal spirits. It is not just during the preparations for performance that this ideal of masculinity exists. At all times men seek to minimise their contact with women by sleeping in the men's house and engaging predominantly in male activities; most men are careful to avoid prolonged association with women. Dance performances and the *nataka* heighten the perceptions of maleness that exists in the daily interactions of community members.

Women, children and uninitiated males occupy the aural realm of the village, their movements and activities are restricted to this realm for the duration of the rites. At the beginning of the *portung* rites, the women of the host village and surrounding communities perform their dances on the village side of the dancing grounds. Their performances define the limits of the village space, making the physical and aural

boundary of their space. Each morning of the *tubuan* rites, shortly after sunrise, the *nataka* figures venture into the village and parade around the periphery of the houses. This daily occurrence is performed for the benefit of the women who watch the proceedings quietly from inside their houses. As discussed above, women are in many ways the antithesis of the *nataka* who are 'light' in opposition to the 'heaviness' of women. *Nataka* are immortal and women are reproductive. *Nataka* dwell in the *taraiu*, a geographical space that is in contrast with the village. During *tubuan* rites (and other traditional dance context) men exhibit while women observe. There are clearly region wide associations between masculinity and display, and femininity and reception. Women are the audience whose presence justifies *nataka* performance. Just as dance and the *tubuan* rites intensify and focus Lak perceptions of masculinity, femininity is also promoted as a result of the *tubuan* rites. The three realms of sound that are created during the *tubuan* rites are indicative of deep social and cultural understandings and expectations. They reflect gender roles and associations between gender and geographical space. In the same way that women and men's dances display community relations and aspects of relational identity, *nataka* dances display social and cultural identities and relationships.

Hiding The Words In Their Sounds: *Tubuan* Songs.

There are three types of song performed by *Yain pidik* during *tubuan* events. The most frequent is the *kapialai*, of which there are literally thousands of examples in Southern New Ireland and East New Britain CD Tracks 14 &15: *Kapialai*. The other *tubuan* song forms, *kabakawer* and *mambo* are considerably less well known CD Tracks 16 & 17: *Kabakawer* & *Mamboo*. Most *taraiu* in Lak have a repertoire of between thirty and fifty songs, consisting predominantly of *kapialai*, a few *kabakawer* and occasionally one or two *mamboo*. *Mamboo* are the oldest *tubuan* songs and the accompanying dance bears similarities to an ancient male dance genre, the *tukul*, in which men dance in a revolving circle around a central *garamut*. *Mamboo* don't involve *garamut* but, like *tukul*, consist of rapid hopping movements. *Kabakawer* are danced in a similar style to *kapialai*; the differences between *kabakawer* and *kapialai* are found in the melodic and rhythmic structure of the music. *Tubuan* song and dance styles change over time according to the musical tastes and fashions of performers. The once popular *tukul*

dances are rarely seen in modern Lak; their position has been usurped by *lebung*. Similarly *kabakawer* and *mamboo* have given way to *kapialai*. Today *kapialai* are regarded as special by adepts of the *tubuan* society; the songs are held in high esteem and favoured above other song forms. Part of the special regard in which *kapialai* are held is undoubtedly due to their origin.

All *tubuan* songs are believed to originate from *tanruan* spirits and come to men through *Buai* magic. Unlike other song forms that can originate from human or spiritual sources, *kapialai* and other *tubuan* songs are exclusive to the supernatural, and this may be why *kapialai* are among the most lyrically indecipherable song forms in the region. Archaic, spiritual and secret words abound in *kapialai* song lyrics. Because of their status as the songs of *tubuan* and their origins from among the spiritual beings, *kapialai* are perceived as particularly powerful songs and as a result their performance circumstances and performance style are carefully regulated. The only time that *kapialai* can be performed by a group of men outside of the *taraiu* is during *tubuan* rites.[21] Even during *natraka* rites precautions are taken to maintain *pidik*. The problem is as Lak males express it: "women are smart and capable of learning quickly" (translated and transcribed from a recorded interview with Christian Dokon). This problem represents the inevitable challenge faced by the *pidik* society. *Pidik*s ('secrets') need to be displayed to non-initiates in order to show their power but each display or performance risks revelation and the potential erosion of the *pidik*'s power. Control over the form and materials of the *nataka* is maintained through strict laws governing their use. Only male dances can employ the *nataka* form in *kangal* or wear *kamruruan* around their necks (see chapter five), and those who use the image and materials in an inappropriate or unacceptable fashion risk sorcery attack and sanctioning by the *tubuan*'s own court. With *kapialai* the task of controlling the dissemination of the music is more difficult, given the perceived ability of women to 'learn quickly'.

The *tubuan* society aims to overcome this problem by 'hiding the words in their sounds': that is, by removing the consonant sounds from the lyrics and singing through the vowel sounds. The practice is known as *moh ep saksak* (literally 'to blur

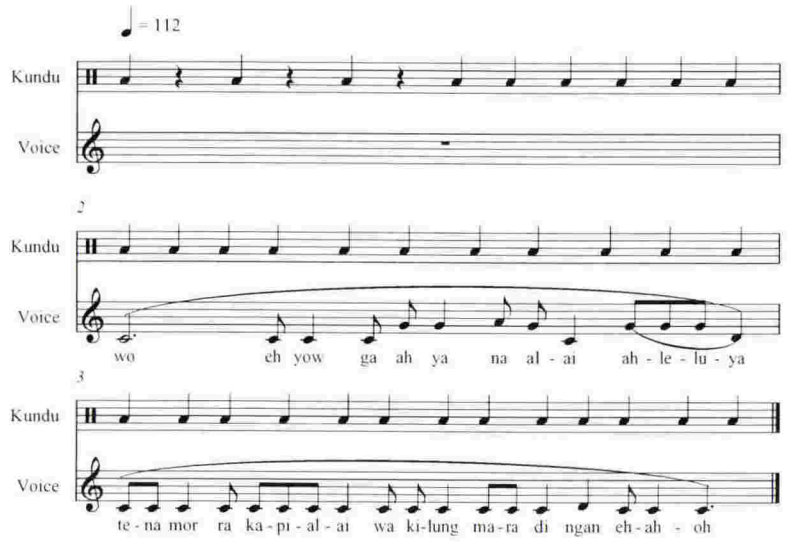
[21] *Kapialai* were at times informally sung for me during recording sessions in men's houses outside of the village to ensure privacy.

the song') making it difficult for audiences to understand the words. The results render a word like 'hallelujah' into 'ah-eh-oh-ya' making it incomprehensible. Some performers describe the technique as 'holding the words in the mouth' which accurately describes the vocal timbre produced. The sounds are allowed to resonate in the oral and nasal cavity while the lips and tongue remain relatively passive in the pronunciation of the consonants. Despite the *moh ep saksak* technique, some words are still decipherable and as with magic songs, these words carry their own meaning in the context of the *kapialai*. Prestige words such as *tangara* ('ancestor'), *manigoulai* ('big pidgin moiety'), *tubuan*, *kapialai* and *pidik* remain audible and hint toward obscured meanings.

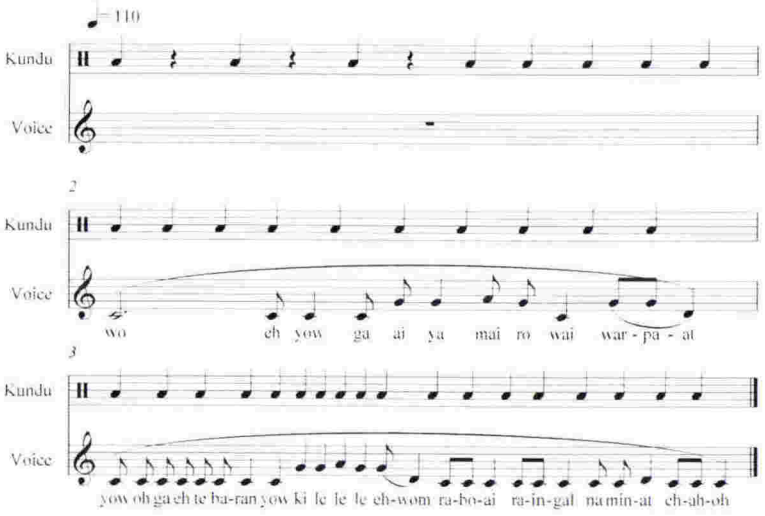
Like the *nataka* figures, *kapialai* songs mask something that paradoxically remains in plain view. The words of *kapialai* are obscured because, despite their predominantly indecipherable textual meaning, the words and names are perceived as powerful. The power of the *tubuan* songs is also partly due to their performance context; they create the aural environment in which the *nataka* perform, and their performance techniques serve to emphasise the secret nature of the society. It seems that the songs performed in the secondary rites are deliberately vague and indeterminate; they connote mystery and power and, like death and the afterlife, the objects remain hidden and incomprehensible.

Kapialai Song Analysis.

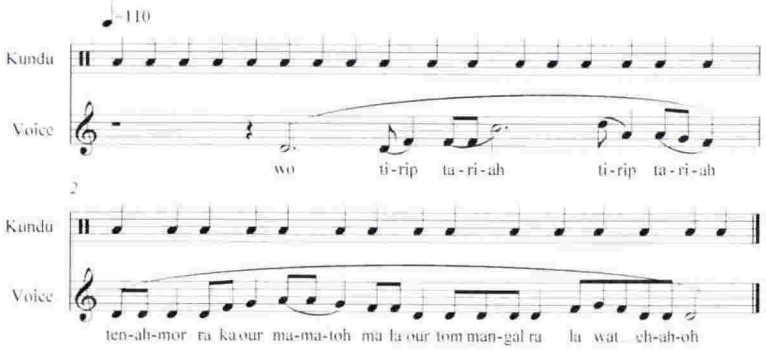
Kapialai are monophonic and with a tonal centre of about 262 hertz (middle 'C'); however, variation of one or two semitones is common. The opening *lamlam* sections feature more melodic variation than the *pukun* sections but, like other songs of the same genre, all *kapialai* are described as having the same melodic structure (see chapter three and four). The opening phrases of the *lamlam* of three *kapialai* are transcribed below.



Transcription 14 ***Kapialai* introduction example 1 (See p.450 for full transcription)**



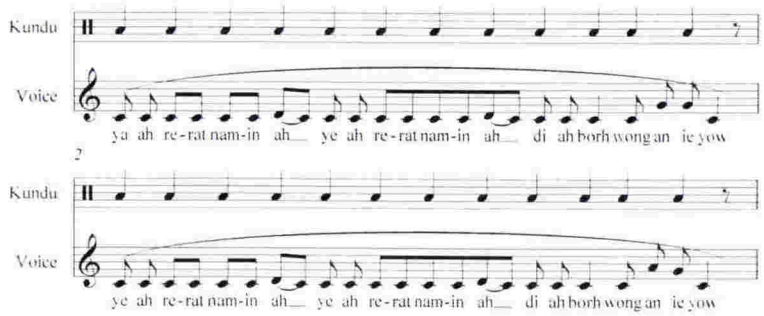
Transcription 15 ***Kapialai* introduction example 2 (See p.441 for full transcription)**



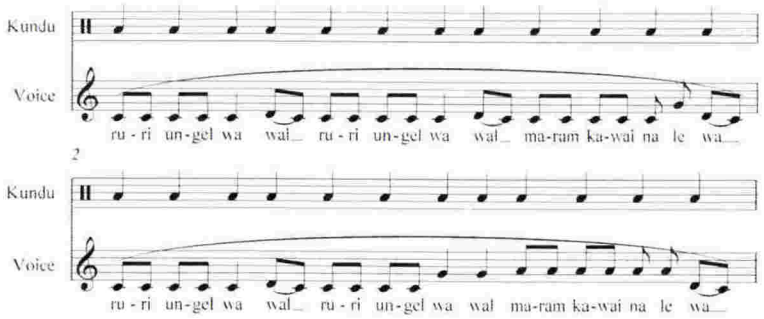
Transcription 16 ***Kapialai* introduction example 3 (See p.447 for recording details)**

All three of these *kapialai lamlam* transcriptions begin on or around middle 'C' and ascend, in most cases, about a major sixth followed by a slower descent through several notes back to the tonal centre; this pattern is repeated and the phrase ends.[22] The entire pattern is repeated several times throughout the *lamlam* with small variations at the beginning and end of verses.

The *pukun* sections of *kapialai* are subject to even greater formulaic construction with a melodic phrase structure often arranged as: AAB, AAC, AAB. *Pukun* can be described as a series of tones whose rhythmic realisation is determined by the words. *Pukun* structure can be easily divided into sections with small variations in the opening and closing phrases. The repetitive nature of *pukun* approaches a chant, providing a constant aural backdrop for the exciting *um-mu-mi* dance movements, performed during the *pukun*. The two extracts provided below show the chant like nature of *kapialai pukun*.



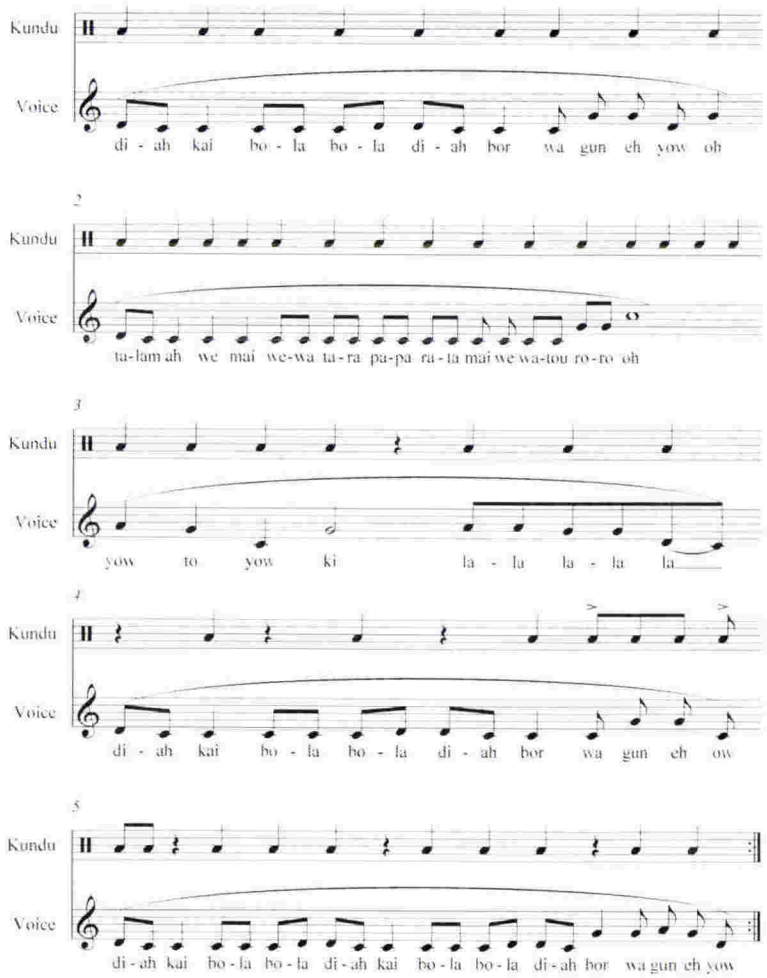
Transcription 17 ***Kapialai pukun* extract. Example 1 (See p.444 for full transcription)**



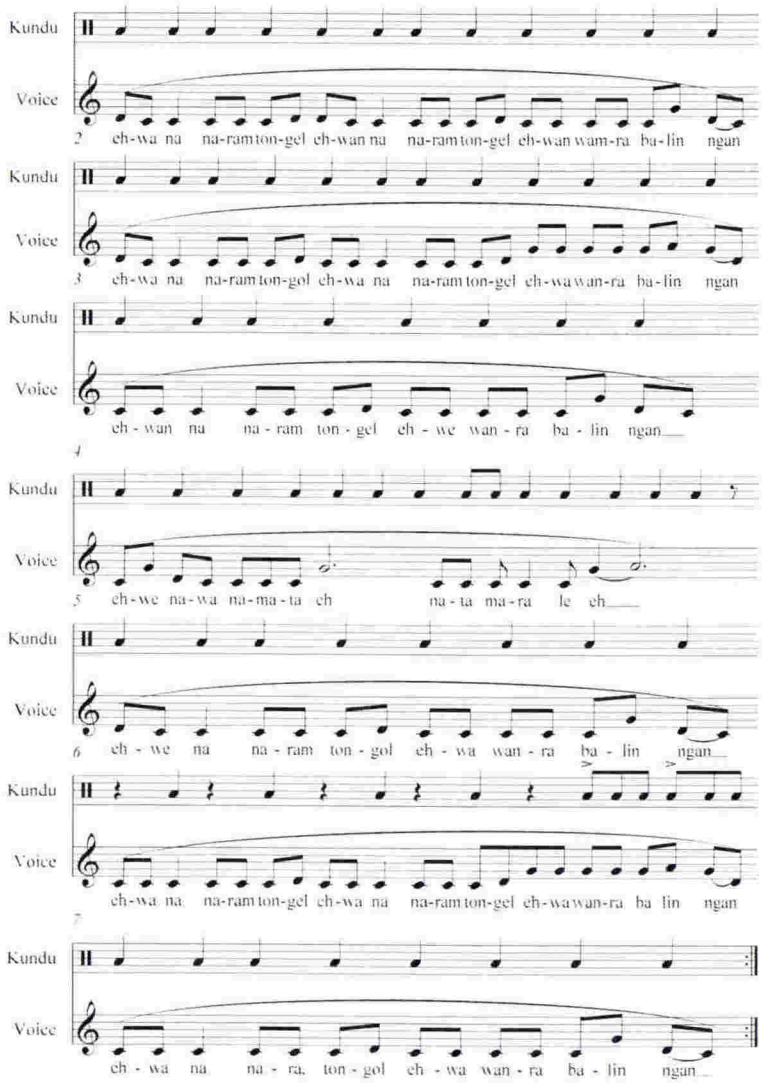
Transcription 18 ***Kapialai pukun* extract. Example 2 (See p.451 for full transcription)**

[22] Three full transcriptions of *kapialai* can be found in the appendix.

The steady *kundu* beat creates a repetitive driving pulse to the *pukun* and although the lyrics of each *kapialai* differ, the phrases feature similar syllabic counts of around seven syllables per lyrical phrase. These features combine to give the *pukun* a strong feeling of forward momentum. Once the pattern of the *pukun* has been firmly established through several repetitions, it is disrupted by the *pukun kundu*. The syllabic pattern is extended to two and sometimes three times its length, the rhythmic pattern of the vocal part is interrupted by a sustained note in the upper reaches of the songs melodic vocabulary and the *kundu* beat shifts from groups of four to groups of three. The *kundu* beat continues to change until it eventually returns to groups of four along with the syllabic and rhythmic features of the vocal part. The two *pukun* extracts below show the way in which this is done.



Transcription 19 ***Kapialai pukun kundu* pattern. Example 1 (See p.443 for full transcription)**



Transcription 20 ***Kapialai pukun, kundu*** **pattern. Example 2 (See p.455 for full transcription)**

At the end of bar two in the first transcription and from the middle of bar four in the second example the *pukun kundu* disturbs the steady beat established in the earlier bars. The patterns described here, of strict structural conformity followed by a release from the structure, produces an ebb and flow effect that can be found in many societies in Papua New Guinea (Kaeppler 1998:480-7) and is a prominent feature of *tubuan* songs. In these moments of release from the regular rhythmic structure, the *nataka* perform the *um-mu-mi* choreography. The result is short climactic bursts of aural and visual intensity. These brief moments, similar to the *pinpit* sections of men's dance, are the euphoric highlights of dance that generate the *langoron* (state of excitement of euphoria generated through music and dance) experience.

Spirit Voices

This chapter has presented the *tubuan* as the *pidik* ('secret') society at the centre of the *portung* ('secondary') rites and this accurately reflects the realities of most modern mortuary rights. It is, however, possible for the *talung* society to perform many of the functions undertaken by *tubuan*. The extent to which the *talung* (introduced in chapter two) participate in the *portung*, earlier stages of the mortuary rites, and partake in other *kastom* events in society depends on the strength of the *pidik* society in the hosting community. In some *portung* rites, the *talung* may be responsible for the placement of the *balbal* and *galagala*; they may perform the acts of the *tangur putus* and remove the *sur*. Aside from these roles in *kastom* activities, the *talung* are also frequently used to maintain and protect aspects of *pidik* in both the *talung* and *tubuan* societies (as detailed in the final section of this chapter).

From an ethnomusicological point of view, the *talung* society presents a fascinating use of sound for a specific social purpose. Just as the *tubuan* society uses an image to describe a complex social entity, the *talung* generates powerful associations through sound. At this point it should be reiterated that my personal involvement in the *talung* society precludes discussion of *talung* sound production. With this in mind, it is still possible to examine this society of spirit voices from its public dimension.

The cry of the *talung* generates an immediate reaction in all those who hear it. The high pitch raspy screeching produced by the *talung* is alarming and unpleasant. The sound is foreboding for women and uninitiated males and terrifying for children. Women and children quickly retire to their houses to wait quietly until the sound has passed. The sound is associated with insubstantial spiritual beings, loosely referred to as *talung* who cannot be easily described and are not concretely associated with any visual form; they exist for the Lak only as the sound they produce. The sound is terrifying for children because of the reputation and reported power of *talung* to cause sickness and kill. The cry of the *talung* is aural evidence of the creature's existence. For adult members of the community, the sounds are foreboding as they herald the public disclosure of accusations, argument and social instability. *Talung* do not cause such instability, they arrive as a result of it.

Like the sound of the *nataka* that issues from the *taraiu* ('secret grounds') during *tubuan* rites, the sound of the *talung* changes the dynamics of the village space. When *talung* occupy the *rakrak* ('*talung* grounds') just outside of the village, the usual associations between space and sound are disrupted. The *talung* acoustically lay siege to the village and for several nights the sound of the *talung* will invade the village, restricting the movements of everyone in the aural vicinity. The sounds of the spirits, which are associated with the bush, literally take over and occupy the sound realm of humans. The metaphorical significance of this crossover of aural realms must be understood in the light of the context in which *talung* are heard. The *talung* enter village spaces only following a significant disturbance in social structure and law such as that caused by the death of a senior member of society or a significant breech in social protocol and *kastom* lore. The death of an important individual in the community literally ruptures society, bush spirits invade village spaces, the natural order of the universe is inverted and reinstated only through a long series of mortuary rites.

The *talung* society is concerned with the maintenance of social order. Its actions signal disturbances; they police social disruptions and help to restore order. The power wielded by the *talung* society is drawn from its *pidik* nature. The *talung* is not perceived to be as powerful as the *tubuan*, which are spirits of such enormous power that they are capable of creating their own physical incarnation whereas *talung* can constitute only an aural presence. However, both *pidik* societies use sound as a tool to alter the realities of the village space and maintain a desired social order.

Ashes To Ashes: Finishing The Secondary Rites

Each day at sunrise, midday and in the late afternoon the *nataka* come out of the *taraiu* to dance for periods of up to an hour. On the final day of the rites the last dance performance is held at midday in front of a large audience of women but before this can take place the *nataka* must receive a payment from the women and non-initiated members of the community. The *nataka* form into groups on the basis of clan

affiliation and follow the senior *Yain pidik* of their clan to the hamlets where their clan members reside. When the *nataka* arrive in the hamlet, they sit around the perimeter and in the main path leading to the houses; in effect occupying the hamlet. The payment is called *kes kes dok* (literally 'sit down and receive payment'). One of the women will present a special woven basket known as *katour* to the *Yain pidik* ('senior ritual adepts'). The *katour* contains food, *buai*, soap, tobacco along with several *pinas* of shell money. The *nataka* receive the *dok* in the usual manner with one of the *Yain pidik*, striking the side of the figure and then affixing the rope of shell money to its side. When the *kes kes dok* has been paid by representatives of each clan the *nataka* return to the *taraiu*.

Some time in the morning of the final day the silence of the village is broken by a cacophony of sound moving through the *taraiu* toward the village. The sounds of breaking branches, wood snapping and smashing heralds the emergence of the men from the *taraiu*. The sounds warn those outside the *taraiu* that the men are coming but they also signify the men's change of state as they break away from the realm of the spirits to re-enter the village for the first time in what is normally three or four days. The men come out of the *taraiu* in one long line, their temples, arms and chests displaying their *lain ah tor* ('markings' plate 47). The markings worn by the men differ according to the *taraiu* in which they were initiated but all are simple variations on a common theme. Each of the markings has a specific meaning that reflects an aspect important to the *pidik*.

Plate 47 **Young *tubuan* adepts display their symbolic markings (*lain ah tor)***

As the line of men enter the dancing grounds, several *nataka* emerge from the *taraiu*, brandishing clubs. The *nataka* form a row across the dancing area and begin to perform the *burbur sararai* ('beating to go outside'). Once again the *burbur* begins with the *Yain pidik* who receive two blows followed by the rest of the men who are hit only once. Once beaten the men retire to the *taraiu* for the last time where they receive a final marking on their backs in the place where they were hit during the *burbur*.

A large audience attends the final dancing session; it is without a doubt the most emotional performance of the rites. The *toh maris ma* ('stand with sorrow') is an emotionally poignant event as it is the climactic performance of the entire rites and the last time that the *nataka* will be seen for possibly many years. When the *nataka* emerge from the *taraiu* to perform the *toh maris ma*, the eyes of the *nantoi* and *koropor* are marked with charcoal. A black streak, like a tear, can be clearly seen across their white eyes. The markings indicate that soon the *nataka* will be burnt. One informant described the *toh maris ma* performance in the following terms:

> It's a time for mourning. You will see the *Yain pidik* and all the women crying because this ends the celebrations and they [the *nataka*] are marked with charcoal and will die.

During the performance several of the senior *Yain pidik* may be seen crying in the middle of the dancing plaza as the *nataka* move around them. Toward the end of the performance the *nataka* themselves begin moving slower and with less agility. Again older women among the audience may venture forward to weep in front of the dancing ground and cry the name of recently deceased clan members. At the end of the performance, *Yain pidik*, often fighting back tears, give each *nataka* a *tar boru ya* ('fire stick'); one end glowing with embers, they carry the firesticks with them back into the *taraiu* with slow and heavy footfalls. The *nataka*'s final walk back to the *taraiu* can no longer be described as 'light'; all of the life and energy of movement has gone. The *nataka* disappear into the *taraiu* and once again the realms of the living and the ancestors is severed.

The same afternoon smoke will rise from the *taraiu*, indicating to outsiders that the *nataka* have been cremated. A period of mourning follows the death of the *nataka* and, like any other death, the mourning continues for four days. The mourning observances for *nataka* imitate those performed for community members; *sum* ('grief') is present in the village and restrictions against work and noise remain. Most men who attended the rights from other communities return to their village, following the *tor maris ma*; but men of the hosting community remain in the *taraiu* ('secret grounds') throughout the mourning period. After four days a final *dok* ('payment') is made to end all mourning restrictions. The men of the hosting village assemble on the dancing grounds and perform the *lamlam* section of a *lebung* in front of a small audience of women. The *lebung* is chosen for its familiarity and only the *lamlam* section of the *lebung* is danced as the performance is just a gesture, as one performer said, "just to show that we can" and to signify the end of *sum* observations for the *nataka*.

Once again it is dance that removes the state of *sum*. The *lebung* performance can also be understood as the dancers reclaiming their status as men and humans. For

over a week the men have lived in the *taraiu* as spirits, not eating, drinking or interacting with women; the *lebung* as the archetypal men's dance indicates their return to the village and a more human existence. When the dance is over, a small *tanget* branch is placed in the middle of the dancing plaza and women come forward to place short lengths of shell money in the *tanget* branches. The final *dok* releases the village from all the mourning restrictions and reinstates normal community activities. At this stage the women provide the dancers with a meal of vegetables and for the first time since the *ngasa* began the men eat in front of women, confirming their status as mortals.[23]

Offending The Spirits.

During *tubuan* events, it is not just the members of the secret society whose movements are restricted. Rules are also imposed upon the behaviour of members of the wider community. For all communities who have active *tubuan* societies, a *portung* means the imposition of taboos against work at an individual and community level. Women and uninitiated men cannot attend their gardens, weave mats, cut trees, clear ground or clean village spaces from the time the rites begin until their completion with payment of the final *dok*. Travel and movement between villages is also discouraged. The only activities allowed are short excursions to the garden to get food and to collect water and of course to and from the dancing grounds to witness the dance performances. During the rites the bush and beach areas around the village are avoided by women because of their association with *nataka*. Excursions to the garden or river are usually made in groups for safety and kept as brief as possible.

Within the *tubuan* and *talung* society, rules are maintained through the society's hierarchical social structure and its own system of justice. For members of the wider society, *tubuan* rites can be an anxious time. In the days and weeks following *kastoms*, accusations and claims of improper behaviour or activities during the rites can lead to charges laid against women and other non-members. The most frequent charges are brought against those who work during the rites. The charges may be

[23] Men avoid sleeping under the same roof as women for at least one more night and before they re-enter normal domestic activities, they wash their clothing to remove any residue from the *taraiu*.

issued by the *nataka*, a *Yain pidik* or the *talung* society depending on the severity of the charge and the village in which the alleged offence has taken place.

On my return to Rei village, two weeks after the completion of a *portung* ('secondary') *kastom* in Matkamlagir the unmistakable cry of the *talung* issued from the bush beside the village from early evening until early morning. The *talung* had been summoned by the senior *Yain pidik* of Rei, following rumoured accusations against a young man in the village. The young man was accused of cutting trees for repairs on his house before the final *dok* payment had been conducted. For several nights the sound of the *talung* permeated the village, and the offender was forced to pay a charge. If the incident had taken place in the community in which the *portung* rites had been conducted, it is likely that the *nataka* would have made an appearance to demand compensation. Like the *nataka* presence, the sound of the *talung* changes the village sound environment and atmosphere. The presence of the *talung* creates unease in the village, women are forced to stay within the hamlet and don't leave the house after dark and men attend meetings that run late into the night. The usual compensation consists of a pig, and these vary in size depending on what the offender has to offer.

When *nataka* demand compensation the price can be significantly higher. The appearance of the *nataka* in the village in a capacity outside of *kastom* activity is a fearful sight. *Nataka* are renowned not only for their spiritual power but also for their physical strength and have been known to kill indiscriminately when angered. However, *nataka* seek compensations for only serious breeches of *kastom* law by members of the society. When the *pidik* society demands payment for indiscretions against *pidik*, *Yain pidik* place *tanget* in the doorway of the offender's house. The following day an envoy is sent to demand compensation. The practice is widely known as *tangtang* (the name of the biggest tree in the forest) and is the most frequent method of punishment employed by the *tubuan* society. Informants reported that more severe indiscretions generate a rarely used form of punishment called *wanga*. The practice of *wanga* involves the appearance of several *nataka* in the village, brandishing a *firam* ('traditional axe'). The *nataka* proceed to quickly destroy the offender's house and anyone who is unfortunate enough to get in their way.

All accusations result in the payment even if the accused is clearly not guilty of the offence in the eyes of his or her fellow community members. Payment of the fines is the only available method to resolve these situations. Accusations are not flippantly brought; all accusations have their basis in some level of transgression against the society's *pidik* ('secret'), and payment must be made in order for the society to maintain control and be seen to be properly guarding *pidik*. The individual accused may not be the one directly responsible but once accusations have been laid payment is inevitable. It is widely believed that black magic practitioners and sorcerers would eventually seek their own compensation if payment wasn't made, so for the accused payment of compensation is the only option available.

Conclusion

This chapter has chronicled the final stage of the mortuary rites, a process which completes the removal of the individual and in its place, presents a generic and immortal ancestral image. Significantly it is in dance that this image, the *nataka*, presents itself to the community. *Nataka* dance, like male dance performances, provides a window on Lak reality and power relations. In *nataka* dance the 'lightness' of the spirits is displayed, the relationships between senior men and powerful spirit beings are exhibited and the roles of men and women are affirmed. The *nataka* symbolise the regenerative powers of society and its triumph over death, performing as a hybrid being, a combination of man and spirit.

Each *portung* and *nataka* performance brings the community together in the process of displaying and enacting community values and structures. New initiates are publicly introduced to the most important male *pidik*, women perform in the plaza, are paid with shell currency and pork, and form the essential audience for what follows. When the *nataka* arrive in the village, the relationships between men and spirits are displayed through song and dance performance. During large *portung* the entire Lak community is involved in what is undoubtedly the most exciting and engaging display of social and political relations. For several days in succession the atmosphere of cooperation, shared consumption and *nataka* dance builds a feeling of euphoria.

In the heightened atmosphere of the *portung*, society is recreated in the most vivid and compelling format available. For the duration of the secondary rites the hidden aspects of local reality become tangible, and the usual realms that segregate Lak reality are transgressed: spirits become men and visa versa, sounds of the bush enter the village, and present and the past are thrust together through the enduring image of the unchanging *nataka*. On the final day of the rites the death of the *nataka* completes the cycle, helping new to replace the old while maintaining continuity through movement, images and sound as Lak society dances through time.

Section 2: Chapter 7.

New Spirits, New Sounds.

To this point this thesis has focused on traditional song and dance and its place in the mortuary events, which structure ceremonial life in Lak. This chapter considers the more recently adopted musical forms and the ideologies that accompany them. The first section looks at the sources of change. The impact of new religious practices, along with communication technology and regular and on going contact with non-Melanesian cultures, has wrought profound change on Lak society. The ways in which foreign concepts and practices have been reinterpreted and aligned with local notions and understandings are telling of the local ethos. From the earliest days of contact with the missions, Lak society has, largely unconsciously, been engaged in the process of localising these foreign religious forms, rendering them feasible in indigenous terms, and today traditional cultural practices have become an important part of religious observances and celebrations.

As the previous chapters have shown, traditional music and dance, and spiritual or religious beliefs are inseparable; together they weave an intricate tapestry that depicts Lak society. Because music and dance are so closely connected in traditional cosmologies, the Lak, like other linguistic groups in the region, were attracted to the novel musical forms introduced by the missions. The local account of the changes that the region has undergone in the previous one hundred and fifty years can be heard clearly in the harmonies, texts and rhythms of the music that is performed in the region today. The new compositional practices take their inspiration from the traditional spiritual context and the Holy Spirit. Today both spiritual sources have become important sources of inspiration.

This chapter describes the modern musical forms extant in the region from hymns to popular guitar ensembles. The final section of this chapter provides an account of the context in which new musical forms are employed and the ways in which the older traditions interact with the new. As Kaeppler has pointed out, "when applied to music the terms "traditional" and "introduced" or "local" and "foreign" are shifting and

unstable notions" (1998:146).

Change, A Wind From The West.

The influence of the Christian church on all aspects of society is the major source of change in the region. In 1875 the Reverend George Brown and his Fijian missionary assistants sailed the *John Wesley* into the Saint George channel between New Ireland and New Britain. The ship arrived in Port Hunter off the largest Island in the Duke of York group. The following day in the afternoon of Sunday August the 15th 1875 a service was held on the decks of the *John Wesley*, and the sound of harmonised Christian hymns was heard for the first time in the New Guinea Islands. According to accounts of that day hundreds of men and women listened to the strange singing as they watched from the shore, from canoes and crowded around the edges of the deck (Threlfall 1975: 31). On hearing hymn singing for the first time, the inhabitants of the Duke of York Islands were immediately intrigued by the sound:

> We sat just under yon coconut palm, and we awaited developments. Soon the worshippers began to sing, and we said to one another, "That is a fine incantation of theirs!" That was the beginning of our acquaintance with the *Lotu* [church/religion]. (*Australasian Methodist Missionary Review*, 5 July 1909:14) [1]

The local perception of hymns as 'incantations' or magical recitations reflects the Lak belief in what is known throughout the island region as *kamlai*, *kawawar* or *malara* ('attraction magic'). Michael Webb has suggested that, "the ritualistic aspects of the church services, including the prayer and song, caused the *lotu* ('church/religion') to be immediately perceived as a *malira* – a powerful magical charm". (Webb 1995:32).[2] The strong association between the hymn singing and the church's power would have been immediately evident to the Lak as it was to those on the Duke of York islands. From an indigenous point of view the church has several features in common with local magic and religious practices like the *tubuan* society. Indeed, soon after

[1] Michael Webb's "Foreword" cited in Midian, A. 1999.
[2] The word, *lotu* (Tok Pisin) can be used as an adjective to describe the act of 'praise' or as a noun for 'church'.

witnessing the church service the community leaders in the Duke of Yorks arranged to purchase the *lotu* from the missionaries in exchange for local shell currency. As explained by Neumann, communities often purchased the *lotu*; the usual price was five fathoms of roped shell money (1992: 81-2). The local purchasers believed themselves to be buying a powerful magical charm (*malara*) or complex, not unlike the *tubuan* and *Buai* secret societies, which are traditionally taught in exchange for shell money.

Unfortunately no account exists of the Lak people's first contact with Christianity but it is likely to have been of a similar kind, given the broad social ties that pervade the district. For the rest of the nineteenth century, the Lak region was avoided because of the inherent difficulties that Reverend Brown described as "the lack of authority on the part of the chiefs, and the constant feuds of the people, which have kept them so isolated from each other that the dialectic differences are now so great as almost to constitute different languages in every district" (Brown 1908:146). As a consequence the Methodist-Wesleyan (now United) church focused their missionary efforts in more hospitable regions. Again in 1909 Fellman advised against "spreading our work southwards", citing the same reasons as Brown (Fellman 1909 cited in Albert 1988:45). Full-time resident missionaries from the Methodist church were not established in the Lak region until the 1930's. Catholic missionaries entered the Namatanai district in 1902 and slowly moved southwards eventually established an outpost at Muliama in 1925 (Fr. Tatamai 2000:5-6). For most Lak living north of Matkamlagir, Muliama in the neighbouring Konomala region is more accessible than Lambom and the west coast missions. Indeed, Lakoff describes people in Southern New Ireland walking for three days to attend mass (Lakoff 1930:236 cited in Albert 1988:48).

It is clear from the Duke of York account that local perceptions of the *lotu* were understandably based on pre-existing cultural concepts. As Valentine observed among the Lakalai of West New Britain, religious patterns tend to be characterised "more by the acceptance and creation of added new elements than by the loss or destruction of traditional beliefs and customs" (1965:162). Early attention to the *lotu*, which according to some missionaries was very strong, was probably because the Lak were interested in harnessing the power that the hymns possessed rather than learning their

teachings (Rev. Cox 1906 cited in Albert 1988:48). The attraction of hymnody had an undeniably powerful effect on the Lak as it did on other groups in the New Guinea Islands. The belief in song as a vehicle of power prevails so strongly among the population that hymn singing caused intense interest among the locals (cf. Threlfall 1975:39). Harmony and part-singing were entirely new concepts to the region, and the people were quick to learn these alluring sounds. Missionaries, too, swiftly recognised the appeal of the hymns and encouraged the learning and rehearsal of church songs. The power of song as a tool for converting communities was realised by both Methodist and Catholic denominations from an early stage of missionary activity in the islands. It was hoped by early missionaries that the introduction of hymns would eventually replace traditional song forms, just as the practices of the church would supersede traditional heathen practices.

As the missions became established in the Lak region (the Catholics holding sway in the north eastern coast as far as Siar and the Methodists in the southern and western areas from Matkamlagir south), the Lak came to understand more fully the nature of the *lotu*, and early missionary expectations of swift and total conversion were dashed. The experiences in other Pacific region, such as Samoa and Fiji, were not going to be quickly replicated in the New Guinea Islands. Almost every missionary account following the turn of the century complains that the 'natives' attend church but think of pigs and feasting.

As discussed in chapter two, efforts by missionaries to expose secret societies, break allegiances between people and spirits, and cease magical practice have in most cases failed, primarily because people continue to find no incompatibility between the two belief systems. In modern Lak communities, people are dedicated to their church but still value and participate in mortuary cycles and the secret men's societies (cf. Eves 1998:117-8). In modern Lak the *lotu* is an inspiration for music and dance. The Holy Spirit and *talung* spirits are seen as equally valid sources of song. From an indigenous point of view, traditional and Christian beliefs are understood as two perspectives of the same phenomenon.

The United and Catholic churches remain the most influential denominations in Lak.[3] The communities in the north of the region from Siar to the northern boundary at Rei continue to be predominantly Catholic while those from Matkamlagir round the southern cape to Lamasa are mostly United church members. In the latter part of the twentieth century, several other denominations have established themselves in the region. Lambom village, Lak's largest settlement at the southern point of New Ireland, is now host to the New Life, Foursquare and United churches. Independent communities of Four Square congregations have also been established in the Weitin valley and inland of Silur community. A Seventh-day Adventist community resides south of Mimias (Ias) river.[4] The once simple denominational divide has grown complicated, leading to some internal and cross-community tensions especially in the heavily populated Lambom area (see Kingston:88-9).[5] In the past few years animosity between denominations has subsided, and toleration of differing positions has increased.

The position that each church takes in regard to the local traditions bears significantly on the music and dance practices of the community. The Catholic church has shifted its position on *kastom* considerably since its arrival in the islands in the late nineteenth century. Where certain traditional practices were once strongly discouraged, they are now promoted and encouraged as meaningful ways in which to praise and celebrate.[6] The modern Catholic Church in the New Guinea Islands has positioned itself as a 'cultural church', inviting the use of traditional song and dance forms into its services. Similarly the United Church has adapted its practices significantly to include aspects of local *kastom* and culture.[7] While some forms of traditional practice were discouraged, the United Church has been among the more liberal of the early

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[3] I estimate that 85-90% of the population of the Lak region are adherents to either the United or Catholic churches.

[4] For a detailed description of Seventh-day Adventist musical practices in Papua New Guinea see Jones 2004.

[5] The scene of these conflicts, mostly between Catholic and Four Square communities, were *singsing* events. During the secular celebrations at school break-ups, Four Square church members began to heckle traditional dancers as satanic images, citing costume features as representations of *nataka,* which they attacked as evil spiritual forms. Catholic communities vividly recall many such incidents in the early and mid 1990's.

[6] The *tubuan* society was disbanded for several decades in Catholic villages under the order of New Ireland's Bishop and only recommenced in the late 1960's or early 1970's, following the requests of senior male adepts.

[7] Albert, 1989:23. *Kastom i winim ol lo*. Provides comparisons between United and Catholic church communities.

missions, generally accepting traditional song and dance forms. The United church claims that the only "local practices with which the missionaries interfered directly were warfare and cannibalism ... many dances and ceremonies were continued with the full approval of the Church ..." (Threfall 1975:58). The Seventh Day Adventists and Foursquare Churches have deliberately fostered an antithetical position to *kastom* in their Melanesian missions, claiming that all traditional song and dance forms are adverse to their religious teachings.[8] The songs performed in the Foursquare church are only hymns and action songs (modern compositions in Tok Pisin or Siar), and dance, as most Lak communities perform it, is not condoned. As a result Four Square communities are dramatically different from surrounding settlements and have very little interaction with wider Lak society.[9] Apart from the small and separate Seventh-day and Four Square settlements most communities in Lak have a large and regularly performed repertoire of Christian songs. These songs have not replaced the traditional gamut of songs but become an important adjunct to them.

Another source of musical influence arrived with the advance of western economic systems and technology. Today almost every hamlet has a radio capable of receiving transmissions from East New Britain or New Ireland National Broadcasting services.[10] The geographical orientation of New Ireland means that it is easier to receive a signal from East New Britain than it is from Kavieng and, given the close cultural ties with the Tolai, East New Britain radio is popular in Southern New Ireland. The National Broadcasting Commission on shortwave supplies a varied range of programming, including community notices, news, local recording of choirs, power bands (*pawaben*), string band (*stringben*) and traditional groups along with commercially produced recordings in Tok Pisin and dialects from throughout Papua New Guinea.[11] The influence of this daily musical contact with regional, national and international music is evident in several new music forms. Since the late 1970's

[8] While other missions have gradually become more lenient toward traditional song and dance practices, Adventists have remained strongly opposed. This Adventist stance toward traditional practices and their avoidance of pork, betelnut and tobacco makes their life style quite in contrast to most other Lak communities (Niles, Editor's introduction in Jones 2004:xv-xvi).

[9] During the course of fieldwork, I travelled throughout Lak visiting each community at least once; however, I was only resident in Catholic communities.

