

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF KILENGE CEREMONIAL CYCLES

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An era of rapid change envelops modern Melanesia, forcing newly independent nation states to attempt to accommodate technological, economic, and social transformation. In reaction to the pressures of assimilation and to set themselves apart from the world outside, many governments in the region show acute concern with moulding national Melanesian identities to unite the diverse peoples and cultures they govern. Often, they use unique indigenous art forms as symbols or examples of their distinct national identity, although the art forms themselves survive as the heritage of particular cultures and regions.

The impact of changing times may be most evident in the large urban centres of Melanesia, but it also filters through to distant rural communities. The artists and craftsmen in remote areas do not work in a timeless void: they are sensitive to external pressures and criticisms. Traditionally, they produced not only for their own satisfaction and use, but also for kinsmen and fellow villagers; many of the fruits of their labour became the tools of other men who sought status, prestige, and power. The artist and his products sometimes became a means (albeit valuable and highly respected) to the ends of power and influence. He was succoured and nourished in his craft by the big men who needed his talents

to fashion their wealth. While this situation still exists in much of Melanesia, artists now also have access to additional outlets and new forms of recompense for their creative abilities. The tourist and export market provides the artist-craftsman with alternative users and cash payment for his work.

The artistic modes of Melanesia have responded to some of the transformations that contact engendered. Not only are the forms of art changing, as new ideas, motifs and media are incorporated into the customary repertoire of artistic expression, but also the local meaning and substance of art changes as producers direct their work to new markets. Many artifacts are no longer used in their original indigenous context. Instead of producing items endowed with meaning and symbolism for both artist and user, the craftsmen now create 'things' which are little more than objects to be displayed on a shop shelf or a purchaser's wall.

Such trends are evident in the artistic production of the peoples of the northwest coast of New Britain in Papua New Guinea. In the Kilenge area, where we worked during 1977-1978¹, the nature and meaning of the plastic arts have altered significantly during the past two decades, both in the ideology of the people and in the assessment of the

external observer. Although production of artifacts for daily use continues to flourish, decorative designs on such items have become increasingly insignificant and rudimentary, while artistic refinement is often directed towards production of artifacts for markets outside the local community.

Not all of the changes in Kilenge art and artifacts are a response to new external markets, nor are all artistic items devoid of local meaning and significance. Many changes in material and style have been incorporated into ceremonial dances and cycles, yet the social meaning of the ceremonials has not been destroyed. Indeed, it seems likely that the social significance of Kilenge narogo, the indigenous ceremonial cycles, has expanded in recent years. Although some forms of narogo have faded from use and memory, others are pursued with elan.²

Narogo are ceremonial cycles³, and like other feast exchange systems throughout Melanesia, they encapsulate a variety of social interactions and activities. As Meggitt noted, "frequent public distributions or exchanges are not intended simply to contribute to the economies of the peoples concerned" (1962:2). Much more than simple exchange is involved. The Kilenge perform narogo for ritual reasons, to

honour recently deceased adults and to provide a setting for the initiation of young children (see Chowning 1972, Billings and Peterson 1967, Lawrence 1965). At the same time, the cycles serve as vehicles for organizing massive redistributions of pigs, with neighbouring people from Lolo, Bariai, Kove, and Arowe participating in the final events of the cycles. Implicit in the organization and sponsorship of a cycle, and the redistribution of goods that occurs within such a context, is an attempt on the part of the sponsor(s) to accumulate prestige and hence increase influence in local and inter-group politics (see, for example, Billings and Peterson 1967, Bulmer 1960, Burridge 1965, Chowning 1972, Epstein 1969, Meggitt 1969). Before the establishment of a colonial administration, narogo were used to seal the peace between feuding villages or men's houses (naulum) (see Rappaport 1968). Traditionally, and today, a state of harmony should exist within a village involved in a cycle; inter-personal disputes should be muted or forgotten.

Elsewhere (Grant and Zelenietz 1978) we have described art and artistic production in the Kilenge area, and have shown the relationship of ceremonial cycles to that pattern of production. Although we concur with Dark that narogo

are "major manifestations of art in Kilenge culture" (1973:55), we disagree with his emphasis on the artistic component of the events to the exclusion of an understanding of their broader social meaning. It is true that a narogo may be seen as an art event in which several art forms coalesce: plastic and graphic arts, singing, dancing, and music. However, narogo are more than a combination of art forms because the art forms alone do not suffice to make a narogo, especially a successful one. Skillful organization and mobilization of village resources 'creates' a ceremony. In judging the success of a particular cycle, or event within a cycle, the Kilenge make little reference to the actual art elements involved in the event. As Lewis (1969) suggests, the meaning of the cycle does not, for the participants, inhere in its iconographic meaning or subject matter, but in its social contextual meaning.

[People] came to the displays not to see the art objects as such, not to be instructed about events of their group's history, but to participate in the ceremony by attending... [T]he viewer's involvement and immersion in the social context of the art may have been more important to him than the subject matter (Lewis 1969:20-21).

An individual narogo may, from its inception to its culmination in the final pig exchanges, last from two to five

years or more. As the coastal Kilenge area is comprised of three neighbouring villages (Portne, Ongaia, and Kilenge proper), and as each village may be hosting one or two narogo simultaneously, there might be as many as four or five separate cycles in existence at one time. This necessitates some coordination of effort between the villages so that plans for one cycle do not interfere with plans for another. All narogo cycles involve a great amount of resource utilization, from bush material (to make costumes), to garden produce, to commodities purchased in the store.

More recently, narogo have taken on a new aspect: on some occasions they differ from traditional ceremonies in that they are not cyclical, but rather a single event. Such narogo performances occur at church events, or they may be used as a 'road to money': that is, they may be performed at various local and provincial shows in an attempt to capture the cash prize. The Kilenge make it clear that in these instances, the major motivations for such performance are pride (in the case of the church) or financial reward (at the shows).

The possession and performance of narogo has altered over the years. The Kilenge obtained copyright to many of the cycles through trade and purchase. Of the six cycles in

the category narogo, only two are autochthonous: Natavutavu (~~Plate 1~~) and Bukumu (Plate 2). Villagers imported Sia (~~Plate 3~~) from the Siassi Islands, Balo (~~Plate 4~~) from Volupai, Takiluange from Bali-Vitu, and Aiyu from Kaulong (Arowe).⁴ All serve as vehicles for initiation and mortuary honour, while Natavutavu traditionally also acted as an agent of social control (see Counts 1974:117, Freedman 1967, Sack 1972). Today, the influence of church and government has removed most of its 'power'.

