Wantok Ideology, Fragment Hearing

The sociocultural basis of guitar band music is characterized in the performative frame of "peri-urban grassroots." Multilingualism, the notion of wantok, precontact sound-producing practice and the incorporation of modern technology have especially played a considerable role to the development of music-making that has been taken shape as complex song text, six-to-six, sore singsing, or Madang stall vocal technique. The generative model of music represents the making of music forms as "differentiation." The differentiation is a descriptive term to emphasize music-making as a phenomenon contingent to sociocultural environment. The various terms of sentiment articulated by the informants, such as sore, nais, Madang stall, sore singsing, i gat filin, salim tingting, or "songs should have weight," indicate the existence of nexus between musical form and its practice. The operating mode of differentiation will be sought not in performative practice, which is actually a part of the differentiation process, but how the audience hears the sound. It has been already described that most audiences seem to have disposition for lokol or rege tunes despite multilingual and often cryptic song text; there has had to be some elements so that the listener can pick up the idea of music, no matter how the song is composed. Further, musical experience in any situation such as in the six-to-six, gita resis, sore singsing at funeral, public performance of singsing tumbuna, or even idle strumming of a guitar in village should involve non- or extra-musical sound that is normally categorized as noise or interruptions. The main concern here is how the
process of event becomes the emotive; the musical sound, which is always subject to
displacement, should be structured into an affective experience under a cognitive blueprint
that builds up images from the given stimuli.

Differentiation of Genre and Aural Cognition

The initial process of music-making in Madang started from mimesis, as the stringband
was acquired from elsewhere in the Pacific. The songs were learned word by word, chord
by chord, and conscious attempt of composition became prevalent. These new songs
represented particular feelings that the older numbers could not express. Both the desire
to compose and performative effect of such new pieces of music were often paraphrased
as nais. Bourdieu finds “the habitus is the product of the work of inculcation and
appropriation necessary in order for those products of collective history, the objective
structures...to succeed in reproducing themselves more or less completely, in the form of
durable dispositions” (Bourdieu 1977:85). The making of the genre musik and singsing,
being separate from the sound of mesiab or the calling of the garamut, is a differentiation
that Bourdieu’s standpoint provides the ground for. If Bourdieu’s phrase “durable
dispositions” is understood in a historical sense that is subject to change its formal
structure and/or sociocultural ensemble, the force that has generated and regenerated guitar
band music in Madang is certainly regarded as a result of habitus. Bourdieu’s discussion
on habitus remains something of a black box even if it is understood as a brand of Lévi-
Straussian structure extended to a theory of social action, however. In other words, the
nature of habitus remains a mystifying, engendering force that divides Kabyle cultural
action in every aspect of their life from the plan of a house to a parable, marriage or agricultural calendar, for instance (Bourdieu 1977:72-158). Bourdieu's underlining theme about tacit dimension of cognitive "logic" is by far an attractive idea in order to extract and explain cultural practice. The modus operandi of such a structure should be explored in more detail that generates and constructs, instead of maintaining, cultural phenomenon. In the case of music composition as an inventive aspect of performance should serve a model of aural cognition, for it concerns both receptive and performative elements of the tacit knowledge.

The formation of genre musik and singsing is a differentiation between the remodeled singsing tumbuna, the new lotu singsing and the stringband.¹ The sound-producing acts that became characterized as musik did not take place in terms of identification or definition between musik and non-musik, but among musik and its subcategory such as guitar band and sacred music. The singsing tumbuna is characterized under singsing, the song, and recognized as a related genre to guitar band music and others. The sound-producing phenomena are categorized by principle of identification instead of dualistic division. The invention of gita resis through introduction of exchange value, the six-to-six through electronics, the sore singsing through altered moral significance of guitar band music, and Madang stall through aesthetic innovation. These are the modus operandi of interaction; the concept of fund raising created a clear division between the performer and the audience, the notion of competition selected the winner from the loser, and musical inventions gradually built up to a local style. This postcontact differentiation between the two aesthetic categories associated with various markings shows a vivid
contrast against inter-tribal *singsing* exchange system in the precontact era in which two parties become merged as a singular performative group through the leaning of dance. The *mulung* initiation ritual and the performance of the sound of *meziab* interacted as cementing the youth in the community of the adults. While the precontact music-making united the participants, the postcontact practice has been creating divisions so that active exchange within and among the genre might take place.