[10] In 1961 the Australian Broadcasting Commission set up the first radio station in Rabaul. FM Stations remain inaccessible to most parts of Lak.

[11] Power band (*pawaben*) is the local term for bands that include electric instruments, originally formed to imitate the western rock style. String bands normally consist of acoustic guitars and ukulele.

cassettes of Australian folk and country music have been available throughout the island region. More recently, trade stores in Namatanai, Kavieng, Rabaul and Kokopo towns have made copies of CHM, Pacific Gold and the products of other local, national and international record producers available at an affordable price to people in Lak. The influence of the western pop chart or local television media has yet to reach the region in any significant form.

The introduction of the acoustic guitar into the Island region by American, Australian and Filipino service men during World War II has had a major impact on the music scene throughout Papua New Guinea and not least among the Lak people. Over the last fifty years guitars have become an essential item in the sparsely furnished bush-material houses of most Lak villages. Guitar and to a lesser extent ukulele have become as important to the musical life in the region as the *kundu* drum. Guitar music, that is, string band (*stringben*) groups, choir accompaniment and chorus songs have become the major recreational music of the region, and guitar music has become the *lingua franca* of Papua New Guinea music (Webb 1993:1-2). Despite the isolation of the region, many locals are capable of playing the guitar with proficiency, having developed their skills almost entirely from their peers and by listening to various media sources. Power bands occasionally perform in church celebrations with a repertoire of local *lotu* songs and covers of local bands that have become popular in the district through cassette recordings and radio play. The power band is a very popular sound in Lak but access to electricity and the difficulties of transporting equipment remains a major impediment to the growth of the genre in Lak.

The *lingua franca*, Tok Pisin, has also played a significant role in the manner and rate of musical change in Lak and throughout Papua New Guinea. Tok Pisin was originally developed as a result of the early labour trade and plantation economy. Today the language has over two million speakers. The spread of many of the modern musical forms practised in Lak today has been aided by Tok Pisin and vice versa. Tok Pisin remains the language of the Catholic Church with sermons delivered and hymns sung in the *lingua franca*. The link between Christianity and Tok Pisin in the social conscience of the people is a dominant notion; most composers of Christian songs choose Tok Pisin. Even in cases where the indigenous language is used, a Tok Pisin translation is commonly sung as a repeated verse. The United Church has for many

years been engaged in translating English language hymn and prayer books into indigenous languages used in island Melanesia. This process began soon after the arrival of the Church in 1875. The language of the Duke of Yorks was the original subject but more recently Kuanua (the Tolai language) has become the major language used in the delivery of services and the language of hymn singing. As a result most residents in the Lambom and Lamassa areas of Lak are fluent in Kuanua. However, Tok Pisin remains the region's dominant second language. It has come to reflect local notions of identity; the language is associated with the church and widely used in hymn and chorus songs reflecting modern concepts and beliefs. Tok Pisin has become the language through which the Lak express their religious experience and relationship with the *lotu* ('church/relgion'). Tok Pisin has also come to perform an important role in the definition of the regional and national notions of identity held by the Lak.

The English language is currently taught in primary schools to a rudimentary level. Some Lak children go on to continue their studies in regional high schools in Namatanai, Kavieng or Kokopo where English is taught to a higher standard but there are currently few adult members in the Lak region confident enough to converse in English. Occasionally church choral and chorus groups may present a song in English for a special occasion. In such cases the song's lyrics are learnt by rote by most of the choral group. Apart from these occasional examples, the English language has not made any significant impact upon the Lak musical world. Having outlined the influences behind the new music in the region, each of the introduced forms is examined below as they are performed today.

New Music And Localisation

This section examines the non-traditional musical forms currently performed in Lak and the patterns of localisation that they have undergone. Christian hymns, for instance, were initially taught to local converts as a separate tradition with European vocal techniques and musical aesthetics. The missions encouraged hymn singing, promoting its use over indigenous musical forms. As a result segregation between

musical systems seems to have developed. Such demarcation was, however, already part of the local musical system. *Singsing tubuna* ('traditional songs/dances') were strictly separated by social and spatial divisions; traditional music is divided between the sexes, by time: night and day, location: bush or village and often status: initiate or outsider (see chapter three and appendix). Some early Church representatives had hoped that eventually the local 'heathen' musical traditions would be replaced by hymns and other musical imports. The Christian church and its music were, however, simply incorporated into the Lak musical system and world-view. The segregation of categories has been instrumental in the maintenance of the aesthetic components at work in each tradition.

One of the most significant musical aspects introduced by the Churches has been vocal harmony. The Lak, like many of the other island communities around them, adopted harmonic song with zest and quickly developed the ability to harmonise without the assistance of musical instruments or notation. Harmony represents a massive change in the musical life of the region but neither harmony nor any other aspects of the western aesthetic have seeped into the traditional song forms. This is not to suggest that traditional music and dance has not undergone any change during the last one hundred and twenty years. Lak music appears always to have been in the process of changing and redefining itself but the parameters of change and the divisions between certain categories appear to have been largely maintained.

In contrast, introduced musical forms have been subject to changes by locals; their form, content and delivery have been altered to reflect Lak musical aesthetics. In recent years, this process of localisation has accelerated in Catholic communities where forms of syncretism continue to be encouraged by the Church.

Hymns

Hymn singing continues to play a significant role in the liturgies of all Christian denominations in Lak. As explained above, hymns were originally introduced as a way for locals to engage with the new religion as missionaries tended to reject indigenous music forms because of the difficulties inherent in learning the local languages and comprehending the local musical system. Others have suggested that

local musical systems were often linked to traditional spiritual beliefs and at times "the aural representation of the voices of spirits ... In addition to these strong associations of traditional music with traditional religion, missionaries also frequently saw the accompanying dances as leading to sexual promiscuity" (Niles, editor's introduction, Midian 1999:xii; cf. Threlfall 1975:59). Hymns were first taught and sung in the languages of the missionaries – English, Samoan and Fijian – and eventually many were translated into the local vernacular, as in the case of the United Church and Tok Pisin within the Catholic Church.[12]

The introduction of hymn singing brought about significant changes in the musical and social life of the Lak. The hymns introduced new musical techniques and promulgated a new social doctrine. The musical change brought about was significant in many respects; among the most noteworthy musical concepts introduced were harmony and the notion of part-singing. Traditionally all Lak singing is monophonic, and the new harmonic sounds proved to be a powerful tool of evangelism. Bass, tenor, alto and soprano divisions presented a new concept to the Lak who had traditionally aspired toward a single common pitch in group performances. Another novel concept introduced by hymn singing was the combination of male and female voices which are rarely coupled in a traditional setting. In what must have seemed a most unnatural method of performance for the early Christian converts in Lak, male and female performers sang together without rhythmic accompaniment and perhaps most peculiarly without movement, adornment or costume! Yet another significant introduction through the medium of hymn singing was music notation. The missions taught a number notation system for hymn singing. The notation system commonly used today is a number system (1 – 7) with a moveable tonic, depending on the key, which is allocated figure one (cf. Webb 1993: 3). These radical introductions presented a significant break from the traditional modes of music, sound and performance. When combined with the other novelties inherent in the western-style hymns, such as the new melodic, rhythmic and vocal techniques, hymnody introduced a new world of musical experience.

Just as the *lotu* was perceived in terms of indigenous spirituality and power practices,

[12] For most Seventh-day Adventist congregations, English continues to be the most common language used in hymn singing (Jones 1994:181-2).

hymn singing was to undergo a slow but persistent process of localisation. As early as 1891, outsiders noted that indigenous congregations were altering the rhythmic and melodic structure of introduced hymns in accordance with their own musical aesthetics. William Brown and his wife, shortly after their arrival in the Duke of York Islands in 1891, were surprised at the number of hymn tunes known, but were simultaneously unsettled by the "strangeness" of the renditions (Brown 1891 cited in Webb 1995:48). Hymns, as they are sung today in the region, are considerably different from the original versions introduced by the early missionaries CD Tracks 18 & 19: Hymn Singing.

It is in the delivery of the hymns that the most remarkable and telling differentiation occurs. The strong associations that restrict the performance of certain music to specific areas (as discussed in chapters three and six) seem also to have been applied to hymns, which are performed only during church services. The arrangement of parishioners, men on one side of a centre isle and women on the other, is consistent in all services. The arrangement allows for the congregation to perform hymns together while maintaining local ideals concerning male and female contact. One of the most striking features of hymnody in Lak and among neighbouring linguistic groups is the volume of performances. Within the traditional musical aesthetic, volume is a paramount factor, and all group performances should be delivered at *fortissimo* and with a fully open throat. The volume and technique of delivery are important factors in the ability of a performance group to incite *langoron* 'excitement' in the audience. These aesthetic components within the traditional music are carried over into church hymn singing. In the choral competitions held in Rabaul each year, Michael Webb has noted: "The full-throated intensity with which the Melanesians sang hymns was a source of amusement to white observers familiar with the more polite and retained delivery of European choirs" (Forward in Midian, 1999: xxv).

Several other features of local singing practices have contributed to an indigenisation of hymn singing. Phrase marks are often ignored and sung through, consistent with the traditional ideals of continuous sound. Dynamics are likely to gradually increase throughout a phrase or an entire stanza; this often begins with a solo voice gradually building to a climax at the end of the stanza. Words are frequently run together in

order to create a flowing effect seen as desirable within the local aesthetic. All of these aspects of the indigenisation of Christian hymn singing reflect local aesthetics and ideals.

Chorus Songs

Chorus or action songs are widely performed in island Melanesia. The form first became popular in the island region during the early 1970 when a groundswell of charismatic change swept through the Christian churches in Papua New Guinea. Music played an important role in the spread of this movement, which was later to be named the revival (Threlfall 1975:226). The movement in the island region was typified by young energetic, sometimes born-again, Christians who worshipped in a charismatic style. Fellowship groups formed a central component of the revival, and it was in this context of energetic worship, bible study groups and youth interest in Christianity that the chorus songs first flourished (Midian, 1999:42). The revival was confronted by a backlash from traditionalists within both churches in the Lak area. Many of the older United Church members saw chorus songs as a representation of an impure and corrupt form of worship. It is possible that this view has its origins in the teachings of the early missionaries who expressed the same concerns over the traditional music practices. Indeed, chorus singing has much in common with traditional music practices; both employ local modes of expression, movement and dance. As Midian has stated, the movement spurred a new musical direction, creating "a marked difference between chorus singing before and after the Revival" (ibid).

Chorus singing, like traditional performances, involves costumes, body paint and props, and both depend on instruments for rhythmic accompaniment. Chorus songs are also heavily influenced by western secular music. Rock 'n' roll, jazz, blues and gospel music have all contributed to the chorus song genre. This development was concurrent with another musical movement taking place in Papua New Guinea, the power band, although the power bands, popular in the towns and cities, have yet to have a significant impact on the Lak area. The two musical genres share a common compositional practice of borrowing from the western secular music. Chorus songs enjoy the best of both worlds, combining modern western secular melodic and rhythmic devices with traditional structures, vocal techniques and performance styles.

These two musical traditions are then combined with Christian texts in Tok Pisin or the local vernacular. It is undoubtedly this combination of musical and religious features that has made the chorus songs so popular, especially among younger generations in Lak.

Chorus songs are performed in a variety of situations and locations, making them the most versatile and transient song style among the normally place, time and gender segregated musical categories of the region. Chorus songs can be performed by separate male or female groups but are most commonly presented by a mixed gender chorus. They are sung by large groups of people of all ages during fellowship meetings, by individuals as a recreation, by the entire congregation during a church service or by the members of a hamlet each night in worship or for entertainment.

Fellowship meetings in Catholic areas of Lak grew directly out of the revival movement and consist almost entirely of the lively performance of chorus songs.[13] The charismatic groups involve mostly young married couples, unmarried men, women and children. A lay preacher leads the group and delivers brief readings from the bible between songs. Typically participants arrive at the prearranged hamlet, bringing gifts of food for the host family and after a short prayer the singing begins. Most meetings involve between ten and twenty people who stand in a large semi-circle while singing, dancing and clapping in time with the music. Several men will play guitars and decide the order of songs. As the worship progresses the songs, which may be in Tok Pisin, the local vernacular or occasionally English, become contiguous, and the energy of the group grows. After about half an hour of singing, the atmosphere becomes livelier, and people begin to dance and shout praise. The fellowship generally lasts for an hour and a half. Toward the end of the session an open prayer session is held with everyone present making excited vocalised prayers over the top of a ballad-style chorus song. The hubbub of voices grows to a climax and, as each person completes their prayers, they join in with the singers until all the voices are unified in song once again. The meeting concludes with a series of slower

[13] Rei village, for example, has two fellowship groups, the membership of which is largely determined by age. The fellowship group in which I participated in held weekly meetings that rotate between a series of hamlets. The other fellowship group present in most Catholic communities in Lak is the Legion of Maria. The Legion group maintains bush material chapels in which weekly meetings are held. The style of worship practiced by the Legion group is more subdued than its Charismatic counterpart. Hymnody remains the dominant form of musical worship for the legion group.

rhythmic songs and a final prayer.

Fellowship meetings are essentially an extended musical performance arranged around a prescribed format of praise. The order of chorus songs is carefully arranged to build an atmosphere of excitement designed to stimulate the emotions of the participants. These fellowship meetings are the original performance place of the chorus song genre in Lak but, as explained above, the popularity of these songs has seen them spread into not only other aspects of Christian life but also the secular pursuits of the population CD Tracks 20 & 21: Chorus Songs.

When chorus songs are performed with movement, they are known as action songs. Hymnody and other traditional choral forms introduced into the region do not involve dance. Dance is such an important aspect of traditional life in Lak that its absence in Christian worship would have limited the avenues through which Christian converts were able to engage with the new religion. Chorus songs introduced a new freedom of expression and today any celebration, outside the traditional realms of the mortuary cycle, whether religious or secular, involves the performance of chorus songs with choreographed dance. Unlike the dancing that takes place during fellowship meetings, 'action song' performances are organised in rows and columns, involve costume, head-dress, face and body paint, and decorative hand-held accoutrements (*uli*). These dances frequently involve the use of traditional dance choreography DVD Chapters 16 & 17: Action Songs.

The action songs resemble traditional women's forms more than they do men's. Action song performances involve male and female dancers and for this reason it would be inappropriate to employ the open expansive movements used in traditional men's choreography (see chapter three). Action songs are not just performed in grids; performers may form a single line or dance in a circle, a dance pattern familiar in the traditional *kamgar/bot* dances. Children frequently perform action songs during celebrations with adults or in their own ensemble. The choreography of these performances often involves descriptive actions that visually represent features of the sung texts, where as the performances of adult groups that are more likely to use the non-descriptive formulaic movements utilised in traditional women's performances.

Action songs regularly involve elaborate costume and props. Head-dresses and *uli* are constructed out of feathers, plastic bags and containers, carved wood, cotton and any manner of colourful material abundantly available. As in traditional performances, dancers paint their bodies and faces with powdered reef lime and red ochre.[14] Decorations, such as plant material, are often tied around the performers ankles, waists and wrists to create a uniform appearance and to emphasis the dance movements. Performers are accompanied by groups of guitarists who stand or sit in front of the dancers, similarly to a *kundu* ensemble during a traditional performance.

Guitars and other rhythmic instruments play an important role in the performance of chorus songs. The guitar replaces the *kundu* in the chorus song genre as the major rhythmic accompaniment. The instrument also provides an aid to harmonisation, allowing people to quickly learn new songs. The portability of the guitar and the accessibility of chorus songs across age and gender have encouraged large numbers of people to learn to play guitars for groups and for their own entertainment.

The continued success of chorus/action songs in the Lak area reflects their flexibility as an expressive form. The uniformity of hymnody produced exciting new sounds but never met the expressive needs of the Lak. During chorus songs people are emotionally engaged, they move, dance, clap, shake and make proclamations of their feelings in ways that were not previously seen as acceptable during religious celebrations in any of the Christian denominations in Lak. Chorus songs enable locals to use harmony in a manner more consistent with local ideals. The flexibility innate in chorus songs also allows composers to employ the techniques acquired from other western influences. Chorus or action songs are, in many ways, the popular music of Lak, and, like any popular musical movement, the songs create an arena for self-definition and expression in the midst of social change. In chorus songs, a cultural nexus between Lak and European music, traditions and religions can be glimpsed.

String Band Music

String bands are a musical phenomenon that has spread throughout Melanesia. In

[14] The powders used in action songs are unlikely to be magically imbued like those used in traditional dance genres.

Papua New Guinea string bands have been important in the development of a national musical and social identity. String band ensembles emerged following World War II, during which guitar and ukulele were introduced to the region. Tok Pisin, Papua New Guinea's *lingua franca* also had a significant role in the development of the genre, allowing linguistic groups equal access to the emerging pan-Melanesian form. Michael Webb suggests that where neighbouring linguistic groups had mutually unintelligible music systems, string band forms became common (1998: 137). Following the first commercial recordings of string band music in the late 1950s and 60s, stylistic patterns began to emerge. By the mid-1970s, through the medium of radio and the distribution of cassettes, regional styles developed. Regional sub-styles became apparent to the listening public but consensus recognition of specific styles was originally confined to provincial borders: Manus, Kavieng (or northern New Ireland), Tolai (East New Britain), Central Province and Madang (Webb 1993: 6). The catalyst for the emergence of these regional variations was the widespread dissemination of instruments at affordable prices, giving grass roots village inhabitants the chance to develop an indigenous language repertoire (ibid: 6-7). The use of indigenous languages in string band music was a basis for the development of traditional aesthetics, which later found their way into commercial recordings.

Feld describes guitar/ukulele-based music in Papua New Guinea as "blended voices in interlocked and overlapped polyphonies, in-synch and out-of-phase with strongly metric guitar or ukulele strums" (1988: 96).[15] Webb has characterised the Tolai style of East New Britain as "a reiterated triplet rhythm over a duple meter (played on guitar and ukulele), multipart vocal polyphony, melodic contours featuring a wide ambitus, and a specific vocal timbre" (1993: 6). Small string band groups in Lak typically comprise three guitarists and a ukulele or substitute.[16] These groups are normally village-based ensembles that perform for the local church, special community celebrations and for their own entertainment. Small ensembles allocate specific roles to each instrument; one guitarist plays a bass line on the bottom 'E' and 'A' strings, the second guitar plays a strict rhythmic pattern, while the third guitar plays the rhythmic part with possible melodic elaborations or solo licks and the

[15] Often Lak string bands are without ukulele and a guitar may be re-tuned to create an alto part in substitution.
[16] In Lak it is only young and middle-aged males who participate in string band ensembles.

ukulele plays a repeating triplet pattern. Plucking and strumming styles are employed, and sometimes a solo guitar recapitulates the melodic line of the vocal part. During celebratory events that involve several communities, large string bands may be assembled and involve ten to fifteen performers, each with a guitar. In such cases most of the guitarists strum the rhythmic part in unison as two or three individuals pluck a melodic line and all sing. Like chorus songs, string bands commonly use I – IV – V, tonic, sub-dominant and dominant chord patterns as the basis of the music.

CD Tracks 22 & 23 String Bands.

Tok Pisin played a central role in the dissemination of string band music, and, as Clark has noted Tok Pisin and string band music are analogous; both contain a "superficial familiarity concealing a novel structure" (Clark, 1986:68-70). The establishment of Papua New Guinea as an independent nation in 1975 saw a proliferation of celebration songs, many in Tok Pisin, composed by village-based choirs and string bands. The songs generally focused around a central theme of *bung wantaim* 'gathering together', national and regional unity (Webb 1998:139). The trend of celebrating events with music, especially string band performances, established during this early period of independence, has continued into the present in the Lak region. String band music is often polyglot, employing English, Siar as well as Tok Pisin.

String band lyrics in Lak are repetitive with strophic melodies. Phrases may vary only by a few words substituted in the repetitions. The single verse provided below formed the structure for three different performances at separate celebratory events. The verse is simply repeated several times with only short instrumental sections dividing the verses:

Wo oh oh oh oh oh

Yu mi kam ap bung wan taim
We come together at this time

Long dispella brek off de
For the break up day

Yu mi tok tenk yu long
We say thank you to

Mr Tolok na Mrs Kamrai na Mrs Kilroy
Mr Tolok and Mrs Kamrai and Mrs Kilroy

The community I kamap insait long Morukon skool.
The community is brought together through Morukon school.

Representatives of the hosting community frequently perform string band songs at community celebrations, in order to thank those whose efforts have contributed toward the day's celebrations. The names recited in the song text may be the names of those individuals who helped to organise the celebrations or whose achievements are the focus of the event. In most cases the verse is repeated three or four times with textual substitutions (naming several groups of individuals). Some string band songs use different arrangements of verses, which introduce new sets of words into each verse but the songs are unlikely to have a narrative that develops through the verses; rather a few key words will elude to the meaning and the occasion being celebrated, a pattern that reflects traditional Lak songs.

Plate 48 String band performers enter the dance plaza at Silur during the school's end of year celebrations

Simple group choreography is often part of the performance and may include walking, swaying and twisting while holding guitars. These movements add to the

drama, excitement and energy portrayed by the ensemble. Costume and body paint are a central part of the act; in fact, in some performances the time and energy that has gone into the costume design is equal or greater than the effort put into rehearsal. A large string band group performing at an intercommunity celebration are likely to have elaborate, head-dress (*kangal)*, costumes assembled from plant material and carefully drawn body paint covering the performers faces, arms and legs (plate 48). Compared to many local song forms string bands involve very little movement and so present opportunities for performers to experiment with various aspects of costume that might be too delicate for the more vigorous movement of traditional performances DVD Chapters 18 & 19: String Band.

The repetitious nature of the melodies and lyrics help large groups of performers learn and stage performances with limited practice and preparation. String bands are not permanent village ensembles in most communities; they are usually short-term collaborations in which young males band together to produce an item for a special event. One or two men will organise the group and lead the performance by providing an introductory lick on the guitar and conduct the singing by being the first and loudest voice in each verse. The leader will also provide visual prompts, using his head to indicate chord changes and mark the beginning or end of verses. String bands generally perform in a large circle with the performers faced toward the centre, allowing eye contact among all of the performers.

The topics of string band song lyrics are largely determined by the occasion of their performance. The example given above is typical of those large ensembles that perform at church events and secular occasions such as school closing celebrations and local government events. *Lotu* ('church/religion') or 'Christian' themes are also a popular topic for string bands as are themes of unity and regional/national pride. While the lyrics of most string bands songs are celebratory in nature, some describe recent events or contain humorous material.[17]

String bands form a significant part of Lak regional celebrations because of their universal accessibility to visitors from outside of the linguistic group, such as visiting

[17] During another school break up day in December 2004, one string band performed a commemorative song in memory of a significant *kamgoi* who had recently died.

teachers and church and government officials. String band music is comprehensible to all because of its pan-regional musical and instrumental similarities and because the lyrics in di- or polyglot songs are at least partly accessible to outsiders. Just as the popular chorus songs discussed above help the Lak to define themselves as Christians, string band music is a way in which Lak can present their multilayered identity. The themes employed by string band music and the way these themes are delivered in the local language and Tok Pisin express group solidarity on a local, regional and national level.

Syncretic Music

Syncretic musical forms consist of a relatively small, emerging group of songs that combine traditional thematic material with the modern harmonic and rhythmic features popularised in chorus and string band styles. What is meant here by the term 'syncretic' is the union of those modern musical forms presented above and traditional songs (*singsing tumbuna*). The syncretic songs discussed here don't simply alter introduced musical forms; these songs take aspects of western melody, harmony, instrumental technique, and combine them with traditional formats, lyrics and themes to create original forms. Syncretisms in Lak appear to be a relatively new musical practice that combine aspects of otherwise consciously separate traditions.[18]

All the syncretic songs I collected during my residence in Lak are combinations of indigenous text with western-influenced, guitar-based harmony and rhythm. The melodies used in these songs are related to their traditional counterparts but in most cases have been subjected to considerable alteration. Traditional themes, beliefs and understandings form the subject chosen by locals to be modernised and reformulated in syncretic music CD Tracks 24,25 & 26: Syncretic Songs.

The following example presents a unique perspective on the processes involved in syncretic music, as the original song and the syncretic version are both widely known. The original song *Soibobolut*, 'Snake of blood', is sung as part of a popular myth. The

[18] Some missions in Papua New Guinea have attempted to use indigenous melodies as the basis for Christian songs. Their efforts have met with mixed success in some areas but the relationship between traditional religious practices and music has remained a sticking point for most Christian denominations (cf. Midian 1999:1; Webb 1995:56-7; Threlfall 1975:59).

myth describes a group of five women who go to the river with their baskets to collect prawns. The women collect many prawns, and soon their baskets are full. They send one of their number to gather *maloh* (a large vine leaf) to cover the baskets and protect their contents from the heat of the sun. The woman soon comes across a *maloh* vine but, as soon as she reaches out to touch it, the vine changes into the snake called *Soibobolut*, who entangles and holds her captive. Soon the other women at the river grow tired of waiting, and one by one they go looking for their companion until eventually all five women are captured by *Soibobolut*. After successfully catching each woman, *Soibobolut* sings:

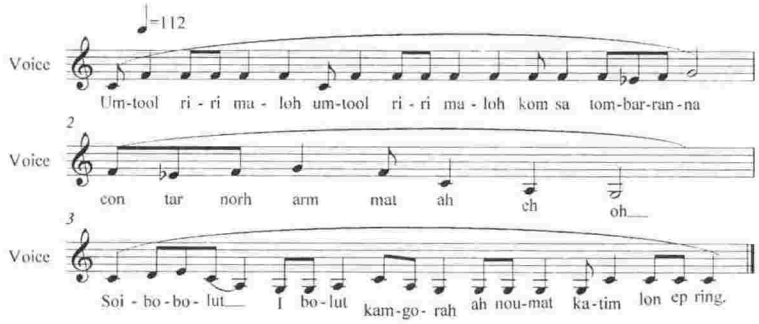
Umtool riri maloh untool riri maloh
You who gather the maloh leaf

Kom sa tombarran na, con tar
For what reason are you doing this

Norh arim mat I oh
For your widowers?

Soibobolut I bolut kamgorah
Snake of blood will bleed them

Ah noumat katim lon ep ring.
All your women, take heed.



Transcription 21 **Soibobolut traditional melodic style**

When their husbands become aware that they have not returned from the river, the men set out to find them. After some time the men come across their wives entangled within *Soibobolut*'s body. The men are forced to fight and eventual kill *Soibobolut* to win back their wives. The song holds within it the essential aspects at work in the entire myth: an unnatural threat against the established social order. When the men kill *Soibobolut*, they reassert their power over the natural world, using their physical and mental agility to avoid capture by the snake and kill it, re-establishing society and

order. The myth's popularity reflects its relevance within modern Lak society. The simple melodic form of the song is typical of songs sung in myths and stories; the short melodic phrases and brevity of the song make it easy to remember. The following modernised version of the song is based on the chorus song format, using only tonic, dominant and the relative minor chords:

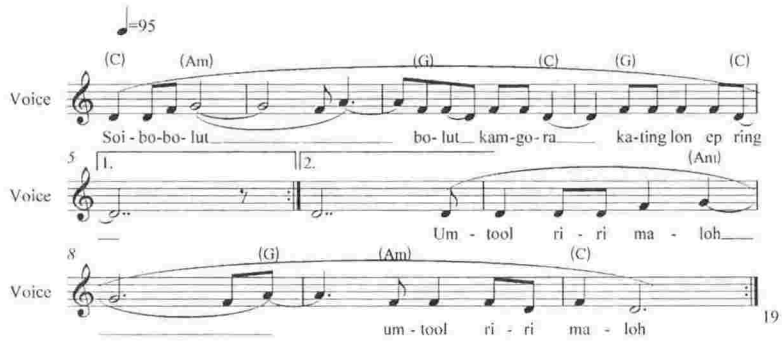
Soibobolut
Snake of blood

Bolut kamgorah
Will bleed them all

Kating lon ep ring (repeat three lines)
People take heed

Umtool riri maloh
You who gather maloh

Umtool riri maloh (repeat two lines twice)
You who gather maloh



Transcription 22 Soibobolut adapted for string band

The original text of the song has been rearranged and simplified and the new melodic structure reflects introduced musical forms. The rhythm of this version has also been altered to fit within a regular 4/4 beat. Like most syncretic songs, the composer is unknown.

Syncretic songs are produced from a variety of traditional genres; one of the most popular of these is *kamkombak*, performed by groups of young women and girls

[19] The descrepincy between the medolic pitches and the chords placed in brackets above the transcription is due to the mistuning of the guitar on which this transcription is based. Note the same issue occurs in transcription 23 below.

during celebratory occasions. Older women traditionally sing *kamkombak* songs to young women at night during their period of seclusion inside the *Dal* ('female initiation rites').[20] The text of this new *komkombak* has been directly transplanted from the original.[21] The meaning of the song is not fully comprehended by performers, and typically the individual responsible for the songs conversion into the chorus song format below remains anonymous.

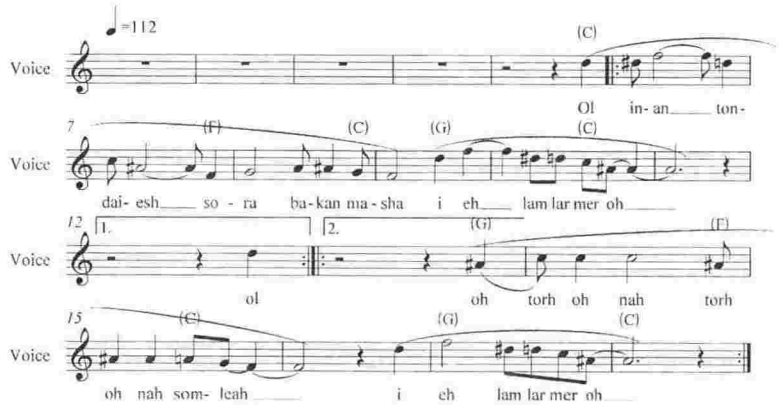
Ol inan tongaiesh
You walked here from the east

Sora bakan masha
[names the] leaf of the bakan tree

I eh lam lar mer oh (repeat all)
I eh wash in the water

Oh torh oh nah oh torh oh nah
You stand upon a coconut shoot

somleah, I eh lam lar mer oh. (repeat two lines, repeat all)
in the eel water, I eh you wash in the water.



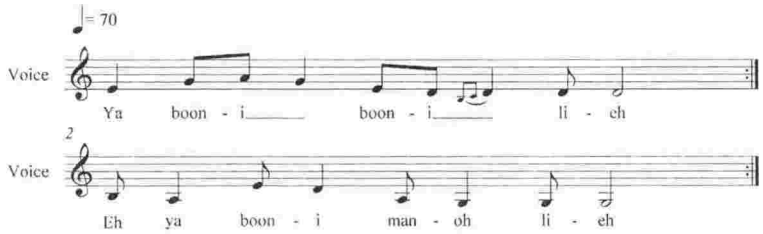
Transcription 23 ***Kamkombak* adapted to the chorus song style**

In this example the pattern of syncretism is the same, the text and format is directly derived from traditional style *kamkombak* with new harmonic and melodic elements. I saw this particular *kamkombak* performed at two different celebrations by ensembles of young women. As with all chorus songs, the dance performance of these groups differed significantly from traditional women's dance. The arm and leg movements, which are normally kept to a minimum in traditional forms, involved

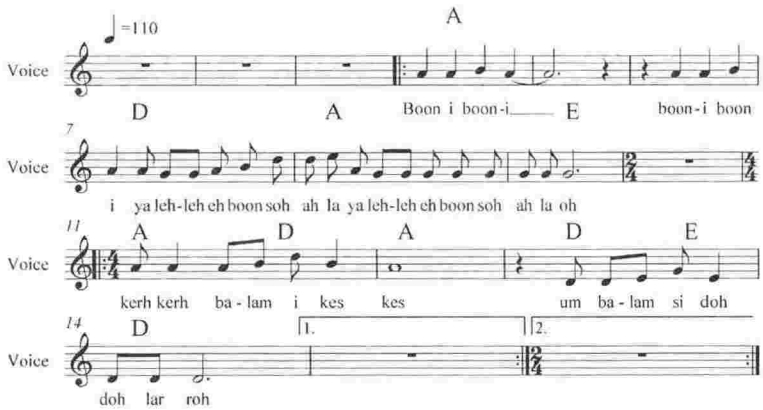
[20] See chapter two on female *pidik* practices.
[21] I was not able to solicit an example of the original *kamkombak*.

shoulder lifts and quick vigorous movements rarely used in traditional women's performance.

The final example serves to illustrate other methods of musical syncretism. The string band piece below, '*booni*', is based on a local magical song form known as *Boon*. This song simply takes the theme of the traditional magic and in a typically Lak manner hints toward meaning. In a non-narrative style the song simply mentions key aspects of the magic. For example, the *booni* bird's name is repeated as it is a central aspect of the magic's efficacy, "*kerh kerh balam I kiss kiss um balam...*," '[the booni bird] sits down close and stirs emotions'. The structure and text are not likely to be directly derived from a traditional song. The musical aspects, including rhythm, melody and instrumentation, are drawn from modern influences but the song retains a unique local flavour in its thematic material and use of key phrases and words to evoke an emotive reaction from a Lak audience:



Transcription 24 **Boon melody in traditional style**



Transcription 25 **Boon melody adapted for string band**

The relatively few examples available and the recent nature of syncretic songs make this brief overview simply an introduction into the expansions taking place in the Lak

musical world. Locals do not perceive these new musical forms as particularly valuable or interesting songs. Some syncretic forms, like the *kamkombak*, enjoy popularity but most are considered to be just *pilai* ('play'). In one instance a young man performed an *utun* song in a traditional style for a recording, and while I packed away the equipment he sang the same song with guitar accompaniment. The *utun* had been dramatically altered rhythmically and melodically to fit against a western-style melody and beat and was recognisable only through the lyrics and broad melodic patterns. The young man admitted to being the author of the chorus song version but refused to make a recording, explaining that the song was *samting nating* ('nothing of value').

The emerging genre of syncretic musical forms can be understood as the beginnings of an attempt (even if it is currently an unconscious processes) to depict modern Lak values and understandings in a way that appeals to younger members of Lak society. The examples provided above and other syncretic music currently being performed in the region may represent the future direction of Lak music and dance.

Composition: New Spirits

Chorus and string band music is composed by a large cross-section of Lak society. Unlike traditional music, these modern musical forms don't require the composer to undergo any initiation but, like traditional forms, male members of society are more likely to compose than females. Many men in Lak communities can claim to have composed some chorus or string band songs, and almost every community has one or two members who are renowned for their compositional skills. Songs may be composed for specific events or simply for amusement, and their success is judged by the popularity of the song. Modern styles of composition are not taught; successful artists learn through trial and error and by imitating other works. However, composers of chorus and action songs often attribute the source of their composition to the Holy Spirit, and periods of fasting and meditation are used as compositional aids in a manner similar to the way *alal* and *kunabok* practices are traditionally employed to contact *talung* and *tanruan*. With the arrival of new spiritual sources have come new

sounds and compositional potential. Many Lak perceive the Holy Spirit and indigenous spiritual presences as equally valid sources of inspiration for music and dance.

The thematic content of most chorus songs, whether they are in the local language or Tok Pisin, is predominantly Christian worship and praise. Some compositions describe religious experiences and spiritual awakenings while the majority simply expound the positive experiences of Christian life. The songs are the most narratively rich forms in the Lak musical repertoire as the examples below reflect.

Joe Tarman of Morukon village composed the following ballad style chorus song, *Ep Funoh*. Tarman is a renowned composer, and one of the most prolific producers of chorus songs in Lak. *Ep Funoh* serves as a good example of the genre, thematically, stylistically and structurally:

Ep funoh I borbor mamaresh
The village is at peace

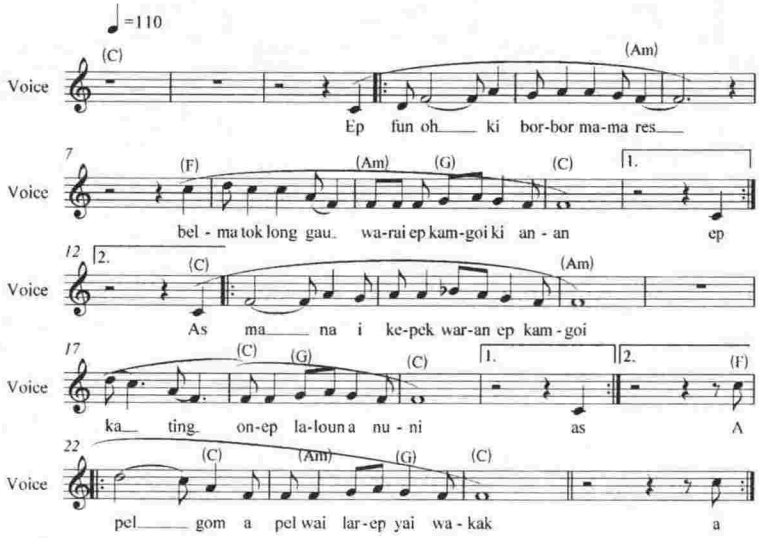
Bilmatok louger warang ep Kamgoey ki unan (repeat)
There is nothing to worry about the word of god is roaming

As ma na I kep ep warang ep Kamgoey
Who ever hears the word of god

Kating onep laloun unnuni (repeat)
Will be changed by its power

Ah pel gom
It grows,

ah pel wai lar ep yai wakak (repeat)
It grows like a strong tree.



Transcription 25 ***Ep funoh.*** **Typical modern religious ballad composition for voice and guitar**

This ballad-style chorus song presents a picture of reassurance and calm brought about through the presence and teachings of the Christian church. The melody works in conjunction with the text to portray an image of peace and security CD Track 27: *Ep Funoh*. The melodic structure is typical of the genre: two short melodic phrases combine to form a verse, and the verse is repeated. The same melodic pattern is employed again in the second verse with new textual elements. The third and final verse presents new melodic and text material. The overall melodic structure 'A.A.B.' is a popular chorus song format. Traditional song forms such as *lebung* have much in common structurally. Both song forms use short melodic phrases that are repeated (although the repetition in traditional songs may continue for several minutes). In both traditional and modern forms the structure of the verses exhibit a common tendency to begin at a melodic highpoint and progress toward a chant at the end of the verse. Others quickly work their way to a melodic peak and again descend into chant toward the end of the phrase. The rhythmic aspects of the example above move away from the often repetitive pulse that drives most traditional songs toward a western-style guitar ballad. The harmonic accompaniment provided by the guitar is, like all chorus songs, simple and effective, using chords I-IV-V and the relative minor.

The second example provided here is composed by another prolific composer. A resident in Rei village, Gior's chorus song presents an example of a compositional

technique employed by many chorus song composers. The *brukim bus*, 'short cut', method of composing has been used widely in the Papua New Guinea popular music scene and bears resemblance to traditional Lak methods of borrowing and acquiring music from neighbouring linguistic groups. The 'short cuts' may involve simply taking a popular western song and translating it, composing new lyrics or just using the chord pattern as the basis of a completely new text and melody as in the following example:

Oh oh oh Yu mi hamamas long god I stap oltaim
Oh oh oh we are happy as god is always there (introduction)

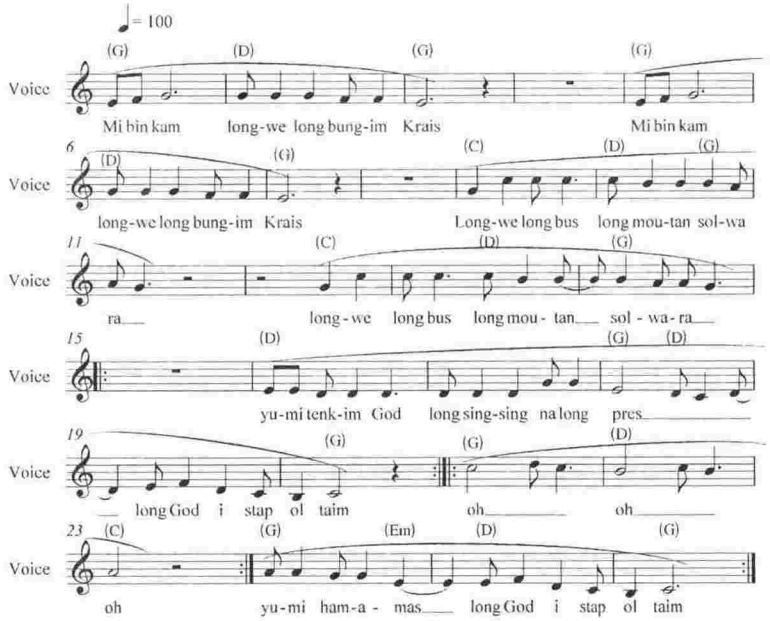
Mi bin kam long we long bungim kris (repeat)
I have come a long way to meet with Christ

Long we long bus long mountain sol wara (repeat)
Through the bush over mountains to the sea

Mi bin tenkim god long singsing na long pres
I have worshiped god through song and through prayers

Yu mi hamamas long god I stap ol taim
We are happy as god is always there

Oh oh oh
Oh oh oh.



Transcription 26 ***Mi bin kam long we*. Modern Lak composition in *Tok Pisin***

According to the composer, the chord sequence of this song is based on Richie Valens' *La bamba*. This kind of musical borrowing is frequent and perceived as a

legitimate method of composition. The melodic structure like the text is original, so too is the verse structure. Again no chorus is inserted between the verses. The five short verses consist of a single melodic phrase, which is repeated. The thematic material of the text describes a metaphorical journey taken to reach Christian knowledge. The melodic content of this song seems to be more influenced by western melodies than any pattern found in traditional Lak forms.

The act of borrowing continues to be an important aspect of Lak musical culture. It is in the process of taking outside influences and amalgamating them with local concepts that aspects of the indigenous culture are revealed. In the examples provided above local structural and melodic aesthetics remain strong, while harmonic patterns, narrative lyrical structure and Christian themes have clearly changed the way in which the Lak compose and think about music.

Celebrating Change: New Music And Performance.

This chapter has explored the new musical forms introduced into the Lak region over the previous one hundred years, describing the changes these new forms have brought about and been subject to. The popularity of many musical introductions has seen them become a significant part of the local music scene. The changes introduced through imported musical forms have radiated beyond expressive endeavours into the wider society. More than the novel musical notion of harmony accompanied the introduction of hymns: the music was a vehicle for the introduction of the *lotu* ('church/religion') and helped to bring about tremendous social and cultural shifts. String band music introduced further change, establishing the guitar as a musical instrument within Lak society, eventually creating an accessible voice of national and regional identity. Chorus songs introduced new guitar methods, influenced by western secular music, which inspired new methods of worship and ways of being a Christian. Syncretic music, chorus songs and string bands have brought about far-reaching changes in the local notions of music and dance. Music has been a pivotal tool in establishing local identity in the face of change and in the process the local concepts of performing and being musical have been reformulated. Music is no longer

performed only by large groups of people in order to display aspects of power and spirituality. Music can now be a solo act, performed for self-gratification, worship or entertainment. These extraordinary changes in the musical life of the Lak people have generated innovative ways of performing and being musical in the community. New venues have arisen, creating opportunities for the performance of new music and dance. These contemporary celebration events, their content and role in modern Lak society are explored in this section.

Traditional forms of celebration, involving music and dance, are based around mortuary rites, as the previous three chapters have attested. These traditional events serve as key components in the maintenance of tradition. Modern celebration events have arisen in conjunction with new musical forms. Music has become a feature of Papua New Guinea's identity, and celebrations held at a national, provincial and regional level invariably involve music and dance displays. In Lak religious occasions (such as Easter and Christmas) and secular events (like school completion, governmental visits, and national celebrations like Independence Day) have all become occasions for community celebration involving *singsing* performances. These events present a mixture of modern and traditional music genres.

Morukon community celebrated the 'break off' of their community primary school on the fifth and sixth of December 2001. Several other communities held similar celebrations in the same week. Morukon village has a population of approximately 250 – 300 but the school serves surrounding villages as far north as Balai and to Taron village in the south. All of these communities are predominantly Catholic. Morukon School has 58 students and runs classes in grades one through six. The end of year break-off celebrations involve all of the communities who are served by the school and took several weeks of preparation by the school committee and the community at large.