Although the religious significance of narogo appears to be limited, we now believe that previously we may have underestimated the importance of traditional Kilenge religious beliefs (cf. Zelenietz and Grant 1980). The Catholic mission established itself at the request of the Kilenge in 1929, and despite over 50 years of effort by the Kilenge to abandon their aboriginal religion, many elements of traditional belief still survive. However, Christianization has taken its toll. The aboriginal religious cosmology is virtually unknown to young adults and children, and is not taken very seriously even by most of the older people. While there are myths and legends associated with the autochthonous ceremonial cycles, any cosmological significance they may have once had has largely been forgotten. Even the honouring of deceased

kinsmen caters less to satisfying spirits than to demonstrating to the living the enduring importance of the kinship tie. In spite of these losses and changes in traditional beliefs, however, the continued pre-eminence of narogo speaks strongly for the integrative function performed by collective ceremonial events. These older forms of religious expression have persisted to this day, and still carry out many of their functions in terms of socialization and development of group solidarity. The Kilenge landscape is still dotted by places called naruk (Pidgin 'masalai'), where spirits beyond the control of man, spirits who are harmful to men, dwell. Disdain for the power of naruk is increasing, but deaths are still ascribed to naruk power. Finally, the shadow of Nausang lingers still over the Kilenge. Nausang are a powerful spirits and agents of social control, represented by carved masks and incarnated in masked dancers. An attempt in the 1950s to dissipate the power of Nausang through public exposure met with little success (see Zelenietz 1979). People of the Kilenge villages still fear the retributive power of Nausang today.

Dark, in his analysis of Kilenge art (1973), failed to distinguish between narogo and other forms of Kilenge ceremonial and communal events which also involve singing and/or dancing.

He lists a myriad of events together under the Pidgin rubric of "sing-sing" (1973:55-57) without differentiating between cyclical and singular events, or between events geared towards initiation and/or mortuary honour and other special purpose ceremonials. Where Dark does distinguish between events, the differentiation is, in the strictest sense, a formal one of his own derivation: a distinction based on the form of costume and dance.

We contend that Dark's analysis obscures a reality which is best understood in terms of native categories. While the Kilenge may employ the Pidgin term singsing to refer collectively to events which involve either singing or dancing, in their own language (Male'u) they separate these events terminologically according to form and function. Whereas Dark distinguishes between singsings involving masks (Nausang, Bukumu, "Nataptavu") as opposed to those which do not employ masks (1973:55), the Kilenge utilize other criteria in their organization of types of events. The form of occurrence and re-occurrence of events, and the social behaviour which accompanies events, are the factors which the Kilenge see as significant. Thus, the Kilenge classification is as follows: (1) narogo, ceremonial cycles of initiation and mortuary honour involving community-wide and inter-community redistribution

of food and other goods; (2) Nausang, an agent of social control, used to honour births and encompassing limited redistribution of food, but employed as a discrete, non-repetitive event; (3) other ceremonials, with no generic, but rather specific, names, such as collections of songs and ceremonies for gardens or canoes. The Kilenge, unlike Dark, do not see Bukumu and Natavutavu as masks: they classify them as hats like the headgear worn during other narogo. Our analysis has led us to accept the Kilenge classification because it is only through indigenous distinctions that the social context of the art events can be fully understood.

The Ceremonial Cycle and Resource Utilization

The Kilenge have a cognatic system of descent, with kinship terminology of the generational-Hawaiian type modified by a form of genealogical ranking of same-generation kin. Although superficially Kilenge social organization may seem rather different than the descent systems of traditional trading partners in the neighbouring Siassi Islands and other north-west coast communities, in fact, closer analysis reveals underlying similarities. In the Siassis, villages are "organized into exogamous agnatic descent lines of shallow depth and Men's Houses which are nominally agnatic although recruitment

is in fact cognatic" (Freedman 1967:10). Action groups in the Siassis are based on overlapping personal kindreds, rather than patrilineal descent groups (Ibid.:229 ff.). The Kaliai have patrisibs, defined as "property owning, wealth sharing, co-operating unit[s]" (Counts 1968:59), but ties with mother's patrisib are also important (Counts and Counts 1970:92, 1974:114 ff.). In Kove, the "descent system is, in theory, patrilineal", but descent is occasionally reckoned through women, and close ties are maintained with lineage women who have married into other villages (Chowning n.d.: 2). The islanders of Bali-Vitu have a matrilineal system of descent marked by a strong cognatic overlay (Blythe 1979). Thus we see that a cognatic form of descent reckoning clearly characterizes the social organization of many of the societies of northwest New Britain. Beyond the Kilenge trading sphere, however, the importance of cognatic connections decreases: the Lakalai, for example, have a strongly marked matrilineal organization (Chowning and Goodenough 1971:116), and the abundance of patrilineal descent systems in Melanesia is widely known.

Kilenge local groups take the form of naulum, or men's houses.⁵ Each naulum has a space in the men's house building (also known as the naulum); although women are members of

naulum by virtue of descent or marriage, they are not granted access to the naulum building. Recruitment to a men's house is possible through any cognatic link, but statistically it tends towards patrifiliation. While a primary residential member of only one naulum, a man or woman has active secondary membership in a number of other naulum groups, and may at any time move to reside with any of those groups. Primary and secondary membership in a naulum organization entitles a person to use-rights over naulum property such as land, ceremonial marks, pig nets, and canoes. The naulum group, consisting of residential primary and non-residential secondary members, controls the land owned by the naulum. Theoretically, only members are entitled to use naulum land. Children do not inherit specific plots of land; they inherit use-rights to the land controlled by the various naulum to which they claim connection through their parents, grandparents, or adoptive parents. Primary forest, cleared within the last 80 years or so, is controlled not by naulum, but by the cognatic descendants of the original clearer. Following Hanson (1970), we call such resource-based groups 'ramages', but there is no generic term for such units in the local language. Ramages also form around various other resources⁶ whose origins may be pinpointed to a specific ancestor.

Seniority, particularly genealogical seniority within and between men's house groups, is an important organizational principle which plays a crucial role in narogo sponsorship. Leadership of a naulum devolves on the senior person of the senior descent line within the naulum; he is the natavolo.⁷ Controllers of ramage have no title but, because such controllership is often coterminous with naulum seniority, ramage controllers are frequently natavolo. Chronological seniority within a naulum or village also leads to prestige and respect for the individuals who claim it. Village, naulum, and ramage elders have considerable input into group decision-making.

