Representative monographs of music in PNG have focused upon an "indigenous" cultural setting and extracted a set of local knowledge based from folk taxonomy and oral tradition. Madang, however, no longer pertains to indigenous mythological constructs and practice since its colonization. The ethnography of music in Madang needs to look into generative aspects of music—including cognitive one—as well as local representation of "music," the signification of which interacts with postcontact situations such as urbanization, informal economy, modern world views, media dissemination, advancement of technology, or compositional practice. The concept of "Madang music" itself involves with a postcontact imagination, for without this station of colonial administration the peri-urban environment has not been emergent. The music-making in Madang therefore must be examined in terms of modus operandi of musical materials, in which analyses of cultural process is not represented as native verbal symbols. See Appendix 1 and 2 for historical facts, and Appendix 3 for identification of genre.

The Origin of Postcontact Genre

The earliest musical practice in Madang starts from the age of colonization with the introduction of hitherto non-existent concepts of "music" and "song." In the era of colonial encounter, the concepts of "music" (musik) and "song" (singsing) themselves were a new idea when they were introduced along with Tok Pisin vocabulary; in this
regard, “music” and “song” were ‘discovered’ by the locals. In fact, there have never been any tok ples equivalent of the words musik (music in general or instrumental music specifically) and singsing (any vocal piece of music).

Each village has its own style of costume and repertoire, but among coastal Madang communities between Karkar Island and western Rai Coast has more or less common features. A piece of standard singsing iumbuna in the Madang area today consists of several kundu players, always men, and men and female dancers, all dressed with the bilas, or decoration made by colourful leaves and chicken feathers. The kundu is a wooden hourglass drum with a handle in the middle; the skin of a lizard, always tuned, covers one side of the instrument to be beaten by hand, and the other side is hollow. A special pigment, a copper red made from a species of plant and earth, is applied to face and body. Women are dressed in a dyed grass skirt, and men usually wear various headdresses and a malo, or a G-string. Some dancers may wear the rattle made of the shell of a nut, called gargar, on the wrists or ankles. The dancing may take place in public occasions such as opening of a public facility, but the cultural shows are the most important opportunity for the dancing groups since a prize is often given to the most outstanding performance. Young women are allowed to either hide their breasts with the bilas or wear a brassiere of navy blue or black especially when the singsing is not for a cultural event.

In general, the dancing is usually unisexual unless it is for initiation ritual for boys, although men and women never take pairs; dances for women exists in a few villages. There is no active body movement comparing to other parts of PNG; the bare sole is
never raised, and the head and arms are mostly motionless, as if exaggeration is not a virtue of dancing. The dancers may form circles or lines, but each step takes place quietly. The movement of the grass skirts becomes an important element of dancing; the women choose their partner of an equal height so that their grass skirts would not hit against each other because of different strides. The beat of the kundu decides the tempo, which is basically even, patterned and not very fast, and cues the dancers when the pattern changes of the dance ends; thus, the kundu leader is always chosen from the elders.

There is actually no dancing without a singing voice. Usually, the composer is a grown man; authorship is, however, not recognized—individual creativity is not recognized in such a “composer”, and a new composition does not accompany a novel dancing. Most singsing numbers in the Madang area are composed in a repetition of short phrases that must have had some impression on the composer. For instance, if a song repeats nal e, nal e, etc., and he might have wanted to mark the occasion of dancing, since the word nal means “day” in Yabob language. Because the singsing was performed all through the night in the precontact times for intertribal feasts, most pieces are made of a chain of the small repetitive songs. The dance patterns are always memorized according to the succession of the small songs, and the basic pattern is kept throughout the large chain. Since the repertoire was subject to be traded intertribally as a political event, many older singsing numbers contain indecipherable words from old tok ples of other villages, if they were not corrupted as a result of oral dissemination. Even some compositions from the same village might employ obsolete tok ples idioms; the dancers often never understand the meaning of the syllables as they utter in performance.
Precontact music is often identified as *singsing tumbuna*, or “the songs of ancestors” in Tok Pisin. Locally, the term *singsing tumbuna* is often homonymous to *kundu singsing*, or the songs for the hourglass-shaped drum, the generic name for dance pieces with the instrument. In the precontact days, the instruments such as bullroarers and various others made of bamboo or coconut shells were used to “impersonate” the spirit *meziab* in the Bel-speaking area for initiation rites to frighten the new-comers to the secret society (Hannemann 1996:21). The slit drum, *garamut* in Tok Pisin, has been used widely in order to communicate messages in a long distance by the beat of the instrument along with hollering. Courtship songs were sung when the youngsters play with their mates during the night, the repertoire called Daik or Deik has been choreographed for the *singsing tumbuna* dancing in Yabob and Bilbil. The dance pieces were subject to “trade” (*bam sing sing*) among friendly tribes. The old *Kastam* such as the production of sound of spirit *meziab*, the courtship songs, the trading and performance of the *kundu* dancing were prohibited by the missionaries, and today nothing certain is known about them. Much of the surviving repertoire of *singsing tumbuna* dance pieces has already been influenced by the colonial administration of prewar years, which resurrected it for ceremonial events after the ban imposed by the Lutheran mission in the area. The dancing survived in respect to cultural events in the 1920’s but the trading of the *singsing tumbuna* has been ceased after the independence, when the institution of cultural show started to regularly involve Madang village dancers. Sometimes prizes are given to the participants, and the system of competition naturally blocked the dissemination of repertoire. The churches introduced the *kwaia*, or choir, singing from the Pacific, and
produced a number of devotional songs in indigenous melodies and languages. The
*singsing lotu*, or “songs of the church” have been composed still today, and often
accompanied by the acoustic guitar in the services.