The celebrations began at seven in the evening on the fifth with a procession of men and boys walking from the beach through the village to the school grounds, 600 metres inland. The large procession sang a *wamong* to announce their arrival and the beginning of the evening's performances. The procession included most males in Morukon, all of whom were to perform during celebrations to follow. Together the

men and boys stretched to the top of their vocal range to sing the melancholic *wamong* as they slowly advanced toward the performance grounds CD Track 28: *Wamong*. The audience of mainly women, girls and young children assembled in front of two large bush material shelters constructed for the occasion. Between these two shelters a high bamboo table stood as a stage for a television and VCR. As the men moved onto the grounds, a generator was started, and the large crowd turned their attention away from the approaching *wamong* to face the TV. The television flicked into life casting a yellow and green light onto the gasping faces of the children below. The bright images showed a rugby league game between Australian teams. After fifteen minutes the television was unplugged, and a series of light bulbs strung around the shelters was plugged in. The night's celebrations began with a group of young girls who shyly assembled in the plaza and tentatively performed an action song in Tok Pisin with words and gestures that timidly announced the security found in the bible.

For the rest of the night the audience's attention continued to shift from the TV to the dance performances. *Tambaran* dancers with large *kangal* on their heads emerged from the darkness into the pool of light created by the four electric bulbs. The men appeared unearthly, eyes hidden behind the fringe of their head dress and bodies painted entirely white with reef lime. The dancers performed their quick and vigorous actions and just as suddenly disappeared into the thick black edges of the village. A *tangara* dance followed, featuring large cane poles on top of the performers' heads that whipped back and forward in a spectacular display of strength and magic, leaving the audience in stunned silence. The TV became the focus of attention once again as the next performance prepared in the shadows. A group of women entered the plaza, and the children squatting in the flicking glow of the screen were torn for a moment between the action on the TV and the *bohboh* that was about to begin. The generator was switched back to the lights, and the children turned to face the *bohboh*. The women held *uli* and wore decorated headbands; their movements were watched attentively. Men frequently yelled out during lulls in the singing: *mumai*! ('chew betel'), suggesting that the audience were so engrossed in the performance that their mouths were agape. Throughout the night a constant flow of comments, banter, encouragement and laughter floated over the proceedings in an unmistakable atmosphere of celebration. The final dance of the evening involved twenty young men

performing their own *bohboh*. The men wore *meri* blouses ('common female attire'), sported fake breasts, serious expressions and performed an entire *bohboh*, keeping the audience in hysterical laughter for seven minutes. The role reversal encouraged the young women to heap good natured abuse upon the dancers while the men struggled to keep time and their breasts in place. The evening finished with the television repeating the only videotape in the village until the generator ran out of fuel.

The next morning the celebrations recommenced with the raising of the national flag and recitation of the national anthem. The local Catechist held a brief service for the one hundred and fifty people gathered on the field. Grade two students moved into the central grounds to perform a 'welcome' action song composed by their teacher. A series of formal speeches by the school chairman, headmaster, teachers and community representatives were interspersed with chorus and action songs by each class in the school, and a brief prize-giving ended the formal section of the day's proceedings. A string band, wearing an elaborate uniform made of plant material and intricate body paint, performed three pieces and completed the morning's performances.

As always, food formed a necessary and expected part of the celebrations. The school provided three pigs and rice while every household in Morukon and the surrounding villages contributed parcels of cooked vegetables. Soon after lunch the food scraps and leaf plates were cleaned away, and the afternoon's performances began. All community celebrations are scheduled in this way; the modern song and dance genres are held in the morning and early afternoon and the traditional performances in a late afternoon finale. It is obvious that the traditional performances are the most anticipated performances and attract the largest audience. The preparation, drama and excitement involved in traditional performance ensure that they are eagerly awaited.

The afternoon celebrations began with a syncretic performance. A large group of young women sang and danced a traditional *sasalie* with altered melodic and rhythmic features, accompanied by several guitars. During their performance a group of men and boys entered the performance grounds from the far side of the field and began a display of clan power, referred to as *lambar malara*. This particular *malara* ('attraction magic') involved large, two-metre long, leaves taken from the *gorgor*

plant. One man swung the leaf around his head while several young men knelt with one arm stretched above their heads. The man who swung the leaf approached one of the kneeling men and whipped it against his arm. The result was a tremendous cracking sound equal in volume to a gunshot. This display continued for ten minutes, competing with the women's *sasalie* for attention. As the event progressed the afternoon began to take on a more competitive edge; traditional performance groups overlapped with each other, vying for attention and space on the performance grounds. The performances included a *porkpork* with a *pampam* display, a *solomon*, and a *tambaran* dance. The audience gathered around the performers and shouted encouragement to each group. The atmosphere of the afternoon was excited; adults chewed betel nut, chatted with friends and kept a critical eye on the performances while children ran between performances, trying to see everything. After the final dance the audience quickly dispersed and began their journeys home.

Conclusion

The new musical forms presented in this chapter have become an integral part of the Lak musical world. The changes that have taken place in the musical system of the Lak reflect wider social changes at work on a regional and national basis. All of the music discussed here provides a deeper understanding of the aesthetic and social values that make the local music and dance systems what they are today. The influence of the church music, broadcasting media, commercial recordings, the availability of new instruments and the rise of Tok Pisin as a *lingua franca* have all contributed to profound changes in the local music system. These musical introductions have played a significant role in ushering in new conceptions, religious ideals, a national identity and notions of the local, to name just a few of the effects.

Over time, adopted musical systems have increasingly been assimilated into the local system and been subject to an indigenous aesthetic. Hymn and choral songs are no longer performed according to foreign aesthetic values; they have begun to take on aspects of local vocal technique and phrase structure as well as other indigenous musical values. Chorus songs and string band music have opened up new ways of being musical and performing in Lak society. The recent changes, evidenced by new

compositional techniques and syncretic forms, hint at the shape of a new local music born of both introduced and local Lak musical ideals.

The results of the new performance forms discussed in this chapter have been shown to impact on individual, community and social identity. Music and dance in the region have been revealed as intimately bound with the creation and expression of conceptual and physical realities. The Lak create their cosmology: space, time, identities and community in performance.

Section 2: Chapter 8.

Performance Society

Throughout this work among the variety of materials presented here, I have attempted to emphasise in both ethnographic and Lak terms how the realities of Lak society are both reflected and created in performance. I have aimed to convey how music and dance performance embodies and generates Lak political, cultural and social life. The first section of this chapter outlines the ethnographic material presented in the body of this work. It briefly revisits the arguments presented in chapters one through seven to identify some of the important concepts that underlie local performance realities. The second section entitled 'Rendered Visible: Lak Realities in Performance' summarises the presentation of Lak society as one that creates itself in performance. Through performance actions as cooperative groups, I argue, the Lak make intentioned and conscious public statements about who they are and the world they live in. In dance performances more than in any other cooperative undertaking, individuals declare their relational identity and communities exhibit their cooperative strength. In the process Lak society is rendered in sound, movement and images. The final section 'Becoming A Small Bird' returns to the very personal level at which this ethnographic research was conducted. This section briefly describes how I, a researcher, foreigner, participant and dancer came to be perceived as a functioning cooperative member of Lak society, a human and Small Bird.

Content Review

I began this work by using the myth of Suilik and Kabatarai as an aid in the description and analysis of Lak social structures and values. The ways in which individuals are conceived as composite persons, inform the ways in which people interact and communicate. Chapter one showed that people are judged primarily as a consequence of their actions, and it is through interaction that a person's intentions become accessible to others. In such an environment participation becomes the paramount means through which people can be known. The 'Children of Kabatarai' define themselves and others through their actions, and their interactions with others

in relationships that encompass them. It is also 'action' that defines the Lak on a community level; an important part of who the Lak are as a group is displayed in the performance of *kastom*. The introduction of *kastom* as a cultural category has been shown to be instrumental in the development of a broader cultural awareness, which has enhanced the local appreciation of traditional practice and helped to develop notions of Lak identity in an expanding universe. The complex mortuary structures are introduced in chapter one as the context of most traditional music and dance performances and the circumstances in which significant social, economic and cultural exchanges are enacted.

Chapter two detailed the hidden realities that underlie Lak society. The essential, complex and sometimes vaguely defined realm of the supernatural plays an important part in the music and dance performances of the region. The performance events of the mortuary sequence are, significantly, the arena in which supernatural elements are rendered visible and audible. Music and dance are shown to provide a link between the living and the dead, and the ways in which knowledge of the supernatural is controlled and disseminated through *pidik* ('secret') societies is portrayed as essential to social structure. The two main *pidik* societies, the *tubuan* and *talung* are the dominant cultural metaphor. *Pidik* societies are organised around a central secret, that is, access to the supernatural. By controlling and limiting access to the secret, *pidik* societies exercise control over both realms. Their relationship with the supernatural realm provides the *pidik* societies with access to the source of creative materials including 'singing sounds', dance and costume. As a result the *pidik* societies are able to present powerful, original, and compelling images, sounds and movement to the visible everyday realm of humans.

With the interpersonal, group and spiritual relationships of Lak society depicted in section one, section two focused on the ways in which these relationships are maintained and enacted. I argued that music, dance and performance are central to personal, social, political and supernatural cohesion and important to the continuation of the Lak world.

Chapter three demonstrated how the Lak aural world is perceived and described as orally generated. Sounds that are produced from human, environmental and

instrumental sources are all expressed in terms of vocal production. The Siar language has no term that equates to music; sounds are classified in the local taxonomy as either singing (*saksak*), talking (*warai*), calling (*ngeng*) or weeping (*ngek*). The majority of sounds produced by natural sources, humans and instruments are consistently categorised under the same taxonomy by informants.

The investigation of the Lak sound world also revealed the relationship between geographical space and sound, and local concepts concerning realms of human and supernatural activity. I described Lak geographical space as divided into two distinct realms of sound. The sounds of the village that delineate the human realm of activity and those of the jungle, the constant hum of noise produced by insects, birds, water, trees, animals and unknown sounds that are associated with supernatural entities. It is through association with such places that composers and performers are able to acquire supernatural assistance. A third realm of sound exists between the village and the jungle. This is the dancing ground, a space that bridges the jungle and the village realms. Significantly, it was shown that, like other salient aspects of Lak society, the dancing ground is generated only in performance.

The way in which the Lak think about 'singing sounds' and the cultural aesthetics that are at work here can be understood in the context of the orally conceived musical system. The *kundu* drum, for instance, is not perceived as an instrument designed to produce regulated signals rather it is, according to Lak aesthetics, another voice. The rhythmic pattern produced by the *kundu* ornaments the vocal line; the drumbeat follows the vocal part, taking its cues from the melodic and lyric patterns of the song. In Lak music the drumbeat is best thought of as a superimposition over the melody rather than the foundational structure on which every other part depends. The voice is at the centre of Lak music and the taxonomy of the sound world. I have used the term 'singing sounds' in substitution for the word 'music' throughout this work, as a reminder that the musical system being described in these pages is founded on oral concepts.

Chapter three also disclosed several other essential aesthetics that are at play in Lak song and dance including, the indivisible relationship between music and movement. The acts of singing and dancing are encompassed within the single Siar term, *mangis*

ngis ('dance troupe'). The lyrics of Lak songs were presented as only minimal contributors toward performance meaning. Meaning, it was suggested, is generated in the process of participation and performance. This chapter also explained that in order to constitute a performance there must be at least two but preferably many participants involved, cooperation forms an essential component of music and dance performance in the region. In the final section of chapter three the physical, emotional and spiritual contexts of Lak performance were explored revealing the heightened context of performances in the mortuary sequence.

Chapters four, five and six portrayed the world of Lak 'singing sounds', dance and performance in detail. The material was presented within the socially and culturally defining mortuary rites, the hub of Lak performance activity. It is in the performance of these regularly enacted and resource-consuming events of community focus that the Lak display and create who they are. Each of these chapters dealt with an aspect of song, dance or performance in various stages of the mortuary sequence.

Chapter four detailed the initial stages of the mortuary rites, providing a context in which the complex nature of 'singing sounds' were described. The early stages of the primary funeral rites involve a variety of sound events, song performance and one of the few contexts where singing is not accompanied by dancing. The chapter explained, that the voice is capable of expressing the range of human emotions, unlike dance which is considered opposed to the feelings of *sum* ('grief') that are generated by a death and therefore inappropriate during the initial rites. It was shown that on the discovery of a death, village sound environments change dramatically. Wailing announces the death, noise restrictions are imposed on inhabitants, and the sounds produced by supernatural entities who normally inhabit bush areas may enter the village. Death produces a period of heightened sonic awareness and restricted movement in and around the affected village.

Daut performances take place in the midst of the burial rites when *sum* and supernatural presences are most strongly felt. While those close to the deceased remain confined to the house, the male population of the village perform *daut* songs while the *garamut* 'talks' and 'calls' until sunrise. Some months later a second *daut* is performed, followed by the *ahohlur sum*, a dance performance by female village

members that signifies the lifting of movement, food and other restrictions that are part of *sum* observations. The *ahohlur sum* is the first time that dance is performed following a death.

Like many of the songs performed in the region, the *daut* songs are lyrically incomprehensible to performers. This pattern is shown to be common throughout New Ireland, East New Britain and beyond. For many years prior to European contact, song, dance and other cultural items such as magic and cult practices were an important feature of cross-cultural exchange. Even songs in the Siar language do not necessarily feature narrative or descriptive lyrics, rather, the predominantly epigrammatic lyrics imply meaning through association, prestige words and reference to shared community and cultural experience. As a result, 'singing sounds' in the region communicate via words and sounds that evoke images and shared experiences. The description of song and dance composition practices in the region revealed the supernatural origin of many traditional Lak creative undertakings. A detailed account of the initiation procedures of the *Buai* cult showed that men solicit creative material from non-human entities and that creativity is a spiritual act attributed to external sources. Every aspect of a dance performance, from the lyrics to costume design, can be credited to a supernatural origin and obtained through dreams. Dreams establish a link, through composition, in which non-human and ancestral beings communicate and engage with the living.

The mortuary rites provide the vehicle for creative displays of dance and costume that in performance expose many of the otherwise invisible and unarticulated aspects of reality. The majority of male and many female dance performances attribute their creative content to supernatural sources, emphasising the importance of singing sounds and dance as a cultural system beyond normal experience. For the Lak, *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe') are literally what dreams are made of. Almost every aspect of dance performance, from children's action songs to *nataka* dance, is a display of power and spiritual energy that is in other circumstances hidden and secreted away. It is in dance performance that the invisible becomes visible, the hidden is revealed and deeper layers of Lak reality are exposed.

Chapter five provided an account of the events that mark the culmination of the primary rites. The *todong* celebrations bring all *sum* observations to an end with feasting, shell money distributions and large-scale intercommunity dance displays. This second stage of the primary rites affords the backdrop against which I describe Lak dance performances and aesthetics. In the course of the chapter I sought to reveal the social and spiritual resonances of dance performance in the region.

The male rehearsal practices and preparations for dance, once again, demonstrated the presence of a dominant cultural concept in which performance provides a gateway through which the dead come alive and the living approach a spiritual state of being. Through their preparations for dance performance, men seek to become 'light' by avoiding the mortality that is represented by the reproductive female body, and by occupying a geographical space that is associated with spirits. The result of these preparations can be spiritual possession or more commonly *langoron*, a feeling of elation and excitement produced only in dance.

Chapter five also identifies the iconographic images at use in dance costumes, revealing the pervading use of the *nataka* form as a visual metaphor that is dominant in local forms of visual expression. Dance structure is given a detailed examination in this chapter, providing an explanation of dance sectional and sub-sectional structures. The description of dance formation offers an understanding of dance troupe formation as representative of social and political ideals. In the process it is possible to perceive the ways in which social groups are able to cohere and function more cooperatively as a result of the preparation and performance of a dance. The chapter demonstrated the ability of dance to reflect and produce community and personal identity, and render visible the unseen but ever present spiritual realm.

Chapter six described the second stage of the mortuary rites and the important role that song and dance play in these elaborate final funeral rituals. The secondary rites are the venue for the *tubuan* society gatherings and *nataka* performances. The performance displays of these immortal ancestral figures are, I have argued, a window on the on local perceptions of reality. In their movements and interactions with *Yain pidik*, *nataka* help to define the respective roles of men, women and spirits. In the course of the *portung* ('secondary') rites a new order is cemented as the hosting

kamgoi ('Big Man') assumes the social and political position of the deceased and an older ongoing order is reaffirmed through the *nataka* performances which symbolise the regenerative capabilities of society and its ability to survive in spite of the death of individual members.

The *portung* and *nataka* performances require cooperative action on a scale that is unrivalled by any other ritual or performance event. The scale of preparation and planning required to generate the appearance of the giant spirits and maintain their presence for the duration of the rites is possible only with the participation and support of a significant proportion of the female community, the labour and political support of most *kamgoi* in the linguistic group, the aid of powerful *Tene Buai* and of course, the backing of the spirits themselves. The *nataka* spirit beings are, I argue, the ultimate display of spiritual and male power. In *nataka* dance, spirit being and human being combine to produce a heightened performance experience that moves audiences to tears, makes ancestors visible, and represents the triumph of survival of Lak society.

Chapter seven serves to situate the traditional understandings of the region within the modern context of a largely Christian society, struggling to come to terms with the increasing influence of Western economic systems of exchange. The modern usage of the name Suilik as an indigenisation of the Christian figure Jesus serves to aptly describe the profound changes that Christianity has rendered on the Lak. The reconstitution of Suilik as a Christian figure demonstrates how Lak society has indigenised foreign concepts and rendered them comprehensible and relevant. The supernatural nature of Lak 'singing sounds' and dance is the most powerful tool of expression available to the Lak and has been recognised by the Christian churches in the region as an undeniable force. Among some denominations this force has been rejected as a negative power out of line with Christian teachings while other denominations have chosen to incorporate it as valuable and appropriate in local worship. The modern Catholic Church in the region has become a uniquely Lak entity in which traditional and modern forms of cultural expression are used to praise and express Christian values. Suilik's modern persona like the more traditional mythical predecessor continues to inform local concepts of identification and location.

The role of traditional song and dance continues to be an important aspect of the Lak ethos. The link between spirituality, 'singing sounds', creativity and performance is a definitive complex in Lak society. The introduction of new spirits and new sounds through the influence of missions and western musical forms has augmented traditional understandings. The range of 'singing sounds' performed in the region has expanded vastly through the introduction of hymnody, part-singing, harmony, the guitar and ukulele, and a whole range of 'singing sounds' primarily introduced from Western sources. These influences have resulted in a massive change in the types of 'singing sounds' performed in the region, profound changes in local perceptions of spirituality and a shift in value and belief throughout Lak society. However, many of these changes have not occurred at the cost of traditional understandings or practices; they have simply been added to them. Recent developments within the Christian churches in Lak have seen many features of traditional 'singing sounds' and dance welcomed into the church as valuable additions and meaningful forms of Christian worship.

Rendered Visible: Lak Realities In Performance.

Having summarised the ethnographic information presented in chapters one through seven, here I seek to conclude the presentation of Lak music and dance as crucial components of a society that performs itself into being. Throughout this work, I have emphasised the role of participation in the Lak social ethos (and the ethnographic process).[1] A focus on participation, I argue, is central to an understanding of Lak society because, according to local concepts, it is through experience that knowledge is gained and in performance that most personal and community ends are achieved. It is in performance that individual and group intentions are made public, and the hidden becomes visible.

Participation takes place at many levels in Lak society, and, in my use of the term 'performance,' I refer here, to any undertaking that requires cooperative involvement.

[1] Further description of the participation methodology employed in this research is provided in the following section.

Victor Turner has argued that all social and cultural interaction can be examined in the terms of a performance event (1987). Turner's approach shows, that in daily interactions people establish and maintain a social identity through the cooperative 'performances' of gardening and through food distribution among hamlet groups. In other words, all social interactions might be considered 'performance'. Ritual proceedings can also be cast as performance as they also require participation, as Rappaport has described it, participation is a definitive feature of ritual and ritual is essentially performance at its most inclusive, all those in attendance are participants in the performance (1999: 39). While performance takes place on many levels in Lak society, I have argued that those in the ritual proceedings of *kastom* are the most significant in terms of understanding the political, social, economic and cultural world of the Lak. As widely noted by ethnographers working in the island region of Papua New Guinea, and further a field, Melanesians value actions over discussion (see Young 1987:249, M. Strathern 1987:23 & Eves 1998:35; Mosko 2005: 63). It is one thing to state your intentions and another thing altogether to exhibit them in performance. Through song and dance performance participation, people enact their allegiances and their membership of a network of relations through which they are nurtured, sustained and defined. In this way Lak society is constituted through action and literally performs itself into being.

Significantly the majority of traditional song and dance performances take place as part of the mortuary sequence. These extensive funeral rites are primarily concerned with the reproduction and maintenance of society. Deane Fergie, working in Northern New Ireland, has described women's initiation performances in similar terms, as the site of social reproduction. Fergie depicts the *vevene* initiation rites bringing about a change in status of its female participants, from 'wild' (girl) to 'domesticated' (woman). The change occurs as a result of participation in performance, Fergie explains: "What happens at *vevene* … is that a young woman's untamed sexuality is appropriated and domesticated by the congregation during her first *vevene* performance" (1995:127). It is the act of performance that both symbolically and literally constitutes the threshold that divides 'wild' from 'domesticated'. In chapter five I demonstrated how a similar process occurs during public dance performance in Lak; the 'individual' is transformed in the process of performing in a group in front of an audience. In dance, participants are able to create and express aspects of their

identity. Simultaneously, the performance group and society are altered, reconstituted and remade in the process.

It should be recalled that all of these performances take place in a political context. The actions of the hosting *kamgoi* are central to the way in which the Lak reflect and create their realities in performance. The host literally generates the ritual context and is, as a result, inherent in all of the exchanges, food distributions and dance performances. In the ritual performance the hosting *kamgoi* creates his political persona and in doing so generates, reflects and extends the social and political relationships of all those who participate. The host establishes his political power and influence in the process of sponsoring mortuary rites; he does this primarily by distributing wealth in significant amounts to as many people as possible. Through extravagant distributions of wealth the host invests himself in the community and invites allegiance to his established or proposed political order. Those who participate in large-scale ritual practice exhibit their political allegiances to the host and his supporters, and are consequently involved in generating Lak political reality through their actions.

'Singing sounds', and lyrics are also important to the performance society. If, as I explained in chapter three, all sound is perceived in terms of vocal production, birds, wind, the ocean and the entire natural world are constantly singing, crying, laughing and talking. In other words, expression is inherent in the Lak world; just what is being expressed however remains ambiguous. Communication may be considered innate but the meaning of these sounds still requires interpretation. While expression is inherently part of the Lak sound world, meaning is not. Musical and lyrical meaning is generated through context and performance. As discussed in detail in chapter four, meaning is not generally sought in the lyrics of a song (i.e. what people say). Meaning is experienced through participation (what people do). It is in the act of participating in a performance group and a ritual process that meaning is literally performed into 'singing sounds' and lyrics.

While song lyrics may be devoid of narrative meaning the act of singing them in a group is certainly not. The physical act of singing as part of group is ultimately a unifying experience. As described in chapter three, traditional Lak singing is

monophonic; all the voices strive to sound as one, at the same pitch. In Lak singing performances all voices merge into one, breathing synchronises, and individual participants are encompassed within a group.

As explained above, participation, cooperation and performance take place at every level of Lak society but it is in dance performances in the context of *kastom* that groups and individuals exhibit their creative, spiritual and composite being. Dance performances are capable of producing such significant events because they invite cooperation on a more extensive basis than any other undertaking in the Lak world. As discussed in chapter three, the number of participants in a dance is an essential aesthetic component. All dance performances require large-scale cooperation and are capable of producing exhibiting aspects of the Lak nature of being but it is the *tubuan* society performances presented in chapter six that constitute the ultimate performance events of the region. A performance involving twenty or more *nataka* engages the assistance of many *tubuan* societies. The intercommunity, cross-regional and supernatural solidarity required to host *tubuan* events represent the ultimate cooperative effort.

The *tubuan* and *talung* societies have been presented in these pages as defining features of Lak society. The image of the *nataka* has been shown to be an important cultural metaphor with which men and women strongly identify. The *nataka* form is associated with power, magic, the supernatural, male and female identity and memory. In a similar way the sounds produced by the *talung* society generate symbolic associations. Both of these secret male societies use images and sound as symbols and metaphor in a concentrated form over a specific period to generate hidden cultural realities.

Like other aspects of the Lak world, the *tubuan* and *talung* societies are constituted only in performance. The secret societies can be perceived as concentrated reflections of the wider society, they make manifest that which is usually deliberately obscured. The *tubuan* and *talung* exist only in performance; when not performing there is no physical evidence of their existence. In the same way, the frequently enacted processes of *kastom* (*wol*) provide the opportunity for hamlets, communities and the Lak society as a whole to create themselves through performance. A performance

society requires constant re-creation in and through performance. Mortuary rites not only provide an opportunity to 'finish' the dead and all that this term entails; they are the context in which the living recreate society on an individual scale by displaying their composite identity as a dancers, on a hamlet and village level as a *mangis ngis* ('dance troupe') and as a society as part of the *kastom* and ritual process. As Seeger has commented, "identity is a process, not a state" (1987:132) and, for the Lak who create their identity in 'singing sounds' and dance performance, the process takes place on an almost daily basis. Identity is performed in community churches each Sunday, in men's houses, with guitars around a hamlet fire, during meetings in the *taraiu* ('secret grounds') and at the end of year ceremonies for local primary schools. Every performance creates an opportunity to display relationships and recreate reality.

It is not just cooperation that underlies the importance of dance to a society that is constituted in performance; as shown in chapter three, the emotional content greatly affects the meaning and impact of a dance performance. Because of their context as part of symbolically and metaphorically compelling events, in Church celebrations, or as part of mortuary rites, dance performances are emotionally loaded proceedings. The atmosphere generated around performance venues can be intensely moving. Dancing grounds are an appropriate venue for the display of a whole range of emotions. Wailing and laughter are equally appropriate responses from audience members. The dancing area is a potentially dangerous space where women can be lethally poisoned but it is also a suitable arena for female clowning. Whatever form the emotional responses take, the performance creates an atmosphere in which a community can articulate emotion as a group and in doing so express solidarity.

In this heightened emotional and symbolic context, certain aspects of dance performances are deliberately designed to increase the emotional intensity of the experience. Chapter five showed how costume act as visual metaphor, dance costumes use visual metaphors to make subtle or occasionally manifest declarations about the political or spiritual power wielded by the dance troupe (*mangis ngis*). Costumes can also be designed to conjure emotional responses by making reference to deceased 'individuals'. In a similar way, chapter six demonstrated how, song lyrics draw on community, social and cultural understandings to construct images and references that are at times blatant and other times obscure. The result is a 'lyrical

mask', present and audible yet obscured and indiscernible. Like a *nataka* figure, many Lak lyrics play on secret meanings accessible only to insiders. The result is, as I have suggested, metaphorical meanings that deepen and strengthen through repeated performance and shared experience. Dance movement is another important dimension of emotional manipulation. Choreography often alludes to everyday practices, current affairs and occasionally to criticise or comment on others' actions. Together lyrics, costume and choreography combine to intensify the experience by adding layers of meaning.

In the term *langoron* the Lak expresses all of the euphoria and excitement that is generated in the process of a society creating itself at every level in a performance event. *Langoron* is an experience exclusive to dance; no other event or occasion is capable of creating the energy that is generated in the definitive social and reality producing performances that are Lak music and dance events. Dance has been shown to be the site of individual and social production and capable of creating personal and community meaning. *Langoron*, then, is the personal experience of the performance society.

In these ways Lak society performs itself into being. Cooperation is a key element of the performance society, and dance performances represent the height of cooperative activity with *nataka* performance considered the epitome of dance. The emotionally charged context of dance continues to be the unique culturally and socially defining events known as *kastom. Kastom* provides a venue for emotional expression at a community level. The euphoria generated during many dance performances in the context of *kastom* heightens the efficacy of ceremonial rites which are intended to aid the restoration of individual, community and social identity in the wake of a death. An atmosphere of community solidarity is created through the execution and performance of dance in this context. It is clear that dance and musical performance play a central role in the constitution of social relationships, communal and personal identity. On a broader scale they also materially, physically and conceptually generate the local ethos by delineating spiritual relationships, human relationships and identity at every level, from the individual to that of the entire linguistic group. The cosmologies expressed in male, female and *nataka* dance performances recreate reality, as the Lak perceive it.

Becoming A Small Bird: Performance And Participation.

In the final month of my residence in Siar community in 2005, I was invited to perform as part of a large inter-community celebration. It was not the first time that I had participated in a traditional performance; I had taken part in several small performances in my host community but this was to be the first large-scale performance in which I was to represent my hamlet and community. For two weeks we rehearsed once a day, until three days prior to the performance when a more intense period of preparation began. The ingredients for the *langoron* powder were assembled and ground into a fine dust. *Ku* oil was produced from coconut milk and the materials for costumes were gathered. During this period our personal preparation saw us sleeping in the bush at the edge of the village, avoiding contact with women, refraining from drinking and eating only foods cooked on an open fire. The night before the performance, all of the dancers walked to the hosting village under the cover of darkness. We avoided the main tracks, careful that no one would see our costumes, and established a camp in a patch of bush between the village and the beach.

On the morning of our performance, we rehearsed for the final time, completed painting our costumes and then assembled in the bush at the edge of the village. As we waited our turn to dance, we rubbed the magically imbued and strongly scented *langoron*, mixed with ground red ochre and oil, into our skin until every surface glistened with shining red. Finally we proceeded to the performance grounds in a tight grid, singing an introductory song to announce our arrival. Once in position the dance proper began, a series of taunt and quick movements, accompanied by a strong *kundu* beat and straining falsetto from the mouths of each dancer. Almost immediately the audience formed a tight horseshoe around the dance, women screamed with delight and men laughed and yelled encouragement. The dance consisted of three parts, an introduction (*lamlam*) and two main sections (*pukun*). Each section lasted for approximately four minutes and involved a series of complicated movements, a mixture of original choreography and actions generic to the *papantagol* genre. With arms extended in front of us as a unified troupe, we began to sink into a crouching position. Bent at the knees and with straight backs, our thighs took the strain of

maintaining this position while our feet, shoulder-width apart, struggled to control balance as we sank still lower. The audience delighted at the display of skill and roared approval.

Toward the end of the first section, a line of young women formed among the audience and began to rhythmically weave its way around the edge of the dance troupe. By the time the line reached the front of the performers, it had swollen to more than fifteen women with three *kamgoi* ('Big Man') from the host community joining the line as it swept past them. As they moved, the women imitated the dance in a comic manner. The line began to work its serpentine way down the length of the dancers again when it suddenly slipped in-between the performers and, on reaching my position in the grid, the leader slapped powdered reef lime onto the back of my neck and quickly returned to the audience. Each woman in the line took a turn to pour water over my head or rub lime into my hair. One of the women poured cordial down my throat, another rubbed pig fat across my lips, and finally the men at the end of the line placed money and betel nut in my hands. The other dancers ignored the disruption, remaining focused on the all-consuming dance and, despite the laughter of the audience and dishevelled state of my costume, I regained my composure and returned to dancing.

The ritual of *arbung* is a special moment in any performer's life; in this case it was conducted to signify my first performance outside my home village. Members of the opposite moiety publicly recognised me as a composite person through their ritual actions. It was a special moment of recognition and a moment I will never forget. As a dancer performing in a large male dance grid, I was displaying who I am. My opposite moiety members (Big Pisin) performed the *bung* to acknowledge the existence of a new human being capable of exchange capabilities, reciprocity and potentially marriage.

As we finished our performance, a feeling of relief and elation swept over me, the experience of *langoron*. On my way out of the dance plaza, I passed a mother holding her crying toddler. The woman was trying to convince the boy that the white man wouldn't eat him. She said: "He's not a white man. He's a small bird like you and me." I didn't know the woman; she resided in a village at a distance from my own but

because she had seen me performing, she recognised our shared moiety. Despite my terrifying appearance, the child stopped crying and looked at me intently, back at his mother and back to me again. I could see that he was trying to come to terms with a world where a white man could be a human too.

SECTION THREE

Appendix

Audio Recordings From Lak, Southern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea 2001 –2002 & 2004 - 2005

Typology Of Traditional Lak Song & Dance[1]

This typology is based on indigenous divisions of genre. The context and characteristics were described by performers or witnessed during performances.

Traditional songs performed during the day.

Name	Male/Female	With/without Dance	Number of Samples
Utun.	Male	Dance	**9**
Lebung.	Male or Female	Dance	**10**
Pokpok.	Male	Dance	**4**
Belilo	Male or Female	Dance	**5**
Tukul	Male	Dance	**6**
Papariek	Male or Female	Dance	**2**
Sasalie	Male or Female	Dance	**2**
Kurkur	Male	Dance	**1**
Koolau	Male	Dance	**6**
Solomon	Male or Female	Dance	**2**
Liou	Female	Dance	**2**
Kambalai	Male or Female	Dance	**1**
Goigoi	Female	Dance	**1**
Kanai	Male	Dance	**1**
Wamo/Wamong	Male or Female	Dance	**10**
Papantagol	Male or Female	Dance	**1**
Pinpidik	Male or Female	Dance	**3**

[1] Copies of recordings are held in the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, Boroko, Port Moresby; Asia Pacific Archive, New Zealand School of Music, Wellington; Archive of Maori and Pacific Music, University of Auckland.

Kamaie	Male	Without dance	**2**
Leplep	Female	Dance	**0**

Traditional songs performed at night.

Name	Male/Female	With/without Dance	Number of samples
Tabaran	Male	Dance	**13**
Tangara	Male	Dance	**5**
Bobo	Male or Female	Dance	**9**
Langai	Female	Dance	**1**
Gar/Bot	Male or Female	Dance	**17**
Tiko	Male or Female	Game	**3**
Lor	Male	Dance	**1**
Tipung	Male	Dance	**3**
Manilebung	Male	Dance	**4**
Rorobung	Female	Dance	**2**
Bwal	Male	Dance	**3**
Sirang/Boorm	Male	Dance	**14**
Daut	Male	Without Dance	**16**
Toudung	Male	Dance	**1**
Kanai	Male	Dance	**1**

Secret and magic songs.

Name	Male/Female	With/without Dance	Number of Samples
Boon	Male or Female	Without dance	**3**
Siaroh	Male or Female	Without dance	**1**
Warabart/Kawawar/Tar/ Awal	Male or Female	Without dance	**8**
Luipas	Male or Female	Without dance	**4**
Tim ep bart/Rain song	Male or Female	Without dance	**2**

Songs of the *tubuan*.

Name	Male/Female	With/without Dance	Number of Samples
Kapialai	Male	Dance	**22**
Kabakawer	Male	Dance	**3**
Mamboo	Male	Dance	**5**

Traditional Songs Sung During The Day

Utun

A male dance form accompanied by *kundu* drums. The *utun* song form is among the older songs known in Lak; many contain text in the old languages of the Lak area. In performance, the leader will sing right through the *lamlam* (first) section before the rest of the group joins in. The costume used for the *utun* usually consists of a large *kangal* ('headpiece') and hand held *uli* (small dancing sticks, often decorated with feathers).

Lebung

One of the most popular forms in Lak. The dancers wear *kamruruan* ('neck wreaths') made from tree leaves and wood scrapings that are wound around small vines and then dyed. Occasionally small *kangal* are worn in *lebung* performances. The dancers faces are usually painted red, white, black or yellow. There are both woman's and men's *lebung* forms.

Pokpok

A frequently performed men's dance form. The *kundu* drum is used as an accompaniment often with bamboo slit drums. The dancers wear a *kangal* that are constructed from a lightwood and wrapped in ferns with feather adornments.

Belilo

Have both men's and women's versions but are more frequently performed by female groups. *Belilo* is a well-known song form in Lak that are unusual because it is the only Lak dance form in which performers hold *kundu* drums as they dance. Women perform *belilo* wearing *bangbang*, *meri blouses* and those not holding *kundu* drums carry *uli* or small bunches of foliage. When men perform *belilo* their costume are similar to that of *lebung* dancers.

Tukul

One of the older song forms in Lak. *Tukul* are infrequently performed today but the genre is still well known in the region. *Tukul* are performed by a group of male dancers that revolve around a *garamut* ('wooden slit drum') placed in the centre of the circle. The dancers hold spears, tomahawks or axes as they dance which are often carved especially for the dance. The dancers paint their bodies black and move their tomahawks up and down in time with the *garamut* beat. The dance format of *tukul* is similar to the oldest *nataka* dance form, *mamboo*.

Papariek

Papariek is a well-known song form performed occasionally. *Papariek* are accompanied by *kundu* drums and have both male and female versions. The costumes worn by *papariek* dancers may consist of *kamruruan* and *kangal*

Sasalie
A women's song form that is occasionally performed. Performers hold sticks and wear headdress that may also obscure their faces.

Kurkur
A men's song form that is no longer performed and remembered by only a few of the most knowledgeable men. Performed with the *kundu* drum.

Koolau
Koolau is a male dance form performed with the *kundu* drum, affectionately known as a Big Man's dance as the performers movements are small and slow in comparison to most other male dance forms. *Koolau* performers hold elaborately carved *pampam nalakor* in each hand that depict *nataka* figures and a variety of animals. Because of the blatant use of the *nataka* image *koolau* are considered especially powerful and require an extended period of *kunubok* ('isolation and fasting'). *Koolau* are occasionally performed in the place of a *nataka* rite.

Solomon
Have both male and female versions. *Solomon* is a very old song form that is still performed, mostly by female groups. Most *solomon* are in Siar with sections in Tok Pisin. The dancers wear dried grass skirts and a crown of coconut leaf spines extending from their heads. Performers also wear *surop*, rattles on their wrists and ankles made from seedpods. Solomon dancers paint their skin black with bands of white.

Liou
An infrequently performed and little known song form. *Liou* is a women's song and dance form in which performers are reported to wear costumes similar to those worn in *sasalie*.

Kambalai
A male or female song form. Most *Kambalai* are in old or foreign languages. These songs are no longer performed and little known.

Goigoi
Is one of the oldest song forms in Lak, only one example of which is known. The *goigoi* is performed by women. The form was recently re-discovered when a very old woman in Lak taught it to her daughters. This *Goigoi* is now very popular in Siar and is widely known. The dancers begin in a line, and then form a circle that rotates and moves in several directions.

Kanai
A dance form exculsive to male participants that is occasionally performed. *Kanai* are mostly in foreign or archaic languages. Dancers wear carved images of the *kanai* bird as *kangal* on their heads and coconut leaf spines extending from their fingers in the manner of wings. The bodies of dancers are usually painted white and their rapid rhythmic and movements suggest an imitation of bird behaviour.

Wamo / Wamong

A male and female song and dance form performed en-route to a performance. The *wamo* and *wamong* are used to "carry" the performance group from its preparation grounds to the performance grounds. Certain *wamo* and *wamong* are associated with specific song forms. The songs are often melodic, containing slow sweeping vocal parts. Sometimes the *wamong* include choreographed movements in which dancers stop to perform a series of movements at the same point in each repetition of the *wamong* before continuing forward. *Wamong* may also be magically imbued to attract onlookers to the dance performance that will follow.

Papantagol

A male and female dance. A popular dance performed regularly in parts of Lak. Male performers usually wear costume feature similar to those worn by *lebung* dancers.

Pinpidik

A male and female dance form. Similar to *papantagol* in dance style and costume. *Pinpidik* are more frequently performed by female groups and remain a popular song form.

Kamaie

A male song and dance form that is no longer performed and only known to a few senior men. *Kamaie* were used to help paddlers of *mon* ('large single hulled canoes') to keep their rhythm. *Mon* are no longer constructed and *kamaie* have fallen out of use.

Leplep

A female dance commonly performed in modern Lak. *Leplep* are well known and believed to be an old song form of the region.

Traditional Songs Performed At Night

Tabaran

A popular song and dance that is frequently performed. *Tabaran* is a male song and dance performed with large head pieces made from fern and cane. The dancers wear white paint over most of their bodies. Often there are only two or four dancers accompanied by a large group of singers who sit with the *kundu* players.

Tangara

Similar to the *Tabaran*. A men's song form that is often performed by two male dancers and accompanied by a large singing group which beat *kundu* drums and *telek* ('hard wooden beater'). The *tangara* is performed with large headpieces, a costume of coconut leaves around their waists and white paint on their legs, hands, arms and faces. *Tangara* is frequently performed genre and popular song form.

Bobo

A male or female song form. *Bobo* is a frequently performed popular song and dance form. Occasionally men perform this dance dressed in women's dance attire on the night prior to celebratory events. The song and dance is accompanied by a *kundu* group and the dance usually involves a large group, between 10 and 20 performers. The dancers wear headbands of feathers and hold small decorated *uli*. *Bobo* often consist of short melodic verses, which are repeated without variation for the duration of the dance performance.

Langai

A female dance form, known only by those with a large vocabulary of song and rarely performed.

Gar / Bot

Is a male and female song form that are part of the mortuary sequence. *Gar*, know as *bot* in Tok Pisin are performed outside the *kastom* host's men's house for several nights or weeks preceding the *todong* and *portung* ('secondary') rites. It is a circular dance around a *garamut* ('wooden slit drum') with both male and female performers. The lyrics are often semi narrative and may mention topical events or local personalities; there are also many *gar* in foreign languages as *bot* are a region-wide phenomenon.

Tiko

Tiko is a game played at night by two groups of people mixed male and female. One member of a group stands behind a sleeping mat and sings with the rest of the group. The opposing group must guess who is standing behind the sleeping mat.

Lor

A male dance form in which the dancers wear a *lor* mask. This form is infrequently performed but well known in Lak. The performance normally involves a small group dancers accompanied by a large group of singers and drummers.

Tipung

A male dance form in which the dancers wear a *Tipung* mask. Both *lor* and *tipung* are old song forms in the Lak area. The *tipung* dance is performed on a more regular basis than *lor* and well known. *Tipung* masks sometimes appear with a large group of men performing another dance form. In these cases the *tipung* mocks the dancers and moves around and in between the dancing lines with exaggerated and humorous movements

Manilebung

There are both male and female forms of this song and dance. *Manilebung* is infrequently performed but well known in Lak.

Rorobung

A male and female song form. *Rorobung* is infrequently performed and known only by those with a large vocabulary of songs.

Bwal

A male song and dance form, infrequently performed and only known by those with a large vocabulary of songs. The dancers paint their faces black with large circles around their eyes. The hair of the dancers is also painted. The costume and paint is designed to make the performers fearsome.

Sirang (Boorm)

An infrequently performed song and dance form known only to those with a large vocabulary of songs.

Daut

A male song form without a dance. *Daut* are sung at night from sun down until dawn in or outside a men's house following the burial of a Big Man or woman in the community. All *daut* are in archaic languages of the region. *Kundu* drums and a *garamut* ('wooden slit drum') accompany *daut* performances. There are three forms of *daut*, *Bel ungri* ('belly hungry'), *bel pulap* ('belly full'), and *san kirap* ('sun rise') songs.

Secret And Magic Songs.

Boon

Can be sung by men or women. The *boon* imitates the song of the *Booni* bird, a song that is considered especially mournful. The song incorporates the name of a person whom the singer desires to see and calls on the *Booni* bird to fly to the person to whom the song is addressed. On hearing a *Booni* bird the listener will remember the singer and desire to be with them.

Siaroh

Can be sung by male or female but is predominantly a male form. *Siaroh* is a magical song that calms the wind and sea. *Siaroh* are regarded as an old song form that was frequently used when single hulled canoes travelled between the mainland and the outer islands. The *Siaroh*, like most magic songs, requires a system of fasting prior to performance.

Warabart/ Kawawar / Tar

These three magical song forms are used to attract lovers, attention or crowds in general. They can be sung by males or females and require a system of fasting and the use of ingested botanical substances. These songs must be sung in isolation and secret. Each form requires slightly different observances from the singer. The songs can also be used to attract people to the singer's house, business or personality.