The Papua New Guineans authenticate musical products by associating it with regional identity such as peri-urban Madang, coastal Madang, or PNG. Accordingly, the cultural “Other” is defined in terms of the ones not compatible with the image of things Madang. Whether positively or negatively, the *waitman singsing* as the episode of Harry explicated in chapter 1 reflects aesthetic value that the Madang natives find musical elements foreign to *lokol*. The boundary is also drawn within the *lokol* genre between Madang and non-Madang music: an experienced stringband player can recognize the difference of guitar playing among Tolai, Central, Sepik and Manus. The “other-ness” of perception in terms of ethnic identity, however, never simply corresponds to a particular musical style. An unsatisfactory performance of Madang *lokol* tunes, for instance, is never attributed to the ethnicity of the performers: the song sounds bad not because it is sung by Madang artists, but because they “have no knowledge of singing (*nogat save bilong singsing*).” By contrast, a bad performance by non-Madang artists is mostly regarded as different taste in music. The brand of made-in-Madang (*bilong Madang*) represents good cultural value and a fruit of proper conduct, as a longtime sojourner is greeted with phrases such as “Now you are a real man/woman of Madang (*Nau yu
mangi/meri Madang tru)."

If differentiation is characterized as a process of generic distinction, or even social control, displacement of music-making might be described as dispersion. Differentiation becomes a historical process only through dispersion; cultural process of music-making is a coin with the two sides of differentiation and dispersion. The sound of music in a sense spills over the performative frame regardless of the taste or preference of the audience since no one can effectively shut one's ear all the time to screen off whatever the sound they regard as noise. The moment that one feels the vibration resonating in the air, one is instantaneously drawn to the world of sound. The dispersing character of musical sound negates the sense of identity that incessantly attempts to draw any boundary between "Their" and "Our" music. The sound of music resonates in the body and mind, and the conceptualization of genre, or differentiation, is really a secondary nature of music-making. In a multilingual and tribal situation such as PNG, this interaction of dispersion particularly plays an important role in creation of music culture in the age of media dissemination. In the precontact kastom of baim singsing, musical meaning was built up on the experienced world of music rather than lexical significance of the words, and similar cultural process is still apparent in contemporary aspects of guitar band music, such as multilingual song text or the lokal appropriation of reggae.

The Discovery of Sore

As it has been seen, the sore singsing demarcates sorrow by means of rhetorical devices and performative techniques, for instance. The attendants feel the specific social space of

258
motu-uary ritual through presence of stringband lament and the reaction among them. The imagining of one's panu landscape as well as its nostalgic value is given special significance in the making of guitar band music. The memory of the social life in village becomes a product of music that enriches the feeling of sore by means of the performance of sore singsing. In other words, the sore singsing is a product of “essential physiological and cognitive process,” and the invention of lament for guitar band highlight differentiation as a generative structure (Blacking 1973: 7). Blacking found in studying Venda children’s appropriation of musical ideas that:

To create new music, composers draw on remembered sound, which is usually associated with emotional reflections to the cultural experiences in which the sounds were heard. The composers of Venda children’s songs have, for instance, drawn on the remembered sounds of their national dance. This does not mean that the songs are based on this theme supposed to convey the same emotions, that a song must mean the same to different performers, any more than the national dance means the same to all who become involved in it (Blacking 1995:197).