In the precontact ages, each piece of “*singsing tumbuna*” used to be referred as
each particular names, such as *Daik, Kanam, Maimai, Aum, Kalog, Gengeng*, and so on,
with no generic name. Sometimes, there was different set of interaction attributed to each
piece, such as in the case of *Daik* as courtship song. There was no generic name for
“*singsing tumbuna*,” and dance was subject to have an individual property as a way of
sound expression. Hannemann, who lived in the Siar mission states:

> When the fast was over the *meziab* (great spirit) was called into the *meziab-
dazem* (sacred clubhouse) to preside over the initiatory rites. The *meziab*’s eerie
voice was impersonated by swinging a large number of bullroarers and by
blowing on various bamboo and gourd instruments, coconut-shell whistles and
by shaking rattles. Trembling with fear the boys were pulled over by their
guardians to get aquatinted with the great *meziab* (Hannemann 1996:21).

The sound produced by these instruments represents the supernatural being called
*meziab*, and it is perceived as an organized system of sound with a more or less iconic
signification like elsewhere in PNG (Feld 1990:225-238; Yamada 1997a:241-253). Such a
form of sound produced by adult males of the *meziab-dazem* was interpreted as a
fundamentally different phenomenon from other products of sound-producing such as
play songs or courtship song. The sound from the *meziab dazem* did indicate the presence
of the spirit for those who do not know how the source of the sound. The cultural system
of sound in the precontact era, in other words, consisted of individual domains of sound-
producing actions to the extent that each of them was totally autonomous at least on a
normative level. Although today's music-making also has generic distinction such as stringband laments, gospels, and so on, they are nonetheless either singsing (songs) or musik (music, instrumental music). In the postcontact era, the category musik only makes distinction against non-musik, with the latter consisting of the garamut (the slit drum for signal) and hollering, and the meziab was already disenchanted.

By contrast to the meziab dazem's sound of spirit, dancing pieces of the singsing tumbuna are subject to trade, which is hard to understand today in the age of cultural shows where individual villages compete for prizes for distinction. The trading of singsing tumbuna, known as baim singsing ("buying of the singsing"), is operated between tribes; it consisted of teaching and learning of the repertoire, and meals were served by the hosting village throughout the session which usually took several days, and ended by performing and eating pigs together. Again, however, there is no generic name that would include the tradable pieces as a whole in Madang. Bartering of the individual pieces are not possible for some reason, and this might have some relation to the lack of a unifying concept for all the dance pieces. The exchange always takes place between the host, who is to learn the song, and the visitors, who is to teach it; therefore, by "trade" it does not mean an exchange of a dance piece for another. The trading of old singsing tumbuna pieces created a state of asymmetry between the two parties by highlighting those who with knowledge of the piece and those who without it which is to be resolved by teaching and learning of the piece in order to achieve a sense of equality. In this regard, feast is an important constituent as much as the dancing itself. Thus, the trading of singsing tumbuna was by nature a pattern of exchange of cultural knowledge as a vehicle
and pretext for reciprocity.

In the postcontact era, the trading of dance piece and performance of the meziab interments become restricted or banned by the missionaries and colonial administrators. With introduction of cultural shows and other public events, the dance pieces have become public productions, and the magical instruments of meziab dazem were destroyed by the missions. By the time that Hannemann wrote the above-quoted lines pre-contact activities were by and large effectively driven away at least in the Protestant-controlled areas south of the Nobonob station (Inselmann 1991:66). The reciprocal system, in which the singsing tumbuna was embedded, obviously never extended to the colonists. The missions, Catholics and Protestants alike, have never participated in the performance of singsing tumbuna; although exchange of commodity should have taken place between the mission and the natives, there have never been any singsing to accompany the occasion. In the native societies singsing of the host community has celebrated the trade when the cover of the load, especially in case of clay pots, is being removed from the canoe. Instead, the missions tried to terminate the sound-producing kastom by destroying the instruments and tabooing to reconstruct them. In turn, the natives find that reciprocal transaction through learning and teaching of the singsing tumbuna is impossible with the mission and the colonial administration that have totally different cultural cognition and signification of sound.