Luipas

A magical song that ensure the fast growth of pest free taro. *Luipas* are normally in three sections. The first section is sung while planting to encourage the taro to be large, the second section is sung over the taro once it has started to grow to ensure insects don't spoil it and the third is a chanted recitation that safeguards the soil for future planting. Today *luipas* are only known by a few older males.

Tim ep bart

Are magic songs used mostly by males to cause rain. These are often used in order to disturb another man's plans. Like most magic songs rain songs are normally passed down through a family. The song is only a small part of the process that requires the magic worker to collect ingredients into a giant clamshell and sing over it. Rain songs are widely known in Lak.

Songs of the Tubuan Society

Kapialai

The most frequently performed of the *tubuan* songs. Most *kapialai* are in the *Tolai* language *Kauanua*. Large numbers of *kapialai* are known to all *Yain pidik* ('senior ritual adept'). *Kapialai* can only be composed by *Buai* practitioners who retrieve *kapialai* from *talung* and *tanruan* spirits.

Kabakawer

Not as frequently performed as the *kapialai* but *kabakawer* are still well known to *tubuan* society adepts.

Mamboo

The oldest of the *tubuan* songs *mamboo* are infrequently performed but a few are known to most *taraiu* ('secret grounds') groups. All *mamboo* are in the old languages of the region. The *mamboo* performance differs from that of other *tubuan* songs, *mamboo* are performed in a circle moving counter clockwise.

Lullaby

Tuturai natnat

Lullaby. *Tuturai natnat* ('stand up with a child') are usually sung to small children to stop them crying. The mother or father of the child will dance while singing, moving from leg to leg and making little jumps. Most people in Lak know several *Tuturai natnat* are also known as *natun bek.*

Women's Initiation Songs

Kamkombak

These are women's initiation songs, traditionally sung at the time of initiation when the young women stay within a *dal* ('women's initiation enclosure') for up to three months. Young women go into the *dal* around the time of their first menstruation. During their time in the *dal* the women are fed large amounts of food and only allowed to leave the house to toilet with their heads covered. Each night older women in the community come to the *dal* to tell stories to the initiates, to eat and sing *kamkombak* songs. This practice is still
observed in Lak although the length of time involved is significantly shorter. In the past the women come out of the *dal* and are taken as wives but today the rite ends with a feast. *Kamkombak* are well known and sung by young and old women.

Section Three:

MASTER INDEX

Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 1
TYPE: *Lotu* Songs In Tok Pisin

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Mi bi kam long we long bungim kris*	2.15
2.	*Yumi hamamas na presim God*	2.25
3.	*Yumi mas givim pres*	2.30
4.	*The joy of the lord*	2.23
5.	*I'm so glad that the lord loves me*	2.41
6.	*Liptimapim bikpela Jesus*	2.11
7.	*Jesus yu save gut*	5.23
8.	*Tok bilong God*	2.34
9.	*King of kings and lord of lords*	3.45
10.	*Sak han*	6.19
11.	*Winem mamboo*	3:24
12.	*Yu wok long san ap long watnem hap nau*	3.41
13.	*Taim mi stap long tudak*	2.34
14.	*Tok bilong god*	2.46
15.	*Jesus I tok*	2.59
16.	*Ol manmeri redi gut nau*	3.29
17.	*Taim lord I kam*	2.55
18.	*Mama Maria*	3.53
19.	*Taim mi stap*	3.41

MASTER INDEX

Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 1
TYPE: *Lotu* Songs In Tok Pisin II

Item Number	Title	Duration
20.	*Lord your love*	2.25
21.	*Liptim ap em*	1.57
22.	*Nem bilong yu*	3.34
23.	*Jesus em i diwai wine*	4.23

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 2
TYPE: *Lotu* Songs In Tok Pisin

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Offering song*	3.30
2.	*Maria o mama*	2.18
3.	*Win em mamboo*	1.48

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2*

Compact Disc: 3
TYPE: *Lotu* Songs In *Tok Ples*

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Alboon pasu sen*	1.50
2.	*Kamgoey anuk*	3.33
3.	*Anuk loulouon tangou piou*	1.54
4.	*Ep far boon*	3.04
5.	*Suilik i warai*	1.36
6.	*Wai mam ep labur*	3.16
7.	*Wai mam ep labur*	3.15
8.	*Wai mam ep labur*	4.10
9.	*Wai nan na ohring*	3.14
10.	*Ep far boon*	1.41
11.	*Tasiek*	1.48
12.	*Anuk ep Kamgoey*	2.38
13.	*Ol inan tongaiesh*	2.25
14.	*Lotu song*	3.00
15.	*Nganun yow ma*	7.24
16.	*Nana taloi pas ep lemam*	3.02
17.	*Lotu Song*	1.56
18.	*Oi Nana*	1.56
19.	*Ngan oi ngan oi*	5.03

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 3
TYPE: *Lotu* Songs In *Tok Ples*

Item Number	Title	Duration
20.	*Nganun yow ma*	2.43
21.	*Ep funoh*	2.23
22.	*Ep funoh*	2.39

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 4
TYPE: Traditional Songs (Sung During The Day)

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Utun*	1.18
2.	*Utun*	1.46
3.	*Utun*	1.21
4.	*Utun, kam lang orh*	1.23
5.	*Utun*	1.33
6.	*Utun*	0.55
7.	*Utun*	1.41
8.	*Utun*	4.32
9.	*Lebung*	0.42
10.	*Lebung*	1.25
11.	*Lebung*	2.36
12.	*Lebung*	1.39
13.	*Lebung*	1.01
14.	*Lebung*	2.00
15.	*Lebung*	1.15
16.	*Lebung*	4.48
17.	*Lebung*	7.07
18.	*Lebung*	2.17

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 4
TYPE: Traditional Songs (Sung During The Day)

Item Number	Title	Duration
19.	*Pokpok*	2.26
20.	*Pokpok, lamlam*	2.17
21.	*Pokpok, pukun*	2.19
22.	*Pokpok, lowloon*	2.18
23.	*Belilo*	1.04
24.	*Belilo*	1.37
25.	*Belilo*	1.57
26.	*Belilo*	2.18
27.	*Tukul*	1.45
28.	*Tukul, lamlam*	2.19
29.	*Tukul, pukun*	1.52
30.	*Tukul, lowloon*	1.17
31.	*Tukul*	1.56
32.	*Tukul*	3.30

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2*

Compact Disc: 5
TYPE: Traditional Songs (Sung During The Day)

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Papariek*	6.50
2.	*Sasalie, lamlam*	1.38
3.	*Sasalie, pukun*	3.35
4.	*Sasalie?*	1.30
5.	*Kurkur*	4.18
6.	*Koolau*	3.06
7.	*Koolau*	2.55
8.	*Koolau, lamlam*	3.33
9.	*Koolau, pukun*	3.00
10.	*Koolau, lowloon*	1.35
11.	*Koolau 4th part*	5.19
12.	*Solomon lamlam*	1.51
13.	*Solomon, pukun*	1.31
14.	*Goigoi*	1.27
15.	*Kambalai*	0.58
16.	*Kanai*	2.52
17.	*Liou*	1.41
18.	*Liou*	5.31
19.	*Wamo*	3.19

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 5
TYPE: Traditional Songs (Sung During The Day)

Item Number	Title	Duration
20.	*Wamo*	1.42
21.	*Wamong*	4.01
22.	*Wamong*	4.11
23.	*Wamong*	3.12
24.	*Wamong*	3.23

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2*

Compact Disc: 6
TYPE: Traditional Songs (Sung During The Night)

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Tabaran*	1.55
2.	*Tabaran*	1.56
3.	*Tabaran*	1.53
4.	*Tabaran*	2.09
5.	*Tabaran*	1.54
6.	*Tabaran*	1.56
7.	*Tabaran, lamlam*	1.01
8.	*Tabaran, pukun*	1.15
9.	*Tabaran*	1.22
10.	*Tabaran, lamlam & pukun*	7.09
11.	*Tabaran*	8.21
12.	*Tangara*	1.48
13.	*Tangara*	2.05
14.	*Tangara*	8.35
15.	*Bobo*	1.18
16.	*Bobo*	2.59
17.	*Bobo*	8.30
18.	*Bobo*	5.34
19.	*Bobo*	7.01

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 6
TYPE: Traditional Songs (Sung During The Night)

Item Number	Title	Duration
20.	*Langai*	0.59
21.	*Kamgar*	1.23
22.	*Kamgar*	2.18

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 8
TYPE: Secret And Magic Songs

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Boon*	3.56
2.	*Boon*	1.22
3.	*Boon*	2.42
4.	*Siaroh*	2.06
5.	*Kawawar / kamlai un karo*	1.57
6.	*Kawawar / kamlai un karo*	3.23
7.	*Warabart*	2.12
8.	*Warabart*	2.09
9.	*Luipas*	0.38
10.	*Luipas 2nd part*	0.47
11.	*Luipas 3rd part*	0.47
12.	*Tar*	3.30
13.	*Tim ep bart*	4.02
14.	*Tim ep bart*	1.01

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 9
TYPE: *Tubuan* Songs

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Kapialai*	2.52
2.	*Kapialai*	2.49
3.	*Kapialai*	3.13
4.	*Kapialai*	4.49
5.	*Kapialai*	4.06
6.	*Kapialai*	2.33
7.	*Kapialai*	2.50
8.	*Kapialai*	4.02
9.	*Kapialai*	1.19
10.	*Kapialai*	2.04
11.	*Kapialai*	1.48
12.	*Kapialai*	2.45
13.	*Kapialai*	4.53
14.	*Kapialai*	3.41
15.	*Kapialai*	4.24
16.	*Kapialai*	3.27
17.	*Kapialai*	4.12
18.	*Kapialai*	4.29
19.	*Kapialai*	5.28
20.	*Kapialai*	3.37

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 10
TYPE: *Tubuan* Songs

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Kapialai*	6.53
2.	*Kapialai*	4.25
3.	*Kapialai*	3.25
4.	*Kapialai*	4.58
5.	*Kapialai*	4.02
6.	*Kapialai*	4.10
7.	*Kapialai*	3.30
8.	*Kapialai*	4.57
9.	*Kapialai*	3.59
10.	*Kapialai*	3.39
11.	*Kapialai*	5.01
12.	*Kapialai*	4.29
13.	*Kapialai*	3.48
14.	*Kapialai*	4.03
15.	*Kapialai*	3.39
16.	*Kapialai*	3.04
17.	*Kapialai*	3.26

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 11
TYPE: *Tubuan* Songs

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Kapialai*	3.14
2.	*Kapialai*	3.06
3.	*Kapialai*	3.29
4.	*Mamboo*	3.39
5.	*Mamboo, pukun*	3.21
6.	*Mamboo.*	4.09
7.	*Mamboo, pukun*	3.22
8.	*Mamboo*, 2nd *pukun*	3.12
9.	*Mamboo*	5.18
10.	*Mamboo*	4.28
11.	*Kabakawer*	3.34
12.	*Kabakawer*	3.39

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2*

Compact Disc: 12
TYPE: Children's Songs, *Kamkombak*, String Band And Miscellaneous Sounds.

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Mama i stap we*	3.51
2.	*God i sori long mipella*	1.00
3.	*Tuturai natnat*	0.35
4.	*Natun bek*	0.42
5.	*Tantan monair rango* (Game)	2.51
6.	*Tuturai natnat*	0.57
7.	*Tuturai natnat*	1.36
8.	*Tuturai natnat*	0.54
9.	*Tuturai natnat*	0.41
10.	*Tuturai natnat*	1.12
11.	*Tuturai natnat*	1.25
12.	*Tuturai natnat*	0.55
13.	*Tuturai natnat*	5.08
14.	*Tuturai natnat*	1.13
15.	*Pas pas pas* (Clapping game)	0.38
16.	*Tuturai natnat*	1.05
17.	*Tuturai natnat*	1.34

***Kamkombak* (Women's Initiation Songs)**

18.	*Kamkombak*	2.42

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2*

Compact Disc: 12
TYPE: Children's Songs, *Kamkombak*, String Band And Miscellaneous Sounds.

Item Number	Title	Duration
19.	*Kamkombak*	2.58
20.	*Kamkombak*	2.46
21.	*Kamkombak*	1.45
22.	*Kamkombak*	1.53
23.	*Kamkombak*	1.40
24.	*Kamkombak*	1.31
25.	*Kamkombak*	1.02
26.	*Kamkombak*	1.50
27.	*Kamkombak*	2.19

String Band And Miscellaneous

28.	*Meri Baining*	2.43
29.	*Soibobolut*	1.10
30.	*Japanese song*	2.14
31.	*Japanese song*	0.57
32.	*Booni booni*	1.40
33.	*Tomas*	1.55
34.	*Oi mator ki ot*	1.35
35.	*Nokah leiwan kopra*	1.08
36.	*Kamkombak*	1.43

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2*

Compact Disc: 12
TYPE: Children's Songs, *Kamkombak*, String Band And Miscellaneous Sounds.

Sounds of Lak.

Item Number	Title	Duration
37.	*Woman crying & angry man*	1.24
38.	*Jungle sounds*	3.01
39.	*High in the jungle*	1.49
40.	*Jungle early morning*	2.30
41.	*Crying for the dead*	1.54
42.	*Cry of the talung*	1.23

MASTER INDEX

Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 13
TYPE: Myths And Stories

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Kakaruk story*	6.55
2.	*Giant turtle story*	14.50
3.	*Love magic story*	23.50
4.	*Palai na korakum*	1.47
5.	*Blakbokis story*	3.25
6.	*Dok na palai story*	5.42
7.	*Love magic story*	7.57
8.	*Tu pella mama*	7.07

MASTER INDEX

Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 14
TYPE: Myths And Stories

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Soibobolut.*	7.10
2.	*Sikau na palai.*	7.43
3.	*Dolphin meri*	4.00
4.	*Two brothers.*	2.43
5.	*Sinek na mangi.*	9.01
6.	*Kweh.*	14.10
7.	*Bolout bilong Suilik*	12.46
8.	*Nian wara.*	9.36

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2001/2

Compact Disc: 15
TYPE: Myths And Stories

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Origin story.*	21.46

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Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2004-5

Compact Disc: 16
TYPE: *Lotu* Songs

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Na misana*	2.40
2.	*Met kiot kiom salou*	4.08
3.	*Bung bung par yow*	3.17
4.	*Suilik ian sur el sang ep ngasim*	3.12
5.	*Met boon boon*	3.28
6.	*Tol yow lar oh*	3.33
7.	*Ep far boon*	3.08
8.	*Sangsa ma*	3.31
9.	*Met kiot kiom salou*	5.17
10.	*Ah ni tu wari magasiba*	2.54
11.	*Yow maunge*	2.13
12.	*Ah rak sorh oh*	3.03
13.	*Save Maria*	5.33
14.	*Welkom*	2.30
15.	*Choir of Taron*	3.44
16.	*Chorus group of Taron*	4.16
17.	*Women's choir of Bakum*	5.36

MASTER INDEX

Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2004-5

Compact Disc: 17
TYPE: Traditional Songs Performed During The Day

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Papariek*	2.19
2.	*Pinpidik*	2.06
3.	*Pinpidik*	3.07
4.	*Pinpidik*	3.05
5.	*Papantagol, lamlam*	1.29
6.	*Papantagol, pukun*	2.00
7.	*Papantagol, pukun*	1.33
8.	*Utun*	6.22
9.	*Walau/Wamong*	1.33
10.	*Wamong*	1.57
11.	*Belilo*	4.12
12	*Kamaie*	3.08
13	*Kamaie*	3.19

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2004-5*

Compact Disc: 18
TYPE: Traditional Songs Performed At Night

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Kamgar mas*	1.15
2.	*Kamgar mas*	1.53
3.	*Kamgar mas*	2.30
4.	*Kamgar*	1.58
5.	*Kamgar*	1.49
6.	*Kamgar*	1.50
7.	*Kamgar x2*	6.12
8.	*Kamgar*	10.12
9.	*Kamgar*	0.57
10.	*Kamgar*	2.59
11.	*Kamgar*	7.16
12.	*Kamgar*	1.51
13.	*Kamgar*	1.57
14.	*Kamgar*	3.34
15.	*Kamgar*	1.40
16.	*Tipung*	1.28
17.	*Toudung*	1.41
18.	*Kanai*	14.21

MASTER INDEX

Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2004-5

Compact Disc: 19
TYPE: Traditional Songs Performed At Night

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Bobo*	19.58
2.	*Bobo*	14.44
3.	*Bobo*	19.14
4.	*Bobo*	3.30

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2004-5*

Compact Disc: 20
TYPE: Traditional Songs Performed At Night

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Tomalagan/Tangara*	7.14
2.	*Wamong & Tangara*	8.53
3.	*Wamong & Sirang*	12.24
4.	*Tiko*	2.17
5.	*Tiko*	2.20
6.	*Sirang*	8.16
7.	*Wamong & Tabaran*	8.42
8.	*Tabaran*	11.44

MASTER INDEX *Recordings from Lak, New Ireland – 2004-5*

Compact Disc: 21
TYPE: *Nataka* Songs, Secret & Magic Songs, String Band & Syncretic Songs

Item Number	Title	Duration
1.	*Kapialai*	3.04
2.	*Kapialai*	3.40
3.	*Kabakawer*	3.06
4.	*Kundu beats for nataka dance MD9#1&2*	3.54
5.	*Luipas*	0.17
6.	*Awal*	0.58
7.	*Tar*	0.56
8.	*Wong*	0.26
9.	*Warabart*	2.33
10.	*String band of Kamilial*	12.14
11.	*Wamong*	1.40
12.	*Wamong*	2.31

Item Details
Lotu Songs In Tok Pisin

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 1*

Mi bin Kam long we long bungim kris. Recorded at Sumsum village 5-3-01. Composed by George Totili of Rei Village. Performed by 3 adult and 6 children. Sung for this recording. Source MD1 #1-2. Duration: 2:15 min.

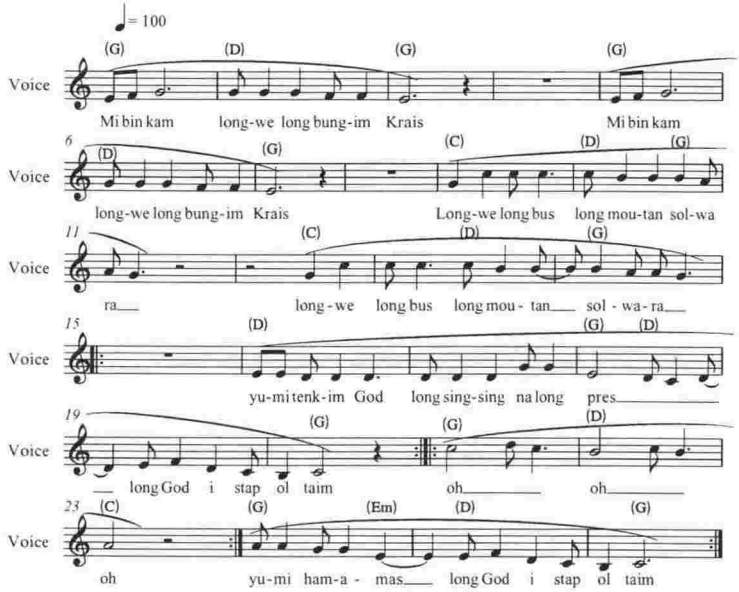
Oh oh oh yu mi hamamas long God i stap oltaim
Mi bin kam long we long bungim kris
Long we long bus long mountain sol wara
Mi bin tenkim God long singsing na long pres
Yu mi hamamas long God i stap ol taim
Oh oh oh

Translation:
Oh oh oh we are happy as God is always there
I have come a long to meet with Christ
Through the bush over mountains to the sea
I have worshiped God through song and through prayers
We are happy as God is always there
Oh oh oh.

* The transcriptions provided in this appendix are intended to convey the broad structural and melodic features of the music. Songs performed with guitars and with a strong regular pulse are presented in metric bars. Other, more traditional Lak song forms (see item 2 compact disc 4) are arranged according to their phrase structure. The *kundu* beat transcriptions that accompany many of the traditional song forms indicate a steady repeating beat but are not necessarily in synch with the vocal part.

Mi bin kam long we

MD 1 #1



ITEM 2 Compact Disc 1

Yu mi hamamas na presim God. Recorded at Rei village 13-6-01. Composer unknown. Performed by the charismatic fellowship group. I asked the group to hold fellowship with me so that I might record the songs the group regularly perform. Source MD4 #3. Duration: 2:25 min.

Yu mi hamamas na presim God
Yu mi hamamas na presim Papa God
Yu mi hamamas na presim God
Yu mi hamamas na presim Papa God
Oh sana sana oh sana sana oh sana God antap

Translation:
We are happy and praise God
We are happy and praise God the father
We are happy and praise God
We are happy and praise God the father
Oh sana sana oh sana sana oh sana God above.

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 1

Yu mi mas givim pres. Details as above. Source MD4 #4. Duration: 2:30 min.

Yu mi mas givim pres i go long God
Long lukautim yu mi olgeta taim
Yes yu mi mas givim pres long Jesus
Em i rot up to the lait
Oh sana givim pres long God
Oh sana glory long Jesus
Oh sana oh sana oh sana

Translation:
We must give praise to God
For looking after us all of the time
Yes we must give praise to Jesus
He is the road up to the light
Oh sana give praise to God
Oh sana glory to Jesus
Oh sana oh sana oh sana

ITEM 4 Compact disc 1

The Joy of the Lord. Details as above. In English MD4 #5. Duration: 2:23 min.

The joy of the Lord is my strength
He hits me with the water and I thirst no more
The joy of the Lord is my strength
He hits me with the spirit and I speak in tongues
Oh the joy of the lord is my strength

ITEM 5 Compact disc 1

I'm so glad that the Lord loves me. Details as above. In English and Siar. MD4 #6. Duration: 2:41 min.

I'm so glad the Lord saved me
If I had no faith in Jesus where would I be?
I'm so glad that the Lord saved me
He saved me he saved he saved me

ITEM 6 Compact disc 1

Liptimapim bikpela Jesus. Details as above. MD4 #7. Duration: 2:11 min.

Liptimapim bikpella Jesus
Liptimapim bikpella Jesus em i king ol taim
Oh sana oh sana oh sana oh sana

Translation:
Raise him up, powerful Jesus
Raise him up, he is King always.
Oh sana oh sana oh sana oh sana

ITEM 7 Compact disc 1

Jesus yu save gut. Sung during prayer. Details as above. MD4 #8. Duration: 5:23 min.

Jesus yu save gut tru long laip bilong mi
we are living long hand bilong yu
I kam tu dai long laip bilong yu
mi cri mi cri wantaim bel sori
Jesus yu save gut tru long laip bilong mi
He kam tu dai long laip bilong yu
Mi cri mi cri wantaim bel sori
Jesus, Jesus we are living long han bilong yu
Jesus relesim mi lusim dispella hevi
Long han bilong yu I gat laip

Translation:
Jesus you truly know my life
We are living in your hands
He came and died for our lives
I cry I cry with a heavy heart
Jesus you truly know my life
He came and died for our lives
I cry I cry with a heavy heart
Jesus, Jesus we are living in your hands
Jesus release me free me from this weight
In your hands there is life

ITEM 8 Compact disc 1

Tok bilong God. Details as above. In Tok Pisin and Siar. MD4 #12. Duration: 2:34 min.

Tok bilong god I sap olsem bainet I sutim liva bilong mi
Tok bilong god senisim laip bilong mi
Oh sana leluya oh sana leluya
Tok bilong god senisim laip bilong mi

Warang ep Kamgoey eh arat larah
Lewan esolah ka tik
Warang ep Kamgoey rekesh ep lalowon anuki
Oh sana le lu ya oh sana le lu ya
Warang ep Kamgoey rekesh ep lalowon anuki.

Translation:
The word of God is sharp just like a knife it cuts to my heart
The word of God has changed my life
Oh sana le lu ya oh sana le lu ya
The word of God has changed my life

ITEM 9 Compact disc 1

King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Details as above. MD4 #14. Duration: 3:45 min.

Sidaun na singaut long King Jesus
Power and glory and mi Jesus
King of Kings and Lord of Lords
Sidaun na presim em
(Chorus)
Apim em apim em na liptimapim nem bilong em
I go antap I go antap turu Jesus Emanuel

Sanap na singaut long King Jesus
Power and glory and mi Jesus
King of kings and lord of lord
Sanap na presim em
(Chorus)
Danis na singaut long King Jesus
Power and glory and mi Jesus
King of kings and lord of lords
Danis na presim em
(Chorus)
Wisel na singaut long king Jesus
Power and glory and mi Jesus
King of king and lord of lords

Wisel na presim em.
(Chorus)

Translation:
Sit down and sing out for King Jesus
Power and glory and me Jesus
King of Kings and Lord of Lords
Sit down and praise him
(Chorus)
Raise him up raise him and lift up his name
It goes above a long way above, Jesus Emanuel.
Stand up and sing out for King Jesus
Power and glory and me Jesus
King of Kings and Lord of Lords
Stand up and praise him.
(Chorus)
Dance and sing out for King Jesus
Power and glory and me Jesus
King of Kings and Lord of lords
Dance and praise him
(Chorus)
Whistle and sing out for King Jesus
Power and glory and me Jesus
King of Kings and Lord of Lords
Whistle and praise him
(Chorus)

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 1

Sak han. Details as above. MD4 #18. Duration: 6:19 min.

Sak han i go sak han i kam
Hamamas na sak han wan taim
Laikim narapella olsem laikim yu yet
Dispella em i pasin bilong god

Smile i go smile i kam
Hamamas na smile wantaim
Laikim narapella olsem laikim yu yet
Dispella em i pasin bilong God

Wisel i go wisel i kam
Hamamas na wisel han wantaim
Laikim narapella olsem laikim yu yet
Dispella em i pasin bilong god
Danis i go danis i kam

Hamamas na danis wantaim
Laikim narapella olsem laikim yu yet
Dispella em i pasin bilong God

Translation:
Shake hands all around
Be happy and shake hands
Do unto others as you would have done to you
This is the way of God.

Smiles go all around
Be happy and smile
Do unto others as you would have done to you
This is the way of God.

Whistles go all around
Be happy and whistle
Do unto others as you would have done to you
This is the way of God

Dance all around
Be happy and Dance
Do unto others as you would have done to you
This is the way of God.

ITEM 11 Compact disc 1

Win em mamboo. Details as above. MD5 #1. Duration: 3:24 min.

Eh ee ee eee eee
Win em mamboo na paitim guitar
Na presim God em stap antap
Long haven

Ha-le-lu-ya ha-le-lu-ya
Ha-le-lu-ya le-lu-ya Ha-le-lu-ya

Translation
Eh ee ee eee eee
Blow the bamboo and strum the guitar
And praise to God who is above
In heaven

Ha-le-lu-ya ha-le-lu-ya
Ha-le-lu-ya le-lu-ya Ha-le-lu-ya.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 1

Yu wok long san ap long watnem hap nau. Recording solicited from two young men in Rei Village. 9-7-01. Composer unknown. Source MD5 #16. Duration: 3:41 min.

Yu wok long sanap long watnem hap nau
Taim tok bilong God i wok long go?
Yu harim long yow bilong yu
Olsem watnem nau long laip bilong yu?
(Chorus)
Oh Jesus, Jesus i wok long singautim yu na mi
Jesus, Jesus i wok long singautim yu na mi
Long kam long em na kisim malalo

So nau i taim long mekim decision
Yu noken strongim bel bilong yu
Yu larim spirit bilong God i movim yu
Olsem watnem nau, long laip bilong yu?

(Chorus)

Translation:
Where are you at this time
When the word of God flows through?
You hear the words in your ears
So where are you in your life?

Oh Jesus, Jesus he is calling you and me
Jesus, Jesus he is calling you and me
To come to him and rest.

So now it is time for a decision
Don't be stubborn
Let the spirit of God move you
So where are you in your life?

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 1

Taim mi stap long tudak. Group of eight young boys sing for recording 10-07-01. Rei Village. Composer: George Totili. Source MD5 #19. Duration: 2:34 min.

Taim mi stap long tudak
Mi lukluk i go long we more
Mi lukim lite, lite long Christ
I sine more olsem san

Jesus please Jesus kam lusim mi
Jesus please Jesus kam gisim mi go stap one taim yu
Long ples bilong yu long ples bilong hamamas ol taim

Translation:
When I was in that dark place
I saw at a great distance
I saw a light the light of Christ
It shone as bright as the sun

Jesus please Jesus come set me free
Jesus please Jesus come and get me to be with you
In your place the place of eternal joy.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 1

Tok bilong god. Details as above. Source MD5 #21. Duration: 2:46 min.

See Item 8 for transcription and translation.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 1

Jesus i tok. Three girls sing for recording 10-7-01. Rei Village. Composer unknown. Source MD5 #23. Duration: 2:59 min.

Jesus i kam long Jerusalem
Jesus i tok bai temple i bagarap
Jesus i tok bai plenti hevi bai kam up
Bihin bai singim song
Ohsana ohsana
Ohsana ohsana ohsana
Ohsana ohsana ohsana
Olsem watnem yu redi long Jesus bai kam
Bai kam gisim husat yu redi na waitim em
Bai yu go stap wantaim em long haven antap
Bihin bai sellim yu mi bilong man bai kam
Eh eh eh eh

Ohsana ohsana ohsana
Ohsana ohsana ohsana

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 1

Ol manmeri redi gut nau. Recording made during church service 9-12-01. Siar Village. 30 people present. Hymn from "*Ÿu Mi Lotu*" songbook. Source MD12 #4. Duration: 3:29 min.

Ol manmeri redi gut nau king bilong yu i laik kam up
Jesus God na Messiah na redima bilong yu mi
Em i laik kam makim gut yu i laik brigim yu long lite
I laik soim yu long haven bai bai yu go long em
Ol manmeri bilong bilip yu pella i hamamas
I no long taim bai radima Jesus Christ bai kam up
Yu pella i mekim redi rot bilong Messiah yet
Bai bai i kam long yu mi na i mekim gut yu mi
Sol bilong mi yu hapi tru nau Jesus Christ i laik kam up
Em i bringim yu long blessing bai yu hamamas i stap
Tasol yu, yu mas bihinim rot bilong em ol taim
Bai bai yu painim haven ples bilong hamamas ol taim

Translation:
People prepare yourselves our King is coming now
Jesus, God and Messiah and our redeemer
He is coming to purify you he will bring you to the light
He will show you heaven where eventually you will join him
All people who believe, rejoice
It won't be a long time before the redeemer Jesus Christ arrives
People prepare the road for the Messiah
Eventually he will come and purify us
Our souls will be joyous soon Jesus Christ will come
He will give you blessing and you will be joyous
But you must follow in his footsteps forever
Eventually you will find heaven the place of eternal joy.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 1

Taim lord i kam. Details as above. 9-12-01. Source MD12 #5. Duration: 2:55 min.
The following transcription is missing two verses.
Taim Lord i kam bilong mekim kort
Mi laik stap wantaim Jesus
Taim Lord i kam bilong mekim kort

Taim Lord i opim book bilong laip
Mi laik stap wantaim Jesus
Taim Lord i opim book bilong laip

Taim Lord kalim nem bilong ol

Mi laik stap wantaim Jesus
Taim Lord kalim nem bilong ol

Taim ol i hamamas ol taim
Mi laik stap wantaim Jesus
Taim ol i hamamas ol taim

Taim ol i sing halleluiah
Mi laik stap wantaim Jesus
Taim ol i sing halleluiah

Translation:
When the Lord comes on judgement day
I want to be with Jesus
When the Lord comes on judgement day

When the Lord opens the book of life
I want to be with Jesus
When the Lord opens the book of life

When the Lord calls out the names
I want to be with Jesus
When the Lord calls out the names

When everyone is forever joyous
I want to be with Jesus
When everyone is forever joyous

When they sing hallelujah
I want to be with Jesus
When they sing hallelujah

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 1

Mama Maria. Recorded during a public performance 11-3-02.. The song was performed with a dance. This group of about 12 women perform at Kamilial Village. Source MD19 #2. Duration: 3:53 min.

Mama Maria mi wok long singautim yu long helpim mi
Mi brokim skrew long lek bilong yu na mipella mama
Oh mama soim mi long rot i go long paradise

Oh oh Mama, Mama, Mama Maria
Mi kam bilong yu, mi kam bilong yu,
Mi brokim skrew long leg bilong yu Mama Maria

Translation:
Mother Maria I pray to you to help me
I kneel for you, all of us Mother
Oh Mother show me the road that goes to paradise
I came for you, I came for you
I kneel for you mother Maria.
Oh oh mother, mother, mother Maria

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 1

Taim mi stap long dispella graun. Details as above. 11-3-02. Source MD19 #3. Duration: 3:41 min.

Taim mi stap long dispella graun laip i bagarap tru
Mi no bin kisim hamamas insait long laip bilong mi
I no gut bai mi kisim Jesus long laip bilong mi

(Verse in the Lak language no transcription available.)

Translation:
My life on this earth is not a happy time
I have no joy in my life
It would be better if I had Jesus in my life.

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 1

Lord your love. String band of Kamilial perform for this recording 13-3-02. Kamilial Village. Three guitars and one ukulele. Source MD20 #2. Duration: 2:25 min.

I never knew your love for me,
That you died on the cross for me
Just as soon as I realised that you love me so
Oh Lord your love is like a mountain
Oh Lord your love is like a river
Oh Lord your love is like a reef that seeks the air

ITEM 21 Compact Disc 1

Liptim up em. Details as above. 13-3-02. Source MD20 #3.Duration: 1:57 min.

See item details for track 6.

ITEM 22 Compact Disc 1

Nem bilong yu. Details as above. 13-3-02. Source MD20 #4. Duration: 3:34 min.

Mi laik presim nem bilong yu
Mi laik worshipim nem bilong yu
Yu God na Lord bilong mi

Long nem bilong yu i sweet
I sweet tumas insait long laip bilong mi
Oh yes oh yes Lord

Translation:
I want to praise your name
I want to worship your name
You are my Lord and God

Your name is so sweet
It is sweet inside my life
Oh yes oh yes Lord

ITEM 23 Compact Disc 1

Jesus em i diwai wine. Recorded during a church service in Rei Village 30-4-02. Six guitars and congregation of 80 people. Source MD21 #21. Duration: 4:23 min.

Papa em i karim wine Jesus em i diwai wine
Yu mi Christians yu mi olsem han bilong diwai wine

Ol manmeri na ol ples solwara em bai pinis
Tasol tok bilong God em bai no inap pinis em bai stap oltaim.

Translation:
Father you carry wine, Jesus is the grape vine
We are Christians we are like a branch of the vine

All the people, every place and the sea will go
But the word of God it will never go it will always be forever.

ITEM DETAILS
Lotu Songs In Tok Pisin II.

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 2

Offering song. Recorded during a church service in Rei Village 30-4-02. Six guitars and congregation of 80 people. In Konomala and Tok Pisin. Source MD21 #22. Duration: 3:30 min.

Yu mi bringim offer yet i go long antap
Bai Lord papa i blesim offer yet, offer yet bilong yu mi

Translation:
We bring this offer to go above
So the Lord father can bless it, this offer, this offer from us.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 2

Maria o mama. Details as above. 30-4-02. Source MD21 #23. Duration: 2:18 min.

Maria o mama yu queen bilong heaven
Na graun, tingting i pass long yu

Maria mama you pray for mi
Yu helpim mi long prey bilong yu
Long forgetim wori bilong mi

Translation:
Maria oh mother you are Queen of heaven
And earth, I think of you

Maria mother you pray for me
You help me in your prayers
To forget all of my troubles

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 2

Win em mamboo. Two young men sing for this recording 9-7-01. Recording made in Rei Village. Source MD5 #17. Duration: 1:48 min.

See item details for track 11 compact disc 1.

ITEM DETAILS
Lotu Songs In Tok Ples

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 3

Alboon pasu sen. Performed for this recording by a young man from Rei Village 12-5-01. Source MD1 #17. Duration: 1:50 min.

Alboon passu sen Kamgoey ep key ep anuki
Alboon ah lelekeh resam
Ollan tongesh ollan timesh ollan sayperim ollan temot
Sordat el tikin balandat
Sordat el torh dat el torh
Sordat el tel goshgosh dat el sakey
Ep mangis ngis an noon eh mam sen Boboloss

Translation:
I respect you my Lord
I praise your name
Everyone gather from the east, gather from the west
Gather from above, gather from below
And join together as one
We will stand and sing
We will stand and dance
For our lord forever.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 3

Kamgoey anuk. Performed for recording by young man from Rei Village 21-5-01.. Composed by Joe Tarman. Source MD1 #18. Duration: 3:33 min.

Kamgoey anuk ep tamlaon aboon boon kolusen
Onep mamaresh ahnumi ah kep ahis taryow
Suilik ohsamasek dat kel boon koolu
Al saksak ep al koko onep resem kasai galie
Kon asnai ep balneis molmol ahnoki ahrim Kamgoey
Glory glory glory ohsana ahrem Suilik

Translation:
My Lord you look after all those who respect you
Have pity on me, and forgive me
Jesus you are the one we honour
We sing and call to you to praise your name
To show my respect to you Lord glory, glory, glory oh sana to you Jesus.

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 3

Anuk loulouon tangou piou. (My life on this earth) Performed for recording by Cletus Todawe from Pukunmal in Rei village. 21-5-01. Source MD1#19. Duration: 1:54 min.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 3

Ep far boon. Details as above. 21-5-01. Source MD1 #20. Duration: 3:04 min.

Ep far boon ep fandarwai
Namet keytarsoui
Karimsen mam sai galie
Ohsa metal boon boon oh
(Chorus)
Kamgoey anumi tu sa belma lo tik
Labong mesenah la tu beltok titihen

Tik ohring sen tik nami sena bel tik ah lar oh
Bel tik ti reshem barsan namet lowon laru
(Chorus)
Ep lang nget torh ah na nu rop
Dat rop dat el boon boon
Toh baran rop na deet lowoon
Dat el a gotgot pasi

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 3

Suilik i warai. Three boys sing for recording 24-5-01. Composed by Tamanawai of Kapokpok, Siar. Recording made in Rei village. Source MD1 #22. Duration: 1:36 min.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 3

Wai mam ep labur. Details as above. Composer George Totili. 24-5-01. Source MD1 #23. Duration: 3:16 min.

Wai mam ep labor e allaryow
Ep a song pasep toutoubar
Toh tinar lar anuk soon na bellal keypas pasu
Oh mam oh na ngan yow
Ol marresh yow ep ol ngan yow ol ngan yow ma
Solring el keypass pasu mam

Translation:
Father a huge wind has stopped me

And I am stuck in a storm
All my excuses
Are not able to help me now
Oh father oh help me
You pity me and you help me
You help me now
I will come to you father.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 3

Wai mam ep labur. The composer George Totili sings for recording 26-5-01. Source MD1 #24. Duration: 3:15 min.

See transcription and translation for Item 6 compact disc 3.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 3

Wai mam ep labur. Three men sing for recording 9-7-01. Source MD5 #15. Duration: 4:10 min.

See item details for track 6 compact disc 3.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 3

Wai nagn na ohring. Two boys perform for recording in Rei village 10-7-01. Composed by Joe Tarman of Morukon village. Source MD5 #18. Duration: 3:14 min.

Wai nagn na ohring kateyow anlon ep roon moon
Umratan marresh pasyow umbrakeypas yow on ep ngas wa kak
Wai nagn oh oh oh oh marresh yow ep ol keypas yow
Toloui ep lemak ah teteyow kating arhesam
Un ah toom soralmanal

Translation:
Mother a have been living in the dark
Take pity on me and lead me to the righteous path
Mother oh oh oh oh take pity on me and lead me.
Hold my hand and guide me to your son so that
I can rest eternally.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 3

Ep far boon. Eight young boys sing for recording 10-7-01. Rei village. Source MD5 #20. Duration: 1: 41 min.

See transcription for Item 4 compact disc 3

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 3

Tasiek. A family of five sing for this recording 11-11-01. Recorded in Trip kamp hamlet, Rei village. Source MD9 #6. Duration: 1:48 min.

Tasiek ep arakam noune Suilik
Sordat gong ma dara long rai orhsai
Eding ep arhkam ning
Barsansan (Fieinsen) na i los ep mamat al
Wot tat oh Suilik
Souilik sen I arhlar kon kimsoui eding
Ep mamat ding

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 3

Anuk ep Kamgoey. Details as above. 24-11-01. Source MD10 #15. Duration: 2:38 min.

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 3

Ol inan tongaiesh. Recording made during a performance at Morukon school 6-12-01. A group of young women sing and dance to split bamboo and guitar accompaniment. This is a traditional *Sasalie* that has been modernised. Source MD11 #11. Duration: 2:25 min.

Ol inan tongaiesh
Sora bakan masah
I eh lam lar mer oh

Oh torh onah oh torh onah somleah
I eh lam lar mer oh

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 3

Lotu song. I suspect that this is sung in Kuanua. Recorded during a performance at Kamilial village11-3-02. The performers danced and sang holding *uli.* Source MD19 #4. Duration: 3:00 min.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 3

Nganun yow ma. Recorded during a performance at Kamilial village 11-3-02. This was the first performance of this new composition by Boki Kalipopo of Siar village. Performed by a large group of men and women. Source MD19 #7. Duration: 7:24 min.

Nan ep toutou bar eyalar yow
Bil ma nap contol bastik ti baran ma
Wai nan wangun yow
Ol wangun yow ma, ol wangun yow ma, ol wangun yow ma
Sorh ah titi yow sorh kating ah ri sam
Nan wagun yow
Ol wangun yow ma, ol wangun yow ma, olwangun yow ma
Sorh ah titi yow sorh kating ah ri sam

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 3

Nana taloi pas ep lemam. Recorded during performance at Kamilial 11-3-02. Details as above. Source MD19 #8. Duration: 3:02 min.

Na ohring ep lakman piou [Now before on this ground]
Peseni oh tar ep Kamgoey key nok kakas aroh [before god?]
Oi nana oi nana oi nana ep tan ep korona (repeat verse) [oh Mother oh mother oh mother leader of Korona]
Nana taloi pas ep lemam (repeat) [Mother hold my hand]
Oh na kan torh yow ep ol ah titi yow [walk with me...?]
Karisam an ah tomb sorh ah tisa palm ol na (repeat verse)
(Repeat all)

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 3

Lotu Song. Recorded during performance 12-3-02.. The choir of Silur sing in the *Lak* language and Tok Pisin. Source MD20 #1. Duration: 1:56 min.

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 3

Oi Nana. Recorded during rehearsal at Rei village 30-4-02. Composed by Julius Soiumbo of Morukon village. Source MD21 #17. Duration: 1:56 min.

Oi nana tan ep korona
Marish tar yow toloi pastar ep lemak

Nana anuki oh marish tar yow

Toloi pasep lemak ngan maria

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 3

Ngan oi ngan oi. Details as above 30-4-02.. Composed by Larry Soiumbo. Source MD21 #18. Duration. Min. 5:03.

Nang oi nang oi
Asgai tar mit ma
Onep laloun anumi
Oi nang usen ep tar Suilik
Uh ep tan ep marmaris

Kamgoey taman mit
Mitnig pasu ah sur ol nanung mit
Kamgoey u sen ep tamalun
U kamtikin tar to baranrop

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 3

Nganun yow ma. Recorded during church service at Rei village 30-4-02. 60-80 people present. Source MD21 #19. Duration: 2:43 min.

See item details for track 15 compact disc 3.

ITEM 21 Compact Disc 3

Ep funoh. Details as above. 30-4-02. Source MD21 #20. Duration: 2: 23 min.

See item details for track 22 Compact disc 3.

ITEM 22 Compact Disc 3

Ep Funoh. Sung for this recording by two brothers at Morukon Village 1-5-02. Source MD21 #25. Duration 2:39 min.