Hearing takes place in situation. Blacking’s statement reflects the sore singsing for the invention of lament induces a totally different range of emotions from other genres of guitar band music. Blacking suggests that music does not necessarily function as a vehicle of verbal message but “conveys emotions” according to the context of performance. The formal structure of sore singsing derives from the entertainment musical genre stringband. Nonetheless, in a performance, bodily reaction, namely crying to the singing creates an atmosphere marked with grief, memory of the dead, proceedings of mortuary ritual, cry and grief of other attendants and sound of music something to do with sailing canoes and other emphatic elements.
The social formation of powerband music rooted in the *six-to-six* has played a crucial role to the "discovery" of the sentiment *sore* in guitar band music, which has eventually become the invention of *sore singsing* and perhaps even *Madang stall*. The vibrato singing has influenced the guitar band music currently in practice such as powerband or *sore singsing*, although *Madang stall* has been incorporated in many dance pieces that have little or nothing to do with representation of *sore*. By the differentiating of *Madang stall*, the audience feels the atmosphere of *sore* from any particular melodic contour regardless of textual content. The word *sore*, which is the only strong sentiment that has been articulated in the song texts of local guitar band, is dispersing over the compositions. *Madang stall* as aesthetic value is an amalgamation of the beautified feelings based on attachment and the sentiment *sore*.

The sentiment *sore* is indeed "discovered" in the sense that it is as a result of incidences between the performer and the audience. The members of a Yabob powerband had the following experience about the performance of an arrangement of a *singsing tumbuna*, entitled *Sau laliku* around 1990 (TT 73) (See appendix 4 for the words):

*Sau laliku* is a song that Eki [a band member] got from the *singsing tumbuna* of Bagasin. We turned it to a [powerband] song. Now, at one concert, an open field day concert, there was this old woman, one of the *mamas* at the market selling vegetable. She came around and she was listening to us playing, then all of a sudden she started to cry like hell when we started to sing the song. We wondered why. We heard it later that the words of *Sau laliku* were worked out by her dead husband from Bagasin, and our song reminded her of him.

(PT)

Bagasin (locally pronounced as *Begesin* as well) is an inland village located in the Upper Ramu District facing the Trans-Gogol area of Madang District. The instance of *Sau laliku*
took place totally by chance. Even the meaning of the lyrics of *Sau latiku* were not understood by the member of the band because it is a foreign *tok ples* of which they have no knowledge. In addition, they were not expecting anything but a happy audience dancing to the beat of reggae, into which the piece was arranged. Moreover, even in Bagasin the song was a sad memory only to this old woman, since the song itself is a part of local *singsing tumbuna* for dance. This episode of *Sau latiku* is an essence of the six-to-six when we think about the history of consciousness in Madang’s music. The advent of modern technology has enabled us to gather information and mobilize people from a long distance, and the encounter with the unknown results in a surprise such as the old woman’s cry induced by the performance of PNG reggae *Sau latiku*. The old woman ignored how the song was arranged and refashioned, but the retention of the word was “real” enough for her to be reminded of her deceased husband; she responded to a particular dimension of song as a stimulus, and that made her cry. What is really essential to the performer and the audience from this incidence, however, is that the sound of the guitar band can be seriously sad, or *sore*. The power of music will remain in the memory of those who participated in it, and a new practice of music-making may emerge.

Another episode to follow reveals that the sound of the powerband itself might have completely different meanings depending on the individuals concerned due to the private significance of memory and attachment. One day, as I was spending one of those quiet days on Yabob Island, I started to play a Kale Gadagads cassette album on my recorder for some checking. As I began to play the tape, a very old man, who was a relative of the late Sandie Gabriel, came up to my *haus boi*. He sat down just outside the
house, and told me a story of how painful it was to even hear this tune as muzak in a town store:

I always think about him and the day that he was killed whenever I hear his tunes. One day I went out to town for shopping, and as I was in the store, they started to play his song on cassette. Oh, I could not bear it! I left the store quickly like a runaway. Still now every time I hear his songs, I feel sorry for him. Really, he was a good man, took great care of the community...