The drive for initiating a ceremonial cycle may come from an individual seeking to increase his status and prestige, or from the elders of a naulum wishing to initiate the group's children, honour recently deceased relatives, or discharge major pig debts. It is incumbent upon a natavolo to sponsor several cycles during his lifetime; sponsorship of narogo is the major way in which a leader can validate his status. In times past, ancillary aspects of sponsorship, such as leading pig hunts, fishing excursions, or trading voyages, also added to a man's prestige and status. A villager with weak but feasible claims to natavolo status may use the sponsorship

of cycles as a means of reinforcing his claims. A natavolo who does not sponsor narogo does not lose his status, but may not win much prestige because prestige often hinges on the number and success of narogo sponsored. However, a natavolo does not want to become too successful, since a man who sponsors too many cycles is seen as aggressive and as a threat to his fellow leaders, and thus may become a victim of sorcery. Jealousy, envy, and the threat of sorcery serve to limit the number of cycles sponsored by any individual. The natavolo must find a delicate balance between dereliction and over-zealous performance of duty. Since ideally birth order determines status, and a person not born a natavolo has little chance of becoming one, the prestige which accrues from organizing and sponsoring a ceremonial may result in special respect, but cannot win a potential leadership role for a man who lacks the ascribed characteristics. Today, non-natavolo are freer to sponsor narogo than they were in the past. Most natavolo live in fear of the Lolo sorcerers who are said to have assassinated their fathers. Thus the young potential leaders are unwilling to assert themselves in leadership even for the organization of ceremonial cycles.⁸ Because of the premium placed on the cycles for initiation,

mortuary honour, and social entertainment, and the open opportunity to accrue prestige, there is a growing tendency for non-titled men (who have nothing to fear from sorcerers) to organize the sponsorship and production of narogo.

Before embarking on a ceremonial cycle, an individual must first receive approval and promises of support from the members of his men's house and from other cognatic kinsmen.⁹ Once approval is assured, the sponsor raises the matter in a meeting of all the men of the village. In making their decision, the men consider a variety of factors: the state of their gardens and pigs, their involvement in cycles in other villages, the time elapsed since the completion of the last village cycle, their outstanding pig debts and credits, the type of cycle proposed, and how many uninitiated boys are in the village. The interval since the last narogo (on which depend the state of the pig herd, outstanding pig debts, and the number of uninitiated males) is the most important factor in the decision. People worry that the village as a whole will lose face if no cycle is initiated so that they can take action to discharge their pig debts. The next set of considerations is the type of cycle just completed, the type proposed, and the types of cycles which

men of the naulum have clear entitlement to use. People believe that different cycles should alternate, so that younger people have a chance to see them all. While we were in Kilenge five cycles were active: Aiyu in Kilenge village, Sia and Aiyu in Ongaia, and Sia and Bukumu in Portne. There is no attempt to avoid beginning the same cycle already in progress in other villages, but people endeavour to prevent coincidental performances and final pig exchanges.

An individual begins his expenditure of resources for a narogo long before the first event in the cycle begins. A potential sponsor examines the state of his affairs. "Is there enough taro in my own and my kinsmen's gardens, or can we plant enough in the near future? Do I have enough money to buy rice, tea, sugar, and newspaper? Can I get enough vuas (native tobacco)? Do my kinsmen and I have enough pigs of sufficient maturity?" If the answers to these questions are affirmative, then the sponsor will present his ideas to the men of the village. Such a presentation must be accompanied by the provision of food (native staples, rice, tinned fish, tea, and sugar), tobacco, and betel nut. The expenses incurred are about K15 (US \$22.50) in cash, the time and labour put into raising and drying tobacco and gathering betel nut,

and the income lost by not selling the tobacco and betel on the open market (assuming that one exists).

Once villagers make the decision to undertake a narogo and determine the type of ceremony to perform, the preparations begin in earnest. The men of the village begin gathering materials for making costumes and headgear. Ceremonial headgear is made primarily from bush materials. These materials, such as vines, reeds, and coconut bast, are readily available and can be gathered in the context of daily work. Paints for the headgear and bodily decoration used to be produced locally from various earths and clays, but today most are purchased in the stores. While white feathers traditionally decorated Sia hats, the trend now is to substitute paper which is readily available and replaceable. Feathers cost the price of two or more shotgun shells, plus the goodwill and good aim of the owner of a shotgun. The skin or covering of the Sia hats has twice undergone change in the last fifty years. The old pre-contact style called for the weaving of strips of sago frond secured to a frame (see Plate **B**). Later, craftsmen replaced the fronds with stretched and sewn coconut bast. Today, most men opt for durability and working ease by using old trousers or rice sacking for the headdress cover.

Bukumu, as well as Natavutavu, hats still have frames made of traditional materials, but feature introduced materials for the covering. Takilunge helmets are still woven in the old manner from coconut fronds.

For shows, people pay special attention to traditional details in the production of headgear and costumes. Store-bought materials are set aside, and the recent innovations of trousers, paper, thread and enamel paint give way to their pre-contact equivalents. People must manufacture bark-cloth, because to wear laplaps at the show would be to lose. They fully realize that the prizes at the shows go to the groups with authentic costumes, and they therefore try to make their costumes as traditionally 'pure' as possible. But for village narogo, the Kilenge are much less particular in their preparation of costume; they prefer the convenience of imported materials.

The more elaborate the costume, the more specialized the work for it. Thus a few men may end up making several hats for a particular cycle, while others might never acquire the requisite skills. It frequently falls upon the namos tame (master craftsman) and navorenga tame (master painter) to prepare hats for many kinsmen.

Although the sponsor is not liable for the provision of personal costumes, much of the costume-making activity takes place in the men's house building and the sponsor must provide the usual food (taro, rice, tinned meat and fish, and tea), betel nut and tobacco whenever a large number of men gather to prepare costumes and discuss the forthcoming narogo. These gatherings in and around the men's house also serve as sessions to coach the younger men in the songs for the cycle. With experienced men accompanying them on the drum,¹⁰ one or more master singers (navaunga tame) will train the gathered men in the appropriate lyrics and melodies. As the men have heard these songs since their youth, learning is not an arduous process. The songs of the autochthonous narogo are memorized more quickly than those of imported cycles, which are all in other languages. As the songs are repeated, one or more men, nagalenga tame (dance master), get up and demonstrate the proper dance step. The degree of difficulty and intricacy varies from dance to dance: Bukumu has easy steps as does Aiyu, while Sia has several distinct styles, and Balo has very formalized and precise movements. For the more difficult narogo dances, a man in the village might take it upon himself to train the adolescents, both male and female. Night after night, week after week,

they may meet outside the village, and their drumming can be heard until the early hours of the morning.

Because their costume elements are standard for all ceremonials (~~see Plate 6~~), the amount of work that women put into their costumes does not vary with the cycle. Women's input into costume making entails gathering, separating, drying, tieing, and cutting the grass for skirts and anklets, and takes several hours of free time a week. A few women usually get together to do the work, to get the utmost use out of purchased dyes and to convert the task into a social affair. Their main expenditure, outside of time for gathering and processing the grass, is the money for the imported dyes which have replaced indigeous colourings; only yellow dye is still obtained in the traditional manner from local plants. Women sometimes sell skirts to visitors from other West New Britain communities, who admire them but lack the necessary materials to make their own. The preparation of grass skirts and ornaments is a continuous process, regardless of the stage reached in the narogo cycle.