The colonization of Madang meant a denial of old sound-producing system, and the natives who wish to maintain the singsing tumbuna in the Madang communities have had to accommodate with the new order of sound in which any native systems against the
colonists' standard is subject to banishment. Therefore, when the people of Siar village have petitioned to the Australian administration in 1923 hoping to secure the activity of *singsing tumbuna* by incorporating it into cultural events and inspection ceremony (Hannemann 1996:93), the exchange of the dance piece no longer has remained as same. Spectatorship became an alternative in order to save the performative practice of *singsing tumbuna*. The concept of cultural preservation, in which the natives have been immersed already at that time, indicates that the significance of *singsing tumbuna* was displaced as a result of abandoning the original system. This means that formats of the performance have become the basis for identification of native music, and not how it is practiced, which is still in use today. Kanam, which is not to be confused with a widely practiced *singsing tumbuna* repertoire by the same name—or it might have been that the word indicated a "song" in some *tok ples* of northern coastal Madang—has texts sung in local languages mostly in Bel. The melody of Kanam is not notated (Kristen Pres 1958) so that it has been learned by heart.² In the Amele speaking area, there has been Due to serve the same purpose (Amman, etc. 1980).

The significance of Christian sacred music in respect to the development of guitar band music is introduction of Western tonality, which was taught in the missions. By meaning "Western tonality" I mean the genre of devotional music itself for there have been indigenous melodies incorporated in the hymns as well. In terms of musical structure there might be some native elements—which I could not clearly identify other than as a non-European vocal contour, though—but the very essence of the practice of Christian institution was a novelty. Besides, there were a few Samoan missionaries in the
Protestant station to instruct choir singing known as *kwaia*, which is a form of polyphonic a capella with sacred texts developed in the Pacific islands. Modern concept of spectator, audience and musician emerged from these practices, which must have interacted as catalyst for the introduction of the guitar after World War II.

The Racing Guitars

In 1945 war veteran Elisa Imai came back to his native Kranket Island with a guitar in hand, had got it form somewhere while in service, perhaps from an American or a Filipino servicemen as in the cases in the former New Guinea territory (Webb 1993:2-4), but nothing is clear today. The guitar was first introduced in Madang in 1945, brought by war veteran Elisa Imai of Kranket, who learned the stringband music in service. The earliest surviving example of composition for the guitar is an attempt by Elisa in his native language Bel in 1945. The tune *Ngâme sansan laulau mon* sounds mostly like a waltz, which was the main form of music entertainment in the Pacifics at that time but never known to the natives in Madang. The elders in Siar village, however, had a great concern against Elisa’s performance, since, as one informant put it, “Once the girls go out to hear the boys singing with the guitar, they would forget about helping housework and never come back.”

Around the same time that Elisa brought his guitar to Kranket, several young men of Siar went to Port Moresby to work for shipping, and bought the guitar there. When they came back to Madang around 1952, the guitar was already a *tambu* to be played in public. It was not until 1957 that the guitar playing was resumed in the villages.
with approval of the elders. When Akism Siming, another Kranket man who acquired songs for the guitar and ukulele from various sources particularly in Fiji between 1954 and 1956 as a college student, started performing stringband tunes with his wantok friends.

In 1960 first public concert was held at old Sagalau High School in order to raise fund for renovating of the school building. Akism Siming, who got the idea while he was in Fiji, performed in the field truck; donation (five shillings per adult) was collected at gate. Around this time, Aksim started to compose in tok ples. The 1960's are the decade in Madang that the guitar band music became established as major entertainment. The relationship between the performer and the audience gradually became connected with monetary value, and music-making turned to be subject to market standard. Thus, the introduction of cash transaction, the fund raising, is not simply a new form of performative practice but a creation of a new field of cultural production, in which the performers are potentially valued in the market. Aksim tentatively named his band, rather artlessly, "Kranket Stringband" as early as in 1957, but its activity has been sporadic.

By 1970, most villages around Madang had at least one active stringband with their own compositions in tok ples or Tok Pisin, and each village began developing a unique style of performance and composition. The bambooband, which stereotypically represents things Madang today, is introduced by a Sir man Deb Atip from his friends from the Solomons, when he has been studying English at Balop Teacher’s College in Lae. Deb’s instruction transforms village stringband Patfon Stringband into Patfon Bambooband between 1967 and 1968. The distinction of individual bands in terms of
*wantok* in a small geographic scale, instrumentation, and repertoire became a practice after the idea of competition.