(TB)

Particularly in the case of the premonitory *sore singsing*, the significance of songs is embodied in the situation. The public performance of guitar band music continues to be sanctioned as in cultural shows or fund-raising concerts. One day, when I was listening to a field recording of *sore singsing Sapor*, a young man sighed: “With this song Sapor’s name will stay for good.” As these examples show, it is these feelings in everyday life, memory, and familiarity that evoke significance in the audience. The aesthetics of performance is the inducing of *salim tingting*, or thinking back of experience, by means of music. The sense of loss became a theme of musical expression as a result of historical facts of guitar band music and death of the musicians. When the performers felt the sound of *lokol* tunes as a reminiscence of a dead person, the *sore singsing* was invented to differentiate the feeling. By the same token, the feeling *sore* has taken shape of music, the *sore singsing*, and the sound of guitar band music is now regarded as sorrowful according to its pretext and context. The feeling *sore* is indeed discovered and became a singular property of emotion with its vehicle of expression in *sore singsing*; a sailing canoe and other sorry things are cultivated in the form of guitar band music through symbolic associations and memory.
Wantok Ideology

Differentiation is an interaction based on discursive formation, which takes its model from the collectivity known as wantok in Tok Pisin. The local propositions about music is a formalizing force from which the ideology of Melanesian nation-state stems. In order to investigate how "doxa" or the conducts "experienced as 'natural world' and taken for granted" (Bourdieu 1977:164) influences music-making it might be worthwhile to characterize such a generative force. I call this doxa expressed as the identifying discourse "Wantok Ideology" to elucidate an arena of discourse in negotiation that construes identity, culture, and symbolic interactions. To recuperate the idea of wantok, the cultural basis of the word should be sought in the polylingual tribal society and colonization. A wantok is a member of a tribe but it always excludes a (grand-) parent, a spouse, or a (grand-) child, and often an uncle, an aunt, or a cousin. The word wantok, etymologically "one-talk" that is, suggests the shared existence of certain cultural code or disposition, deriving from the analogy of identical language. The term wantok at the same time presupposes Tok Pisin speakers as well as the people of PNG, where the language is spoken. The address of wantok expresses communicability, kinship, camaraderie and the imagined community. The term Wantok Ideology represents the patterns of conduct that Bourdieu termed "economical logic" based on homologies (Bourdieu 1977:114-158). The identification with Madang is a mean of expressing something as valuable, familiar, lively and endeared as much as one's own existence. The sense of the neat, well-done, refined, beautiful, sublime, moving, vibrant, in control and other aesthetic judgment in a given
context of musical performance is associated with the environment in music-making.

The *Wantok* Ideology interacts in the situation where Tok Pisin and *tok ples*, the languages of everyday use, consist of an arena for imagination; the reference to *wantok* is an ideological framework centred by Tok Pisin, on which the lexicon stands, surrounded by the *tok ples* of Melanesia. Especially, the identification of village for linguistic distinction in a small scale—each village has its own language—creates the image of community consisting of a small number of people with strongly clan-based kinship. Regardless of reality, tribal societies are imagined as a small group, and occasion like a village funeral portrays the size of group by the number of attendants. “We cry a lot in a funeral,” as one villager related, “because our number is small—not like America where there are many. We cry because we are sorry to lose our *wantok*, much more than those big places.” The contrast of a Madang village against the United States is interesting in that these are actually comparable as individual *ples* because of linguistic identity. This account above indicates that emotion is intensified through the association of *wantok*, which essentially regarded as small, closed, intimate and the fear of losing the members. The imagination of small-scale tribal societies through linguistic identification makes *Wantok* Ideology as a strong agency for expressing nostalgia and attachment, and musical innovations are almost constantly driven to serve for the imagination within the village context. If *Wantok* Ideology is creating a situation characteristic to Melanesia, it is based on the presence of *ples* conceptualized by the lingua franca Tok Pisin.³