When costume preparation is nearly complete, the sponsor examines closely the state of the gardens to see if sufficient taro is ready. On occasion, the beginning of a cycle may be

delayed to provide an opportunity for the taro to grow larger or become more plentiful. But people do not plant extra taro gardens specifically for use in the initial stages of the ceremonies. At the same time as he checks the taro, the sponsor gets firm commitments of pigs from kinsmen. He also considers what pigs he and his naulum-mates owe to other individuals and other naulum to decide which debts to repay and what new ones to create with other naulum and villages. He must also go to one of several trade stores in the area and purchase several 25 kg. bags of rice, packets of tea and sugar, and a case of tinned fish or meat. If his own stock of locally grown tobacco is low, he must purchase some from other villagers. In total, the sponsor spends between K70 and K100 in preparation for the opening of his narogo. This, for people dependent on current copra earnings and money saved from past wage-labour in town, is a significant outlay of cash.

Once preparations are complete, the men of the village meet to decide when the narogo will begin; usually, it commences about a week after the meeting. A day or two before the cycle is to begin, the men exhort the women to gather large amounts of firewood and leaves, and to bring plenty of taro and yams from the gardens. Young couples complain bitterly about this work and "waste" of resources but generally provide what is requested.

The day that the narogo is to begin, the sponsor or co-sponsors tie up one or two pigs, decorate them with laplaps, and send them to other men's houses in the host village, to cancel or create a debt. These pigs serve to "open the gate" of the cycle. Later in the day, women cook the pigs in a stone oven along with large quantities of taro, yams, and sweet potatoes. These "gate" pigs are for village consumption only: relatives living in other villages may partake of them, but only in the context of being a member of a family based in the village hosting the narogo.

Towards evening, the men make sure that all of the preparations have been completed, and that they have fresh leaves for their costumes. People begin to dress and paint themselves as the sun sets. After nightfall, the first people gather at one end of the village and slowly 'pull' the narogo to its appropriate place in the village (~~see Plate 7~~). They dance different cycles in different areas of the village, gradually moving toward the centre. This 'pulling' initiates the dancing and the singing. Once the dancers reach the prescribed dancing area for the main performance in the centre of the village, they go to the other end of the village to pull the dance again. Once they reach the centre, the dancing then begins in earnest. The usual formula

is for the men to dance in the centre of the area, and for the women to dance in a wide circle around them. Off to one side sit the older men who lead the singing and dancing. After perhaps an hour of dancing, the sponsor and his kinsmen begin to distribute tobacco, newspaper, and betel nut to the dancers, singers and onlookers. This process of distribution continues throughout the night.

After a few hours of dancing, the sponsors call a rest break during which the male dancers retire to the men's house (adjacent to the dancing area) to eat rice, tinned fish and tea. The sponsor oversees the distribution of large bowls of napolonga (taro and coconut cream pudding). Most families in the village will receive one bowl. Extra rice is also distributed to the women and children, who return to their homes to eat.

With the meal finished, the dancing resumes. Dancers from other villages begin to arrive. They gather at one end of the village, and en masse procede to pull the dance into the centre. At a narogo in Ongaia, the central Kilenge village, it is not unusual for the local men to be dancing to one drum beat in the centre, with the people from Portne pulling another dance in from the southwest, and the Kilenge villagers coming in from the northeast

with yet another dance. Upon arrival in the central dance area, all groups begin to dance to the same song. The original dancers fall out and rest as the recent arrivals take over the dancing. The sponsor of the cycle again organizes the distribution of tobacco and betel nut for the new arrivals. Throughout the evening, the sponsor spends little time dancing: he is too busy organizing and supervising the proceedings.

If the men of the other villages are not sponsoring the same narogo cycle as the host village, they frequently have to borrow the appropriate headdress. This serves to limit the number of men dancing at any given time to the number of headdresses available. Fatigue is another limiting factor, and as the night wears on the ranks may thin.

Later in the night, the people from other villages receive bowls of taro pudding. Although people view this food distribution as obligatory, and are angry if they themselves do not receive a bowl of food, the food given does not create a debt. It is simply part of the accepted procedure of narogo, a payment from the sponsor and hosts to the dancers and spectators for the chills and discomforts they suffer by staying up all night. In the early hours of the morning, the men drink from magically treated red coconuts and chew ginger to renew their vigour.

As the sun rises, men and women still dance, with limbs tired and throats sore. Spectators sleep under houses, and bleary-eyed children yawn and stretch. With the sun fully up, the singing comes to an end and the sponsor announces the distribution of pigs. These pigs, unlike those of the previous day, are given to naulum in other villages. While given in the name of individuals,¹¹ the pigs either repay a debt in the name of the donor's naulum, or create a debt incumbent on all members of the recipient's naulum. Some of the pigs are killed on the spot, and others are taken away alive. In the two narogo openings that we saw, villagers distributed a total of twelve pigs, five for Aiyu and seven in Sia.

After the distribution, the men of the host village meet near the men's house for a breakfast of napolonga, baked tubers, and the pig slaughtered on the previous day. They discuss the success of the opening, which they see as a product of the food distributed, the number of pigs killed, and the level of attendance by people from other villages. The quality of the dancing and singing does not come into question in the assessment of the successfulness of the events. Breakfast marks the end of the opening stage of a narogo cycle.

In the period during which we were in Ongaia, two narogo were initiated because two village factions could not agree as to which ceremonial to hold. The Aiyu opening we witnessed received critical condemnation because of the small amount of food distributed. This fault stemmed from the limited support the narogo received: most of the men of the village did not want to start an Aiyu that year as they had already committed themselves to the task of beginning a Sia. People complained that resources would be stretched past the breaking point if Ongaia initiated two cycles in the same year, and that starvation would be their lot later in the year. Accordingly, few women prepared food for the Aiyu opening, and people of all villages grumbled amongst themselves about the shortage of napolonga. The Sia opening, on the other hand, received critical acclaim: it was well-attended, there was more than enough food for all, and many pigs were distributed.

Between two weeks and two months after an opening, the guest villages which received pigs return the pig mandibles to the sponsor. Different villages return mandibles on different days, and the returning of the jaws marks the occasion of another performance of the narogo. The sponsor must provide, or arrange, all the necessary foodstuffs, betel and tobacco. The recipients of

the pigs return, the red painted mandibles in carved bowls containing napolonga, strings of shell money, and cash; the jaws are hung in the house of the sponsor, as a mark of his prestige. Today, not all of the jaws need be returned; one or two will "make the point". In former times, if two men disputed a minor matter, they would count how many pig mandibles each had. The one with fewer jaws, hence less prestige and status because he had sponsored fewer cycles, had to defer to the one whose numerous mandibles attested to his great status.

In the weeks both preceding and following the return of the mandibles, villagers may perform the narogo once or twice. At such performances, fewer people participate than at the opening, and no pigs are distributed. Women must still make food, since the distribution of pudding, taro and yam is obligatory. Likewise, the sponsor must provide tobacco and betel to the participants. These occurrences of the cycle depend directly on the amount of garden resources available: if there is enough taro, a narogo event will be held. If not, people will wait. At these later events, young adults and adolescents do much of the dancing, while older people provide instruction, and frequent criticism, on their steps and style.