Aksim’s attempt turned out to be a great success: even after he left Madang for inspection tour the fund raising concert was continued, and similar attractions started to be undertaken. In 1968, fund raising was finally developed into a grand competition. This annual competition, the fund raising for the youth division of local church, is today known as *gita resis*, literally “guitar races.” It was usually held in New Year Eve, and it became the main attraction around the time of year. The objective of the *gita resis* is clearly expressed in the name itself: it was indeed a race local bands (the candidates have to be from Madang) to compete for a prize. In the first competition the entrants consisted of the Bel-speaking area only, but the membership soon expanded to the entire Madang Province by 1971. Aksim Siming and Deb Atip were among the original juries who checked out criteria such as “Performance” (dress, bows, staging of the band), “Tune” (harmony, pitch, tuning), “Time” (three pieces must be performed within ten minutes) and “Style” (accompanying dancing and/or action if there is any). Members should not exceed ten for a band, and an entrance fee of five kinas was to be paid prior to the performance. No restriction was applied to instrumentation for no distinction between the stringband and the bamboo band was made. As many as 24 bands participated during the epoch of *gita resis*.

The influence of *gita resis* to the guitar band music today has been rather great. Firstly, along with the term “stringband” and “bamboo band,” band music became an institution in a sense that there became a clear notion of performance with objectives such
as winning a prize or playing beautifully for pride. Social context of guitar-playing was consequently differentiated into private intra-village context from public performance by invention of the notion of the gita resis. Performance of the guitar band in the village became an informal occasion in the sense that there would be no third party present to evaluate the performance. This is a great difference from the earlier stages when Aksim Siming went around the villages near his residence by request for demonstration of the musik. In addition, the performance in competition distinguishes rehearsal from “real” presentation, success from failure, cool improvisation from sheer mistake, and big winners from poor losers. The idea of gita resis Madang is not simply a framework of performance in the shape of a game, but a consciousness in that a piece of music should be played nicely. As a result, the musicians thereafter would spend many hours experimenting toward a “good” piece or performance, and the notion of “good music” was scaled in comparison with another. The winning of game is now judged by the third party, the spectator.

Secondly, despite copyright was not strictly imposed, authenticity became the central concern for the competitors. A number of stringband song texts surviving today refer to rivalry among the villages, portraying which village precedes the others. The local bands express their authenticity even in their song lyrics as below (translated in English):

O Siar, Kranket,
we have the single tok ples.
You see Riwo as a kopikiat.
So what? It's your worry, brothers!
(Verse 1): O Muddy Bay, its name is going down. 
We leave those villages alone, 
you people can go first.
(Verse 2): Now we got up, 
you people can go first. 
So, we leave them alone:
The Muddy Bay is just as it is.

(Adolf Gatagot, Oi Muddy Bay)

These songs introduce the performers by contrasting themselves against other bands. The message of the song is in a sense metalinguistic for the singers sing a song that announces that they are going to sing now. The bands (Riwo’s Kitawa Stringband and Kananam’s Iduan Muddy Bay) represent their villages by identifying their locality in these lyrics. The inter-village rivalry among the bands was built up by competition, and traditional ideas regarding apim nem (raising one’s reputation) became the principle of music-making as well. The village rivalry influenced development of performative styles unique to each village. The leading guitar of Kananam (Iduan Muddy Bay and Young Muddy Bay), an old-fashion ensemble of Kranket (Jomba Drifters, etc.), distinct styles of bamboo band in Riwo (Madu Rockers), Siar (Patfon Bambooband) and Bilia (Melanesian Bambooband), for instances, must be a result of such a distinction.

Thirdly, the gila resis marks the first occasion of which music-making became an enterprise. Through the transition to market system the people have discovered sociocultural types of game such as rivalry, audience, spectator, jury, the stage, and so on. The value of music began to be scaled by the competitions and involvement of cash flow.
in the form of admission fee, and the concept of music-making as a mean of making money emerged. However, the enterprise was carefully disguised as a display of goodwill, as the imagined community of Madang is characterized as reciprocity. Although many fund raising concerts used the donation for its initial purposes—subsequent "tea fund" concerts, for instance, purchased public school equipment from the fund—some have been more a commercial enterprise. In fact, many of "fund raising" concerts today are actually held by a private sector or an election candidate for earning income. The enterprise, however, does not always appear to make profit. In fact, the performance is frequently cut off due to mechanical trouble, violence, or bad weather. There have never been full-time musicians in the Madang area except those who have contract with the recording studio, and most bands prefer to set up a stage in a contained rural area where much less trouble is expected.