An informant might be perplexed by questions such as “Why do you play the guitar (like that)?” or “How do you compose songs (about so and so)?” from a
fieldworker. To end such curious inquiries, they would categorically answer with phrases like “Because that’s way of PNG” “Because this is the way of us Madang, not other parts of PNG,” or “It’s been done so for so many years that it’s hard to change it altogether.” When a villager gratuitously says “This is real Madang’s music!” while listening to a local tune, for instance, we know such a locution contradictory—there can be incompetent Madang musicians as well as well-received non-Madang, or even Western, artists. Since the idea of wantok extends its identification from tok ples to Tok Pisin speakers, the distinction between Madang and non-Madang music may as well be transposed to between PNG and non-PNG ones. Likewise, village artists can be identified against other villages in the same area. The essential analogy here is a substitution of the distinction between positive and negative musical stimuli with “Our” (wantok) music and “Their” (non-wantok) ones. In addition, Wantok Ideology is an agency to portray communities as the ones having gupela pasin (“good conduct”), as they are associated with nostalgia and homeland. The imagining of community provides nostalgic theme for the song text; a number of the idolized “Beautiful Madang” tunes such as the following make use of the positive image of communities:

Our last round is enough for now;
I feel like going back again.
I do not belong here, and I am hanging around
the town that belongs to someone else.
So, I must go back again,
I go back again to Beautiful Madang.

(Ziros, Las raun. The original text in Tok Pisin.)

The lyrics depict alienation of a mobile youth, a man who is leaving his or her loved one or friend(s) (though the setting seems distinctly male). However, the protagonist’s decision
to suspend their relationship and come back to the senses, or even chastity, is expressed as going back to the asples (homeland) from the alienating urban environment. The protagonist "I" tells his or her company of "Beautiful Madang," a well-known promotional phrase for tourism, as if the place were a photogenic paradise. The parallel between the oppositions "dull / beautiful" and "alien town / Madang the homeland" is apparently present. This discourse of distinction pervades into song texts, and the category of Madang or PNG itself becomes a topic for song texts to depict and praise the homeland as it has been seen among the compositions for public ceremony or causionary songs such as Aksim Siming's Yam ilonen manin ienmeg.

As for the invention of *Madang stail*, its localization from an individual singing style features a more complex interaction. This singing style was first attributed as a creation of an individual, Sandie Gabriel; after his death the locals found as a similar mode of vibrato practiced by other Madang singers, as a hallmark of regional style. Despite that the vibrato voice has now spread to non-Madang artists in Port Moresby and elsewhere, it remains to be *samting bilong Madang stret* (something that belongs to Madang proper), and the non-Madang artists are *bihainim Madang* (following Madang). Women’s ritual cry and *singsing tumbuna* vocal technique have symbolic connection with the invention of the vibrato, and it is based on this premise that the vibrato by non-Madang artists is felt as a copy. The world felt by vibrato is closely knitted to the memory of death, mourning, sorrow, and communal feelings through the homology of women’s cry and traditional singing. *Madang stail* have a property of musical experience that is felt as a singular, true horizon for the voices of women’s cry and the *singsing tumbuna* are always
felt as expressions of a deep sentiment, maintaining a strong association with communal ways of life. The vibrato therefore cultivates salim tingting (the sending-over of memory), which interacts in ritual cry and the singsing tumbuna. Wantok ideology on the surface is a discursive structure that forms one pole of musical activity in the cultural system of the peri-urban Madang societies, but when the process of signification is looked into it is really a part of musical practice as it has been discussed elsewhere. "Talks of signs and discourses is inherently social and practical" (Eagleton 1991:194). The reference to positive value powerband music singsing bilong Madang stret ("the real songs of Madang") is imagined as it being representative of everyday Madang world in singing voice. Madang stall is prevalent because the wantok audiences associate it with emphatic addresses in the songs in which they find attachment.\(^5\)