Ep funoh i borbor mamaresh
Bilmatok louger warang ep Kamgoey ki unan

As ma na i kep ep warang ep Kamgoey
Kating onep laloun unnuni

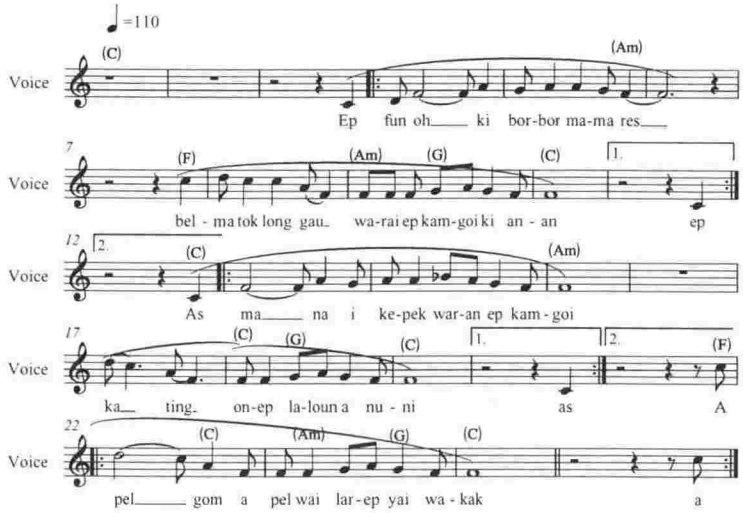
Ah pel gom ah pel wai lar ep yai wakak

Translation:
The village is at peace
There is nothing to worry about the word of God is roaming

Who ever hears the word of God
Will be changed by its power

It grows, it grows like a strong tree.

Ep funoh



ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Songs Sung During The Day

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 4

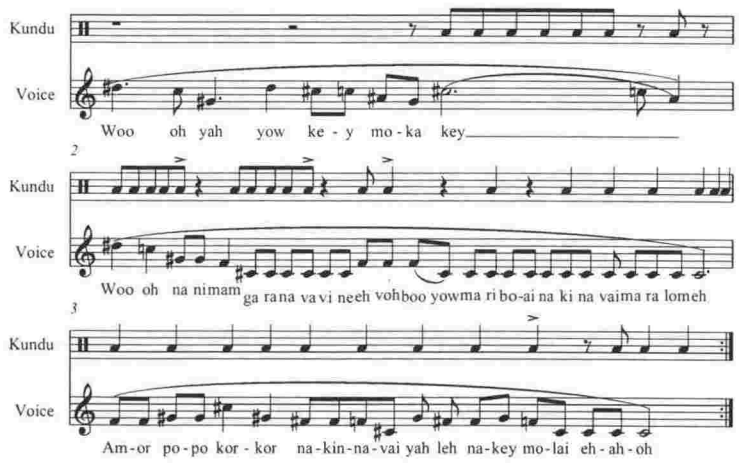
Utun. Sung by Alfred for recording at Rei village 24-4-01.. *Utun* composed by Tobungman of Mimias (deceased). In the Lak language and an older form of the Lak language. Source MD1 #12. Duration: 1.18 min.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 4

Utun. Details as above. This *utun* is in a mixture of Kuanua and Patpatar languages 24-4-01. MD1 #13. Duration: 1.46 min.

Woo oh yah yow key moka key
Woo oh nani mam gara na va vine na
eh voh boo yow mari boui
na kina vai maralom e
Amor po po kor kor na kin navai
Yah leh na key molai eh ah oh.

Utun
MD 4 #2



ITEM 3 Compact Disc 4

Utun. Details as above. Repetition of *Utun* above 24-4-01. MD1 #14.Duration: 1.21 min.

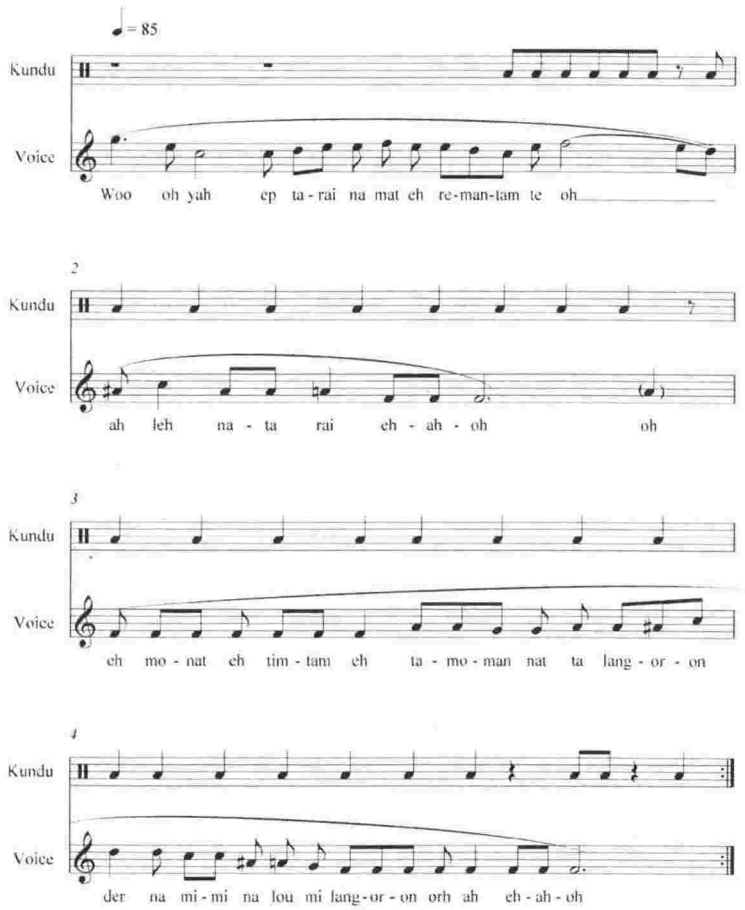
See item detail for track 2 compact disc 4.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 4

Utun, Kam lang orh. Sung for recording by Remiduce and Toibob at Rei village 10-5-01. Source MD3 #10. Duration: 1.23 min.

Utun

MD 4 #4



ITEM 5 Compact Disc 4

Utun. Sung for this recording by Alouis Tongehte in Rei village 16-8-01. Source MD6 #4. Duration: 1.33 min.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 4

Utun. Sung by Alfred for this recording in Rei village 24-8-01.. Transcription available in an old language of the Lak. Source MD6 #14. Duration: 0.55 min.

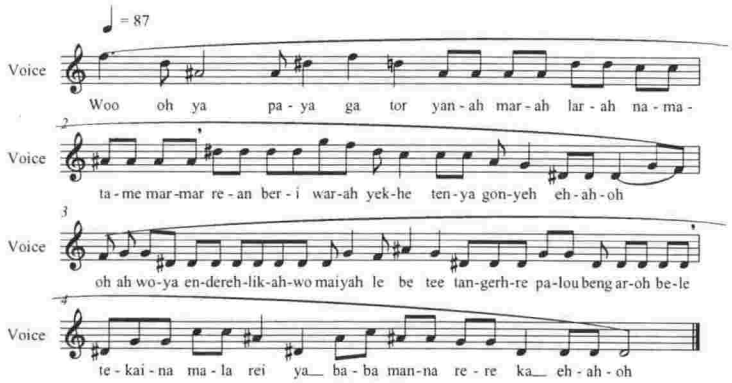
Woo ohya kale ho ra be ya we
Woo oh nani mam gara na va vine na
Eh voh boo yaw mari boui
Na kina vai mara lom e
Amor po po kor kor na kin navai
Yah leh na key molai eh ah oh.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 4

Utun. Sung for this recording by Teresa in Kamilial village 13-3-02.. Teresa is also the composer. No translation available. In the kuanua language. *Lamlam* section. Source MD20 #8. Duration: 1.41 min.

Utun

MD 4 #7



ITEM 8 Compact Disc 4

Utun. Details as above. *Pukun* section 13-3-02. Source MD20 #9. Duration: 4.32 min.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 4

Lebung. Sung for this recording by Tinalali Brigata at Rei village 10-5-01 . This *lebung* is specifically for women. Source MD3 #8. Duration: 0.42 min.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 4

Lebung. Sung for this recording by Cicelia in Rei village 12-5-01. In Kuanua. This is a women's only *lebung*. Source MD3 #14. Duration: 1.25 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 4

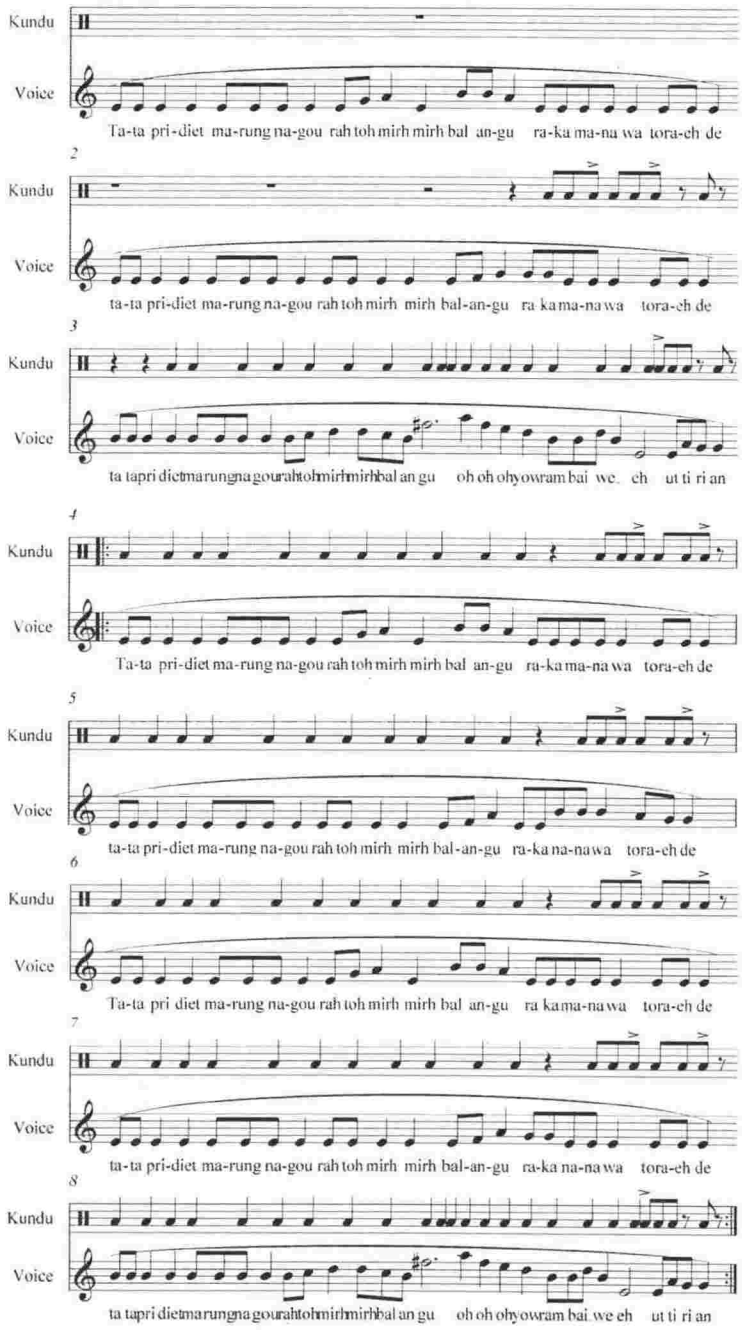
Lebung. Sung for this recording by Otto in Rei village 30-5-01. Transcription given in an old language of the Lak. Source MD3 #31. Duration: 2.36 min.

Tatapridet marung nagou rah toh
Mirh mirh balangu raka mana wa
Toraeah de

Tatapridet marung nagou rah toh
Mirh mirh balangu oh yow rambaiwe
Eh eh an utirian

Lebung

MD 4 #11



ITEM 12 Compact Disc 4

Lebung. Sung for recording by Albert Tolin in Rei village 16-8-01. Source MD6 #2. Duration: 1.39 min.

Wawal warat pieouw ramatana kani
Eh walou lawi na tangi wang nun yow walou
Nori rawai

Eh dora wali, dora wali
Muki tera nera wong kon ah palbek
Ehran mani oh ah luka
Wan narol ona kua ta olai

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 4

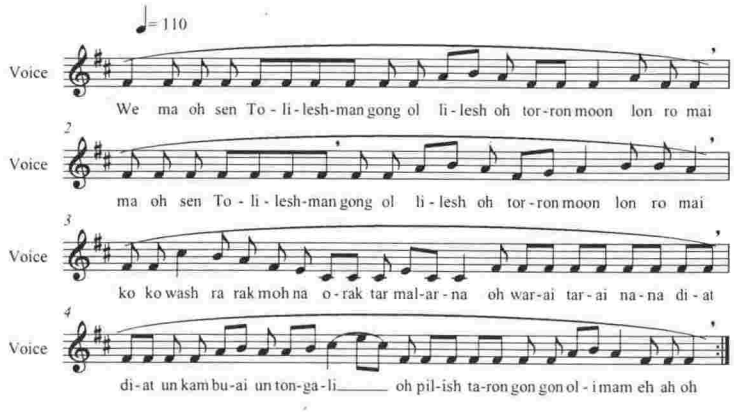
Lebung. Sung for this recording by Alouis in Rei village 21-8-01.. Composed by Twandemi (deceased). Source MD6 #7. Duration: 1.01 min.

Whe ma oh sen Tolileshman
Gong ol lilesh torron moon lon romai
Ma oh sen Tolileshman
Gong ol lilesh torron moon lon romai
Ko ko wash ra rak moh
Orak tar malarna
Oh warai nana diat
Diat kam boui un tongali
Oh pilish gong gon
Oli mam yow

Translation:
Whe you Tolileshman
Don't play tricks
Hiding inside the dark house
You Tolileshman
Don't play tricks
Hiding inside the dark house
How did you get inside?
Why is it that you stand like that?
You told your mother
About the beetle nut over there
You broke your own finger

Lebung

MD 4 #13



ITEM 14 Compact Disc 4

Lebung. Sung for recording by Tinalalai Brigata in Rei village 22-8-01. *Lebung* sung only by women. Source MD6 #9. Duration: 2.00 min.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 4

Lebung. Sung for recording by two teenage boys in Rei village 28-8-01. Source MD8 #4. Duration: 1.15 min.

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 4

Lebung, Myam Tamarakan. Sung for recording by Remiduce and Ambrose in Rei village 7-11-01. In Kuanua. Source MD8 #21. Duration: 4.48 min.

Mai am tamarakan ohga welou
Mam pidik eh al lal na moriah

Mai am tamarakan ohga welou
Mam pidik eh leh
Tatata mar maram ngouk
Nanei maram kangal
Oh malagan gouria natai

Mai am tamarakan ohga welou
Mam pidik eh al lal na moriah

Mai am tamarakan ohga welou

Mam eh leh

Tatata mar maram ngouk
Nanei maram kangal
Oh malagan gouria natai

.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 4

Lebung. Sung for recording by three Big Men from Mimias in Rei village 12-11-01. Composed by Darus of Lambom Island. I suspect this is a complete *lebung.* Source MD10 #1. Duration: 7.07 min.

Lamlam:
Welhoweh konalmot kamale matam matam
La tinderh mola rei eh-eh-eh rungah eh ah oh

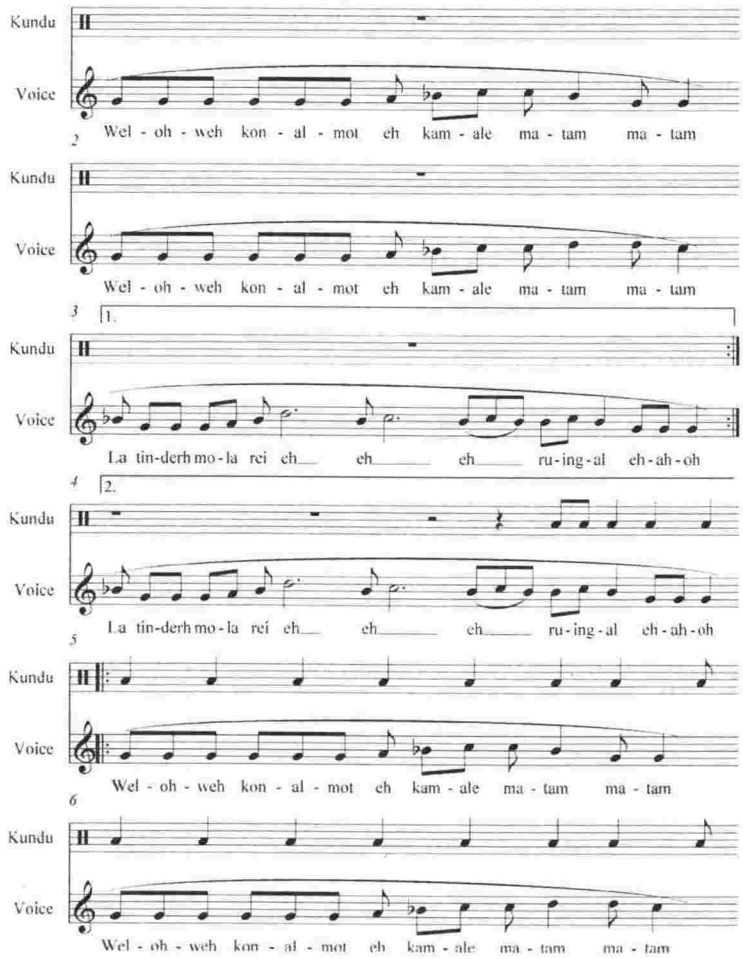
Pukun:
Eh ah lerh doro wong go
Yen tenna weng go mandara kylie

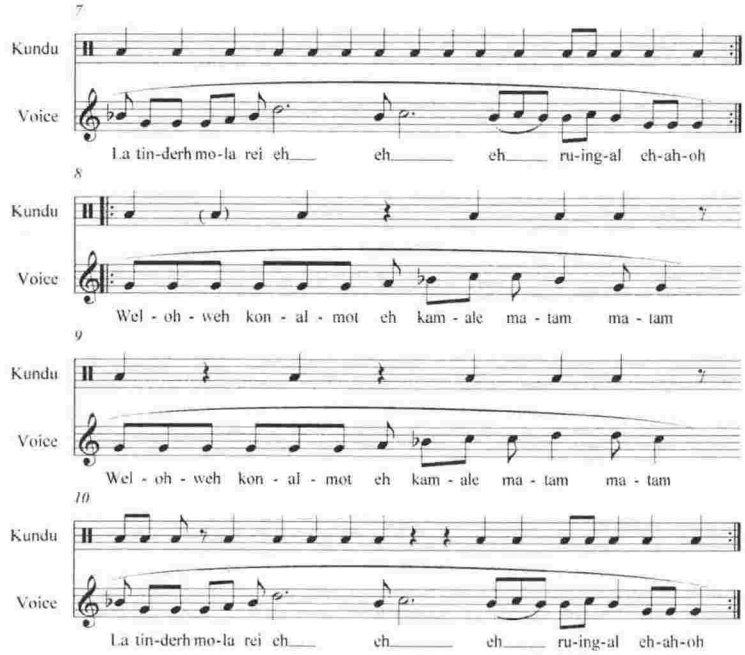
Yeah toot pinamareh ya tooh
Yah torh na tata by

Pukun:
Eh mohmoh me rah kot
Aro balam where wa maram
Tingil oh mari my yow
Winer wa maiam an oh tar
Pa bak kona wol my owh my owh
Warh kong yow mam det ohna
Ting gil eh moh moh me ram
Ten duk eh.

Lebung

MD 4 #17





ITEM 18 Compact Disc 4

Lebung. Recorded during a performance for a *dok* ('payment on the completion of a *tubuan* rite') at Kalipopo 25-1-02.. In Kuanua. Same *lebung* as above. *Lamlam* section only. Source MD13 #11. Duration: 2.17 min.

Welhoweh konalmot kamale matam matam
La tinderh mola rei eh-eh-eh rungah eh ah oh

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 4

Pokpok. Recorded during a rehearsal in Rei village 28-4-01. Source MD3 #1. Duration: 2.26 min.

Warkakel dora leh warkakel dora lom
Warkakel dora lom toi mat maram dawai
Maram ki li whoworh mali eh-ah-oh

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 4

Pokpok, Lamlam. Sung for recording by a group of men led by Daniel at Rei village 24-11-01.. Transcription available. In three parts. Source MD10 #12. Duration: 2.17 min.

We-ohya teri oui oh oh oh rere wan ten a ni kai ramatam
Ma ma tot pia yow ah ti eh-eh-eh-eh-eh lik I wam war bai ah

ITEM 21 Compact Disc 4

Pokpok, pukun. Details as above. Second part of *Pokpok* above. Source MD10 #13. Duration: 2.19 min.

We-ee toi mat maram lou bungi
Toi mat maram lou bungi
Toi mat maram lou bungi aweh
Tikan rapore ra kangal i marmar
Ri tang gorh ra bouli maroh rong
Eh-ah-oh

ITEM 22 Compact Disc 4

Pokpok, Lowloon. Details as above. Third part of *Pokpok* above. Source MD10 #14. Duration: 2.18 min.

Warkakel dora leh warkakel dora lom
Warkakel dora lom toi mat maram dawai
Maram ki li whoworh mali eh-ah-oh

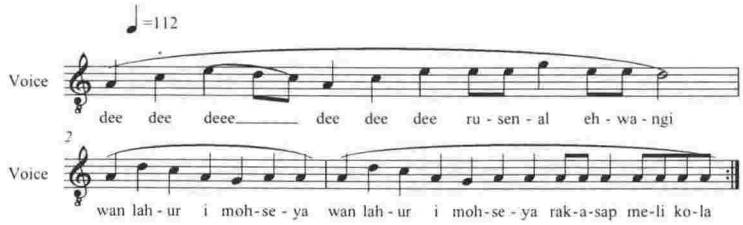
ITEM 23 Compact Disc 4

Belilo. Sung for this recording by Remiduce in Rei village 25-8-01. In the language of Tanga island. Source MD6 #17. Duration: 1.04 min.

Dee dee dee, dee dee dee
Rusenal ehwangi
Wan lahur i mohseya
Wan lavur i mohseya
Rakasap meli kola
Dee dee dee, dee dee dee
Rusenal ehwangi
Wan lahur i mohseya
Rakasap eh kola

Belilo

MD 4 #23



ITEM 24 Compact Disc 4

Belilo. Sung for this recording by Cecilia in Rei village 18-9-01.. In the Siar language, track 12 discusses meaning of the song. Source MD8 #11.Duration: 1.37 min

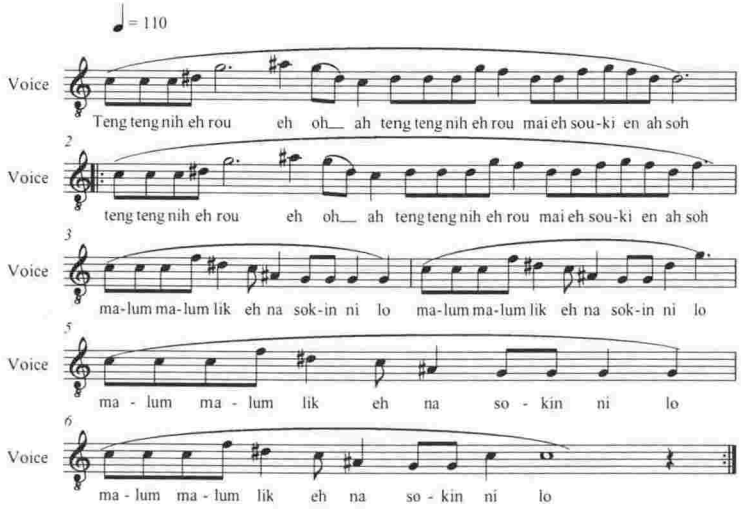
ITEM 25 Compact Disc 4

Belilo. Sung for this recording by three men in Kambiram village 9-11-01. In an old language of the Lak region. Source MD9 #4. Duration: 1.57 min.

Teng teng nih eh rou eh oh ah
Teng teng nih eh rou mai eh
Souki en ah soh
Teng teng nih eh rou eh oh ah
Teng teng nih eh rou mai eh
Souki en ah soh
Malum malum lik
Eh na sokin ni lo
Malum malum lik
Eh na sokin ni lo
Malum malum lik
Eh na sokin ni lo
Malum malum lik
Eh na sokin ni lo

Belilo

MD 4 #25



ITEM 26 Compact Disc 4

Belilo. Sung for this recording by three men in Rei village 12-11-01. MD9 #16. Duration: 2.18 min.

De de de rousinel lewangee
Wan sa loo rousinel len ten
Wan sa loo rousinel lewagee
Kola de de de
De de de rousinel lewagee
De de de

ITEM 27 Compact Disc 4

Tukul. Sung for this recording by Ben in Rei 17-6-01. Source MD5 #7. Duration: 1.45 min.

We lele morok yana
Lele morok yana oh

Rei anaoh el kavial
Yanaoh rah Raholol ohtang eh

Translation:
Run behind me
Look at me now

You will get me
Raholol cries out
From the sea.

ITEM 28 Compact Disc 4

Tukul. Sung for this recording by Alouis and Paul 12-7-01. This *Tukul* is in two parts. Source MD5 #24. Duration: 2.19 min.

Keyaoi kamlak oi boot kasai
Boon nga oi detrei Seni
El bok eh
Keyaoi kamlak oi boot kasai
Boon nga oi detrei Seni
El bok eh

Maori nesai Unloya
Al taram ep funoh

Translation:
Hey brother a boat is drifting
Down at the beach in the water
The Sydney is drifting.
You see Unloya
It travels all over the world.

ITEM 29 Compact Disc 4

Tukul. 2nd part. Details as above 12-7-01. These three *tukul* are supposed to be sung together. Source MD5 #25. Duration: 1.52 min.

Rerelonmioui rerelonmioui rerelonmioui
Rangeal oh ma re
Alboklonrai onep wang mareshseh
Alboklonrai wang mareshseh unbenbengai
Al a note al kapi alboklonrai onep wang
Mareshseh alboklonrai onep wang
Mareshseh unbenbengai al a note
Al kapi lonmioui relonmioui
Rerelonmioui rangeal oh ma re
Rerelonmioui rerelonmioui rerelonmioui
Rangeal oh ma re.

Translation:
Get ready for me get ready for me get ready for me

Rangeal (shell used for holding water) is dry already
I float in my canoe have pity on me
Float in my canoe
Have pity on me Unbenbengai (seaweed)
He will come and get me.

ITEM 30 Compact Disc 4

Tukul. 3rd part. Details as above 12-7-01. Source MD5 #26. Duration: 1.17 min

ITEM 31 Compact Disc 4

Tukul. Sung for recording by Michael at Ulam hamlet, Siar 9-12-01. Source MD12 #12. Duration: 1.56 min.

Yow oui eh ngan oui det
Ri yana oui det sirh yana oui
Maieh ron tok tek kai oh mari

Translation:
Me now mother look at me
Now yeah I draw a line in the
Sand yes I run away all together.

ITEM 32 Compact Disc 4

Tukul. Sung for recording by Gabriel and Pius at Kambiram village 3-3-02. Source MD18 #24. Duration: 3.30 min.

We lele Rabaul el kapai ai
Lele al kapi ai
Ah lele mile kapi

2nd part
Yow oi ngan oi ri ow mari
Ri ow oh mari
I ri ow oh mari

Yow oi ngan oi ta masket
Katar el long mi oi
Soral ar shut katim ah
Boon eh tang isi

Translation:
They took me to Rabaul
Something no good
Has got me

Oh Mother look at me
Oh mother I've got a masket
I will shoot along the beach.

ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Songs Sung During The Day.

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 5

Papariek. Sung for recording by three men in Rei village 12-11-01.. Contains all three parts. Source MD9 #7. Duration: 6.50 min.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 5

Sasalie. Sung for recording by Daniel and his wife in Mimias village 27-11-01. In an old language of Lak. Source MD10 #16. Duration: 1.38 min.

Lou riri eh-ah-oh gasi riri
Man dong gasi ri man dong riri

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 5

Sasalie 2nd part. Details as above 27-11-01. Source MD10 #17. Duration: 3.35 min.

I lili na ru yow
I rei li nom gasi
Eh lili ne rou yow
Wh lili nom gas

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 5

Sasalie? Sung for this recording by Wan Maranang in Uhserre village 11-12-01. Source MD11 #18. Duration: 1.30 min.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 5

Kurkur. Sung for this recording by three men from Mimias in Kambiram village 3-3-02.. Transcription provided in an old language of Lak. This recording contains the three parts of the *Kurkur*. Source MD18 #27. Duration: 4.18 min.

Eh tar bora wal kona pipi
Tar bora lele wari
Wa wa le konamalera
Wa wa le kona bora riri

Eh tar bora wal kona pipi

Tar bora lele wari

2nd part
We du mer ah wolwol maram
Tokar ragop dawei ah rorom
Na oh bar wah leh

3rd part
We du oh merh a kawawar
Eh who leh ring aro balam
No aieh matoh a kir eh wawa nung

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 5

Koolau. Sung for this recording by Todune of Balai in Rei village 28-8-01. Source MD6 #23. Duration: 3.06 min.

Whe rere koti yow ram-min-at
Nati ngani ee-ee tangi tora goh
Yow werwa nam-mo ra kot
Euo bowa na namima
Tohani langorong morhtani ma
Koolau I wharwa on na ingal
Na morh rawet nora eh-ah-oh

I koolau I koolau I koolau I koolau I koolau

2nd part
Whe I ah tolloring raki yow
Tama we-a-lehre eh I eh oh
I kot tomorahrong on nana oh
Wa wa yo mandet gora kot ram he ho
Gora tomboha lele tongura rai ingal
Gorawet no rai yow oh

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 5

Koolau. Sung for this recording by three men in Kambiram village 9-11-01. MD9 #1. Duration: 2.55 min.

2nd part
Eee man a tarri ri ingal yahleh
A ting nag i mari
Eee torh wariek i gora lom i bora ra
Der kangal yow kita matam oh ra pal

Roh balli lie oh ri eh-ah –oh

3rd part
oh ee toh diring ra kai oh lor matam
eah leh [ra ting ngan i marri dara kap]
toh morarong lena yoh
mandet der kap rah berow kai
ra tobowan lehleh to goria rai
ingal eh-ah-oh

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 5

Koolau. Sung for this recording by three men in Rei village 12-11-01. Source MD9 #11. Duration: 3.33 min.

See item details for track 6 compact disc 5.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 5

Koolau 2nd part. Details as above 12-11-01. Source MD9 #13. Duration: 3.00 min.

As above.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 5

Koolau 3rd part. Details as above 12-11-01. Source MD9 #14. Duration: 1.35 min.

As above.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 5

Koolau 4th part. Details as above 12-11-01. Source MD9 #15. Duration: 5.19 min.

As above.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 5

Solomon. Sung for this recording by Daniel and two other men from Mimias in Rei village 12-11-01. Composed by Beranet of Yasu. MD9 #17. Duration: 1.51 min.

[We] goodbye lori
Oh taro taro ta goodbye lori

Translation:
Goodbye all of you
Yes we go we go we go goodbye all of you.

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 5

Solomon, 2nd part. Details as above. 12-11-01. MD9 #18. Duration: 1.31 min.

Eh wadina sori mat loram tata
Mat loram tata we oh mat loram tata

Translation:
This man died of the bones of his father
Bones of his father, bones of his father.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 5

Goigoi. Sung for this recording by Cecilia and Martina in Kapokpok, Siar 27-9-01. Source MD8 #20. Duration: 1.27 min.

Yana ka kesaie yana ka kesaie
On ep ngor nogr no ep lon boon
De saie lemam ten gau I eh

Translation:
I can't get comfortable I drift about
At the point of the bay
I drag myself from place to place.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 5

Kambalai. Sung for this recording by Gabriel at Kambiram 3-3-02. In an old language of Lak. Source MD18 #22. Duration: 0.58 min.

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 5

Kanai. Sung for this recording by Todune in Rei village 28-8-01. Transcription provide in an old language of the Lak. Source MD6 #22. Duration: 2.52 min.

Oh elok maisen i tinktink mi
Long mi i lus long mi
Elilouohro elilouohro eee
Elilouohro elilouohro eee

Kanai dera oh kanai dera oh
Oh i lusim iland Tollilesh eee
Kam lare de kokali de kokali

ITEM 17 Compact 5

Liou. Sung for this recording by Daniel and his wife in Mimias 27-11-01.. Transcription provided in the Kuanua. Source MD10 #18. Duration: 1.41 min.

We leleler a balam ra goh go
E ah lou marmari i oh leleler
ra balam ra goh go i ah
Lou marmari eh oh
Ta dap ra matam raquna no ri eh-ah-oh

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 5

Liou. Sung for this recording by Teresa in Kamilial village 13-3-02. Source MD20 #14. Duration: 5.31 min.

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 5

Wamo. Sung for this recording by three men in Kambiram village 9-11-01. Source MD8 #23. Duration: 3.19 min.

Oh Yanmandeet *oh wan ni na ra*
Pal na pal yap oh na pepe watong
Piyow maram tirip
Na wawar tout marama tam
Gor ri ingal eh-ah-oh

Oh yan mam det oh le le
Nok pala toh boh toh boh
Oh na boom kawarwar ta de
Gau eh-ah-oh.
(Repeat all)

Translation:
Oh Yanmandeet there
Is a fire in the men's house
He talks about the young coconuts
Get that little coconut
To catch the devil when it comes close

Oh Ya-man-deet
Thinks about a man who's in the bush
The image of the *tubuan* causes
Magic.

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 5

Wamo. Sung for this recording by three men from Mimias in Rei 24-11-01. This *Wamo* is to be sung before a *Pokpok*. Source MD10 #11. Duration: 1.42 min.

Eh war kaket e war palum
Tagor leilei ya eh-ah-oh

Oh-oh yah mat na pokpok
Toh diring taramatam oh tangi
Maiowh werowa yow mat tou pokpok

ITEM 21 Compact Disc 5

Wamong. Sung for recording by large group of boys and men rehearsing in Morukon village 5-12-01. Source MD10 #25. Duration: 4.01 min.

Woo-ooo woo rou wai eh
Yow lie mango ram bom na
Pepe na ingal

Eh warwar tot rum tin
Ngan i maliu na tok
Oh waw eh-ah-oh

ITEM 22 Compact Disc 5

Wamong. Recorded during a rehearsal in Morukorn village 5-12-01. Source MD11 #1. Duration: 4.11 min.

ITEM 23 Compact Disc 5

Wamong. Recording made during the rehearsal in Morukorn 5-12-01. Source MD11 #2. Duration: 3.12 min

ITEM 24 Compact Disc 5

Wamong. Recorded during the performance in Morukorn 5-12-01. Source MD11 #3. Duration: 3.23 min.

Woo-ooo woo rou wai eh
Yow lie mango ram bom na
Pepe na ingal
Eh warwar tot rum tin
Ngan i maliu na tok
Oh waw eh-ah-oh

ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Songs Sung During The Night.

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Sung for recording by Paul Totili in Rei village 29-5-01. In Kuanua. Source MD3 #23. Duration: 1.55 min.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Sung for this recording by Otto in Rei village 30-5-01. Source MD3# 29. Duration: 1.56 min.

Gurri gurri natsai rek
Ber ber un talong ai
Tomalehleh nalom mai

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Details as above. Transcription provided 30-5-01. Source MD3# 30. Duration: 1.53 min.

Talung eh leh talung eh leh
Rek ai tar balam i wah nei
Na dar kangal maram we
Ee wan ne nar un der kangal

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Sung for this recording by three men in Rei village 2-6-01. Transcription provided. Source MD3 #32. Duration: 2.09 min.

Rumbai ngakook i rumbai morria
Rumbai ngakook i rumbai morria
Rumbai ngakook i rumbai morria
Rumbai naraliu.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Details as above 2-6-01. In an old language. Source MD3# 33. Duration: 1.54 min.

Kap tedir raol lawai
Kap tedir raol lawai
Morh kakap palum kanal
Wewerwa oh na ga put
Oh na marie
We wa taoh det at
Te der ah ohlawai

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Details as above 2-6-01. In an old language. Source MD3# 34. Duration: 1.56 min.

We eh marie raeingal
Eh watung raeningel marie
Eh raeingal le watung raeingel marie
Eh raeingal wating raeingel marie

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Sung for this recording by Ben of Rei village 17-6-01. In Kuanua. Source MD5 #3. Duration: 1.01 min.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran, 2nd part. Details as above 17-6-01. Source MD5 #4. Duration: 1.15 min.

Eh tatamba taram kangal
Kalahore (repeat all)

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Sung for this recording by Albert in Rei village 17-6-01.. In an old language. Source MD5 #9. Duration: 1.22 min.

Eh bong bong bong tenderh
Gora bong rambeh rahingal
Gakey waong yow gora bong

Nakambung leh ehri marie i-eh

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Recorded during performance 5-12-01.. Group of 15 singers and 4 dances in Morukorn village. Contains both *lamlam* and *pukun* sections. Source MD10# 24. Duration: 7.09 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Recorded during a performance at Morukorn village 5-12-01.. Source MD11 #4. Duration: 8.21 min.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 6

Tabaran. Sung for this recording by Nick in Rei village 30-5-01. Source MD3 #27. Duration: 1.48 min.

Eh bong bong bong tenderh
Gora bong rambeh rahingal
Gakey waong yow gora bong
Nakambung leh ehri marie i-eh

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 6

Tangara. Recorded during a practice session in Morukorn village 5-12-01. Source MD10 #23. Duration: 2.05 min.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 6

Tangara. Recording during performance in Morukorn village 5-12-01. Source MD11 #5. Duration: 8.35 min.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 6

Bobo. Sung for this recording by Alfred in Rei village 24-8-01. Composed by Vincent of Rei. Source MD6 #15. Duration: 1.18 min.

Weh reh-undem-uneh
Ol neki rehundem-uneh i-eh
Umtol sotim daun yow

Onep lemak alboon i-eh

Umtol sotim daun yow
Umtol sotim daun yow
Onep lemak alboon i-eh

Translation:
Weh you see him he's down below
You cry you see him he's down below
You shot me down
You shot my hand in the sea *i-eh*.

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 6

Bobo. Recorded during a performance in Morukorn village 5-12-01. Source MD11 #6. Duration: 2.59 min.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 6

Bobo. Details as above 5-12-01. Source MD11 #7. Duration: 8.30 min.

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 6

Bobo. Details as above 5-12-01. Source MD11 #8. Duration: 5.34 min.

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 6

Bobo. Details as above 5-12-01. Source MD11 #9. Duration: 7.01 min.

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 6

Langai. Sung for this recording by Teresia in Kamilial 13-3-02. In an old language. Source MD20 #5. Duration: 0.59 min.

Langi tohreh langi tohli
Tindere lori

ITEM 21 Compact Disc 6

Kamgar. Sung for this recording by Brigata in Rei 22-8-01. Source MD6 #12. Duration: 1.23 min.

Em moon i kam ap
Bolat eranaut bolat eranaut
Bolat eranaut lon nara lik

Mi askim onepella meri lik
Karanki long mi i olsem palarik

Translation:
The moon has come up
It runs well above the clouds

I asked a little girl
She's angry with me
Little fool.

ITEM 22 Compact Disc 6

Kamgar. Sung for this recording by Tomileashman (of Siar) in Rei village 3-9-01. Source MD8 #5. Duration: 2.18 min.

Wee yow eh kok nanat
Umtool maresh ehaieh
I eh ep warawar ning periem unlon ah
Nu yah na oi
Al kolos stap al daun yow

Yow eh kalop pa alnos katim mesh
Soral nosoi pasa tasik eh da an
Kambalak al numni pasieh
Ehmam derau ah nung an lon
A tung eee

Translation:
Wee all you young boys
You have pity on me
Word has come from the bush
To the village
It almost killed me

Wee sorry it looks like
Now my brother has come

Close to me
Sorry it's no good now
I think of my mother and father
They are buried in the ground.

ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Songs Sung During The Night.

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 7

Tiko. Sung for this recording by Brigata in Rei village 28-8-01. In Siar and Tok Pisin. Source MD8 #1. Duration: 1.17 min.

Extract:
Solwara long bus, ples i malmalum
I kam ap long bikpella diwai

Translation:
The sea has come to the bush, the ground is soft
It comes up to the large trees

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 7

Lorh. Sung for this recording by three Big Men at Kambiram village 3-3-02. In an old language. Source MD18 #26. Duration: 1.34 min.

Eh tomalah purpur rou malangener
Tombaram lik rou ou ya
Tombaram tai kai tomatih tih
Ra ou ya tomalar purpur rou malagener

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 7

Manilebung. Sung for this recording by three Big Men in Rei village13-11-01. Composed by Tolbiltem of Lenai village. Source MD9 #19. Duration: 3.16 min.

Wee kiaowhe tasike ohi matol
I rong an bung yana owh
Ehalas namakawash on ep lon boon

Wee kambak koop nama periem
I el ah besh onep lemak
A pok lok ah nos soui pas
Ep lite er tap rekes

Translation:
Brother, you and I
Are lost at sea in the night
Ehalas (name of point or reef)

Is in the middle of the sea

There is a cold wind and it's
Raining on us
It is washing my hands and
Head now I see a distant
Light.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 7

Manilebung, 2nd part. Details as above13-11-01. In an old language. Source MD9 #20. Duration: 1.33 min.

Wee taoh ran bel kapi
Taoh ran bel kap e-i-ah diadam
Tara boui loh mari

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 7

Manilebung, 3rd part. Details as above 13-11-01. Source MD9 #21. Duration: 2.49 min.

Wee e-oh-eh mi mam al kam
Yow ep talong ep kamoh
Oh ai eh mahor ri ram beta
El kap yah eh dai an mari
Ran al wal kapi dran
Marieh on a wal al kapia
I mai ep bart ol lom yow
Ep long on al kap oh

Translation:
Father calls out to me
The devil calls out to me
I sit down with my worries
The *kambang* (poisoned reef lime)
Has got me
The rain is falling on my head
I am cold.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 7

Manilebung. Sung for this recording by two men in Kambiram village 3-3-02. Source MD18 #25. Duration: 2.55 min.

Silak ep taptap sail
Mai ep sail eh oh wa on ep
Lon boon yana eh ah
tok al wok an lon
Ep win al kapi Eh eh ah eh

Eh mai ep win al kam long bus
Man diet rai lon el kis
Sok lai onep lon boon al kapi.

Translation:
Loosen the topsail
The sail has gone over board
Into the sea
All of you look at the wind
Look inside the wind.

Yes the wind is coming
From the bush
See the two islands in the
Distant sea.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 7

Rorobung. Sung for this recording by Teresa of Kamilial village 13-3-02. Source MD20 #6. Duration: 2.00 min.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 7

Rorobung, 2nd part pukun. Details as above 13-3-02. Source MD20 #7. Duration: 1.36 min.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 7

Bwal. Sung for this recording by three men in Rei village 12-11-01. Source MD9 #8. Duration: 1.25 min.

Eh tar bora wal kon ep pipi
Tar bora lele we eh

Tar bora wal kon ep pipi
Tar bora lele wal likar
Walwal lik kona malerh ah
Walwal lik kona molehero

Wawa lik kon bwal la re (substitute for last line on last time through)

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 7

Bwal, 2nd part. Details as above 12-11-01. Source MD9 #9. Duration: 2.00 min.

Oh dumer al oh oh maram
Ta kara gop daweh arrah
Roun nau bah wah le

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 7

Bwal, pukun 3rd part. Details as above 12-11-01. Source MD9 #10. Duration: 1.39 min.

Oh dumer rah kawawar yeah
Le ring aro balan ngouieh
Matoh a lerh e wawa ohing

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 7

Sirang (*Boorom*). Sung for this recording by two men in Kambiram village 3-3-02. Source MD18 #21. Duration: 2.14 min.

Yinga yang gera tera paka
A tama tik yeh

Yeh lambar awerawina
Yangeri tara pakan a tama tik
Yeh lambora awerawina

Yeh ya mari dat yow mari tara
Gonon um baining

Yeh malimali kombai oi eh

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 7

Tipung. Sung for this recording by Todune in Rei village 28-8-01. In an old language. Source MD6 #24. Duration: 1.24 min.