Lastly, in the gita resis jurists did not have a criterion concerning quality of composition. The gita resis was essentially for the guitarists, and accomplishment of poetics was not a part of their interest. The text of the song was regarded as a secondary element. Although the lyrics of the song from the gita resis era shows a great degree of coherency in comparison to the powerband compositions, the content itself was actually no great importance to the criteria of evaluation, as the judges mainly evaluated visual and tonal aspect of the performance. Prizes were awarded to a good performance of music, not the theme of song albeit love, village band rivalry, call for communal unity, friendship, or sorrow of separation. Therefore, it is not surprising that a number of songs composed by local guitar bands during the time of the competition were introductory theme song of
the band. When I asked to record their original compositions during interviews in Kananam and Riwo, local guitarists in each village played one introductory song (Oi Muddy Bay and O Ziazi Gedaged) out of a set of four.

The Appropriation of Electronics

The annual gita resis was terminated in 1978 because of an alleged accounting problem. The true decline of the stringband and bamboo band, however, was due to the upsurge of powerband, a rock band version of the guitar band. Although the locals often attribute the transition from the stringband and bamboo band to the powerband to changing taste of the audience, their reference to laik ("taste") or diman ("demand") do not necessarily elucidate how the presence of electricity and cassette recording. As for the introduction of electronics, there is a transitional period from the stringband and bamboo band to the powerband between the late 1970's and early 1980's. As the number of the guitar band increased considerably since the time of Aksim Siming's old trio, the leader's acoustic guitar had its strings connected to radio speakers in order to use them as an amplifier. The amplified acoustic guitars were basically used to increase the volume of the leading part.

Urbanization in Madang, as in elsewhere in PNG in general, took shape without incorporating the peri-urban communities into some kind of city life or street culture. Madang, since the colonial times, consists of churches, governmental functionaries, produce markets, harbours, parks, tourist facilities, stores, housing areas and schools; therefore, in terms of music-making only public performance takes place in the town situations. Although cassette music industry has been very much an urban affair as in
Port Moresby today and Rabaul before the 1994 volcano eruption, there have been no political economic forces to organize the demography as emerging subaltern working class. The Madang town in fact has no public space where one can hang around in late hours like movie theatre, tavern, café, concert hall or disco with strong subcultural undertone. Town stores and market close at six in the afternoon, and the bus stops running; tourist facilities would be still open but the prices are exorbitant. The long-standing urban socioeconomic activity, which has been prevalent in Southeast Asia such as a bazaar economy, peddling and bargaining, is virtually nonexistent. As a result, the town area has been providing the role of a surrogate than an active centre for raring musical ideas in music history of Madang. Villagers tend to feel secure in their own community, especially after the sunset when the raskol (young criminal gang) activity takes place and the transportation terminates. Each village owns at least one clubhouse (klab), where the beer is sold with a reasonable charge; it is basically safe because of the familiar geography and the wantoks (fellow villagers) hanging around. As for musical activity, all-night dancing, or the six-to-six, is occasionally held either with a live band or a “DJ” playing the cassettes. The audiences refer to “real Madang music” to signify the kind of music played in these places by local artists; thus, the six-to-six is the ideal research field in order to observe aural cognition of the local audience.

Appropriation of electronic utilities had already taken place even before advancement of cassette recording, and its advantage was felt by most as a learning aid. In Riwo, Kitawa Band reconstructed bamboo tubes from the cover jacket of a record disc of Solomon Island bamboo band music, and learned the repertoire by listening to the pieces
from the turntable around 1970. The art of copying with an aid of electronics advanced stringband improvisation of the Iduan Muddy Bay band of Kanam. Lead guitarist and composer Adolf Gatagot developed his remarkable skill of improvisation from the programs of Radio Wewak and Radio Madang. Although Adolf was given an acoustic guitar as a birthday present from his brother, there was nobody around him with a good command of the instrument. Adolf's isolation and his use of the radio turned out to be a crucial factor for his unique and flamboyant guitar fills that were transmitted to his successor in the new stringband Young Muddy Bay.

Radio broadcasting started during the Australian administration, and radio programs for Melanesian audiences had been available since the 1960s (Turner 1994:191-192). Industrialization of popular music, which was initiated by urban Chinese-Melanesian businesses in Rabaul in the early 1980's, almost simultaneously spread to Madang; Kavieng-born Chris Seeto, who is to this day the only entrepreneur to own a recording studio in Madang. After a brief study in electronic engineering in Australia, Chris first acted as chief recording engineer to SantaLina Production in Madang, which was established in between 1980 and 1981, and today he owns the new studio, Tumbuna Traks. It seems that the cassettes are marketed to a young audience, although the six-to-six is a public entertainment embracing all generations. Appropriation of cassette sound recording has taken place in a various forms in private and communal levels: they are used to submit a demo tape to the recording studio, or to reproduce privately recorded songs. In the earlier years of advent of the electronic instruments, local bands, usually stringbands privately recorded their compositions by request, and
exchanged for various goods. Yabob youths in the early 1980's, for instance, recorded their stringband songs (some of which must have been recycled in the albums by Kale Gadagads) for a carton of beer.