The song texts are regarded as a key to reveal nature of music-making that is cognition and disposition of sound-producing practices; it has had to be explored by focusing on how people compose, perform and listen to the music. Sociocultural elements of linguistic distinctions, gender, kinship network, community of practice, appropriation of electronics are necessary for music-making and the ideological construction of wantok.\(^6\) Further, while the gender discrepancy of performative practice should be scrutinized as a sociocultural theme, the most fundamental aspect of aural cognition in guitar band music is universal. The distinction of music-making is clearly present in both the singsing tumbuna, guitar band music, and women's ritual cry,\(^7\) but in the cognitive level sexual difference does not seem to affect physical condition of hearing. Both men and women participate in the dancing without showing much interest in deciphering of the every text.
in the outdoor concert, for instance. The ideology of wantok demarcates social identity in linguistic distinction despite that most locals are bilingual or even multilingual and often show multicultural kinship; Wantok Ideology is the activating principle of differentiation that associates musical stimuli with the analogy of wantok, which is the concept of community real or imagined. In fact, the stimuli themselves are caused by different interactions such as history and social efficacy of poetical imagination, everyday experience involving memory and emotions, and particular musical expressions that instantly integrate them like reggae beat or Madang stail vocal technique.

Fragment Hearing

Although the six-to-six is by no means the only medium through which the locals are immersed in music, as they also listen to the radio, cassette, and so forth, when synesthesia—"interactions across visual-sonic-movement modes" (Feld and Fox 1994:39)—is considered it apparently serves as a representative model of mediation. In the six-to-six, participants are surrounded by noise and music sung in the words that they do not necessarily understand, but still the performance is evaluated, songs are occasionally sung along, and the people dance. The audience absorbs musical ideas in a different way from the discursive deciphering of words or the non-musical verbal form such as storytelling; one might call this ‘listening-but-not-listening’ or ‘un-listening.’ In this regard, aural perception and the stylistic structure in contemporary lokot music is fundamentally based on the poetic signification of “de-referentializing of language,” which is defined and elaborated as follows:
“Trends toward ethnographic studies of the interpenetration of music and language contribute strongly to the developing emphasis in sociocultural anthropology on the poetics and pragmatics of expressive performance (…). Music’s poetic de-referentializing of language heightens the symbolic efficacy of its affecting discourse, making it a sensitive gauge of both traditional and emergent forms of sociability and identity, and a key resource in both the construction and the critical inversion of social order” (Feld and Fox 1994:43).

The de-referentializing of language, then, entails musico-vocal elements that treat phonetics in a different way than everyday speech acts. When words are de-referentialized, its original lexicon, which is an inseparable pattern of the sound or the phoneme, will be lost or deformed by being sung in patterned vocal contour. As the result, the song text will construct a different space of meaning when they are vocalized as in a piece of music. Indeed, in some cases the meaning of the words in a song text might be forgotten altogether and appear nonsensical. The vocal deformation of Madang stalk is the most notable example in Madang musical performance that presupposes the de-referentializing of language. Similarly, melody (nek) and beat (bit) are the paradigms of formal structure of music that make musical performance as a coherent and closed text. Even if the words are undecipherable or incomprehensible, as long as the music maintains proper performance it is perceived as a piece of músik that can be danced to or sung along. The de-refertializing of language is based on musical sound perceived by the participants. The situation in which a given aural stimulus is figured as a musical performance here is the foremost category for the audience rather than the syntax of lyrics.

To expand the concept of “de-referentializing of language” into a more cognitive plane, I use the term “fragment hearing.”8 The concept “fragment hearing” describes aural and synesthetic cognition of musical phenomena on the assumption that musical
performance entails density of information, or that some aspects or elements of composition is more important, thus more easily and deeply conceivable, than others. The audience in concert field usually differentiates *lokol* from *singsing waitman*, and drawn to a certain wording of the text despite the noise and multilingual song texts. Some aspects of performance bear more significance to the audience because of attachment and their range of imagination. Particular kinds of words, idioms, phrases or tone of voice have informative “density” in the text so that proper comprehension of the entire syntax of song text is not required for musical experience. Fragment hearing displaces the syntax in the setting that people experience the music in play by reconstructing images from a group of significant words or singing voice.