Rubentu rubentenli wara
Rubentu rubentenli wara oh eh
Bebe ya ori oh bebe ya ori oh
Bebe ya ori oh bebe ya ori
Torook torook torook torook
Torook torook

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 7

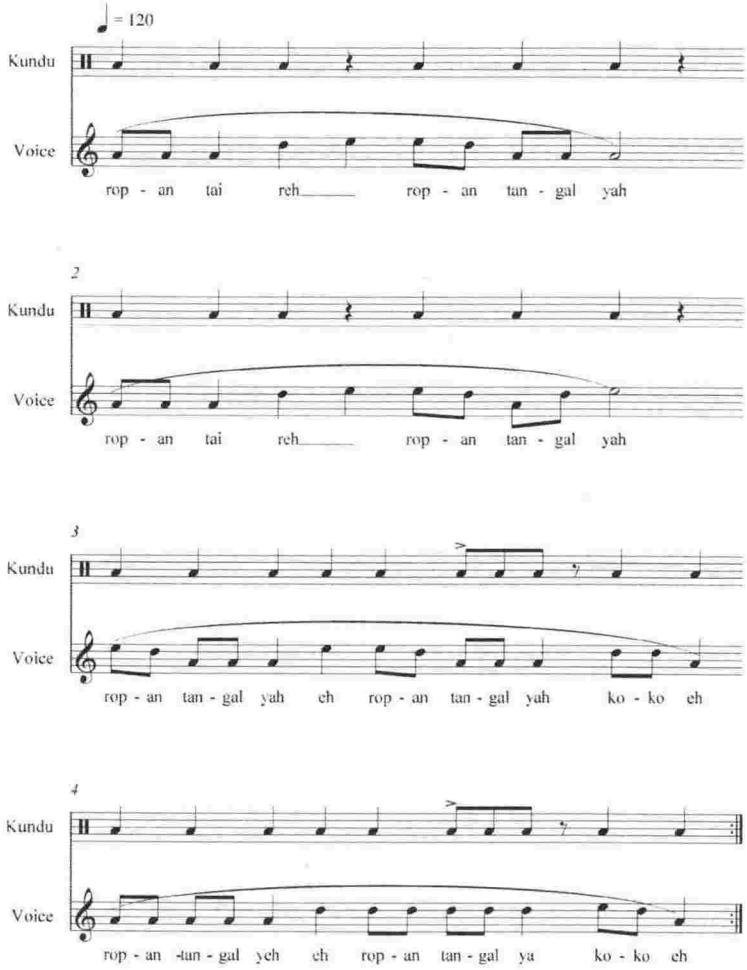
Tipung, 2nd part. (possibly a *Daut*) Details as above 28-8-01. Source MD6 #25. Duration: 1.06 min.

Kamesek kali de kala rugi
Ya oh mai
Kamesek kali de kala rugi
Ta oh mai

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Recording during a *daut* ceremony in Rei village 6-3-01. All *dauts* are in archaic languages of the region. Three *kundu* drums present, one *garamut* ('log slit drum') about 12 men singing and an audience of 20 who join in occasionally. Source MD1 #3. Duration: 3.27 min.

Daut
MD7#15



ITEM 16 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above 6-3-01. Source MD1 #4. Duration: 3.58 min.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 7

Daut, *Makaul*. Details as above 6-3-01. Source MD1 #5. Duration: 2.41 min.

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above 6-3-01. Source MD1 #6. Duration: 6.01 min.

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above 6-3-01. Source MD1 #8. Duration: 1.37 min.

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 7

Daut, gingin. Recorded during the performance of the *Sun Kamap* songs in Rei village 7-3-01. Two *kundu* drums and one *garamut* ('log drum')about 10 men present. Source MD1 #9. Duration: 4.14 min.

ITEM 21 Compact Disc 7

Daut, gingin. Details as above 7-3-01. Source MD1 #10. Duration: 2.38 min.

ITEM 22 Compact Disc 7

Daut, gingin. Details as above 7-3-01. Source MD1 #11. Duration: 3.15 min.

ITEM 23 Compact Disc 7

Daut. (although described as a *daut* this is unlikely to be one, possibly *tipung*) Sung for this recording by Ben in Rei village 17-6-01. Source MD5 #5. Duration: 1.04 min.

Kamesek kali de kala rugi
Ya oh mai
Kamesek kali de kala rugi
Ta oh mai

Translation:
The sun is too hot
And the wind comes.

ITEM 24 Compact Disc 7

Daut, 2nd part. Details as above 17-6-01. Source MD5 #6. Duration: 1.31 min.

Ra oh ru belbel ma lopalopa
Del kak mai rungae yaoh
Yaoh yaoh ohaie

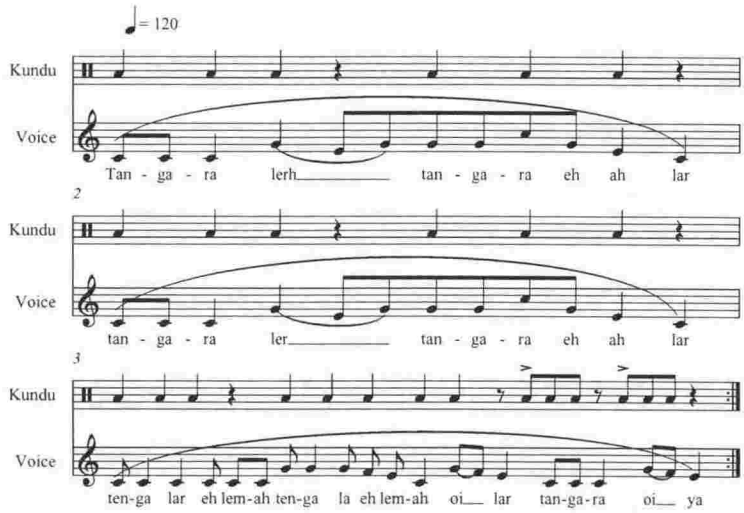
Translation:

There is nobody in this place
Everyone has gone to another
Place.

ITEM 25 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Recorded during a performance in Mimias village 18-4-02. About 10 men sing with an audience of twenty. Two *kundu* and one *garamut*. Source MD21 #10. Duration: 2.46 min.

Daut
MD7#25



ITEM 26 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above 18-4-02. Source MD21 #11. Duration: 2.18 min.

ITEM 27 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above 18-4-02. Source MD21 #12. Duration: 2.50 min.

ITEM 28 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above. 18-4-02. Source MD21 #13. Duration: 2.20 min.

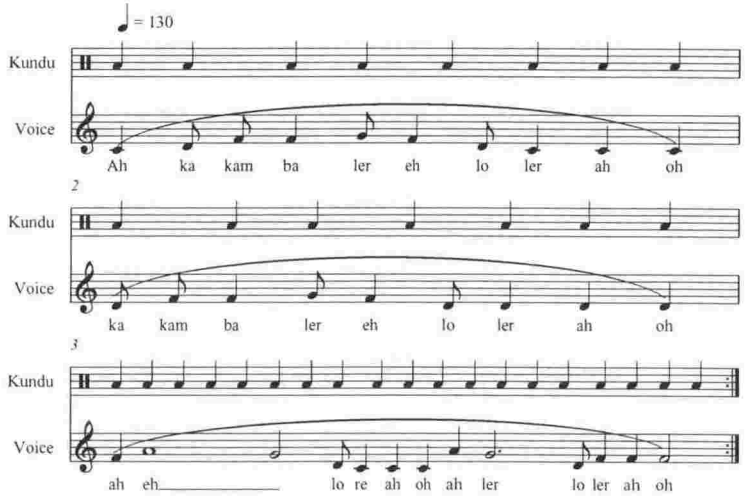
ITEM 29 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above 18-4-02. Source MD21 #14. Duration: 2.49 min.

ITEM 30 Compact Disc 7

Daut. Details as above 18-4-02. Source MD21 #15. Duration: 3.23 min.

Daut
MD7 #30



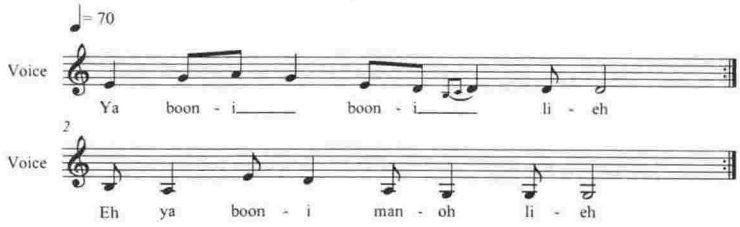
ITEM DETAILS
Secret And Magic Songs

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 8

Boon. Sung for this recording by Akoon Palus in Kamilial 30-1-02. Source MD14 #14. Duration: 3.56 min.

Ya booni booni i-e
Ya booni booni i-e
Ya booni manoh lieh
Ya booni manoh lieh
Oh oh oh

Boon
MD 8 #1



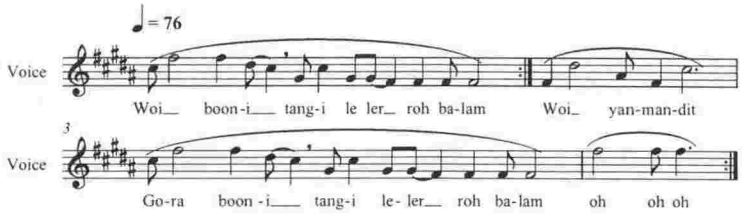
ITEM 2 Compact Disc 8

Boon. Sung for this recording by Kosmos Toalami 5-5-02. Source MD21 #26. Duration: 1.22 min.

Woi booni tangi leler roh balam
Woi Yanmandeet
Gora booni tangi leler roh balam
Oh oh oh

Translation:
Woi booni cries and causes emotion
Woi Yanmandeet
The *booni* cries and causes emotion
Oh oh oh

Boon
MD 8 #2



ITEM 3 Compact Disc 8

Boon. Sung for this recording by Michael of Ulam, Siar 9-12-01. Source MD12 #9. Duration: 2.42 min.

Oh oh oh abooni ya tani gorra

Mai yow dian tehder ah loh gora
Lori oh us matam mi

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 8

Siaroh. Sung for this recording by Michael of Ulam, Siar 24-9-01. Source MD8 #14. Duration: 2.06 min.

Siaroh le mango ro li mango
Ro li mango siaroh ra lik eh
Ngou i ah na siaroh ro li mango
Ro li mango siar ro lo man i ah oh
Siar ro li mango roli mango
Siaroh ralik eh ngau i ah na siaroh

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 8

Kawawar / kamlai un karo. Sung for this recording by Kiwa in Rei village. In two parts. 27-8-01. Source MD6 #20. Duration: 1.57 min.

Woo mara oh wole maram kawol
Mara oh wali maram kawole
La la wer e lom
Mai yow Bobo tari eee
Lewar bobot tara balan ah moralurh
Mara oh wole maram kawol
Mara oh wole maram kawol
A lala wer e lom

Maraohwole eee lewar bobot
Balan mora lurh

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 8

Kawawar / Kamlai un Karo. Details as above 27-8-01. Source MD6 #21. Duration: 3.23 min.

Oh laie de ko kali

Kam laie de kokali
Kam laie de kokali de kokali

Matam kam gorau ki kuka ru
Sora liae unkaro de kokali

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 8

Warabart. Sung for this recording by Otto and Daniel in Rei village 24-11-01. Transcription provided in the Kuanua. Source MD10 #10. Duration: 2.12 min.

Eee nung mi dal e warwar ngoun
De tar war ngoun

Oh pi tatiki na dek dek na
Kawawah eh wahwah ngoun
Piou pala kombam tinpindal
Wang oung piou beat na ni lom

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 8

Warabart. Sung for this recording by Michael Tolaiesh in Ulam, Siar village 9-12-01. Source MD12 #11. Duration: 2.09 min.

Sanlik *boroboro sanger ah eh eee*
Eh berh oh nam ni yow
Ep oh nok yow oh kokoh
Boon warai yow
Taragow oh

Translation:
Sanlik tries to sleep
But she can't because she thinks of me
She gets up and calls

Out for me.
It's true.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 8

Luipas. Sung for this recording by Bless in Balai village 27-11-01. In three parts. Source MD10 #20. Duration: 0.38 min.

Tokakaie, Tokakaie *ning an det te mori*
Ning art te mori

Translation:
Tokakaie, Tokakaie his went
First and mine followed

[Tokakaie's taro was planted first and the singers
planted afterwards but this song ensures that the
singer's taro will be the first to harvest]

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 8

Luipas 2nd part. Details as above 27-11-01. Source MD10 #21. Duration: 0.47 min.

Miah ka koi miah ka koi miah ka koi
Maseh bot na
Miah ka koi ma tin bot tin

Translation:
Come pull out the weeds
On this man's garden.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 8

Luipas 3rd part. Details as above 27-11-01. Source MD10 #22. Duration: 0.47 min.

Pasa mat pasa kiau
Pasa mat pasa kiau
Oh toh bot.

Translation:
It will stop completely now
It will stop completely now.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 8

Tar. Sung for this recording by Akoon Palus in Kamilial village 30-1-02. Source MD15 #2. Duration: 3.30 min.

Oh mariesh rou ben tar
Mariesh i mariesh rou ben tar
Tinsanlik *i kakaoh liklik mai*
I mariesh rou tar
Mariesh i mariesh rou be tar
Tinsanlik i kakaoh liklik mai
Mariesh i mariesh rou ben tar
Eh-ah-oh

Translation:
Take pity on my *tar* and me
Tinsanlik wherever you are now
Take pity on my *tar* and me

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 8

Tim ep bart. Sung for this recording by Paul Totili in Rei village 7-5-01. Source MD2 #13. Duration: 4.02 min.

Tou bar licoo
Toubar licoo ma tam
Sa sa kioie
Eh ee ee ee lik mor rah ding
Ma tam sa sa kioie

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 8

Tim ep bart. Bakanisan. Sung for this recording by Bless in Rei village 24-5-01. Source MD3 #20. Duration: 1.01 min.

Way eh boon oi kolsasaie
Boon oi kolsasaie booni
Way eh boonoi kolsasaie
Boon oi kolsasaie booni
Bing bing pirr

Translation:
Wey ee the old man works at changing it.
Wey ee the old man works at changing it.

ITEM DETAILS
Tubuan Songs

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Sung for this recording by Daniel in Rei village 24-8-01. Source MD6 #16. Duration: 2.52 min.

Wee rowai warparat
Rowai warparat yatabaran
Yowkai lali eh wom raboui rai
Ingal nam minat i ah ow

Naeh eh eh ah eh-ah-ow

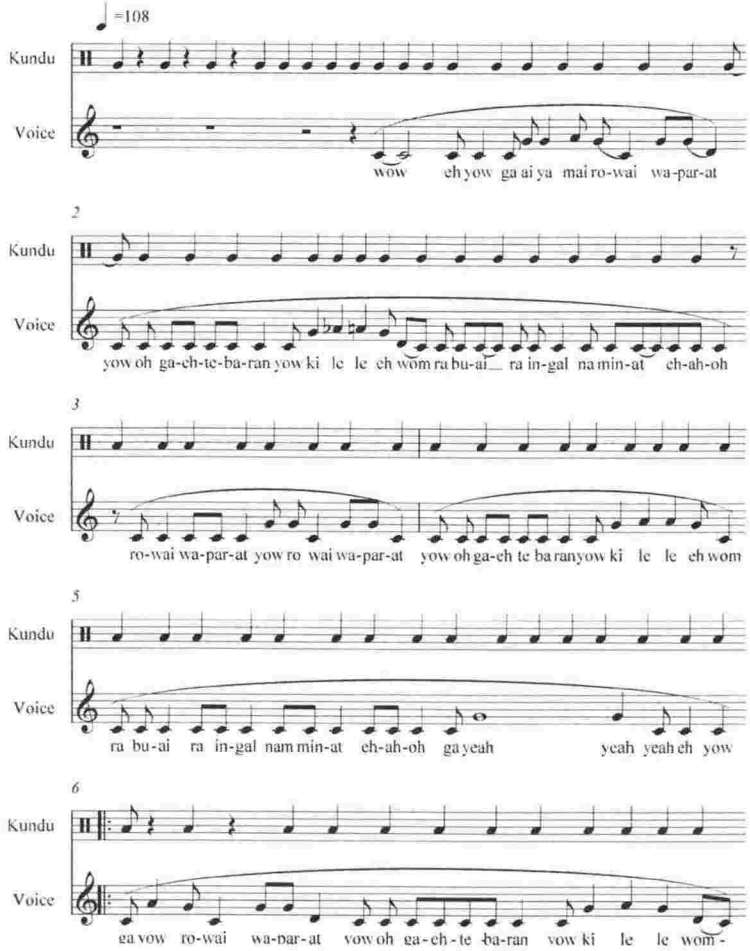
2nd Part
yah kawai bola bolo diah
yah kawai nola bolo diah borh
wangun eh-ah-ow (diah)

Yah kawai bolabolo diah borh
Wangun oh wa tura paparata
Maia we war tourorong yow tol
Yow ki

Yah longa longa diah kawai bolabolo
Diah borh wrong unehow diah kai
Bolo bola diah kai bolo bola
Diah borh wung unehow diah kai
Bolo bola diah borh wong unehow

3rd part
Yararat namin on
Diah bor
Wangon ie yow
Eh ararat naminon diah bor wangun
I yow yow eh

Kapialai:
Rowai Warparat



2

7

Kundu

Voice

ra bu - ai ra in - gal nam - in - at eh - ah - oh

8

Kundu

Voice

ro - wai wa - par - at yow ro - wai wa - par - at

9

Kundu

Voice

yow oh ga - eh - te - ba - ran yow ki le le wom -

10

Kundu

Voice

ra bu - ai ra in - gal na-min -at eh-ah-oh ga yeah yeah yeah eh ah oh

Pukun

11

Kundu

Voice

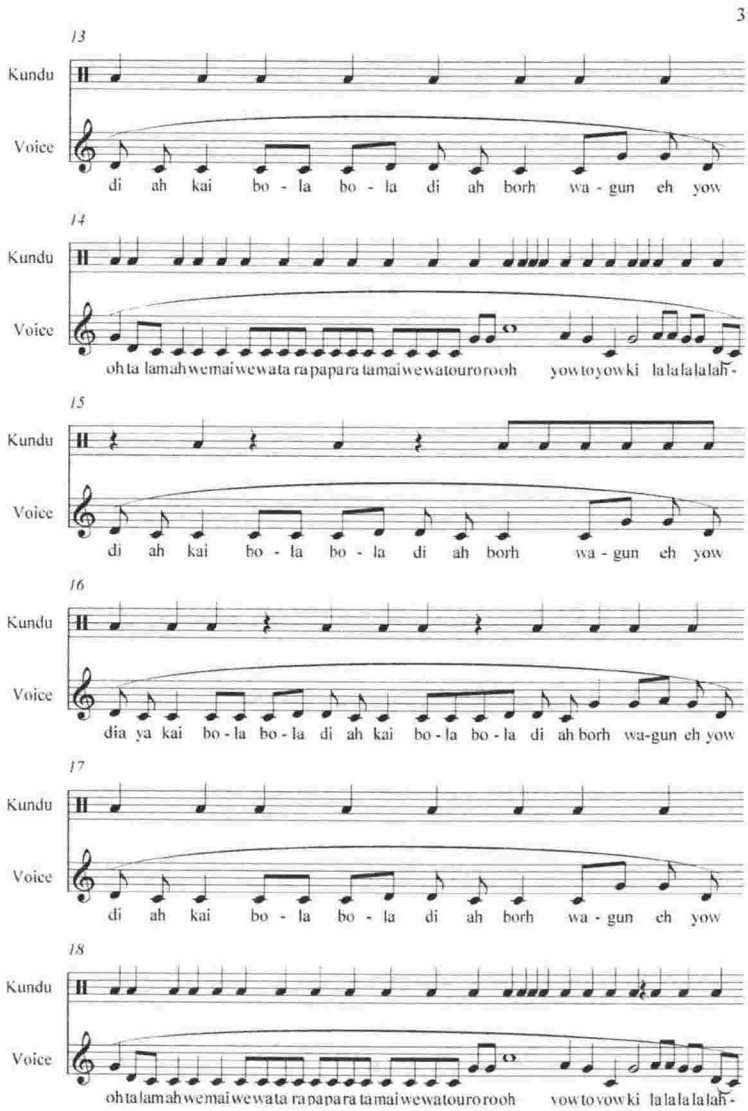
Eh ya ka bo - la bo - la di ah kai bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa-gun eh yow

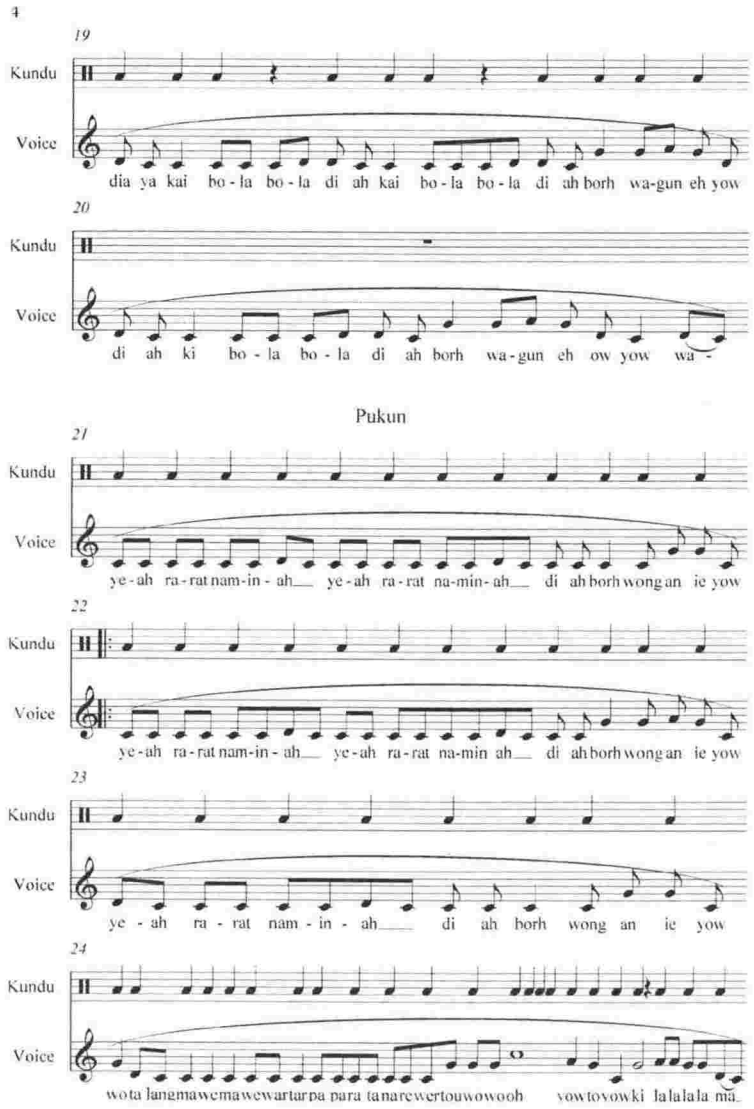
12

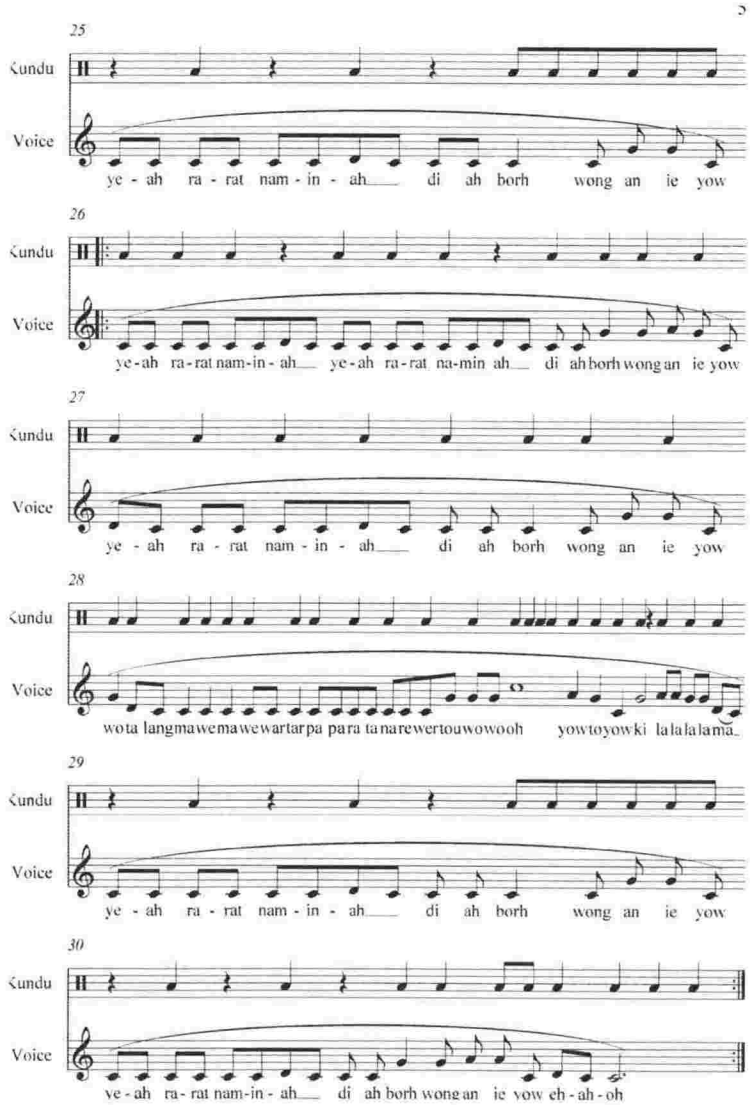
Kundu

Voice

Eh ya ka bo - la bo - la di ah kai bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa-gun eh yow


3
13
Kundu
Voice
di ah kai bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa - gun eh yow
14
Kundu
Voice
oh ta lamah wemai wewata ra papara tamai wewatouro rooh yow to yow ki la la la la lah -
15
Kundu
Voice
di ah kai bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa - gun eh yow
16
Kundu
Voice
dia ya kai bo - la bo - la di ah kai bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa-gun eh yow
17
Kundu
Voice
di ah kai bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa - gun eh yow
18
Kundu
Voice
oh ta lamah wemai wewata ra papara tamai wewatouro rooh yow to yow ki la la la la lah -


4
19
Kundu
Voice
dia ya kai bo - la bo - la di ah kai bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa-gun eh yow
20
Kundu
Voice
di ah ki bo - la bo - la di ah borh wa - gun eh ow yow wa -
Pukun
21
Kundu
Voice
ye - ah ra - rat nam - in - ah ye - ah ra - rat na - min - ah di ah borh wong an ie yow
22
Kundu
Voice
ye - ah ra - rat nam - in - ah ye - ah ra - rat na - min ah di ah borh wong an ie yow
23
Kundu
Voice
ye - ah ra - rat nam - in - ah di ah borh wong an ie yow
24
Kundu
Voice
wota langmawemawewartarpa para tanarewertouwowooh yowtoyowki lalalala nia



ITEM 2 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Recorded during a meeting in Kambiram *taraiu* ('secret grounds') 15-11-01. About 50 men present, singing and dancing. Source MD10 #3. Duration: 2.49 min.

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 15-11-01. Source MD10 #4. Duration: 3.13 min.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 15-11-01. Source MD10 #5. Duration: 4.49 min.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 15-11-01. Source MD10 #6. Duration: 4.06 min.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 15-11-01. Source MD10 #7. Duration: 2.33 min.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 15-11-01. Source MD10 #8. Duration: 2.50 min.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above. 15-11-01 Source MD10 #9. Duration: 4.02 min.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Recorded during a performance with *nataka* dancing at Makamlagil village 22-1-02.. Recording starts partway through the song. Source MD13 #6. Duration: 1.19 min.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 22-1-01. Source MD13 #7. Duration: 2.04 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 22-1-02. Source MD13 #8. Duration: 1.48 min.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 22-1-02. Source MD13 #9. Duration: 2.45 min.

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 22-1-02. Source MD13 #10. Duration: 4.53 min.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Recorded at Kambiram *taraiu* ('secret grounds') during a practice 16-2-02. About 20 men dancing and 5 men singing. Source MD16 #23. Duration: 3.41 min.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD16 #24. Duration: 4.24 min.

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD16 #25. Duration: 3.27 min.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD16 #26. Duration: 4.12 min.

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Transcription provided in Kuanua. Source MD16 #27. Duration: 4.29 min.

Tirip tarai we
Tirip tarai tena mor kaorh mama
Ti malaorh tom mangel rahou lawat
Eh-ah-oh

Oh pina marang naiam
Oh pina marang naiam
Ah tamtam boon ah loulouai
Oh pina marang naiam
Ah tamtam boon ah loulouai
Oh yah patah turang
Ah ti patah
Tu rung oh ti walau whole ra bi
Yow wi pina marang niam

Yah patar ra wawina

Yah patar ra wawina
Yah paleh ah tubuan wa
Yah patar ra wawina
Yah paleh ah tubuan

Yah patar tu rang ah ti walwoloh
Rambiyah we eh ah i i i
Nga yah pina mora ngam
Kinawai war ni nar
Eh wa ni nar kinawai
Eh wa ni nar kinawai
Eh wa li wai ra balilai

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD16 #28. Duration: 5.28 min.

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 9

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD16 #29. Duration: 3.37 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Tubuan Songs II

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02.. Transcription provided in Kuanua. Source MD16 #30. Duration: 6.53 min.

Torh bati ah we rook bati ah
Tena moh ra bambat pendek i tombung
Dari ah ram bang bang na minat
Eh-ah-oh

Yana ol le kom ma wet maiah na
Ol le kom ma wet tara goh nan wai
Rai maiah wel man go yow mala
Mala rei tara malam ah wet maiah
Rei ra wa na mala rei iii ah lena
Goh ah lena an goh pow mari yow
Maian na ol la koma weh
Tora goh nan wai ra.

Ya rea wa tara bong ol yu rei wa
Tora loh korh na mi noh maiah
Kaian tara bolot eh tar ta pork
Koh yana torh tara kawel na inyat
Ya kai yan maiyow dederh mara gawel
Le wairikai

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 10

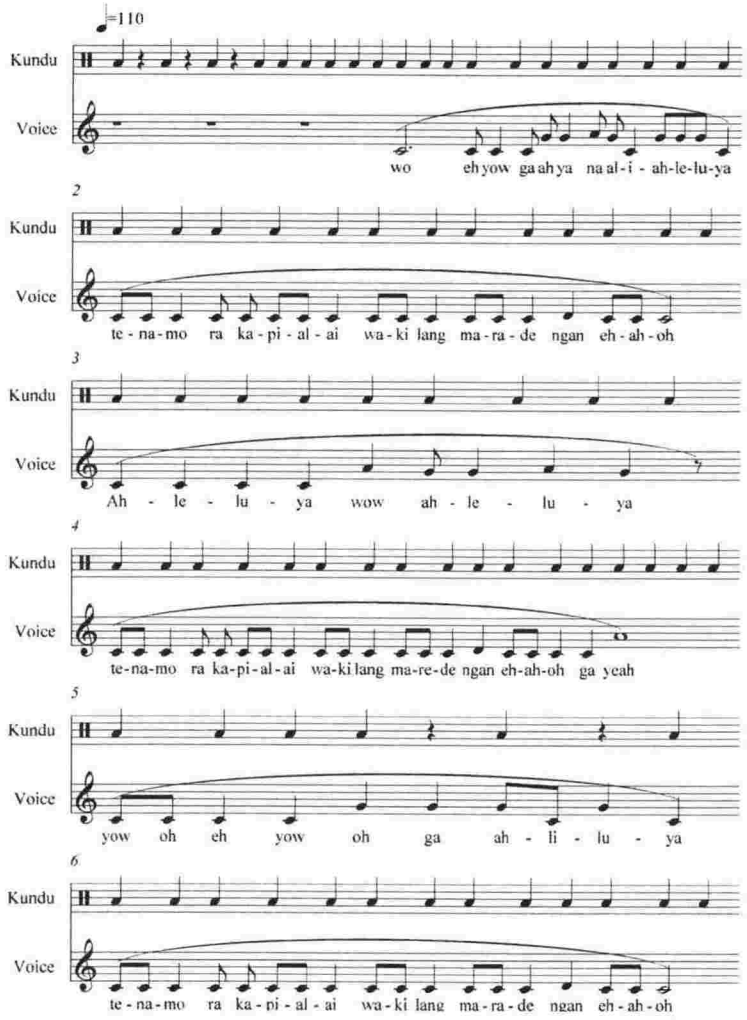
Kapialai. Details as above. Transcription provided in Kuanua 16-2-02. Source MD17 #1. Duration: 4.25 min.

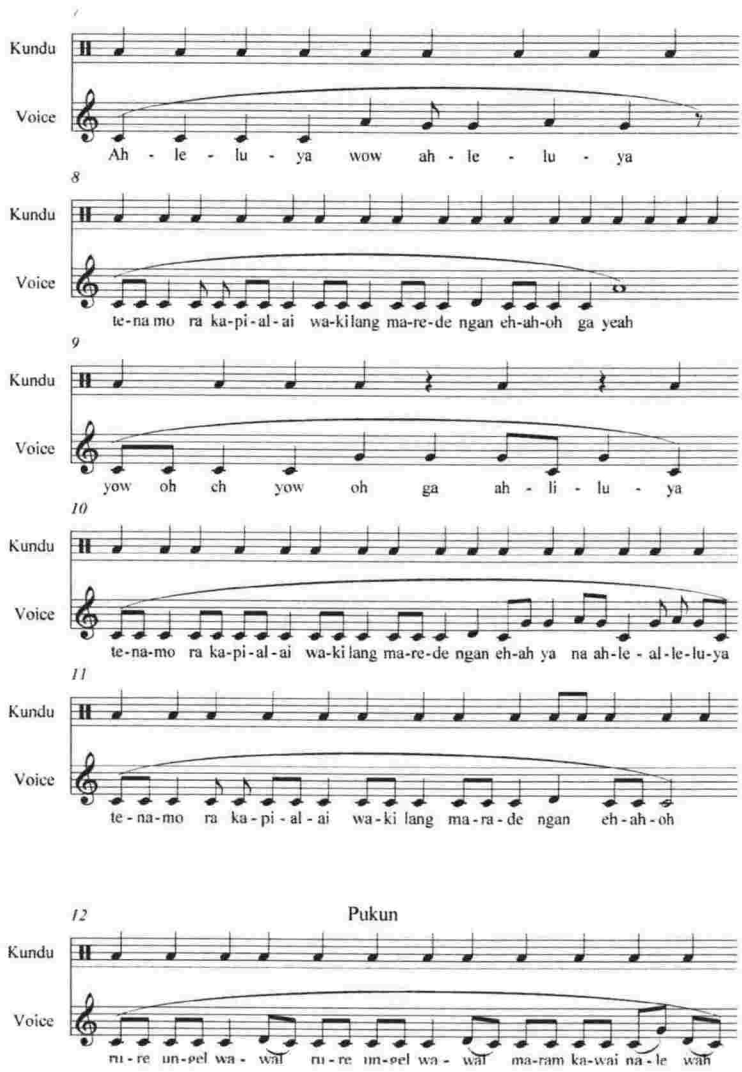
Halleluiah halleluiah tena mora
Kapialai i walui long mara de ngon
Eh ah oh
Oh rarageh wolwol
Kawai na lei whe
Oh tatata kilang kilang
Maram kawai na lei weh

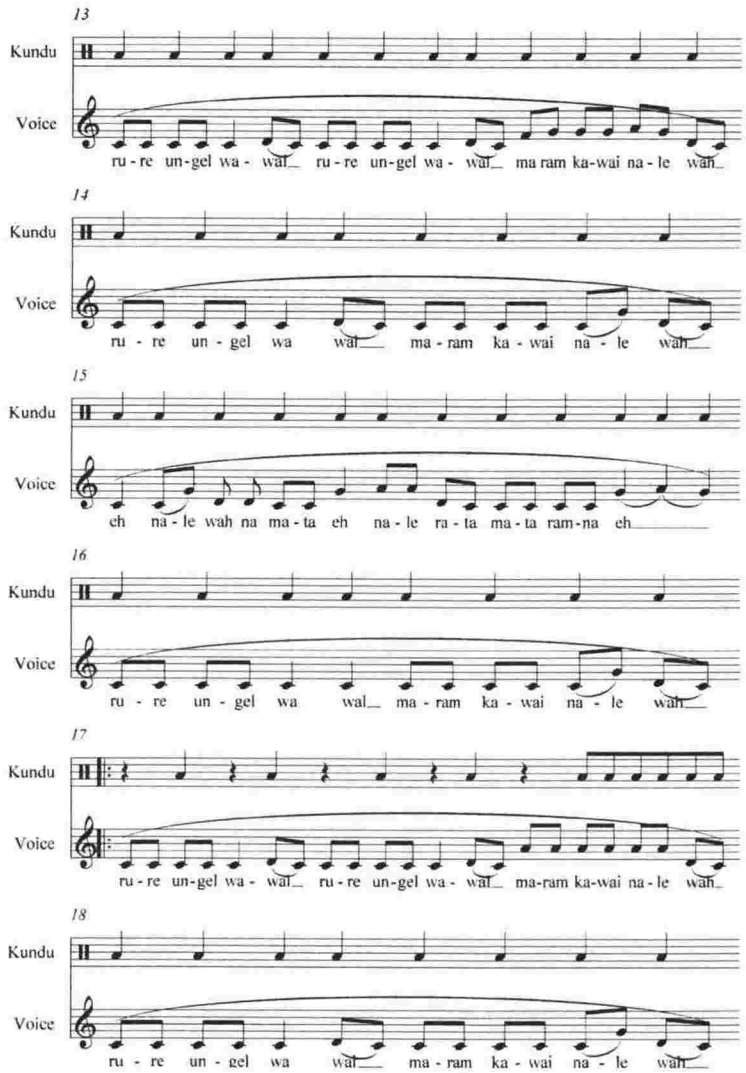
Eh wa na naram tongol ah we re
Wana ra balingan
Galie a where nga not tara behou

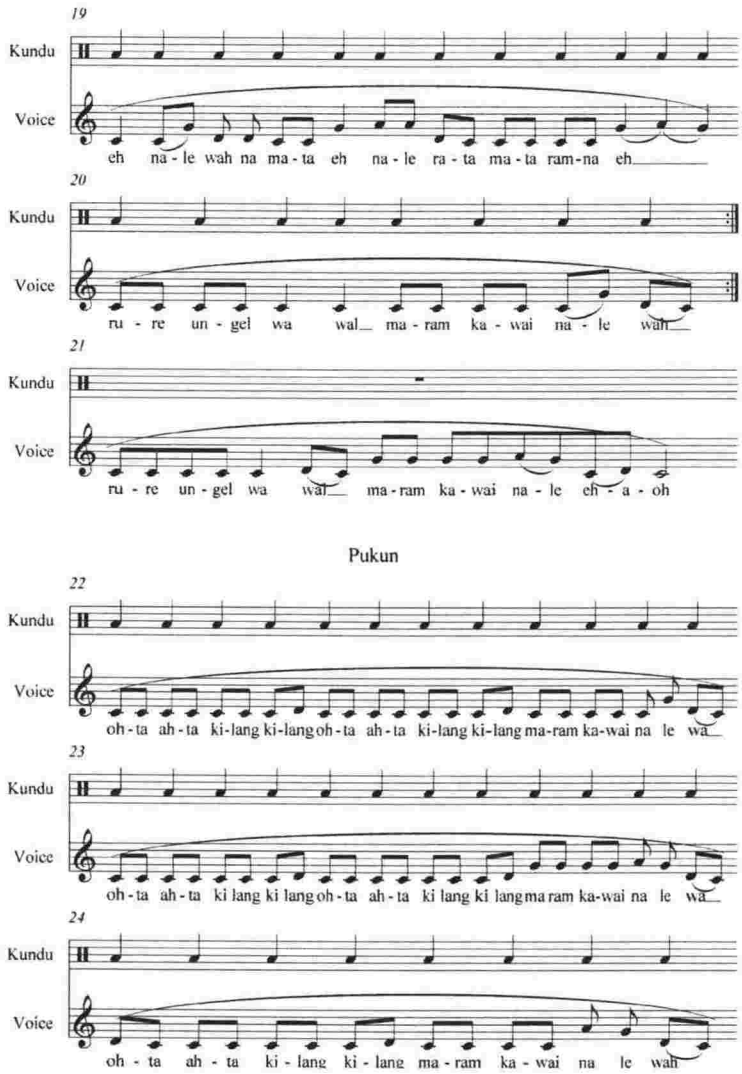
Na mi ngog na Tabaran yah powie
Iii

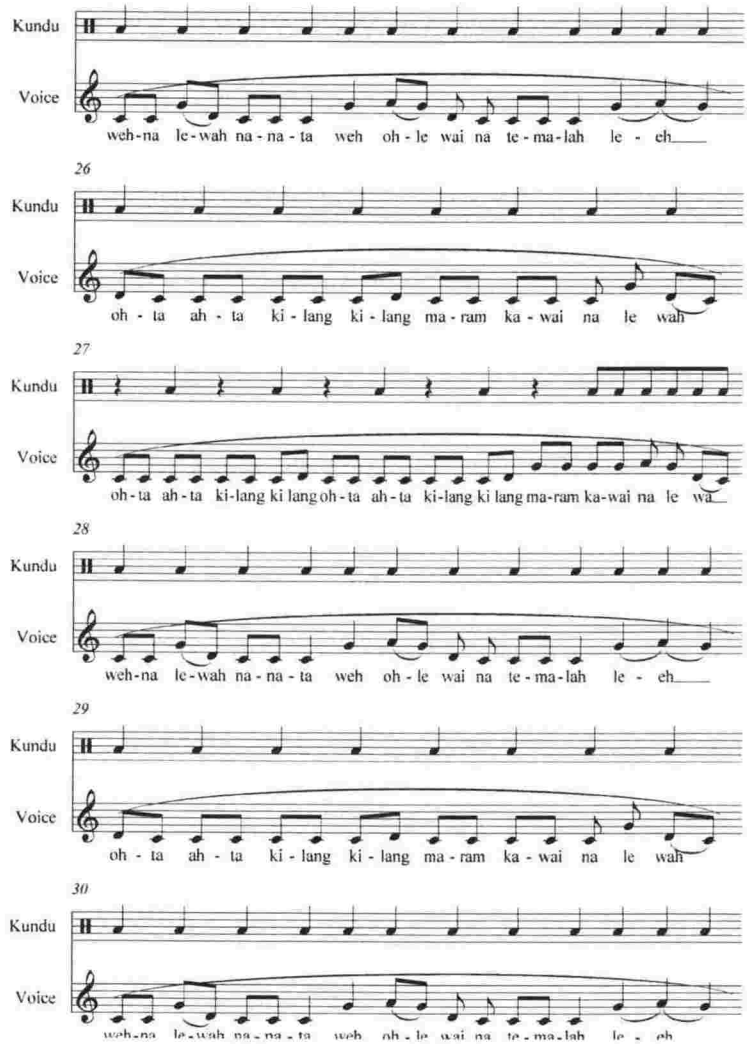
Kapialai Halleluja

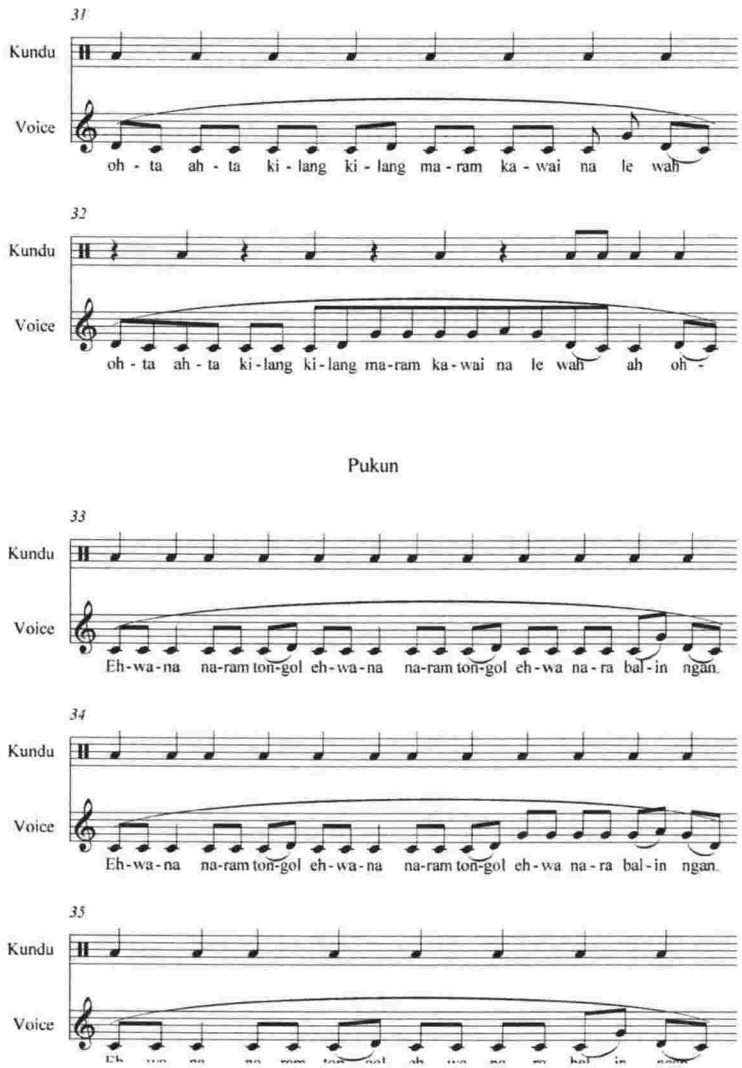


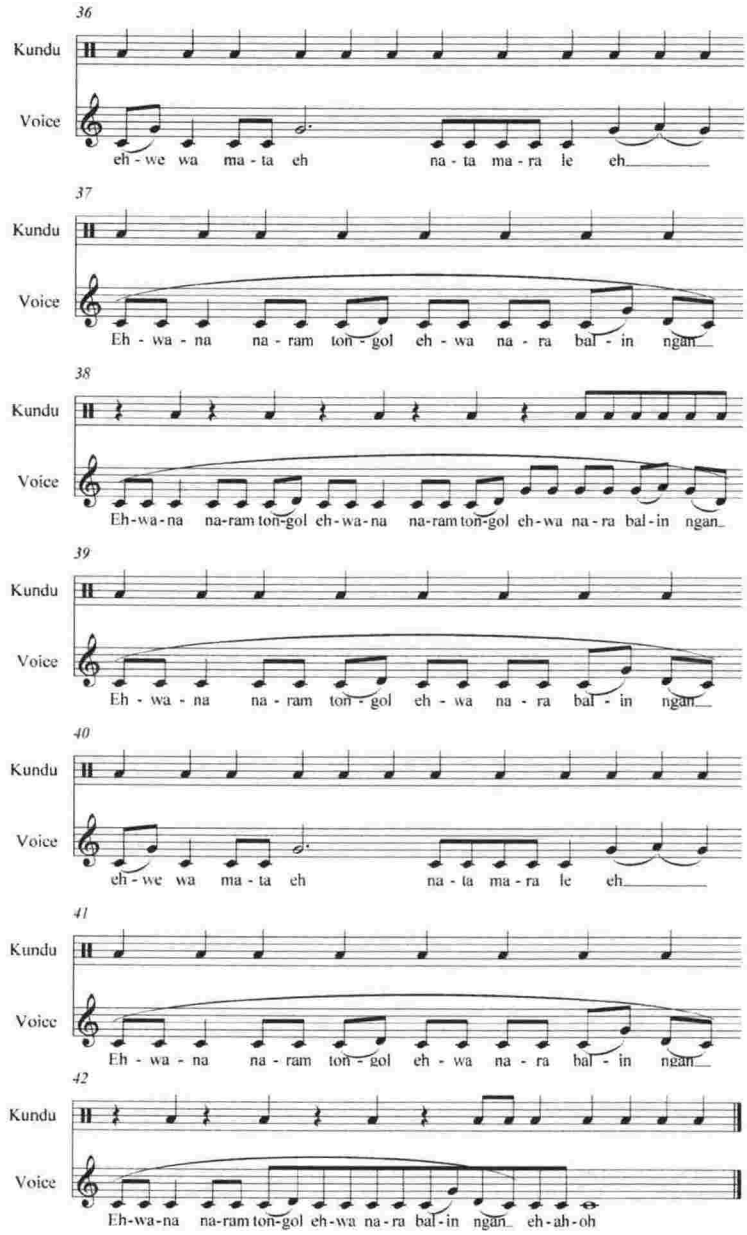

Kundu
Voice
Ah - le - lu - ya wow ah - le - lu - ya
8
te-na mo ra ka-pi-al-ai wa-ki lang ma-re-de ngan eh-ah-oh ga yeah
9
yow oh ch yow oh ga ah - li - lu - ya
10
te-na-mo ra ka-pi-al-ai wa-ki lang ma-re-de ngan eh-ah ya na ah-le - al-le-lu-ya
11
te - na-mo ra ka - pi - al - ai wa - ki lang ma - ra - de ngan eh - ah - oh
12
Pukun