The first powerband in Madang is Kanagioi, a band initiated by Robert Kig 1979, a resident in the town compound. Robert taught himself *pop musik strett* (i.e., non-*lokol* pops) from the cassette tapes and radio programs. He joined the "college band" while he was studying in Lae Technical College in 1973. When he came back to Madang, he forms the Y.C. Band together with his *wantok* and friends; the naming of "Y.C." stands for "Youth Catholic," from where they borrowed the instruments (two electric guitars, two acoustic guitars, a base guitar and a drum set). Robert and his mates preferred to copy Chuck Berry, Elvis Presley, Linda Ronstadt, and other "folk" and "English songs" for public performance. Kanagioi was named after an inactive volcano of Karkar Island, from where the Kigs hail. The band's instruments, a keyboard, an acoustic guitar, a couple of electric guitars, a base guitar and a drum set, were bought by Robert's salary earned from Japan and New Guinea Timbers. The band activity included regular and occasional gigs at Madang Resort Hotel and other tourist facilities, village clubs, and promotional campaign of private firms such as San Miguel Beer. The impact of Kanagioi has been decisive for development of the powerband in the area, since the band has become the real-life example for other bands to follow, such as Cool Figures (Bilia), Boka Boks (Riwo) and Kale Gadagads (Yabob) followed in the early 1980's. A relatively fast dissemination of the powerband in peri-urban Madang communities shows that aural perception and musicianship of the locals have arrived to such a point of maturation that they could
reconstruct and produce electronic music by listening to the cassette, radio, live performance and other forms of media.

Cassette music industry was established in the 1980s; the presence of local Radio Madang and cassette producer Tumbuna Trak Studio has been vital for promoting local powerbands. Early radio program by AM Radio Madang’s *Maus bilong Garamut* has contributed to familiarize the stringband. Other innovations of electronics entail introduction of new performative technique and instrumentation involving the electric guitar and synthesizer, use of the loud speaker and cassette tape recorder, promotion of the products, and expansion of repertoire by absorbing rock, reggae and other forms of popular music from the West. Being located close to urban centre, the peri-urban communities in Madang have taken advantage of a good reception of radio wave and a greater access to cash income that enable purchasing audio equipment such as radio-cassette players. Cassette recordings have become even more important to the local practice of music-making than ever before. Kanagioi, Madang’s first and important powerband that specialized in copies of Western pops in the early 1980’s, selected songs on radio programs suitable for copying. These songs were usually a rock or other mainstream Western pops, then buy a cassette album that includes the song so that they can play over the parts. Sandie Gabriel, leader of the powerband Kale Gadagads of Yabob, is said to record female ritual cry in funerals on cassette in order to invent his own style of singing, which eventually has become the prototype of the “Madang style,” a vibrato vocal technique. In addition, recording studios nowadays play the major role of promoting the local bands, some of which have become a nation-wide success such as
Kale Gadagads, Old Dog and The Offbeats, Yondik, and Wali Hits in the 1990’s. The electronic media has become the basis for the advent of the guitar band music in Madang since fairly early stages of its introduction.

The main field of production of powerband music has been, along with the radio and commercial cassette tape recordings, an all-night outdoor dancing session, today known as the six-to-six. The six-to-six involves either a live band or a cassette “disco.” The basic concept of fund raising is still maintained, bearing titles such as Helpim Yagaum Haus Sile (“Help Yagaum Hospital”), Helpim Ol Katolik Yut (“Help the Catholic Youth”), and so forth. The session usually continues from six in the evening to six in the morning, hence its name, without rest. The dance style, known as tromoi lek (“throwing out the legs”), is a sort of Western disco dancing with no particular pattern of steps, but body contact between opposite sex and slow dances are not present. A good dancing is noted as subtle and exquisite motion of steps for the dancers usually keep their soles touch the ground, no standout hopping, twisting or jumping—an interesting parallel with the local singsing tumbuna steps.

The popularity of powerband as an entertainment wiped away most of stringbands and bamboobands in the area. Regular performance of the stringband is only prepared in non-grassroots contexts such as in the dinning lounges of tourist facilities, and performance of the bambooband is even rarer; clearly, market value of old band style is regarded as in tropical exoticism or nostalgia of the plantation times. Now that the old bands are losing their local audiences in concert situation to the powerbands, it is an inevitable consequence that performances involving the accoustic guitar is today take
place only in informal occasions and church meetings. Specialization of the powerband has led most of the village youth to become consumers of the product instead of producers; today, more and more boys would rather buy the cassette or go to the six-to-six to enjoy than make music by themselves. By and large, guitar band activities in Kanamam, Riwo, Malmal and Siar appears to have diminished remarkably, despite local outdoor disco and powerband concerts are a thriving form of entertainment. The advent of nation-wide cassette music industry has resulted in a differentiation between the *musik man* (the “artists” in a sense that rock musicians are called in the west) who is committed to the field of cultural production, and the audience who is a consumer of the cultural product. This schism is also present between the powerband “artists” and non-powerband performers who play the guitar and sing in informal occasions.