Narogo are usually begun and performed in the months of April through July. Once the hot dry season begins in July or August, the taro wilts and dries and narogo do not occur. The wet season, beginning in October or November, is unsuitable for narogo performances because of rain and lack of taro. However, prolonged clear spells during the monsoons may allow cycle performances, with rice and yam replacing the required taro, and seasonally available turtles and dugongs substituting for pigs.

In the years following the opening, people perform narogo in two contexts before its culmination. The first is the same as that described immediately above, for entertainment and the training of youth. The second is that of the initiation of children: supraincising young boys, and "dressing" young girls. In former times the earlobes of both sexes were cut, but this practice was outlawed by the Australians after World War II, and was never revived.¹² Initiations also occur at the closing of a cycle.

The initiation of every child is a requisite in Kilenge culture. It gives the child a "name": recognition of his status as a member of the community. Particular emphasis is given to the initiation of first-born children. Frequently, younger siblings may be initiated at the same time, "going

underneath" the eldest. This applies to classificatory siblings as well: a "senior" brother may ask his younger "brothers" to bring their children in "underneath" his own. Such generosity is incumbent on a natavolo. For the initiation of a child, the father must provide a pig, but one pig can suffice for several siblings (natal and classificatory) at once. Pigs are crucial for initiation: without them the ceremony cannot proceed. The father of a child ready for initiation¹³ gives a pig to one of his agemates, his lesil. The recipient of the pig should have a child of similar age who will soon be ready for initiation. He and the initiate address each other as lekmos. It is the lekmos' responsibility to look after the initiation proceedings for the child (or children). The lekmos supervise the cutting and dying of the hair of male child, and dresses the boy in traditional clothing. He also arranges the supraincision which will take place during the ceremonial. In former times, the lekmos took care of the recuperating boy in the men's house building, making sure that the cut healed properly and giving the child his first proper instruction in the laws and customs of the ancestors. The father of the initiate may further compensate the instructor by giving him gifts of shell-money, carved bowls, and other traditional valuables. When the recipient's child is ready for

initiation, the original donor of the pig receives a pig from the original recipient, reversing the roles, and acts as lekmos for the new initiate. Ideally, one should ask a close kinsman to be lekmos because that would entail less transfer of wealth and better care of the child. By initiating his children separately over a period of years, a man can institute lekmos relationships with several men.

When at least three or four men in a village have instituted new lekmos relationships, an initiation ceremony can occur. The narogo in progress will be used as its vehicle. The day before the initiation the usual collection of food, leaves, firewood and decorative plants commences. On the day of the event, the children go with their lekmos to a stream near the village, where they are washed and clothed in traditional garb. Their hair is cut and painted. On the way back to the village, the lekmos sing a special series of songs, Miri. As the children are led into the centre of the village, their grandparents of the same sex lie in the road; the lekmos tell the children to step over them, to symbolically indicate that they will take their grandparents' place in the community. After sundown the narogo starts with the sponsor and the initiates' parents providing the necessary food, tobacco and betel nut.

During the night, the children may participate in the festivities. At dawn, or sometimes later in the day, the supraincision takes place. The inciser may or may not be the child's lekmos, but he should be a man skilled in the task. With their incisions bound, the young boys are taken to the men's house to recover. The dancing adjourns until the afternoon, when the narogo will continue for a couple of hours. Dusk, and a meal provided by the sponsor and initiates' parents, mark the end of this sequence of the cycle.

For female children, the procedure of initiation is substantially the same except that supraincision and the period of recuperation in one's house are omitted.

Initiations may occur once or twice a year in a narogo, and other occurrences of the cycle will happen as people feel the desire to dance and socialize, or because they have other ceremonial obligations to discharge (such as one of the numerous prescribed feasts for first-born children). This is all contingent on the availability of the necessary food resources. After a period of several years, a narogo will be put to rest.¹⁴ The single most important factor in deciding when to end a cycle is the state of the pig herds. The village elders examine the number and size of the pigs of all the men and women of the

village, and if satisfied they mark a date several months hence for terminating the cycle.¹⁵ The decision is theirs: it is not made by the sponsor. Once they determine that the pigs are ready, the elders exhort people to plant special taro gardens for use specifically at the closing of the narogo. Messages go to people in neighbouring areas such as Lolo, Bariai, Kove and Arowe that such-and-such a cycle will end at a particular time.

Preparations for the final stage of a narogo are similar to those for other stages, except that the scale of resource utilization greatly increases. There must be enough food prepared for all Kilenge villages, and for the two or three hundred visitors expected from afar. When the visitors come, and the announced day arrives, the narogo is reactivated. The singing goes on through the night. The next day, villagers gather all of their mature pigs. Most men will have at least one pig involved, and many will have several. If the final stage of a narogo is not planned that some year for the other two Kilenge villages, men from those villages may also provide pigs and assistance with food and other resources. On the other hand, if a cycle in another Kilenge village is reaching its culmination, it will probably be planned to occur about a week

after the first narogo ends: this facilitates arrangements for the visitors. When all the pigs (between one and two hundred) have been gathered, they are staked out in a line down the main street of the village. Men boast about the qualities of their own pigs, and go up and down the line insulting others. This activity sometimes leads to violence, which, however, is not deemed to break the peace of the narogo. Once things calm down, each visitor finds a pig of the same size as the one he himself brought to exchange, and then marks it with lime, a sign that he will exchange it for his own. Both before and after this, the men of the Kilenge villages exchange pigs amongst themselves. That night the narogo continues, and the next morning the last initiation phase accommodates the children not previously initiated.

On the final night, the narogo continues from dusk until dawn. Different cycles finish in different ways, but a major redistribution of goods is the common element: again the sponsor demonstrates his generosity. For Sia, men dig a large pit and throw in their dancing hats¹⁶, pots, drums, and leaves used for ornamentation. The sponsor must throw in food, money, laplaps, shell money and other goods. People are free to go into the pit and take what they like: the rest they bury. For Natavutavu the sponsor ties money, tobacco, laplaps and

other wealth items to a long stick and onlookers pluck what they can from it. Other cycles end on similar notes. When this is over, the visitors exchange pigs with their hosts, and depart.

Assessing the Quality of a Narogo

We have stressed the utilization of resources that is crucial to a successful narogo. Resource distribution forms the primary basis for judging cycles and events. The Kilenge see narogo as successful if several criteria are met: 1) there was more than enough food for all the participants and spectators; 2) large numbers of pigs changed hands in the final stage of the cycle; 3) during all occurrences of the cycle, the people assembled received enough betel nut, pepper leaves, tobacco and newspaper; 4) there were no quarrels or fights in the village during the course of the cycle; 5) there was no malicious gossip about the cycle or its sponsors.