The disposition of fragment hearing might have historical connection with the tradition of *singsing tumbuna* in the Momase area—Morobe, Madang and the Sepiks—for it usually gives less significance to syntactic organization, coherency and textuality of words in the songs. The *singsing tumbuna* in the precontact practice of the *baim singsing*, by which the dance repertoire was transmitted among the tribes, apparently operated on the basis of fragment hearing and continues to be so at present. Fragment hearing perhaps encouraged the compositions that entail repetitive descriptions of impressions in short phrases, or vice versa; at any rate the two seem complimentarily related to each other. The repertoire in a foreign *tok ples* was learned by copying manner without taking interest in the content of the words; even in the case of native compositions, the contents of the songs consisted of the repetition of simple phrases or obsolete idioms. The *six-to-six* situation, in which the audience reconstructs, accepts, or rejects the universe of music...
through tuning into incomplete, confusing, or highly repetitive chains of information, is a continuation of precontact *singsing tumbuna* performance in that fragment hearing also represents the model of the former. The learning of guitar band music, known as *kopikat*, must have developed from this aspect of the *singsing tumbuna*. The *kopikat* method of musical learning suggests that to know the meaning of words is only optional, and the appreciation of stringband music entailed execution of instrumental and singing techniques as the *gita resis* was judged in terms of the organization of performance rather than the words.

Fragment hearing constructs an experience in that it imagines the singing voice; by *salim tingling*, or “sending out the memory” in the sound of music the audience can be immersed in the field of performance. The singing voice, with occasional deformation, yearns for the native landscape, pleads a leaving lover to stay, or mourns the death of a close kin. In these lyrics, what is important to the audience is the situation and atmosphere invoked by the words and not the message or synopsis of the song text per se. In this regard, fragment hearing operates as a creative ignorance of grammatical elements other than certain idioms, especially a group of words that signify everyday village life. The way audience listens to the sound of music is unchanged as long as the everyday life and music-making in the community continues to interrelate with each other. The sound of music is always in the air—in village *six-to-six*, on the radio, a fellow *wantok* singing, or even imagined sound in the mind—and whoever happened to be there becomes an audience, whether one likes it or not. Even the context as well as pretext for composition becomes a relatively minor concern. Some of *tok ples* words might not come across, or
even Tok Pisin or English words might be missed altogether in general confusion of the
concert field, but the atmosphere of performance is still present. This is because positive
reaction among a small number of audiences can spread over the ground to build up as a
general excitement.9

Fragment hearing is not a deviated form of listening, however; in fact it is a
practical basis of music-making and the prerogative for appropriation, invention or
composition of musico-vocal representation. Among the sore singsing the words that
carry greater significance for the lamentation amplifies the atmosphere of the performance,
and as the cases of “premonition” songs suggest, even the meaning of the text is
sometimes reworked. On the surface, the sore singsing appears to be interpreted as a
message to the dead according to the generic model of givim rispek. Indeed, the very
discursive structure of the text shows coherency where vocables, obsolete words, and
arrangements from singsing tumbuna dance pieces are somehow avoided. The non-lexical
elements in the sore singsing usually entail vocables like “o-o-o-o,” or ”ah,” and so forth,
and it hardly affects the meaning of the whole lyrics. However, in the actual performance
of sore singsing crying, saying tok sore, preaching, burying the corpse, and other actions
of givim rispek in the mortuary ritual take place with the music, and the lyrics are not
necessarily heard as a complete and coherent message all the time. Usually the mourners
cry before deciphering the whole texts of the song, and other participants might be
burying the coffin, or praying. The interaction among the various elements of
performance complimentarily induces the emotion articulated as sore, and for mourning
whether the text of sore singsing is deciphered as a coherent closure is not necessarily
essential. In the *sore* *singsing* the reproduction of the atmosphere of *sore* is present by means of the images of sea-going canoes, the addresses *bubengu* or *lewa*, names of persons and places, landscape of the villages, the word *sore*, and other phrases that invoke *givim rispek*.