Although the younger generations no longer show interests in the old instrumentation as much as they used to do before, the real issue here is that the effect of commodification of music is now making an impact upon social formation of the performing groups. The fund raising to purchase the electronic instruments and audio equipment are by all means not difficult if one wishes to do so: one can always take advantage of the *waniok* system to borrow the machines and secure the spaces for performance. Madang’s *lokol* music has become available in commercial product so easily that much fewer number of young people no longer makes an effort to produce it. The locals appear to have somewhat a weak motivation to become a professional musician, explore market potential or keep and expand performance contracts for cash income because of market size, family restriction, financial risks and reluctance of competition.
Madang's situation is reminiscent of Adorno's criticism of Benjamin's article "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (Benjamin 1968). In this, Benjamin was in favour of modern technology in hoping that it can emancipate the mass from the power structure of prestigious "aura" of authenticated work of art. However, Adorno demonstrated a destructive possibility of mass media that deduces aesthetic response of the individual to the "regression of listening" in relation to Lukács's concept of "reification" (Adorno 1995). The Benjamin-Adorno argument can serve a meaningful frame of reference for evaluating electronic media in the peri-urban Madang, in which music is indeed typically facing "the age of mechanical reproduction." While "fetish character in music" (Adorno ibid.) is not as apparent, the electronization of musical production has let the powerbands dominate Madang's musical scene, almost completely replacing local stringbands and bamboobands. The market that favours loud, synthesized sound has eventually driven away the old-timers who have a taste for stringband and bambooband. In fact, the existing stringbands and bamboobands today are the ones maintaining contracts with tourist facilities, and even in these cases new compositions seem to be ceased.

The distinction between the guitar band music and *singsing tumbuna* is fairly clear not only in terms of musical characteristics but also the context of performance signified by each genre. Much of the scenes of activity of the bands have been in the recording studio and the overnight *six-to-six* concerts. Performance of the *singsing tumbuna*, ever since the Australian administration intervened to make it a sort of indigenous fine art genre (Hannemann 1996:93), has been regarded as formal, ceremonial
and a display in which participating villagers themselves become object of the spectacle. If a *singsing* group performs, its context is built up as an inter-communal and reciprocal affair such as opening ceremony of new processing facility in Madang Copra Marketing Board or to mark an end to boy’s puberty ritual. Although guitar bands and *singsing* groups might perform in the same cultural event, the *singsing tumbuna* is hardly represented as commercial entertainment like the powerband music. Interestingly, there has never been a grassroots market for a *singsing tumbuna* cassette. The guitar band music, on the other hand, is not always subject to entertainment and consumption. It appears as if contemporary music in the Madang area is becoming industrialized, as stringbands and bamboo bands are actually drove to the verge of extinction by the powerband; even remaining stringbands are almost exclusively for the tourists. Nevertheless, the change and development of contemporary band music have created a new way of expressions depending upon parameters of socio-economic environment, involving the communal sector. The contemporary music of Madang has actually developed into an amalgamation of sound patterns produced by the phonemes of Madang *tok ples*, melodic contour derived from arranging *singsing tumbuna*, the vibrato vocal style, and the basic atmosphere of music that has roots in the local lifestyles.