The continued presence of large supplies of food, betel and tobacco brings forth lavish praise for the sponsors. More importantly, it cuts off chances for gossip and insult regarding the cycle. If there is not enough betel and tobacco, people will complain among themselves, and frequently rush the dancing

so that the performance will end early. Indeed, many Kilenge come to a narogo performance primarily to restock their own supplies of tobacco and betel nut. If the sponsor of the cycle overhears gossip about the paucity of the requisite resources, he will kill a pig at dawn and give it to those who complained and shame them with his generosity. The pig's recipients have the obligation to return the debt. The action of the sponsor is designed to imply that they cannot do it: that they lack the bountiful resources of the good man they insulted.

In sum, Kilenge as individuals or in groups evaluate narogo by the amount of satisfaction and pleasure they derive from the cycle, and they usually define satisfaction and pleasure in terms of a full stomach, satisfied palate, and the attainment of harmonious social relationships.

Matters of artistry, such as the nature of the ceremonial garb, the quality of headdress, and the proficiency of the singing and dancing, may draw comment, but do not form an important element in judging the success of a narogo event or the cycle as a whole. This is not to say that people take such matters lightly. During a narogo, people dress in their finest ceremonial wear. Sartorial excellence is the norm in an attempt to outshine one's neighbours, and attract the attention of members of the opposite sex. Dancers try to outdo one another with

intricate steps and accompanying body motions. Singers compete informally, trying to sing loudly and with great feeling, demonstrating their repertoire of songs, and trying to start more songs than their rivals.

But people do not feel that good singing, dancing and drumming are necessary elements of a successful narogo. They recognize the fact that men from other villages might employ sorcery to confuse legs, tire voices, make the drum beat ragged, or bring inclement weather. Under these circumstances, unknown sorcerers are loudly condemned, while men judge the narogo itself on its material elements. From this perspective, then, it is impossible for sorcery and outside interference to ruin a narogo performance. By the same token, a less-than-perfect performance can be blamed on sorcery.

Decoration and dancing only matter in narogo performed at shows, where the judges determine the winners on these criteria. In preparation for a show, the senior men of the village first determine what ceremony they will perform: they usually use the narogo currently in progress in the village. During a narogo occurrence, these senior men examine the dancing, singing and drumming of all the men, and select the show participants on the basis of rhythm, co-ordinated movements, stylish gestures

and drumming techniques; that is, they choose those who are most proficient in the dance. If no narogo is active, the senior men decide which ceremony they want (usually one with intricate headgear to impress the judges) and call a trial session for the selection.

The next step is the making of the headgear and the costumes, which must be devoid of post-contact imports, an insistence which comes not from the villagers but from the judges of the events. The people themselves check to see that costume makes use only traditional decorative designs for marking the headgear and body. They exclude those copied from books or recently created by individuals.

As practice progresses the senior men divide the selected dancers into two or three groups, based loosely on naulum affiliation. The members of one group will use the same decorative body and facial designs, which they share because of descent from a common ancestor. Thus, in the entire group of dancers, there will only be two or three styles of body decoration to impress the judges with repeated uniform patterns.

With the preparations completed, people await the day of the show, to take their chances with the rain and the other competitors.

The Social Dimensions

The sponsor of a cycle takes on a tremendous task: he must manage large amounts of resources, co-ordinate the activities of many people, and spend a good deal of his own money. The final monetary bill for a cycle can easily exceed K 500, not including the cash value of the local resources used. In his endeavour, the sponsor is assisted by a variety of people. In this section, we examine the social setting of narogo, and the personal interrelationships involved in the production of a cycle.

Analytically, we may see narogo as extensive processes of conversion: the conversion of raw materials into costumes, garden produce into prestations, and pigs into debts. Many of the conversions in the cycle have final products that are intangibles: status and prestige. It is these intangibles, and the processes creating them, that we will examine.

Earlier we briefly differentiated between status and prestige. In the Kilenge world view, status ideally is ascribed by virtue of birth into the line of descent controlling the status. This is the case, in the ideal sense, for both leadership status (natavolo) and some artistic statuses (e.g., namos tame). There is, however, a marked difference in the real process of attainment

of the two classes of status. Ideally, a man inherits artistic ability from his "father" (natal or adoptive father or parent's brother), who in turn inherited it from his "father". In reality, though, the status of craftsman may sometimes be achieved and the ability acquired as the result of personal endeavour. If a person is a successful artist his prestige will build to the point where people begin to call him namos tame: hence, he has achieved the status. If a person inherits the status he must reinforce it by acts bringing prestige on himself, by creating works of art. While a man's father might have been a namos tame, he himself will not be regarded as such unless and until he proves that he is a craftsman. In contrast, it is much more difficult for a man with no discernable claim to natavolo status to assert himself and gain acceptance as a natavolo. A person who inherits the title natavolo will always be regarded as such, but only those who behave appropriately inject prestige into their status, and thereby become true, effective leaders. A miserly or inactive natavolo is called a natavolo sapa, a nothing or empty leader. Narogo are important means through which men may accrue prestige and work to establish or reinforce their status.

The Artists

We must emphasize the interests and actions of the artists involved in the production of a narogo are secondary to those of the actual organizer. The Kilenge, when discussing preparations for a narogo or when conducting a post mortem of an event or complete cycle, credit or discredit the sponsor, since in their eyes it is he, the organizer, who has in several senses "made" the narogo.

However, various artists and craftsmen play important roles in the life of a ceremonial cycle, and accrue prestige from their actions. At the outset, it is the namos tame, the master craftsman and artist, who sets the pace for the production of the necessary dancing paraphernalia, particularly the dancing hats. The more complex the design and structure of the hat, the more its manufacture will devolve on to a few individuals. The more successful these individuals are in their work, the greater the demand for their talents. If men feel competent enough to make their own headgear, they may still go to the namos tame to have it decorated properly. The namos tame is the repository of knowledge of the designs that belong to specific family lines or naulum. People from many naulum will come to utilize the namos tame's skill: he is regarded as the only person who should have knowledge of other families' designs. Frequently, he is the only

person in the village who knows which designs belong to which naulum groups.¹⁷

For his labour and his skill, the namos tame receives little reward in the context of the narogo, although certainly his reputation is enhanced and his prestige grows. A novice craftsman may use narogo as occasions on which to build his reputation. Materially, the namos tame receives almost nothing for his labour, perhaps a little food and tobacco. The ideal is that kinsmen should not "pay" for the namos tame's services, but that non-kin should. But in Kilenge kinship terms are widely extended to all consanguines, and nearly every person in a given village can legitimately claim some relationship to every other person. Hence, the craftsman's services are available to almost anyone for no charge.

Narogo are only one means by which a namos tame may build his reputation or enhance his prestige. The manufacture of carvings for domestic use and for sale in urban markets, the making of fish nets, the building of houses, the cutting of canoes, all are the activities and the mark of a master craftsman.