13
Kundu
Voice
ru - re un-gel wa - wal_ ru - re un-gel wa - wal_ ma ram ka-wai na - le wah_
14
Kundu
Voice
ru - re un - gel wa wal__ ma - ram ka - wai na - le wah__
15
Kundu
Voice
eh na - le wah na ma - ta eh na - le ra - ta ma - ta ram-na eh
16
Kundu
Voice
ru - re un - gel wa wal__ ma - ram ka - wai na - le wah__
17
Kundu
Voice
ru - re un-gel wa - wal_ ru - re un-gel wa - wal_ ma-ram ka-wai na - le wah_
18
Kundu
Voice
ru - re un - gel wa wal__ ma - ram ka - wai na - le wah__


19
Kundu
Voice
eh na - le wah na ma - ta eh na - le ra - ta ma - ta ram-na eh
20
Kundu
Voice
ru - re un - gel wa wal ma - ram ka - wai na - le wah
21
Kundu
Voice
ru - re un - gel wa wal ma - ram ka - wai na - le eh - a - oh
Pukun
22
Kundu
Voice
oh - ta ah - ta ki-lang ki-lang oh - ta ah - ta ki-lang ki-lang ma-ram ka-wai na le wa
23
Kundu
Voice
oh - ta ah - ta ki lang ki lang oh - ta ah - ta ki lang ki lang ma ram ka-wai na le wa
24
Kundu
Voice
oh - ta ah - ta ki - lang ki - lang ma - ram ka - wai na le wah


Kundu
Voice
weh-na le-wah na-na-ta weh oh-le wai na te-ma-lah le - eh
26
Kundu
Voice
oh - ta ah - ta ki - lang ki - lang ma - ram ka - wai na le wah
27
Kundu
Voice
oh-ta ah-ta ki-lang ki lang oh-ta ah-ta ki-lang ki lang ma-ram ka-wai na le wa
28
Kundu
Voice
weh-na le-wah na-na-ta weh oh-le wai na te-ma-lah le - eh
29
Kundu
Voice
oh - ta ah - ta ki - lang ki - lang ma - ram ka - wai na le wah
30
Kundu
Voice


31
Kundu
Voice
oh - ta ah - ta ki - lang ki - lang ma - ram ka - wai na le wah
32
Kundu
Voice
oh - ta ah - ta ki - lang ki - lang ma - ram ka - wai na le wah ah oh -
Pukun
33
Kundu
Voice
Eh - wa - na na - ram ton - gol eh - wa - na na - ram ton - gol eh - wa na - ra bal - in ngan.
34
Kundu
Voice
Eh - wa - na na - ram ton - gol eh - wa - na na - ram ton - gol eh - wa na - ra bal - in ngan.
35
Kundu
Voice



ITEM 3 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD17 #2. Duration: 3.25 min.

ITEM 4 Compact disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD17 #3. Duration: 4.58 min.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 16-2-02. Source MD17 #4. Duration: 4.02 min.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Recordings made during a practice in Kambiram, *taraiu* ('secret grounds')17-2-02. Gabriel of Kambiram teaches 12 young men how to perform *Kinawai*. Source. MD17 #5. Duration: 4.10 min.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #6. Duration: 3.30 min.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #7. Duration: 4.57 min.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #8. Duration: 3.59 min.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #9. Duration: 3.39 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #10. Duration: 5.01 min.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #11. Duration: 4.29 min.

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #16. Duration: 3.48 min.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 17-2-02. Source MD17 #17. Duration: 4.03 min.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Recorded during a practice in the Kambiram *taraiu* ('secret grounds'). Many of these recordings are repeats of *Kapialai* above but these are clearer. 26-2-02. Source MD18 #2. Duration: 3.39

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 26-2-02. Source MD18 #3. Duration: 3.04 min.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 10

Kapialai. Details as above 26-2-02. Source MD18 #4. Duration: 3.26 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Tubuan Songs III

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 11

Kapialai. Recording during practice in the Kambiram *taraiu* ('secret grounds') 26-2-02. Source MD18 #5. Duration: 3.14 min.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 11

Kapialai. Details as above 26-2-02. Source MD18 #6. Duration: 3.06 min.

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 11

Kapialai. Recorded during a practice in the Rei *taraiu* ('secret grounds') 4-3-02. Four men sing while three men dance. Source MD19 #1. Duration: 3.29 min.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 11

Mamboo. Sung by three men for this recording 12-11-01. Transcription provided in an old language of Lak. Source MD9 #23. Duration: 3.39 min.

Wee laroom pidik key
laroom pidik larougeh laroom
pidik key laroom eh ni ya ngou ya

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 11

Mamboo?, 2nd part. Details as above 12-11-01. These two recordings contain the four parts of a *Mamboo*. Source MD9 #24. Duration: 3.21 min.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 11

Mamboo. Recorded during a rehearsal in Kambiram *taraiu* ('secret grounds') 26-2-02. Seven men sing the *lamlam*. Source MD17 #12. Duration: 4.09 min.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 11

Mamboo, 2nd part. Details as above 26-2-02. Source MD17 #13. Duration: 3.22 min.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 11

Mamboo, 3rd part. Details as above 26-2-02. Source MD17 #14. Duration: 3.12 min.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 11

Mamboo. Details as above 26-2-02. Source MD17 #18. Duration: 5.18 min.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 11

Mamboo. Details as above 26-2-02. Source MD18 #1. Duration: 4.28 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 11

Kabakawer. Sung for this recording by Michael in Ulam hamlet, Siar village 9-12-01. Source MD12 #10. Duration: 3.34 min.

Ya eh wop wop wop wop wop wop

Ri tandar moralom rawin
Oh tada keya malari eh
Eh ow nga ie tandar moralom
Rawin oh tandar ke ah eee

Oh na ngek ra angalangal
Oh na ngek ra angalangal

Oh na ngek mari molai
Oh na ngek mari molai
Wara pidik mari
Oh ya eh ah oh

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 11

Kabakawer. Recorded during a rehearsal at Kambiram *taraiu* ('secret grounds') 26-2-02. Source MD17 #15. Duration: 3.39 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Children's Songs In Tok Pisin And Siar, *Kamkombak* (Women's initiation songs), String Band & Miscellaneous & Sounds Of Lak.

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 12

Mama i stap we. Sung for this recording by Linda in Rei village 9-5-01. Source MD3 #3. Duration: 3.51 min.

Mama i stap we
Lukim em lukim em
Em i wasim kolos
Gut pella tenk yu God

Mama i stap we
Lukim em lukim em
Em i kok bilong yu mi
Gut pella tenk yu God

Mama i stap we
Lukim em lukim em
Em i was em pelet
Gut pella tenk yu God

Mama i stap we
Lukim em lukim em
Em i was em kolos
Gut pella tenk yu God

Mama i stap we
Lukim em lukim em
Em i gisim pia wood
Gut pella tenk yu God

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 12

God i sori long mipella. Details as above 9-5-01. Source MD3 #4. Duration: 1.00 min.

God i sorri long mipella paitim han
God i sorri long mipella na mi hammamas long em
God i sorri long mipella paitim han

God i sori long mipella bumpim het
God i sorri long mipella ni mi hammamas long em
God i sorri long mipella bumpim het

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Nick in Rei village 10-5-01. Source MD3 #6. Duration: 0.35 min.

Tik ep keyrai ep pastart oh
Oh kis lik tigau un lon ep ngas
A warai oh gong ma oh ngas rang
Ep oh ngok ngok a loo ka rek

Translation:
One time I ran into you
You were sitting down on the road
I said to you don't stare to much
And you said arh arh (baby sound) to me.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 12

Natun bek. Sung for this recording by Brigata in Rei village10-5-01. Source MD3 #7. Duration: 0.42 min.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 12

Tang tang monair rango. (Game) Sung for this recording by Remiduce in Rei village 10-5-01. Source MD3 #9. Duration: 2.51 min.

Tang tang monair rango
Ben ta ben ta
Pidik lik tolalong pidik lik tolalong

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Nick in Rei village 11-5-01. Source MD3 #11. Duration: 0.57 min.

A deng a deng a deng a ta ta taie
A ta taie e na naoh roh wa e
A deng a deng a deng

Dang a dang a dang sarhoon sarhoon

Tek tek long rai

Kekekekekekeke ep wang kanai wang kanai wang kanai.

Dang a dang a dang sarhoon sarhoon
Tek tek long rai

Kekekekekekeke ep wang kanai wang kanai wang kanai

(Spoken) *Toi gong oh ngek ep kar nogh esh ep kar nim esh.*

Translation:
Stand up stand up father
Father, child don't cry
Stand up stand up stand up

Jump up jump up a little
sit down and listen

Kekekekekekeke (bird cry) the canoe of the birds

Child don't cry a car is coming
Look the car is going.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Anton in Rei village 12-5-01. Source MD3 #12. Duration: 1.36 min.

Ehlelelik billi teng la maie wan toi
Ehlele tengteng maie wan toi
Ehlelelik billi teng la maie wan toi
Oi

Ehlele tengteng maie oi
Ehlele tengteng maie oi
Ehlelelik billiteng la maie wan toi
Oi

Translation:
Little child don't cry to much
You must look at your Grandmother.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Cecelia in Rei village 12-5-01. Source MD3 #13. Duration: 0.54 min.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Maria in Rei village 21-5-01. Source MD3 #15. Duration: 0.41 min.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Details as above 21-5-01. Source MD3 #17 & 18. Duration: 1.12 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Brigata in Rei village. 24-5-01. Source MD3 #19. Duration: 1.25 min.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Bless in Rei village 24-5-01. Source MD3 #21. Duration: 0.55 min.

Ma oh re da re toharerep dera
Ma oh reh de ra maieh
Ma oh re da re toharerep dera
El neki eee eee reneki

Translation:
Look at those two men
Both of them are crying
Eee crying eee crying.

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Paul Totili in Rei village 29-5-01. Source MD3 #22. Duration: 5.08 min.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Details as above. Transcription provided 29-5-01. Source MD3 #24. Duration: 1.13 min.

Deng undeng undeng undeng
A tata i tata i ah bora wa
Deng undeng undeng undeng

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 12

Pas pas pas. (clapping game) Three people sing for this recording in Rei village 10-7-01. Source MD5 #22. Duration: 0.38 min.

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Cicelia in Rei village 17-8-01. Source MD6 #6. Duration: 1.05 min.

Oi dal oi rabok miou
Bokmiou rerei
Oi dal oi rebok miou

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 12

Tuturai natnat. Sung for this recording by Brigata in Rei village 22-8-01. Source MD6 #9. Duration: 1.34 min.

***Kamkombak* (women's initiation songs)**

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Cecilia (Nan) in Rei village 14-6-01. Source MD3 #35. Duration: 2.42 min.

Ep lambor ra la le
Ep lambor ra la le
Perhperh katim
Un mean an bom

Oh per boon ngan oh mai
Ep lambor perhperh ep boon

Lambor perhperh ep boon
Oh per boon ngan oh mai
Ep lambor perhperh ep boon

ITEM 19 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Details as above 14-6-01. Source MD3 #36. Duration: 2.58 min.

Keiahoui dal oui oh ngek oui
Keiahoui dal oui oh ngek kolkol I-eh
Oh ngek kolkol ie ne ol oh ngek
Sora natoom
Oh ngek kolkol re ma ol oh ngek
Sora natoom
Ma ol ohngek sora natoom ngan oi
Altop rekis ep balam
Sorheh tamam deran ie.

ITEM 20 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Details as above 14-6-01. Source MD3 #38. Duration: 2.46 min.

Tin bakan kosek delomi
Tin bakan kosek delomi ee
Ya oh tin sorroh matamloam
Konarleh
Tong ol matanshoan komarleh
Al bok rangkan al
Al bok rangken al ngan oi
Bot tre pasi arrem tingau oi
Oh tin songorh matam shoan
Komarleh

ITEM 21 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Elizabeth of Kamiang 18-6-01. Source MD5 #10. Duration: 1.45 min.

ITEM 22 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Details as above 18-6-01. Source MD5 #11. Duration: 1.53 min.

ITEM 23 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Brigata in Rei village 19-6-01. Source MD5 #13. Duration: 1.40 min.

Almat ep larbor e nan eh
ke salyam palarook ep larborh

Ke salyam palarook ep larborh
Ngan oh na eh almat an larborh

ITEM 24 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Alouis in Rei village 12-7-01. Source MD5 #27. Duration: 1.31 min.

Mai marbokma ning e kiskis
Tingau lon na ringring

Silur gargar aroom oi

Translation:
The Marbokma woman is sitting down
Inside the lake in the bush
A bird of paradise sits down facing her.

ITEM 25 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Brigata in Rei village 28-8-01. Source MD8 #2. Duration: 1.02 min.

ITEM 26 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Tomilesman in Rei village 3-9-01. Source MD8 #7. Duration: 1.50 min.

Maieh wow wow sen eh neki pasi
Eh neki pasi su ta piark
Ta piark ngan i eh
Maiep mong ning
Det nemesh ep maisen maiat
Ah neh balwang i eh
Ep masang maiat aneh balwang eh

Translation:
My Grandmother has been crying
She cries for this ta piark
Ta piark belong you
Canoe comes from the west
To the dry reef and the Balwang star.

ITEM 27 Compact Disc 12

Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Maria in Siar village 29-1-02. Source MD14 #11. Duration: 2.19 min.

String band and miscellaneous

ITEM 28 Compact Disc 12

Meri Baining. Sung for this recording by Tiobob and Justin in Rei village 30-4-01. Transcription provided. *Meri Baining* is a popular song in Papua New Guinea. Source MD1 #15. Duration: 2.43 min.

Meri baining yu bilas nogut turu
Yu titim rot na burokim wara kindam

Wara i tite mi sidaun sori
Sori long ples i tu dak i stap long we

Putim hap clos i wit na shu long lek
Mi mangalim yu

Meri na roks i danis tu lat

Oh oh oh oh oh danis em pia nit
Isacool meri mi mangalim yu

Putim hap clos i wit na shu long lek
Mi mangalim yu

Meri na roks i danis tu lat

Oh oh oh oh oh danis em pia nit
Isacool meri mi mangalim yu

ITEM 29 Compact Disc 12

Soibobolut. Sung for this recording by Bruno in Rei village 17-6-01. Source MD5 #8. Duration: 1.10 min.

Soibobolut
Bolut kamgora
Kating lon ep ring

Umtool rehreh mailek
Umtool rehreh mailek

ITEM 30 Compact Disc 12

Japanese song. Sung for this recording by Paul Totili in Rei village who was taught there songs by Japanese soldiers during their occupation of New Ireland 4-9-01. Source MD8 #9. Duration: 2.14 min.

ITEM 31 Compact Disc 12

Japanese song. Details as above 4-9-01. Source MD8 #10. Duration: 0.57 min.

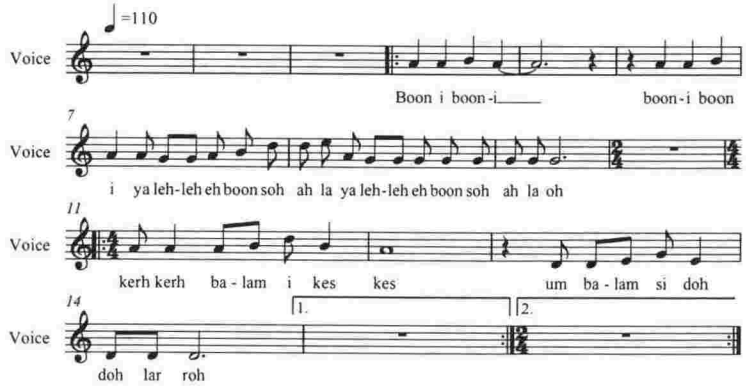
ITEM 32 Compact Disc 12

Booni booni. Sung for this recording by Topen and Justin in Rei village 27-2-02. Source MD18 #7. Duration: 1.40 min.

Booni booni booni booni
Ya leh leh eh boon soh ah la oh
Ya leh leh eh boon soh ah la oh

Kerh kerh balam i kis kis
Um balam si doh doh lar roh

Booni Booni
MD 12 #32



ITEM 33 Compact Disc 12

Tomas. Details as above 27-2-02. Source MD18 #8. Duration: 1.55 min.

Oh we Tomas i ki yap ten
Onep tem tem man
Torh bung

Man bil sum moh
So tok barsan molmol on

Kanak i torh loui toh ep bek bek

Translation:
Oh Tomas you are the Captain
Of Torh bung team

You're not a man
You're not a real man

You're the local member
You sway back and forwards.

ITEM 34 Compact Disc 12

Oi mator ki ot. Details as above 27-2-02. Source MD18 #9. Duration: 1.35 min.

Oi mator ki ot shu mator
Al rei tik mamam

Translation:
We have come now
To see the performance

ITEM 35 Compact Disc 12

Nokah leiwan kopra. Details as above 27-2-02. Source MD18 #10. Duration: 1.08 min.

Nokah leiwan kopra ah
Matol ki rorori

Tim an boon ah ni
San eh lotorh

Translation
My Copra knife
We found it on the beach
Close to um um

ITEM 36 Compact Disc 12

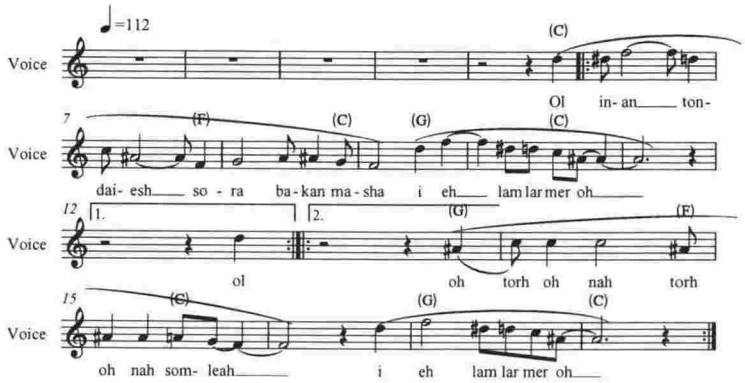
Kamkombak. Sung for this recording by Piuse in Morukorn village 1-5-02. Source MD21 #25. Duration: 1.43 min.

Ol inan tongaiesh
Sora bakan masha
I eh lam lar mer oh
Oh torh oh nah oh torh oh nah
somleah, i eh lam lar mer oh.

Translation:
You walked here from the east
[names the] leaf of the bakan tree
I eh wash in the water
You stand upon a coconut shoot
in the eel water, I eh you wash in the water.

Kamkombak

MD 12#36



Sounds of Lak.

ITEM 37 Compact Disc 12

Woman crying & angry man. Recorded at Rei village 6-5-01. Source MD3 #2. Duration: 1.24 min.

ITEM 38 Compact Disc 12

Jungle sounds. Recorded in Rei, Karsaramas, 4pm 10-1-02. Source MD13 #1. Duration: 3.01 min.

ITEM 39 Compact Disc 12

High in the jungle. Details as above 10-1-02. Source MD13 #2. Duration: 1.49 min.

ITEM 40 Compact Disc 12

Jungle early morning. Rei, 6am 12-1-02. Source MD13 #5. Duration: 2.30 min.

ITEM 41 Compact Disc 12

Crying for the dead. Rei. Source MD20 #15. Duration: 1.54 min.

ITEM 42 Compact Disc 12

Cry of the Defil. Rei. Source MD20 #28. Duration: 1.23 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Myths And Stories

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 13

Kakaruk story. Told for this recording by Clement in Rei village 24-4-01. Source MD2 #1. Duration: 6.55 min.

In the days gone by when the people of Lak had trade relations with the people of Anir and Tanga islands. A group of men from Siar travelled to Anir in a single hulled canoe called a *mong*. The men carried chickens with them and when they saw the morning star, *Matlai* arise they killed all of the chickens by twisting their necks. When all of the chickens were dead they began their journey to Anir. Once they had cast off the chickens began to crow. The leader of the men said, "that's not the morning star *Matlai* it's the one that rises before it, the star that tricks men into leaving." The men brought these chickens back with them when they returned from Anir. To this day the descendants of these chickens have no feathers around their necks.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 13

Giant turtle story. Told for this recording by Leo Tordaki in Rei village 25-4-01. Source MD2 #2. Duration: 14.50 min.

A story of the events that happened to Leo Tordaki.

Leo went fishing one evening and when the five crabs he was using as bait finished he began to think. Why is it that I never catch any fish, my family is hungry and the fish eat my bait but don't take the hook? Leo went to find more bait and returned to his position on a stone. He saw the evening star rise and as he watched it he became dizzy and thought that this must be a bad sign. Leo decided it was time to go home but when he pulled on his fishing line it was stuck. Leo thought that the line must be snagged on a reef. As he pulled he noticed that the line was moving and he felt something very heavy on the end of his line. Leo tried to pull the fish up to the rock but it was too heavy. Leo unwound the line and walked down to the beach where he started to reel it in again. Leo saw something crawl out of the sea and began to fear that he'd caught a *talung* ('spirit'). Leo ran back into the jungle and continued to pull on the line. As Leo pulled on the string the moon broke through the clouds and he saw that he had caught a giant turtle. Leo lead the giant turtle through a gap in two stones and left it there over night.

The following day Leo sent his son to see what he'd caught the night before and he found the giant turtle with the mark of a hook in its throat. Every one in the village ate turtle for several days.

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 13

Love magic story. Told for this recording by Paul Totili in Rei village 7-5-01. Transcription and translation provided. Source MD2 #3. Duration: 23.50 min.

Once there were two sisters Ehlehlena and Ehlehlena-lik who lived alone. The older sister Ehlehlena desired a husband but there were no men for miles around. Ehlehlena asked her sister to help her perform magic to gain a husband. The sisters sat beside a river in the sun and didn't eat, drink or urinate all day. Ehlehlena began to sing as she wrapped a stone in a scented leaf and instructed Ehlehlena-lik to copy her. When they finished they placed the stone wrapped in the leaves in the sun. The sun burnt their skin and they became thirsty but they continued to sit in the sun. After some time they removed the stones from their leaf wrappings and left them in the sun. After several hours Ehlehlena began to sing again, instructing her sister to do the same.

A man in a village a long way away awoke in the night with a sore head, unable to sleep. As he lay in his house sleepless he began to think, who is doing this to me I must go find the person who is calling me.

The next day the sisters went back to the river to work their magic again. As Ehlehlena and her sister sang the song and wrapped stones in leaves a man arrived.

"What are you doing?" he asked. "I haven't eaten for a week, have you been calling my name?"

"Yes, it was me who called you," said Ehlehlena.

The man took Ehlehlena for his wife and they returned to her village.

Song text:
Ehleh lena lena rei Ehleh lena lena rei
Eh Balamaresh eh-ah-oh balamaresh eh-ah-oh

Eh riri go kiki-keh
Eh tim makatim mah
Eh riri go kiki-keh
Eh tim makatim mah

Maieh Tamansaran ehoh
Eh fekfek ep al balam sorah myeal

Translation:
Ehleh-lena lena rei Ehleh-lena lena rei
Your belly is turning eh-ah-oh
Your belly is turning eh-ah-oh

Ready your legs for a walk
I will get your heart now.

Yes Tamansaran ehoh
I call to you, your belly is turning.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 13

Palai na Korakum. Told for this recording by Torbill in Rei village 22-5-01. Source MD2 #14. Duration: 1.47 min.

Once the red ant and the lizard went hunting and caught a pig. They put the pig in a ground oven to cook.

"Lets wash in the sea, while the pig cooks," said the lizard.

So they paddled a canoe out to an island and the lizard dove into the sea and swam back to the beach under the water, where he opened the ground oven and ate the pig. When he'd finished he swam under the sea back to the canoe.

"It's your turn to dive into the sea," said the lizard to the ant.

The ant dove into the sea but couldn't go down, so he just swam around on the surface.

When they went back to the beach they saw that the ground oven was open and the pig was all gone. The ant knew what the lizard had done and to this day the ant doesn't like the lizard.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 13

Blakbokis story. Details as above 22-5-01. Source MD2 #15. Duration: 3.25 min.

Once a Big Man marked all of the fruit trees with a *gorgor* ('leafy plant used to indicate ownership') to stop it being eaten. The flying fox ate some of the fruit so the Big man killed a pig and gathered everybody for a feast. The Big man told a joke and when everyone laughed he saw inside their mouths and saw that the flying fox was the one who had stolen the fruit. The Big man beat the flying fox and when he finished the flying fox began to sing. The flying fox went back to his place and gathered all of his friends who came and killed every one in the village.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 13

Dok na Palai stori. Details as above 22-5-01. Source MD2 #16. Duration: 5.42 min.

One day the dog and the lizard went pig hunting. When the lizard saw the dog's balls swinging back and forth the lizard couldn't help but laugh.

"What are you laughing at?" said the dog

"Oh just the leaves in the trees" said the lizard.

They continued to walk but when the dog climbed over a felled tree the lizard laughed at the dog as his balls struck the tree.

"What are you laughing at now?" said the dog.

"I'm just happy to be in the bush hunting pigs," replied the lizard.

They continued to walk but soon they came to another fallen tree when the dog's balls struck the log and the lizard laughed.

"What's so funny now?" asked the dog.

"I'm just laughing because we've walked a long way and not caught a pig yet," said the lizard.

They walk on for a long time and when they came to the next fallen tree the lizard laughs at dog's balls again.

"You're laughing at me," said the dog as he started to chase lizard but lizard ran to the top of a tree.

"You eat shit and you can't get me," said the lizard from the treetop.

The dog was determined to get the lizard and so he pretended to die. The next morning the lizard came down the tree and saw dog was dead so he started to count his teeth but the dog got up and ate the lizard before he could finish counting.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 13

Love Magic story. Told for this recording by Alouise Topot in Siar village 27-9-01. Translation and transcription provided. Source MD8 #16-17-18. Duration: 7.57 min.

A group of men went to catch pigs with a net but they are unable to find a pig. One man found the footprints of two women so he followed the footprints until he heard women singing. The women were singing as they bound a stone in scented leaves.

Ehleh lena lena rei Ehleh lena lena rei
Eh Balamaresh eh-ah-oh balamaresh eh-ah-oh

Eh riri go kiki-keh
Eh tim makatim mah
Eh riri go kiki-keh
Eh tim makatim mah

Maieh Tamansaran ehoh
Eh fekfek ep al balam sorah myeal

Translation:
Ehleh lena lena rei Ehleh lena lena rei
Your belly is turning eh-ah-oh
Your belly is turning eh-ah-oh

Ready your legs for a walk
I will get your heart now.

Yes Tamansaran ehoh
I call to you, your belly is turning.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 13

Tu pella mama. Told for this recording by Tomileshman in Siar village 28-1-02. Transcription provided. Source MD14 #1. Duration: 7.07 min.

Once a mother who lived without any relations in a village except for her infant child asked the other mothers in the village to look after her baby while she went to get food from her garden. On her return from the garden it began to rain and the river became flooded. The woman was unable to find a place to cross the river.

Back in the village the other women killed the infant child and cast his body into the swollen river.

Eventually the child's mother swam across the river but lost her basket of food in the water and when she reached the village she couldn't find her child. She knew the other women had killed her baby and she began to cry and sing.

Oh Betai oh Betai oh
Koolang nek nek koolang nek nek
Koolang mesiah koolang maresh
Balak ah ie ii oh ii oh

ITEM DETAILS
Myths And Stories.

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 14

Soibobolut. Told for this recording by Brigata in Siar village 28-1-02. Source MD14 #2. Duration: 7.10 min.

Once a group of women went to the river to find prawns. At the river they met a man called Nan Suilik.

"What are you doing?" inquired Nan Suilik.

"We are searching for prawns," said the women.

"Wait, I will block the flow of the water," said Nan Suilik.

He did making it easy for the women to fill their baskets with prawns. When their baskets were full they sent one of the women to get leaves to cover the baskets from the sun. When the woman reached up to a vine to pluck leaves the snake called Soibobolut froze her in her place. The snake began to sing. The women at the water waited for a long time and then sent a second woman who quickly found the first woman.

"What are you doing? We are waiting for you," said the second woman as she reached for the leaves. But as she said these words she too was frozen in her place and Soibobolut began to sing.

A third woman was sent to find the other two and she too was trapped by Soibobolut who began to sing. A fourth woman was sent and Soibobolut traps her in the same way and the snake sang. The last woman waited by herself at the river and when none of the women returned she too went into the bush and was captured by Soibobolut who began to sing.

The men in the village waited until late afternoon and when none of the women returned they went off in search of their wives and sisters. At the river the men found the baskets and the women's footprints that they followed into the bush. Soon they came across Nan Suilik

"Where did our women go?" asked the men.

"They went into the bush to find leaves to cover their baskets, they went that way" said Nan Suilik pointing in the direction the women had gone.

The men followed Nan Suilik's directions and shortly found the women frozen by a vine. When the men saw Soibobolut they killed him and set free the women.

Song text:
Umtool riri maloh untool riri maloh
Kom sa tombarran na, con tar
Norh arim mat I oh
Soibobolut I bolut kamgorah
Ah noumat katim lon ep ring.

Translation:
You lot gather the maloh leaf
For what reason are you doing this

For your widowers?
Snake of blood will bleed them
All your women.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 14

Sikau na palai. Told for this recording by Tony Pisrai in Siar village 28-1-02. Source MD14 #3. Duration: 7.43 min.

Once Wallaby and Lizard went pig hunting. They caught a pig and brought it back to the village where they cooked it in the ground oven. When the ground oven was covered Lizard climbed a coconut tree and knocked off some young coconuts that they took with them in the canoe. Lizard dropped a coconut into the water and made as if to dive down and retrieve it. But Lizard swam all the way to the beach where he ate the pig in the ground oven and then returned to the canoe swimming under the water. Wallaby and Lizard paddled the canoe back to shore and Wallaby discovered that the pig was gone.

The next day Wallaby and Lizard did the same thing. When they'd caught another pig they placed it in the ground oven and went out in the canoe again where Lizard played the same trick.

On the third day they went hunting again and carried the pig back to the village where it was placed in the ground oven. When they'd finished putting the pig in the ground oven Wallaby gave Lizard a large bamboo pole that he asked him to fill with water.
While Lizard was filling the bamboo with water Wallaby set a trap in the ground oven. They went out in the canoe and drank coconuts and Lizard dropped his coconut into the water and went to get it back. Lizard swam to the beach and was caught in the trap. When Wallaby returned he found Lizard in the trap and he sat down to eat the pig. When he'd finished eating Wallaby beat Lizard and Lizard ran up a tree. To this day Wallaby and Lizard are still not friends.

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 14

Dolphin meri. Told for this recording by Tony Pisrai in Siar village 28-1-02. Source MD14 #4. Duration: 4.00 min.

Once a young man was standing in the rain on the beach spearing fish. When his rope was full of fish he placed the fish in a rock pool and started again. When the second rope was full of fish he walked to the point. At the point he saw the "canoe's" of the dolphins. The dolphins had left their outer skins on the beach while they went to the gardens to gather vegetables. The young man saw one of the young dolphin woman and he admired her so he stole her outer skin and hid it in the bush. When the women returned she couldn't find her skin and all of the other dolphins had left. Soon the rain finished and the outer skin of the dolphin woman became hard and unusable. The young man approached the dolphin woman.

"Was it you who hid my skin?" asked the dolphin woman.

"No, I haven't seen your skin," lied the young man.

"It must have been you, how am I to go back to the sea now? My skin will be dry," she lamented.

The young man admitted that it was him who took her outer skin and the two were married.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 14

Two brothers. Told form this recording by Tintoop in Siar village 28-1-02. Source MD14 #5. Duration: 2.43 min.

Once there were two brothers Nan Soilamtim and Nan Suilik. They went hunting pigs and when they caught one they cooked it in a ground oven. When the pig was ready they both ate as much as they could. What was left over they divided in two. Nan Soilamtim put half of what remained in his basket and Nan Suilik put the other half in his basket.

The brothers slept through the night but the older brother Nan Soilamtim woke up before his brother and ate the contents of Nan Suilik's basket. When he'd finished his brothers pig he defecated in the basket. When Nan Suilik awoke he reached over to his basket and placed his hand in his brothers faeces. Nan Suilik realised what his brother had done and started to cry as he walked away. His older brother followed him. "Nan Suilik come back," he called.

"You acted unfairly towards me" replied Nan Suilik as he continued to walk away.

Nan Soilamtim continued to call to his brother but Nan Suilik refused to come back. When Nan Suilik reached the point he stood on a stone and called to his brother "Come to me now and I will shake your hand."

Nan Soilamtim approached his brother to shake hands with him but Nan Suilik jumped into the sea turning into a fish (Tinktink ben) as he dove in.

(Tinktink ben is a small fish that lives around reefs and steals the bait from fishhooks without being hooked.)

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 14

Snek na mangi. Details as above 28-1-02. Source MD14 #6. Duration: 9.01 min.

In earlier times when children had to walk a long way to school there was a little boy who was not looked after well by his parents. He had only one pair of trousers and one shirt. The boy walked to school everyday in the same clothes. The giant snake that lived among the tall grass noticed the little boy and one day he called out to him. The snake called to the boy "don't be afraid I am a man, every morning I see you and I pity you, you never have food and each day you wear the same clothes."

The snake took the boy to his house, gave him food, told him to wash and gave him new clothes. The boy walked to school in his new clothes and all the other children began to wonder were he got his new clothes from.

On the way home the boy stoped at the snake's house and changed back into his old clothes before going home. The boy's mother and father began to wonder why the boy

was late home from school. Over several days the boy's parents began to notice a change in him. He no longer came home and ate his dinner of dry coconut.

Each day the boy stoped at the snakes house on the way to school, ate, washed and changed his clothes. On the way home he did the same and very soon his mother became suspicious. One day his mother followed him to school and saw that he left the road and returned some time later with new clothes before continuing on his way to school.
The boy's mother waited for him to go to school and she followed his footprints to the snake's house. When the boy's mother discovered the snake and the boys clothes she cut the snake into little pieces.

On the way home the boy discovered the snake cut into pieces. The boy put all of the pieces of the snake into a drum and he covered it with a lid.

The next morning the boy discovered that the snake had joined together again in the drum and was alive. When the boy opened the drum the snake said, "yesterday your mother came and killed me." The snake got out of the drum and went back to his house.

The boy returned late from school and his mother became suspicious again. The next day she followed him to school again and when the boy left the snake's house she found the snake alive so she cut him into pieces again and burnt each piece.
On the way home the boy discovered the snake's bones. The boy placed all the bones in the drum but this time it didn't work. The next day the boy returned from school and killed his parents with an axe. He hung the axe above him and lay below it where he called to the wind to blow. The wind blew and the axe fell onto the boy's neck, killing him.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 14

Kweh. Told for this recording by Isador in Siar village 29-1-02. Source MD14 #7. Duration: 14.10 min.

Once there was a wild man called Kweh who lived in the jungle. One day a brother and sister went into the jungle to find prawns in the river. The man was called Nat Suilik and the woman Dal. They collected prawns, eels and fish and when the first basket was full Dal insisted that they go further up the river. They went further and further into the jungle and filled many baskets. Soon they came to the house of the Kweh who saw them collecting from his river. The Kweh began to sing as he came down the river and Nat Suilik said to his sister "we must go the Kweh is coming".

Dal ignored her brother and carried on working until the Kweh was upon them. Dal and Nat Suilik grabbed their baskets and started to run. When the Kweh got close to them they threw a basket of prawns at him and he stoped to eat it. Each time he got close they threw another basket to him. When they reached the village they had no more baskets so the next day they went back to the river. This time the Kweh captured Dal and Nat Suilik returned to his grandmother and told her what had happened. Dal's grandmother got a pig and gave it to the village Big Man asking him to call a meeting of all the men to get Dal back from the Kweh.

The Big Man beat the *garamut* ('wooden slit drum') and summoned all the men to go and get Dal back from the Kweh. All of the young men went into the jungle to fight the

Kweh but the Kweh beat them all. All the men returned to the village with excuses so the Big Man killed another pig and sent them off to find Dal again.

This time a *karket* man (man without parents) covered in sores, asked the men to give him a little bit of pig but they chased him away. The *karket* sharpened three coconut leaf spines and when the men returned he went to the Kweh's house. When the Kweh saw the *karket* he laughed and threw a spear at him that the *karket* avoided. When the Kweh had thrown all of his spears the *karket* asked him if he'd finished and said, "now it's my turn."

The *karket* threw his coconut spine and it hit the Kweh in the eye. The second coconut spine hit his other eye and the third killed the Kweh.

The *karket* returned to the village and said "go and get the Kweh I have killed him."

The men returned to the Kweh's house to find him dead and they retrieved Dal.

The *karket* was rewarded with a pig to himself.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 14

Bolout bilong Suilik. Told for this recording by Tinbokut in Rei village 7-4-02. Transcription and translation provided. Source MD20 #16,17,18,19,20. Duration: 12.46 min.

Once two brothers went to their garden. After working for a while one of the brothers said, "I'm going to catch fish, you stay here and work in the garden."

The brother who stayed in the garden cut himself by accident with his knife. He used a taro leaf to collect all the blood and when the leaf was full of blood he tied it into a bundle and placed it on the tip of a large tree. When he'd finished his work he returned to his village.

Two sisters then came to the garden and one of them saw a man in a tall tree that she pointed out to her sister. The sisters admired the man and they called out to him, "what are you doing up there?"

"This is where I live," replied the man in the tree.

"You come down here," called one of the sisters, "we like you."

"No I'm waiting for my brother who's fishing," said the man in the tree.

The two sisters became angry with the man in the tree and they continued to call to him telling him to come down but the man refused. The sisters decided to set the tree on fire to get the man down. When the sisters lit a fire at the foot of the tree the man began to sing.

The brother fishing heard his brothers voice singing but couldn't make out the words so he paddled his canoe closer.

The sisters called to the man in the tree "you come down now."

The man continued to sing. The fire started to burn the man's legs and his brother in the canoe was now close enough to hear the words of the song.

The women called to the man in the tree again "you didn't listen to us and now you are burning."

The man in the tree just continued to sing.

"Oh I'm burning and my brother will never know," cried the man.

"Well we told you to come down but you refused and now you will die today at the foot of this tree" said the sisters.

"I'm not a real man," said the man in the tree "I'm only the blood of a man, who has returned to his village."

The man who cut himself returned to the garden when he saw the fire and saw the sisters sitting at the foot of the burning tree.

"What are you two doing?" he asked.

"We're burning this tree because the man in it refused to come down," said the sisters.

"That's not a real man it's just my blood," said the man.

The man at the top of the tree started to sing again and the other brother pulled his canoe ashore and went to the garden where he meet the sisters, "what are you two doing and where are you from?" he asked.

"We live here," said the sisters, "we found this man in the tree and when he refused to come down from the tree we set the tree alight."

The fire had now burnt all but the head of the man in the tree and the sisters turned to the man who had cut himself, "you come with us," they said. "You tricked us with your blood but we want a real man."

After a while the man agreed to go with the sisters back to their village and he did so.

Song text:
Manela manela
Suilik ep yah kelyan yow
Tarai sumsum tarai sungsung
Suilik ep yah kelyan yow.

Translation:
Man man
Suilik is on fire it's burning me
The men who float the men who float
Suilik is on fire it's burning me.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 14

Nian wara. Told for this recording by Paul Totili in Rei village 7-4-02. Source MD20 #23,24,25,26. Duration: 9.36 min.