Conclusion

A "practical logic" and a "logic of practice" have never meant the same thing: *Wantok* Ideology and fragment hearing have been discussed as a hiatus between two different levels of the inculcating force in musical experience. The former locates, articulates and authenticates the given stimuli in terms of homology, and the latter is the principle of reception that emphatically recognizes the particular nature of stimuli embedded in rich meanings. The relationship between *Wantok* Ideology and fragment hearing is best understood as a nexus where projection of musical consciousness emerges from non-reflective aural and performative habits. *Wantok* Ideology feeds back emotive reaction into aural disposition activated by fragment hearing so that musical reaction becomes a resource for musical performance. Fragment hearing is a historical production that locates and condenses sound image into particular idiomatic and syllabic elements; its interaction instantaneously imagines a subject in tribal context, or a subject of *Wantok* Ideology.

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1The differentiation, however, did not take place as a historical process of sophistication in musical analysis. The music is regarded as roughly consisting of melody (*nek*), rhythm (*bit*) and chords (*kod*), but the analytical terms never conceptualize any further. The
differentiation is in this regard an elaboration of generic distinction, not musical elements, in that situation of performance, or use value of music, such as the six-to-six, cultural shows, or funerals becomes broken down according to musical styles like lokol, rege, waitman singsing, singsing tumbuna, or sore singsing.

2 The term “ideology” in this regard is compatible with the following elaboration by Clifford Geertz. He says “the attempt of ideologies to render otherwise incomprehensible social situations meaningful, to so construe them as to make it possible to act purposefully within them, that accounts both for the ideologies’ highly figurative nature and for the intensity with which, once accepted, they are held” (Geertz 1973:220).

3 Another interesting point relating to Wantok Ideology is the costume for powerband. In town concerts, the singsing garments are never worn, while concerts and promotional tour in the cities such as Port Moresby this is the case. Obviously, to express ethnic identity becomes an important theme in multicultural setting more than local one. Compare Plates 8 and 9.

4 Unless otherwise stated, all original examples are in either Tok Pisin or tok ples. See appendix 4 for the transcription of original texts.

5 From a semiotic point of view, Madang stall is a musico-aesthetic practice that operates what Feld calls “iconicity of style,” borrowing Peircean category of sign, as in other music cultures (Feld 1994:109-150). I find iconicity of style as a symbolic interaction, which is the imagining of the subject from hearing the singing voice; in other words, to wonder who is singing or how it is sung is at the core of the signification. The imagining of the singing voice develops from the association of the wavy voice with mourning or other strongly emotional action where the voice becomes an icon of the sentiment that the audience imagines in the singing subject.

6 The Wantok Ideology has been made possible within the framework of the Melanesian nation-state which has invented the category through the introduction of lingua franca Tok Pisin; in spite of its lexicon that signifies local kinship system, the term wantok has a post-colonial background. The notion of wantok is, however, characteristic that kinship, tribal, and national consciousness is merged into an identity by linguistic category. The term “wantok system,” on the other hand, entails a more sociological tone in that it represents the un mobilizing local system of village-based networks (Gewertz and Errington 1991:189-195). The notion of wantok continues to construct an important part of imagining the community both in and out of the state.

7 The devotional music in the church does not have clear division except that the pastor in the Protestant sects is always lead by a man.
In the earlier versions of writing, the concept "fragment hearing" was phrased as "condensed hearing." Being advised, the change was made with regard to idiomatic awkwardness of the latter. The former term stressed that the depth of imagery is "condensed" in a small portion of fragmented words and syllables, and that supposedly the aural perception as well as comprehension of language is neither smooth nor proper but bumpy and fragmented, as if the syllables have different density. Composers do prefer to use such 'dense' syllables in order to attract both their multilingual and wantok audience.

In fact, one might wish to compare the situation in India where cassette music industry reflects multilingualism. But in the case of India, larger lingua francas like Hindi or Bengali have been the language of use for the songs, followed by smaller regional lingua francas and regional languages in order; a hierarchy of polyglossia according to number of speakers is evident (Manuel 1993:155-195). Madang, and likely in other music centres in PNG as well, does not show such a selection of language. Madang composers often create their compositions as if a mosaic made of a variety of languages. There seems to be few concerns from the side of the audience whether they are able to comprehend the entire message of the lyrics or not, not to mention mixing and juxtaposing languages.