The other skilled people involved in a ceremonial cycle, the master singer (navaunga tame) and master dancer (nagalenga tame), receive nothing in the way of material gain, and little

in the way of social rewards or prestige. This is because every mature Kilenge man should ideally have skills in both these arts; there is little social differentiation between a master singer or dancer and those who are novices in the arts. The master status in these categories is more a factor of gray hair than prowess.

The Sponsor

We use the term sponsor interchangeably with 'organizer' and 'producer' because the "father" of the narogo must fulfil all of these functions. He must have sufficient resources to sponsor a cycle; he must be able to organize and co-ordinate the resources and skills of others; he must be able to supervise the production of the ceremonial cycle over a period of years.

A man seeking prestige or enhancement of status (as a natavolo would) must begin his career of sponsorship when he is in his most active years, his thirties and early forties. When a natavolo in his mid-fifties in Onqaia tried to sponsor a narogo there was a good deal of conflict within the village. People called him a natavolo sapa, a nothing leader, because he had never before sponsored a ceremonial cycle, despite his advanced age. General opinion was that he should have done so many years earlier: he should not sponsor one at this stage because he lacked the necessary experience.

We have indicated above that the sponsor of a cycle must have a large amount of cash available to him. Men in their thirties or forties have often spent several years working in Rabaul or Kimbe, and usually have some savings. Older men who wish to sponsor a narogo (having already done so when younger) can call upon junior relatives who may have cash, and bring them in as ancillary co-sponsors if necessary. Contributing to a narogo enables returned migrants to re-establish their participatory membership in the community. Additionally, it allows them to invest savings in a manner which brings returns of prestige upon themselves.

Sponsors usually have children or grandchildren of their own to initiate, giving them reason and cause to sponsor a cycle. If the sponsor has siblings whose children are of the age for initiation, he has added motivation. Frequently, this same age group of men have recently deceased parents or parents' siblings, and wish to sponsor a narogo in the deceased's honour. Often, initiation and mortuary honours combine in a single narogo. Initiation is always present in a narogo, while honouring the dead is optional. If both occur, however, the name of the deceased "goes before" the names of the initiates in the terminology of the ceremonies, even though the initiation is the necessary cause of the performance.

The sponsor of a cycle must be a hard worker, not only to provide his portion of the required goods but also to set an example for others to follow. He should have large taro gardens to provide a substantial part of the food necessary for the opening and initial phases of the narogo. He must also have his own pigs to distribute to his village and to other villages.

The efforts of the sponsor alone do not suffice to produce a narogo. The organizer must mobilize the support of his kinsmen and fellow villagers for the provision of resources. To do this, he has to convince them of the necessity for beginning a cycle. Then he calls on them for the provisions of pigs and garden produce, in the name of village honour and prestige. The pigs presented to the organizer for a narogo are seen as help extended to him for the success of the cycle. He does not incur true debts with these pigs. Rather, in later years, he will be expected to help the donors by giving pigs in return, for help with their narogo or some other ceremony. A donor must not speak of the pig he gave in terms of a debt, nor can he demand the return of the pig. To do so would engender gossip and unpleasant feelings. He may ask for help from the person to whom he gave the pig. If that man has a pig available, he should give it to aid the donor's undertaking. If not, the

original sponsor who used the pig would suffer a severe blow to his prestige.

The sponsor's wife and other women play a crucial role in the success of a cycle, because they are the ones who must tend the taro gardens and look after the pigs. Without his wife's co-operation and support, a man stands no chance of successfully organizing a ceremonial. Women also determine the timing of ceremonial events. If they feel that they have been working too hard on ceremonies and expending too much of their garden resources on ceremonial events, then they let their husbands, brothers and sons know of their opinion in no uncertain terms. When men realize that female co-operation may not be forthcoming, they hurriedly consult the women and reschedule events to suit the women's desires.

Once steps have been taken to start a cycle, much of the work and control leaves the organizer's hands. People make the dancing paraphernalia at their own pace. If a sudden drought or unexpected rain occurs, the taro might not be ready on time. The men of the organizer's naulum oversee much of the work, and make many of the decisions. From their perspective, it is their children who are to be initiated, or their relatives who are to be honoured, and therefore they, as a group, must

be assured of success. The older a sponsor is, and the more experience he has had, the freer the hand given him in running the narogo because he has already proven his ability.

In Ongaia, we witnessed what happens when village support for a narogo is not forthcoming. The natavolo in his mid-fifties to whom we referred earlier decided, on the insistence of one of his younger kinsmen, to sponsor an Aiyu. Other villagers had already agreed to undertake a Sia, and there was a strong negative reaction to the idea of concurrent Aiyu, with its further expenditure of resources. The issue was complicated by the fact that the last paramount luluai had asked that the ceremonial Aiyu be buried with him and never performed again; one of his dying wishes was that Sia be performed. An earlier cycle of Aiyu ended in 1973 or 1974 and people felt that, for a variety of reasons, they should obey the dead man's wishes. They wanted the adolescents of Ongaia to experience a Sia. Also, many felt that the Aiyu sponsor aspired to village natavolo status (heretofore he was only a natavolo of his men's house) but that he had no right to the position. As a result of the conflict, Aiyu did not receive the full support of even the sponsor's own men's house. Support divided: the Aiyu sponsor's close kinsmen joined with him in Aiyu while the rest of his naulum-mates chose to commit their resources to Sia. Thus Aiyu had

the backing of only five or six adult males. Consequently, the beginning of the Aiyu cycle was not widely supported, and people complained about the lack of pigs and food at the cycle's opening.

Within a few months, the village rift over the ceremonials had healed. External pressure was the most significant contributing factor. People were embarrassed because the village was split on the matter and consequently people in other places were ridiculing them. Furthermore, the split violated the principle of internal harmony which must prevail during a narogo. The dispute, while important in terms of support for the narogo, did not seriously affect other aspects of village life. It was finally healed in a public meeting; the man who had pushed the natavolo to sponsor Aiyu abruptly announced that they would finish the cycle immediately. This brought scorn from both the Sia supporters and the Aiyu sponsor because there were not enough pigs available for an exchange to terminate the cycle, and all villagers would lose face if it ended improperly. The Aiyu sponsor explained that abandoning the cycle would be an insult to the deceased relatives being honoured and the children being initiated. The organizers of Aiyu and Sia

pledged to support each other and to co-ordinate the production of the two cycles. Women from the Sia group would cook food for the Aiyu cycle, and vice versa. Thus resolved, the prestige of the village as a whole would be assured.

As a producer or supervisor of a cycle, the sponsor's duties lighten once it is underway. The senior naulum and village men take care of much of the decision-making. It is the elders who control the most important phase of the cycle: its culmination and terminal pig exchange. In the course of the cycle, specific events may occur at the behest of either the sponsor or of other individuals, provided they receive approval from the sponsor and contribute the necessary resources. People wishing to initiate their children can organize that phase. Younger men, wishing to demonstrate their newly acquired skills in the particular narogo, may organize a performance for the village. Whatever the occasion, the sponsor must provide food of his own, and assure the provision of food by others.