Once, many years before, the men of Kamiang paddled their large single hulled canoe all the way to Anir island. The men of Kamiang conducted their exchanges with the Big Men of Anir and when all was finished they ate well. After the meal one of the Big Men from Kamiang walked down the beach and came across a spring that he drank from. The water was fresh and cold. When he returned to his companions he told them of the spring he'd found. The next morning all of the men from Kamiang visited the water and agreed that it was fine and cool water and it was a pity they didn't have water this good at home in Kamiang.

The following day the men prepared their large canoe and paddled back to Kamiang where they all slept well. The next morning the Big Man arose and found the water from Anir was now in Kamiang. The Big Man ran to the men's house and beat the *garamut* to gather everyone. He ordered all the women to go to the gardens and collect food and the

men to kill two pigs. When all was prepared he told the men that the spring from Anir was now in Kamiang. All the men and women of Kamiang went to the new spring and filled bamboo containers with the water.

ITEM DETAILS
Myths And Stories.

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 15

Origin story. Told for this recording by Joseph in Morukorn village 18-4-02. Source MD21 #2-9. Duration: 21:46 min.

In the time before the ancestors there was no night, the sun burned constantly and the people didn't know of sleep. At this time there were only three people; Wan Suilik, who was an old woman, and two brothers Suilik and Kabatarai who lived at Matatai.

Suilik lamented the fact that he, Wan Suilik and Kabatarai never had any rest. The sun was always so bright and they were unable to rest from the light or the heat. Suilik thought on their problem and set out for the point at Lambom Island called Matalabung. Suilik dug a hole in the sand at the point of Matalabung and took a paragoom leaf which he poked holes in. Suilik hid inside the hole and covered himself with the paragoom leaf where he fell asleep. When Suilik awoke he returned to Matatai.

"Where have you been?" asked Wan Suilik.

"I've been working my own business" replied Suilik.

Suilik sat down to rest and the sun began to sink slowley over the mountains. Kabatarai ran to his brother in fear.

"Brother what is happening, where is the sun going?"

"No brother don't be afraid" replied Suilik.

Soon all of the creatures of the night began to cry and Kabatarai become increasingly fearful.

"We will rest now Kabatarai," Suilik told his brother, "take this half taro and now we will rest for the first time."

"Oh but brother what will happen to us now?" cried Kabatarai.

"What have you done Suilik?" Complained Wan Suilik "Why are you making all these changes?"

"Don't complain old woman," said Suilik and then they all fell silent as darkness rose around them and gradually they fell asleep in the first night.

The next morning Kabatarai awoke to the sounds of the morning and became fearful but Suilik calmed him by saying "look brother the sun has come back there's no need to be afraid."

The days passed and gradually Wan Suilik and Kabatarai became used to the night dividing the day and the day dividing the night.

Part two:

During the days Suilik and Kabatarai would go hunting in the jungle, work in the garden or wander as they pleased. Wan Suilik stayed in the hamlet and prepared food for all of them. Wan Suilik would prepare her own food with a little salt water that bubbled up from underneath a gigantic rock but for Kabatarai and Suilik's food she would urinate into it.

One day Suilik tasted his grandmothers food when she wasn't watching and said to his brother, "Wan Suilik's food tastes good but ours is foul, why is this?"

Suilik decided he would find out why. The next day Suilik and Kabatarai got all their dogs Sumyloo, Gonas, Sipiri, Tohgone and Tohliliai. When they reached a cliff above the hamlet Suilik hid and watched his grandmother prepare their food. When Suilik saw what Wan Suilik had done he returned to the hamlet and confronted Wan Suilik.

"Oh grandmother, I've seen what you have done. You prepare your own food well but you urinate in our food." Suilik went to the gigantic rock and pushed it to the side. Salt water began to swell up, it kept rising until it covered all but the mountains.

Part three:

At this time it wasn't only men who could talk, many of the animals could talk including dogs. Dogs loved to talk and were famous among all the animals for how much they talked.

One day Suilik became angry at his dogs. Suilik and his dogs had returned from a hunting trip and the dogs began to brag to Wan Suilik.

"Oh grandmother, we're so happy, we just ate a huge pig in the jungle our belly's are so full we can hardly walk."

"Suilik, why did you catch a big pig and not bring any back to me?" complained Wan Suilik.

"Who told you we ate pig?" asked Suilik.

"The dogs told me, " replied Wan Suilik.

Suilik was angry at his dogs for talking to much so he started a fire and cooked *keyoh* (magic leaf) and feed it to his dogs. When the dogs had eaten all that Suilik gave to them they were unable to talk and began to whine.

Part four:

At this time there was a fourth person, Suilik Rohrom who lived by himself in the jungle. Suilik began to build a ship called Arraka in order to escape from Suilik Rohrom. One day while Suilik was working on his ship Suilik Rohrom approached and asked "what are you doing?"

"Nothing brother" replied Suilik.

Suilik and Kabatarai began to prepare a *mumu* (ground oven) when Suilik Rohrom approached again.

"What are you doing now?" asked Suilik Rohrom.

When the stones were hot enough Suilik and Kabatarai killed Suilik Rohrom and placed him in the *mumu*. They covered the *mumu* and waited until they heard Suilik Rohrom's skull crack in the heat and they knew it was time to open the *mumu*. Before they could pull up the leaves that covered the *mumu* Suilik Rohrom walked up the beach to them.

"What are you cooking?" asked Suilik Rohrom.

"We are cooking a pig" replied Suilik. When they opened the *mumu* there was a pig inside.

Suilik began to think long and hard about how to kill Suilik Rohrom. One day when Suilik and Kabatarai where spearing fish at Losabiar point Suilik Rohrom joined them

and Suilik had an idea that he could trap Suilik Rohrom inside the cave Kamloose. When the three of them had caught plenty of fish Suilik said to Kabatarai and Suilik Rohrom,

"Let's go and get some bats from inside the cave Kamloose. You," Suilik pointed to Suilik Rohrom, "you go inside the cave," and pointing to Kabatarai "you stand outside, I will stand above the cave."

Suilik Rohrom went inside the cave and Suilik pushed a huge rock in front of the cave mouth trapping Suilik Rohrom.

Today, if you paddle past the cave Kamloose you can hear the low moaning of Suilik Rohrom.

Suilik and Kabatarai returned to Matatai where Suilik said to his grandmother, Wan Suilik, "We will go now."

Suilik pulled the giant ship down from the mountains and told Kabatarai and Wan Suilik to get into the ship with two of each kind of animal.

Wan Suilik complained, "Suilik the ship is too full there is no room to move."

"Very well," replied Suilik, "we will leave some of the animals here and return for them when we find a place to live."

They travelled right around New Ireland and across to New Brittan where Wan Suilik began to complain again, "Suilik there's not enough room in this ship."

Suilik let some of the animals out of the ship, the *Muruk* (Cassowary), the *Kapul* (opossum) and people. They continued right around Papua New Guinea spreading animals, people and languages.

ITEM DETAILS
Lotu Songs 2004/5

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 16

Na misana. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Sung for this recording by the composer Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 23-7-04. Source MD 1 #17. Duration: 2.40 min.

Na misana dat key kes kiom
On ni da, ep kes kes ah-kak
Ah na ton ep kamgoi keymat tar
Sor dat el loun tikin
Kon om in toh pukoon key rai bel
Dat re lele eh yesu
Esen emaris dat eh mat
Sor dat el tarai sen ma
E molmol sen ah tasimon
E tor long rai
Lar ep ganow
E kai na ri e ngek e mat
Sor dat el loun tikin

Translation:

Now, today we sit down together
At peace with one another
Because the child of God died
For our salvation
Sometimes we forget to
Acknowledge Jesus
It was he who had pity on us
And died so that we could live as
Brothers
I know that this is the truth
He stood without fanfare
Felt great pain
Cried out and died
To ensure our happy
Existence.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 16

Met kiot kiom salou. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Sung for this recording by the composer Philip Paraisui of Matkamlagil village. Recorded in Kapokpok kamlet 29-8-04. Source MD 5 #5. Duration: 4.08 min.

Met kiot kiom salou matar boon boon pasu
Ushen ah kiom tikin tar onep lalouoon an
Numeti
Ep marmaris anumi I lamantin
Kar taman mit bil tik el poar oh osah
Ah kam tikin tar on ep laloum ah nu meti
Mam met tar sour tar mit ma onep
Rara kai ting sen ahreim poroi tar mit
Ma onep kolos in ep farum

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 16

Bung bung par yow. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Sung for this recording by composer Philip Paraisui from Matkamlagir in Kapokpok hamlet, Siar 29-8-04. Source MD 5 #6. Duration: 3.17 min.

Bung bung par yow ar ra ring piram
Ta mangu or kaugou lowr nerara mago
Oh ya pait ia tara bung bung oar le oh
Mongori eh ah nok pokoh
Tamagu oh na mari yow ona tor tar
Nam koum warwar doan piram goh
Maieh naki to kum piram ah ram ah.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 16

Suilik ian sur el sang ep ngasim. Lotu/ religious song in Siar. Performed for this recording in the Four Square church at Udam village 14-9-04.. Five men perform: two electric guitars, bass, keyboard, drum kit and vocals Source MD 6 #6. Duration: 3.12 min.

Suilik ian sur el sang ep ngasim
Ngasim dat ti saigali an langet

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 16

Met boon boon. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Details as above 14-9-04. Source MD 6 #7. Duration: 3.28 min.

Met boon boon oh saloh tamam
Mit momol wan na salu ari sam mit
Mesena ep marmaris ah numi I lara
Ah tin kol
Marmari anum tap mit I lar man

Tin kol bil mit el poai sori oh
Sen masiek oh ep tamam mit
Momol la bung misena bil tok titi en
Tik salo ep kerai mit ki wot
Kiom arnos soi mai en ep gotgot
Misena oi ep kamgoi ep kamgoi tikin
To kerai kol bil mit ar nos sa
Kiom arnosi ar nos soi mai en
Ep gotgot misena oh patria met
Nak oh maris kol met.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 16

Tol yow lar oh. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Details as above 14-09-04. Source MD 6 #8. Duration: 3.33 min.

Tol yow lar oh
Arak sor ep mulim el wot taok
Suilik tol yow lar oh.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 16

Ep far boon. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Details as above 14-09-04. Source MD 6 #9. Duration: 3.08 min.

See item details for track 22 compact disc 3.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 16

Sangsa ma. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Details as above 14-09-04. Source MD 6 #10. Duration: 3.31 min.

Sangsa ma ep louloum ah nu dati
So eh Suilik na keluot el kep pas dat
Suilik Suilik kisan tor
Ep ngas ngasin dat i yoh dat
El ah ngis ti saigali
Dat el boon boon bobolos pas eh
Suilik sen i sai ep ngas kasaigali
Onep lakman ngis
Eh Suilik sen ep kamtikin to ah
Nanu ep Louloum ap ep ngis in
Ep keskes

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 16

Met kiot kiom salou. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Details as above 14-09-04. Source MD 6 #11. Duration: 5.17 min.

See item details for track 2 compact disc 16.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 16

Ah ni tu wari magasiba. Lotu/religious song on Siar. Details as above 14-09-04. Source MD 6 #12. Duration: 10.54 min.

Ah ni tu wari magasiba i fat sari
Wari magasiba ani tu wari magasiba
Eh ah oh oh ah.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 16

Yow maunge. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Details as above 14-09-04. Source MD 6 #13. Duration: 2.13 min.

Yow mainge ra kini
Marawai bereh yer oh kaugu
Bona luluai
An i aring mara norh norh yow
Na boon pai yow oh ram pina gereh
Nam ra gounam bai Yasu i igah
Wanina re.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 16

Ah rak sorh oh. Lotu/ religious song in Siar. Details as above 14-09-04. Source MD 6 #14. Duration: 3.03 min.

Ah rak sorh oh
Larep bat na I
Pung mamaris
anumi ol nurse soui

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 16

Save Maria. Lotu/religious song in Siar and Tok Pisin. Choir of Kapokpok recorded during a rehearsal in Kapokpok hamlet 8-12-04. This piece was composed for the celebrations in Kamilial. Source MD 9 #3. Duration: 5.33 min.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 16

Welkom. Lotu/religious song in Tok Pisin. Recorded during performance in Kamilial village. Performed by the choir of Kamilial 12-12-04. Source MD 9 #4. Duration: 2.30

No transcription available.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 16

Choir of Taron. Lotu/religious song in Siar. Details as above 12-12-04. Source MD 9 #4. Duration: 3.44

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 16

Chorus group of Taron. *Lotu*/religious song in Tok Pisin. Gospel choir group for Kor village perform two songs in Taron as part of a New Year celebration 01-01-05. Source MD 9 #6. Duration: 4.16 min.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 16

Women's choir of Bakum. Lotu/religious song in Tok Pisin and Siar. Details as above 01-01-05. Source MD 9 #9. Duration: 5.36 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Song Performed During The Day 2004/5

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 17

Papariek, lamlam. Traditional Lak song form in Kuanua. Performed for this recording by Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 19-07-04 and composed by his uncle who received this *papariek* in a dream. Source MD 1 #1. Duration: 2.19 min.

Tora gol ra beawi taram atai gora tarai
Yow dow we yow kiki ah ti
Yow dawe yow kian tan am
Ra bung dia tata war pein
Piyow ma go ra tin ah ta
Na war wol tar ra ngei
Diat tunam ra bung na
War korai

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 17

Pinpidik, lamlam. Traditional Lak song form in an archaic language. Details as above 19-07-04. Source MD 1 #3. Duration: 2.06 min.

Na tot ma goh ra wowol aro
Balam mara nial lir ngai eh
Ingal eh ah oh
Na tot ma goh ra wowol aro
Balam mara nial lir ngai eh
Na wong pokohwe dor
A wan na leon nga eh
Ram tigel eh wan mara
Gap na tabaran eh noh rai
Eh, eh ah oh

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 17

Pinpidik, lamlam & pukun. Traditional Lak song in *Buai* or archaic language. Performed for this recording at Kapokpok 08-08-04. There is no gap between lamlam and pukun sections in *pinpidik* unlike most other song forms. Source MD 2 #14. Duration: 3.07 min.

Lamlam:
Eh walai dali ou
Tom adet mai

Tato nai dorot gora liu
Nga le ah oh

Pukun:
Eh oh ya pinpidik oh mari toung ali
Waka wi kabana beri na wol tin nga
I ra beli na wol

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 17

Pinpidik, lamlam & pukun. Performed for recording in Siar kamp 19-08-04 by Alouis Kolot, Lenny Koroierong, Alouis Toaliean and Michael Totian. Source MD 4 #9. Duration: 3.05 min.

Lamlam:
Erong bati yow mai rong ra pidik
Oh ai ee wali gora beaie ingal eh ah
Oh ma I rongkon na pendek werwera
Maram bakot eh na wol moram tora gona
Eh ah oh

Pukun:
Wa oh ya yah ler wolwol ga ler
Wali yah ler oh na matam mai
Indiat na wer mar tora gona
Eh ah wo

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 17

Papantagol, lamlam. Performed for this recording by Lenny, Damian and Alouis in Kapokpok hamlet 07-08-04. Source MD 2 #11. Duration: 1.29 min.

Lamlam:
Oh di tor wa liler ra ingal ra matam
Oi ga reri wan ngoh oh ah ee

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 17

Papantagol, pukun. Details as above. Source MD 2 #12. Duration: 2.00 min.

Pukun:
Woi tok kubak moram kwar on na babat
Dian waler on na ingal eh wan noi

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 17

Papantagol, pukun. Details as above. Source MD 2 #13. Duration: 1.33 min.

Pukun:
Oi yow wewa taleleh ra beben
Na wol ra beben ah tigil I wan ngoi

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 17

Utun, lamlam & 2 pukun. Performed for this recording in Siar kamp by Alouis Kolot, Lenny Koroierong, Alouis Toaliean and Micheal Totian 18-08-04. Source MD 4 #10 & 11 & 12. Duration: 6.22 min.

Lamlam:
Oh oh ya maian toawineh
Eh ah morowan I pirawin na
Maliu wari eh eee kala merh ra
Wowai na da wai
Eh ya manfiet na lonlong
Eh ah oh darawol kapiet towan patar a
Loulouai tobaran eh ow yan mandiet na
Wolwol gora liu rangaram eh ah oh

Pukun:
Oh oh wai narwel oi dering oh
Na kanai popwar tona wet gora boom bol
Yal matam mermer ee eh eh yow oi
Narwet oi dering oh na kanai popwar
Tonawet gora boon bol yar matam mermer
Ee eh

Pukun:
Eh ee eh ai eh tititir
Na war mari tamatai nora kor mai ow
Pator malier ari ee ai eh yar ler a
Din-ngon-on row toon nor raieh beh
Gerieh yoh madet eh mong maram kolos
Noh ma nong ngon maiew selik oh na
Malierh ari eh ai ee

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 17

Walau/wamong. Performed for this recording by Christian Dokon at Kapokpok 19-08-04. This is the wamong for a *pokpok*. Source MD 4 #14. Duration:1.33 min.

Oh ah ya malaria oh namong dian malaria
Oh namong na pokpok
Oh tar pokai
Tar malie oh tame oh tar pokai tar
Malira wamong oh mandiet oh na
Mong ra pokpok

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 17

Wamong. Recorded during a performance in Wilo village 24-09-04. This is the same *wamong* as recorded in Morukon in 2001 CD5. This wamong normally precedes a *sirang* performance. Source MD 8 #1. Duration: 1.57 min.

We tomiranu i mong mai tut
Wane wane
Oh ra rot mariri wan
Yow ga ri wan ra minat oh tangtang
Eh-eh yow raminat na lom

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 17

Belilo, lamlam & pukun. Performed for this recording by Teresia Tinwolanu at Polonio hamlet close to Bakum village. This *belilo* was composed in 1975 by an older sister of Tinwolanu, Mary Tinaen for the independence celebrations. Source MD 6 #2 Duration: 4.12 min.

Lamlam:
Eh tor masiek ma onep hap bilong Lak
Matol laieh rei tari ma aieh-sap
Ah pilak an na room datol ma del mas
An na room oh rei ep namba Nuigini

Pukun:
Oi tasiek oi kirap nogut ma longrai
Lelema ep elnem el ngeki
Oh rei tari ma ta pok ep minat
Ah leman deraieh tambam ma
Timah yow oi ep minat yow oi
Maki mat mi wori nogut eh

Translation
You stand alone inside Lak
You see now they pull the flag
It raises so you can see as we march
Look at the flag of Papua New Guinea

Oh brother I got a fright when
I heard your voice call out
See now the dead fall down
You see them now
All the dead are gone
It troubles me greatly

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 17

Kamaie. Performed for this recording by Tolaiesh at Ulam hamlet 07-08-04. *Kamaie* are songs performed while paddling large *mon* canoes over long distances. These canoes were constructed from planks and formed into a hull, carrying 30 –40 men. Tolaiesh learnt this song from an elderly relative many years before. *Maros* is a technique of paddling *mon*, that involved three sets of three strokes and then a rest. Tolaiesh imitates the sound of the *tourh* 'conch shell' which was used to accompany the *kamaie*. Source MD 2 #10. Duration: 3.08 min.

Mara lielie dial bok oi
We we mara lielie on ep maros oi
Metang ngi alapot on ep karan
On ep lawerh dial bok low oi

Translation
We travel now on the ocean
We we travel now by *maros*
We follow the current in the deep ocean
We stop on the ocean

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 17

Kamaie. Sung for this recording by Micheal Bamsai (Goro) at Siar Kamp 10-08-04. Source MD 3 #2. Duration: 3.19 min.

Ah ru rusenel
Ah baran ai lou oh yo na tirhtirh i
Wan na lom oh eee

Oh leri tango ah oh eh.

ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Songs Performed At Night 2004/5

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar mas. An old *kamgar* from the Lak region performed by Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 19-07-04. In Siar and Tok Pisin. Source MD 1#5. Duration: 1.15 min.

Yow oi Kabakawol yow mari yow
Oi Kabakawol yow mari ow
Ona loboh yan ah oi
Mi wait long en oi
Onep poman ep pasol el reng
Long en long anen net e-e-e

Translation:
Yow oi Kabakawol (village) looks beautiful
Oi Kabakawol (village) looks beautiful
The chilli (magic substance)
I wait for it, I wait
Wait for the Foreman until the roster crows
Wait for him and wait.

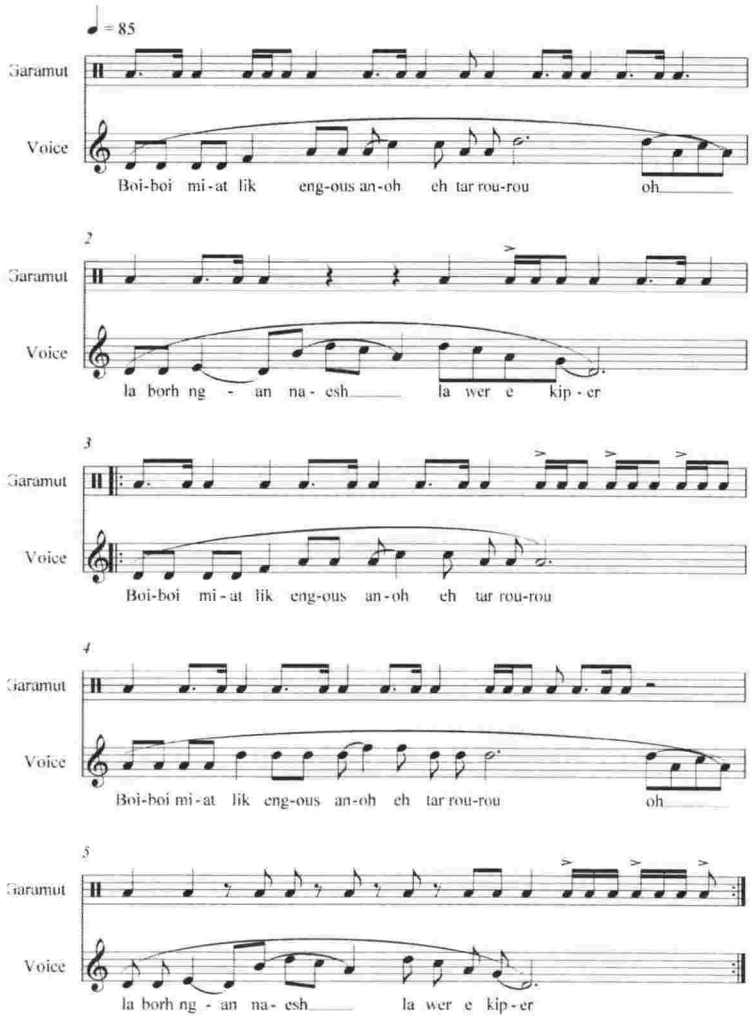
ITEM 2 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar mas. In Siar language. Details as above. Source MD 1 #6 Duration: 1.53 min.

Boiboi miat lik engous anoh
Eh tar rourou
La borh ngan naesh
Lar wer e kipper

Translation:
The bush at the small reef
Collapsed with the bad wind from the southeast
Kind little wind come to me

Kamgar
MD 1.6



ITEM 3 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar mas. Recorded during a performance in Wilo village. Men and women pace around a *garamut* ('wooden slit drum') as they sing 23-09-04. Performed during the last night before the start of the *kastom* Source MD 7#5. Duration: 2.30 min.

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. This *gar* is in a mixture of Tok Pisin and other languages not comprehensible to Lak speakers. Details as above. Source MD 7 #3. Duration: 1.58 min.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 18

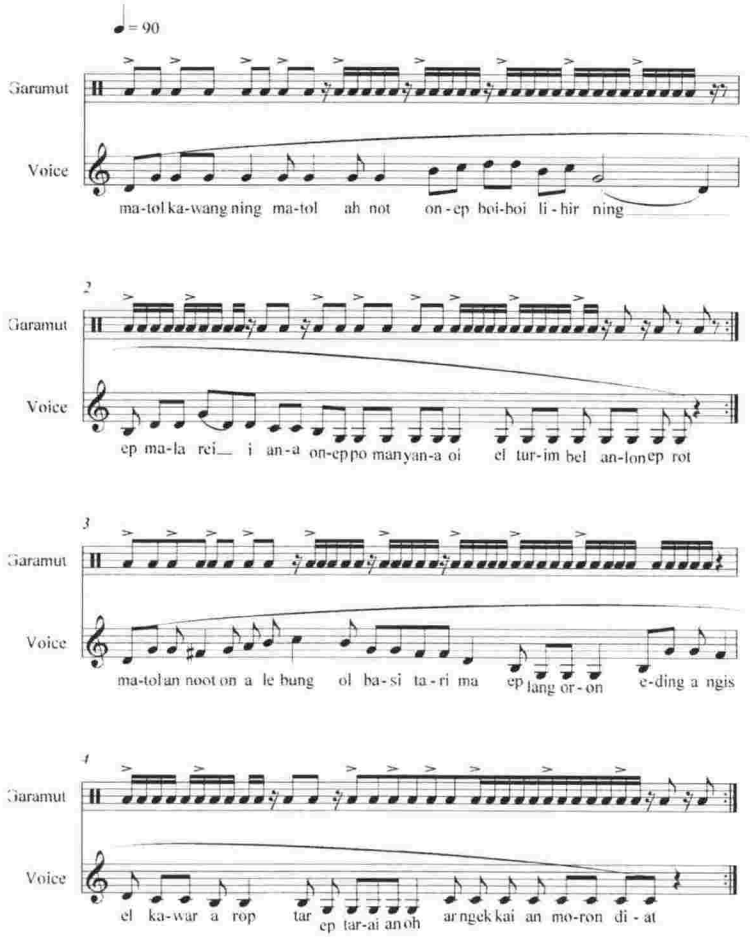
Kamgar. Recorded during a performance in Wilo village 23-09-04. Sung in Siar language. Source MD 7 #2. Duration: 1.49 min.

Matol kawang nging matool el a not
On ep boiboi lihir ning
Ep malarei I ana on ep poman yana
Oi el turnim bel an lon ep rot
Matool an not on a Lebung ol basi tari ma
Ep langoron eding ngis el kawar a rop
Tar ep tari kam ar ngek kai un moroon
Diat

Translation:
All cousins they are coming for the dance
From the bush of Lihir
They have pity, I am at Poman
They change their minds on the way

We will come with a Lebung and they
Will discard their langoron
And they climb above the others
And they will long for us

Kamgar
MD 7.2



ITEM 6 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. This *gar* is probably in Tok Pisin but the recording is not clear. Details as above. Source MD 7 #4. Duration: 1.50 min.

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar, two examples. This first *gar* for which a transcription is provided, is in Siar. Details as above. Composed by Toagonau (Remiduce's brother). Source MD 7 #6. Duration: 6.12 min.

Yow oi gi oi ol kam long yow ma
Onep pelat rice nging
Eee ting gau wan lo roomai
Tong kawash an kapokpok

Ru ah nat sai ding ru a nat America
Dera nging an long ep rom eee

Translation:
I call out to the little girl
To get me a plate of rice
Inside the house
At Kapokpok hamlet
Who are those two boys?
Who are those two boys from America
Inside the house.

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Recorded during *kamgar* performance in Siar kamp in the several days before the commencement of Rubber's *kastom* 17-01-05. Recording levels adjusted several times during performance and frequently overloaded. Source MD 9 #11. Duration: 10.12 min.

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Details as above. Source MD 9 #12. Duration: 0.57 min.

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Details as above. Recording begins several seconds after start. Source MD 9 #13. Duration: 2.59 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Details as above. Incomplete recording. Source MD 9 #14. Duration: 7.16 min.

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Final night of *kamgar* performance before start of Rubber's *portung* 20-01-05. About twenty performers walking slowely around the *garamut* ('wooden slit drum'). Source MD 10 #1. Duration: 1.51 min.

ITEM 13 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Details as above. Source MD 10 #2. Duration: 1.57 min.

ITEM 14 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Details as above. Source MD 10 #3. Duration: 3.34 min.

ITEM 15 Compact Disc 18

Kamgar. Details as above. Source MD 10 #4. Duration: 1.40 min.

ITEM 16 Compact Disc 18

Tipung. Sung for this recording by Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 19-07-04. In Siar language. Source MD 1 #7. Duration: 1.28 min.

Tipung laryow ma lari tipung
Tipung laryow tipung lar yow
Ma lari tipung tipung laryow

Translation:
The *tipung* is me and I am the *tipung*
I am the *tipung* and the *tipung* is me
The *tipung* is me *tipung* I am.

ITEM 17 Compact Disc 18

Toudung. In an archic language of Southern New Ireland. Performed for this recording by Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 19-07-04. Source MD 1 #8. Duration: 1.41 min.

Roubeleh toudung
Toudung dat e toutang belai
Yu oh ya

ITEM 18 Compact Disc 18

Kanai. Recorded during performance in Wilo village 24-09-04. *Kanai* start with a repeated refrain and rapid *kundu* drum beats. Performers wore small carved birds as *kangal* on their heads and costume of mainly coconut spines from the head and finger in imitation of feathers. Source MD 7 #7. Duration: 14.21 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Songs Performed At Night 2004/5

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 19

Bobo, lamlam & pukun. Recorded during performance in Wilo village 24-09-04 in Siar and Tok Pisin. Twenty women perform holding *uli* and wearing *bangbang*. Each dancer holds a small basket. Source MD 7 #8. Duration: 19.59 min.

Lamlam.
Sori go daun, sori kam nau
Oi al yai mari set ma onep lakman
Maski ai ee
Lakman orat ai ee

Pukun.
Dear oi dear oi dearoi kawak oi
Aksiden I kisim yu, aksiden I kisim yu
Un lon ep room matool ai ee
I go long hospital bai dokta sekim yu
Matool ai ee.

Translation:
Pity goes down pity comes now
You are all alone now, in another place now
At the village Orat.

Oh dear oh dear oh dear my nephew/uncle
You had an accident, you had an accident
Inside my room
You go to hospital and the doctor checks
You, oh dear us.

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 19

Bobo. Recorded during a performance in Wilo village 24-09-04. Twelve women perform holding small baskets and uli. Source MD 8 #7. Duration: 14.44 min.

Kia oi komiti, kia oi komiti
Ol tongor ah tinah kok gorah ngis ai eh
Ol kirap no gut nau
Balkot numbra mokson ai ee

Translation:
Eh Committee, Eh Committee

You are angry at all the women
The are startled by you
The argument is with your wife.

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 19

Bobo. Details as above. Ten women dance accompanied by a group of kundu drum players and singers. Source MD 8 #3. Duration: 19.14 min.

Lamlam.
I ingal el bokout ingal
Matool ai ee turang gon
Long solwara ol nosoi
Tari ma

Pukun.
Ya ler wali
Mai ya werwa gereh ra wal
Mai mat maram kambung
Kam kam kambung maram buai
Matool ai ee
Yow ga key na war kong
E wa deder ari maliu

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 19

Bobo. Details as above. Recording not complete. Performance involved 14 dancers and 4 *kundu* drum players. Source MD 8 #6. Duration: 3.30 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Traditional Songs Performed At Night 2004/5

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 20

Tomalagan/Tangara. Recorded during a performance in Wilo village 24-09-04. Mono recording. Contains the *lamlam* and part of the *pukun.* Two men perform with very long *kangal.* Many of the Big Men present performed *bokbok* during the performance because of the political status of the dancers, Goi Totili and Mongnon. Mongnon's *kangal* breaks toward the end of the *pukun* and he is forced to retire. Men in Siar recognised the *tangara* but said the *lamlam* is wrong and not familiar to them. Source MD 8 #8. Duration: 7.14 min.

Pukun.
Dera bebe nai koon I ah
Ler ah ram gora
Ya lerah tai gu ler na Tabaran
yow

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 20

Wamong & Tangara. Details as above 24-09-04. A single man dances with large *kangal* while twenty men beat *kundu* and sing. Late evening, the audience had swollen to about 400. Informants in Siar said that both the songs were in the language of the *Buai.* Source MD 8 #4. Duration: 8.53 min.

Wamong
Oh ruaiee ram kali ku oh yow ra
Win eh ru ah eh ah oh
I al pa ra
Bebe ah robalam yan mari yow ra
Wineh ra ah eh-ah-oh

Tangara
Lamlam.
Dera kot a reng a reng Madera kot
A reng a reng tara balam oh tal mari
Yow ki tara bala maris pun na geri
Eh ah oh dera kot a reng a reng
Ah ro balam

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 20

Wamong & Sirang. Details as above 24-09-04. Six men perform with coconut leaf spines tied to their fingers and white chicken feathers decorating them. On their heads they wore

kangal decorated with white feathers. 15 men accompanied and beat *kundu*. The *sirang* was the same as another performance on the same night see details for item 6 compact disc 20. Source MD 8 #5. Duration: 12.24 min.

Wamong.
Yan tana mor ra taral
Na gun an tangeh wuwul
Tageh lerong tangeh wuwul

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 20

Tiko. Sung by Paul Kamrai of Lenai for this recording. Recording made in Kapokpok 11-08-04. This *tiko* was described as an old song in Tok Pisin and Siar. Source MD 3 #5. Duration: 2.17 min.

Tiko tiko yow na mongan an arakal
Kam ah tim I mandim a nongiesh
Wai dera tasen naien wee
Strong pella tem haus kopa cement
Undanet mangi I wasim yu

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 20

Tiko. Details as above 11-08-04. Source MD 3 #6. Duration: 2.20 min.

Tiko tiko yow oi tan I giu boonot ena
Kina ahnumi enda kon mor ari kwoi
Eh eh eh tan dik ep yow malip ep bil
Nirap falinon dorhdorh ni mamalien
Sorri

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 20

Sirang. Recorded during a performance in Wilo village 24-09-04. Lyrics are reportedly in *kuanua*. Six young men perform holding *uli*. Source MD 8 #2. Duration: 8.16 min.

Lamlam.
Lambor eh wa-winah
Lambor eh wa-winah
I lambor eh wa-winah
Yow gereh tara pakan eh tomasik
I lambor eh wa-winah

Pukun.
Eh mali mali kumba
Mali mali kumba
Mali mali kumba
Mali mali kumba
Toaler dat ya toaler
Tali go

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 20

Wamong & Tabaran. Details as above 24-09-04. Two dances can be heard approaching the plaza at the same time. Two young men perform the *tabaran* wearing large *kangal. Wer-wer* (mentioned in this *wamong*) is a vine often used as a rope in *malera* magic. Source MD 7 #9. Duration: 8.42 min.

Wamong.
Wer-wer-wer ruben na lu
Ya wer-wer-wer ruben na lu ya

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 20

Tabaran. Recorded during a performance in Taron 01-01-05. A large group of men from Lamaron village perform this *tabaran* in the late afternoon. Source MD 9 #10. Duration:11.44 min.

ITEM DETAILS
Nataka Songs, Secret & Magic Songs, String band & Syncretic Songs 2004/5

ITEM 1 Compact Disc 21

Kapialai. Performed for this recording by Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 19-07-04. This *kapialai* was composed by Toluluai. Source MD 1 #4. Duration: 3.04 min.

Lamlam.
Ram kai yah eh urh rou we
Ta wan na eworh wo we
Go ra to bon toh worh worh
E marou we eh ah oh
Ngah e-e-e oh yow eh ah oh
Ngah eh
Ra tarai deiah we lou

Pukun.
Dia borh root oh we goh ra
Minat diah gereh parah
Birow nga yap kai ra kaia
Eh tar poh ngang towoon na
Liou yoh e-e-e ah
Liou towoon diat ra tarai dia
We lou dia baroot oh we goh
Ra minat, ra tarai diah
Welou dia boroot we goh
Ra minat eh ah oh

Pukun.
Diah ga key
Ta da ra ol la loua louan
Na diah gege geger or
Reh ah na tai
Diah gereh pa diow na
Yap kai toworwor eh babara
Tar ra toun tar punang mari
Ma liou ma ra gap na wineh
Roua eh eh ah oh oh yow
Nga eh ngur ya diah gouki
Tarah oh la louan na diah
Ga ki tara oh la louan na diah
Gigerh ohreah na tai eh ah oh

ITEM 2 Compact Disc 21

Kapialai. Performed for this recorded by Toluluai in Rabaul 25-07-04. This *kapialai* was composed for me by Toluluai after I requested that he sing for me. Robert Toluluai is from Nambwal in the Duke of York group, he is famous throughout the region as a *Buai* practitioner. Source MD 2 #1. Duration: 3.40 min.

Lamlam.
Eangaie gora Paul I ga titir,
Mala mala rei wali
Alirhpokai roro na ingal eh ah oh
Nga eh ah oh

Pukun.
Ah kinawai mara natai
Kali kali wang oon yow ah tarai
Dear gerah ah kali kal I malagineh
I marimari tara balago
We

Pukun .
Ah tarai dia wilou
Dia ga key ra walian
Diah gireh ra tubuan e malagenah
I marmari tara balagau yow wi
Kinawai maram ah tai
Maria natai
Eh ah oh

Translation

Eangaie Paul asked me
And I felt sorry for him
The *alirhpukai* sound of spirit
of the *kangal*

Ah dance on the ocean
The *tanget* it moves me and I
See the tubuan it dances
On the ocean
The men rise on the *tanget*
I feel it in my belly

All the men run to the beach
They sit down and see the *tubuan*
Dance on the sea

The tubuan dance and stir emotions
Inside me
Dance on the ocean
On the ocean

ITEM 3 Compact Disc 21

Kabakawer. Sung for this recording by Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 25-07-04. The lyrics are in Siar and it contains some archaic forms. Source MD 2 #8. Duration: 3.06 min.

Lamlam.
Gerei kalangal gerei kalangal
Yow manane ra oh lum eh ah oh

Pukun.
Toalom na waden mai yow
Kawai gohmo mulai eh ah oh
Oh yow ngai ie

Pukun
Morh kawai maram
Tapo matobiliu ra wol
Morh kawai patar malier amor
Ah wawa tung morh woai eh
Morh kawai maram tapo ma
Tobiliu ra wol eh ah oh

Pukun.
Morh rarat moram
Goh nun merum kali wo
Worh na tai oh yow ngah
I e morh rarat maram gonum
Marum kali waworh na tai
Eh ah oh

ITEM 4 Compact Disc 21

Kundu drum beats. Examples of *kundu* beat patterns for *kinawai* and *kinarot* ('sea' and 'land') performances. Performed for this recording by Dokon, Christian in Siar taraiu ('secret grounds') 05-12-04. Source MD 9 #1&2. Duration: 3.54 min.

ITEM 5 Compact Disc 21

Luipas. Performed for this recording by Karol Tomerwah of Bakum village in Kapokpok hamlet 05-08-04. Karol only knew the second half of the *luipas* performed to make the taro shoots appear. Source MD 2 #9. Duration: 0.17 min.

ITEM 6 Compact Disc 21

Awal. Performed for this recording by Alouis Toaliean in Siar kamp men's house. The *awal* is used to attract women to the performer. Tinsanlik is a generic female name, which is substituted for a real name in performance. Source MD 4 #8. Duration: 0.58 min.

Oh na tot mora wal eh ah oh
Tinsanlik rabeaui oh na tot mora wal
Eh ah oh taragou

ITEM 7 Compact Disc 21

Tar. Details as above 18-08-04. Performed for this recording by Alouis Kolot in the men's house at Siar kamp. Source MD 4 #13. Duration: 0.56 min.

Maieh ruben tar eh ah oh
Mai nana tinsanlik lik oi mari
Ruben tar

ITEM 8 Compact Disc 21

Wong. Performed for this recording by Philip Paraisai of Matkamlagir village in Kapokpok hamlet 29-08-04. *Wong* is a magical incantation used to empower the *pampam* ('spirit possession device') . Philip's *pampam* is called Laben akuriap. Source MD 5 #4. Duration: 0.26 min.

Aman tora ngon rakan ah matam tabaran
Rakan a matam ah maliera
Eh bara bara wot tut pa I tap tap
Tou wor meri yeit yeit yeit yeit
Taragau maieh kart

ITEM 9 Compact Disc 21

Warabart. Performed for this recording by Christian Dokon at kapokpok hamlet 19-08-04. This *warabart* is performed to attract women to watch a dance. Source MD 4 #15. Duration: 2.33 min.

Oh oh yah mandiet oh tiri yow
Ari kaom towlai ya barmana ya
Mandiet oh pipi Lak wan eh
Wan eh oh pi yow rabiawe kaom
Taolai ya baramana

Translation:
Oh oh young woman you search for me
Find your future husband
You search among the men
For me, you search for me
To find your future husband

ITEM 10 Compact Disc 21

String band of Kamilial. Recorded during a performance in Taron village 01-01-05. Contains two string band pieces. Source MD 9 #7&8. Duration: 12.14 min.

ITEM 11 Compact Disc 21

Wamong. Performed for this recording by Pelman Toaringen in Rabaul 23-07-04. In the Patpatar language. Traditionally performed as a women's *wamong* for a *sasalie*. This syncretic version belongs to Pelman. Source MD 1 #15. Duration: 1.40 min.

Dat a key daru dai
Ol la iu
Oh-oh-oh yoh
Dat a key daru dai
Ol la iu

ITEM 12 Compact Disc 21

Wamong. Details as above 23-07-04. Men's wamong in a mixture of Kuanua and Kandas languages. Source MD 1 #16. Duration min: 2.31 min.

Bung bung bung bung ma rah
Ingal eh ah oh
Ya diet oh wan wa na ram
Gar reah maoik key ra kobam
Eh ah oh

Glossary

Selective glossary. Words that have origins outside of the Siar language are indicated. (TP) refers to Tok Pisin, Papua New Guinea's *lingua franca*. (Kuanua) refers to words of Tolai origin. (D.Y.) refers to words attributed to the Duke of York Islands.

Aangan – 'to eat' and 'feast' in the context of the mortuary rites.

Artanat – avoidance relationship

Buai – (TP, D.Y.) magical practice associated with music and dance performed by experts called *Tene Buai*. *buai* – areca or betel nut.

Dal – female initiation process.

Dok – ritual payment of shell currency, *matan tip* (*tambu*) after the revelation of *pidik*.

Garamut – large log slit drum.

Gorgor – (TP) plant, the leaves of which are tied around objects in order to reserve or indicate ownership.

Gusgus – dancing.

Ialal – fasting process associated with dance performances.

Kakan – magical healer.

Kamgoi – Big Man, leader of a men's house group.

Kampalpal – group of men associated with a men's house.

Kastom – (TP) ritual or customary procedure.

Kundu – (TP) hourglass shaped drum with lizard skin membrane.

Kunubok – period of isolation and fasting associated with dance or magical practice.

Langoron – both a substance and sensation, associated with the euphoric experience generated by dance performance.

Lotu – (TP)(noun) religion, (adj.) to praise or worship.

Malerra – (TP) attraction or love magic.

Mangis lamtin – literally 'clan/moiety big' represented by the *manigulai,* sea eagle (*Haliaetus leucogaster*) or *Bik Pisin* (TP).

Mangis lik – literally 'clan/moiety small' associated with the *tarangau*, fish hawk (*Pandion lecocephalus*) or *Smol Pisin* (TP).

Mangis ngis – dance troupe.

Marisoi – clan possessions or knowledge.

Masalai – (TP) Spirit associated with a location, clan and sometimes object, see *tanruan*

Matan tip – shell currency.

Nataka – generic term for giant dancing spirit figures (see *tubuan*).

Pal – men's house.

Pampam – magical spirit possession device employed in dance performances.

Pidik – secret possession, knowledge or complex.

Porominat – burial rites.

Portung – secondary mortuary rites.

Rakrak – secret grounds associated with *talung* society

Saksak – singing.

Singiet – magical practitioner capable of spiritual travel. Also known as *ingiet* (TP).

Singsing – (TP) song and dance presentation.

Suilik & Kabatarai – the brothers of Lak origin myths

Sum – sorrow, grief and emptiness associated with loss and mourning

Talung – spiritual entity associated with a high pitched buzzing and low vibrating sound. Also known as *tabaran*, *tangara* or *defil* (TP).

Tambu – (TP) shell money. Also 'forbidden' or 'taboo'.

Tanruan – spiritual entity associated with a location and clan. Also known as *Masalai* (TP).

Taraiu – secret grounds associated with the *tubuan* society

Tubuan – (TP, Kuanua) Giant spirit figures associate with a male *pidik* society.

Wah – destructive magic or poison practitioner.

Wol – plan, expected process or ritual undertaking.

Yain Pidik – senior member of the *tubuan* society.

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