Conclusions

The timing and occurrence of Kilenge narogo are resource-dependent. The quantity of taro and pigs available, or forecast for the future, provides the setting in which men organize

cycles and individual events. Within these limitations, the acquisition of prestige motivates organization and production of narogo. Several actors and groups seek prestige in different respects.

The artist enhances his reputation by the construction and decoration of ceremonial paraphernalia. However, he is not totally reliant on narogo for this: the pattern of daily living in Kilenge provides many opportunities for the namos tame to demonstrate his skills.

From the sponsor's perspective, prestige is sought to enhance reputation in the community. If a person has clear title to the status natavolo, sponsorship of narogo is expected of him; failure to initiate a cycle could result in public disrepute. A person with weak or questionable claims to natavolo status may employ the medium of narogo to establish himself as a "generous" man and thus reinforce his claim to leadership. Acceptance of leadership is a de facto process: if people are willing to support the ceremonial cycle proposed by a man, they will be willing to use the title natavolo when referring to him. In the case of a man with no pretensions to natavolo status, sponsorship of a narogo allows him to gain respect in the community and accelerates his acceptance into the circle of senior men.¹⁵

On the village level, narogo contribute to the reputation and prestige of the village as a whole. A successful narogo is crucial to both the sponsor and the villagers. Ridicule descends upon the village sponsoring an unsuccessful cycle, while praise is lavishly given to those villages whose narogo succeed.

External changes have influenced the material used during narogo, but have not visibly affected the substance and social meaning of the cycles. Children continue to be initiated, albeit in an attenuated form, and the dead are still honored. Apparently, the regularity of performance remains much as it always was, and people enjoy the opportunity to sing, dance and exchange as much as ever. Narogo are primarily social, rather than aesthetic, events, and are evaluated as such by the Kilenge. Lewis' emphasis on the social contextual meaning of the art event is a point well-taken: for those involved in the planning and production of a ceremonial cycle, and those participating in the performances, the art forms serve as the embodiment of a set of social processes. The "meaning" of the event is not found in the symbolism or aesthetics of the costume, dance or music (although these forms are not without significance), nor in

the cosmological implications or religious significance of the activities. ¹⁸¹⁹ The deep importance of the narogo is inherent in its formalization of interpersonal interaction and community integration based on principles such as generosity and reciprocity.

Because narogo embody these social principles, changes in the materials used in costumes and the goods distributed at the events are relatively unimportant culturally; they do not influence the social meaning of narogo. The success or failure of a cycle is a product of how well the organizer lives up to people's expectations by exhibiting overwhelming generosity in the distribution of goods. Villagers who consistently provide large quantities of taro pudding at the ceremonial events, and who organize a massive redistribution of pigs for the narogo's culmination, have made a successful narogo and brought fame to themselves. The narogo that is poorly supported, whose sponsor does not provide enough food, tobacco and betel during the course of the cycle, and many goods and pigs at its culmination, is a social disaster whose memory will take many years to erase.

Notes

1. Fieldwork was carried out from March 1977 to January 1978, supported by a research grant from McMaster University. An earlier version of this paper was read at the Second International Symposium on the Art of Oceania, Wellington, New Zealand, February 1978. We are indebted to S.M. Mead, Phillip Lewis, and Peter Lawrence for their comments and criticisms on various drafts. Much of this material and analysis appeared in Oceania (Zelenietz and Grant 1980), and we would like to thank Oceania and its editor, Peter Lawrence, for their kind permission to revise it here. We also want to thank Donna Edwards for her patience and cooperation in typing this manuscript. Finally, we want to take this opportunity to thank the Kilenge of Ongaiia Village for their wholehearted support and co-operation.
2. The persistence of one narogo, Bukumu, is due to the dilligent efforts of Professor Philip Dark. Bukumu had not been performed since the Second World War, and it was only because of the interest of Professor Dark that Bukumu was performed in the mid 1960's. Today, Bukumu is part of the regularly performed inventory of ceremonial cycles.

a nagarara 'leads' a men's house group actual control of ceremonial activities will probably reside in her younger brother. On her death, her eldest child will ideally 'lead' the naulum.

8. This problem, and the wider problems of contemporary leadership, are examined in detail in Zelenietz 1980.
9. The range of cognatic kinsmen who might be expected to aid the sponsorship of a ceremonial cycles is dependent on a number of social and personal factors. The personality of the sponsor and his kinsmen's reactions to him determine the support he may expect to receive. In some cases, because of personal disputes, a man's natal brothers may ignore requests to help in the sponsorship of a cycle, while distant matrilateral and patrilateral kinsmen pledge their support. There is no genealogical limit beyond which a man might not expect support; because the kinship terminology is so widely applied, almost everyone can be called by a kinship term, and any kinsman can be asked for aid.
10. The hour-glass drum, or kundu, is the major musical instrument featured in the ceremonials. Drums are both made locally and imported from other parts of the country. Bukumu is accompanied by both drums and locally made pan-pipes.

11. Both men and women may contribute and receive pigs. Women may participate in these or other pig exchanges if they are 'strong' - fully mature, hard working, with an assertive personality.
12. Male initiation was a two-step process. If the boy was supraincised during the middle of a cycle, his ears would be cut at the culmination. If supraincised at the culmination, his ears would be done in another cycle so that he would not be subjected to too much pain at once.
13. The usual age of initiation is three years or older, but we have seen boys of six months supraincised. Traditionally, people waited until their children neared their teens before initiation, but mandatory attendance at school has probably contributed to the new pattern.
14. This final stage of narogo was the only stage we did not witness.
15. The pig distribution of some narogo may occur before the end of the narogo itself. However, people said that usually the two events should be combined into one and occur simultaneously.

16. At least they say they do. Many people think about the hard work they have put into the hats, and save them for Sia cycles to be held in other villages. It is usually broken or decrepit hats that get thrown away. Likewise, the pots and drums cast into the pits are usually already broken.

17. Younger people are often accused of improperly or illegally using the designs belonging to a naulum other than their own. The young are unconcerned about the designs they use, and only a few older people bother to get agitated about it now.

18. It appears that narogo sponsorship acts as a mechanism of economic levelling within the Kilenge villages. Men who return from wage labor migration use their accumulated cash to sponsor a cycle. Sometimes the choice is theirs, and sometimes their elder kinsmen make the decision. The effect is that differences in cash holdings are negated by the process of redistribution, as money is used to buy those things necessary for the ceremony. Money, an alien concept of social differentiation, is translated through a narogo into status and prestige, local concepts of social differentiation. All people thus live in more or less the same style, but some people have more status and prestige than others.

19. At least not at present; because of the loss of traditional religious beliefs associated with narogo, any original cosmological significance is no longer retrievable.

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