Lokol versus Waitman Singsing

Many times in local out-door live concerts I heard voices angrily curse a copy of poorly played Western pop, saying: “Play PNG’s music!” “Stop that Whitman’s song!” and so
forth, with almost invariably beer bottles being hurled at the stage. The rock and other forms of Western music except the reggae (rege), are generally called waitman singsging (white men’s song). The waitman singsging’s position in the local music culture has been rather ambivalent. No need to say, Western pops are widely available. Town stores have copies of cassettes, and the radio stations broadcast them daily; some would even enthusiastically tell anecdotes of Eric Clapton, Santana, The Scorpions, or Red Zeppelin, adding “I love those waitman singsgin.” As for an unsatisfying performance of a lokol singsging (domestic pop), musicians would never be yelled like “Stop that lokol stuff!” but either simply ignored until a beer bottle flies or a fight would break out among the bored audiences. In other words, only a poor performance of Western number faces reaction as if the selection itself was inappropriate in the first place. The locals would often comment on the Madang peri-urban band music as: “You never get to the real songs of PNG as long as you stick around in place like Port Moresby.” “If you want to put your feelings in your singing, then it should turn out like this.” “Madang’s music is better than others because ours have meanings.” and so on. Such comments, however, do not necessarily reflect the reality since the people do listen to lokol numbers from other provinces such as Morobe or Oro, often sung in the languages that they never understand. Also, there are recorded Madang bands that people do not like for various reasons such as the quality of the performance, arrangement or alleged piracy. The imagination at work here is that the aesthetic judgment of gutpela singsging (“good song”) predicates the category of singsging bilong Madang stre ("truly Madang's song").
Table 1: Types of Discourse for Musical Performance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Reference to Competence</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guipela (Good)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi laikim (I like...)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moa nais (Better)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nais (Nice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Save long singsing (Do/Does [not] know how to sing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabis (Rubbish)</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>2. Reference to Identity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Singsing bilong) Madang ([Song of] Madang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Singsing bilong) PNG ([Song of] PNG)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Singsing bilong) ol Kristen ([Songs for] the Christian)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The audience at local concerts often rejects copies of waitman singsing stating that they do not like the music because it does not belong to PNG. As Table 1 indicates there seems to be two large groups for pattern of discourse about music: Reference to Competence and Reference to Identity. The first category, Reference to Competence, entails the rating of musical performance in terms of relative judgement. The reference to musical competence has a more elaborate vocabulary in positive reaction than negative ones. Positive reactions are expressed as judgement to the quality of music (Guipela, Nais), an active selection or support (Mi laikim), in comparison to previous performances (Moa nais), or appraisal to the performer (Save long singsing). Among these, Guipela appears to refer to a satisfactory performance, while Nais means a reaction form a deeper level such as a moving performance of lament or songs that evoke particularly strong sentiment or personal memory. To convey the dissatisfaction, the negation of a positive expression is mostly used. Thus, the negative of Guipela is expressed as I no guipela or
Nogut. The denial of Mi laikim is Mi no laikim, and a poor performer is described as I nogat save long singsing (“has no knowledge about how to sing”), I no save long singsing (“does no know how to sing”), or I no inap long singsing (“is not capable of singing”). Of the negative reactions, Rabis (“rubbish”) alone stands out as the one without compound idiom for the negative of rabis, i no rabis (“is not rubbish”), is never actually used as a positive evaluation of musical performance. In other words, there are at least several kinds of “neat” against just one “garbage” music, and clearly the tendency is that the people distinguish the quality of positive stimuli according to their attitude toward musical performance.

Any identification with to individual villages or particular musicians generally connotes neutral meaning. Although the locutions such as singsing bilong Yabob (“a song off/from Yabob village”) or singsing bilong Aksim (“a song composed by Aksim Siming”) are certainly present, they merely denote facts of composition. The morality behind this phenomenon is that village rivalry and hero-worship are generally repressed or underplayed in favour of the Madang as the ground of activity for the grassroots. In peri-urban Madang societies the smallest unit of positive identification starts from Madang as the rural-urban complex. Expression Em i singsing bilong Madang (“This [It] is Madang’s song.”) identifies locality of the performance with a positive connotation that it is a good piece of music deserving the brand, while a poor performance might be simply a rabis. By and large, such a labeling is applicable to Madang-born performers who are currently living in elsewhere such as Port Moresby. The definition of “Madang” can stretch between the vicinity of Schering Penninsula and the Province depending on the
object of judgement. The second smallest “Madang” would be so-called nambis Madang, or “coastal Madang.” If a band from Sarang (Madang District) or Karkar (Karkar District), Saidor (Rai Coast District) or Manam (Bogia District) is praised as a singsing bilong Madang, the speaker is marking nambis Madang from other regions. The provincial border consists of the largest local unit of “Madang.” When a Bemal (Madang District) band plays a singsing bilong Madang, it is contrasted against the rest of the country.

The larger frames of reference are “PNG” for guitar band music in general and the “Christians” (Kristen) for religious music such as the gospel. The “PNG” in this case contrasts PNG musicians from the rest of the world, particularly from non-classical Western music described as waitman singsing. The Kristen music, on the other hand, disregards national boundary but the sacred guitar band music from the secular. Predictably, those who favour Kristen music also tend to feel against the six-to-six and the content of powerband songs, which are seen as corrupting the youth. The similarity between these two locutions is that the two almost essentially connote value judgement than a simple identification by locality or contents. The locutions Em i lokol singsing (“It is a lokol song”) and Em i singsing bilong PNG (“It is PNG’s song”) might represent the same kind of guitar band music in most cases; the only difference appears to be the distinctions in terms of domestic/overseas and PNG/West dichotomies. However, the two are never similar in that the latter instantly objectifies national pride constructed from a positive stimulus. The locution singsing bilong PNG connotes that the referred piece of music is obviously a lokol, or characteristically PNG-made, yet it sounds better than waitman singsing because it is a domestic production and thus reflects the people’s taste
and feeling.

The negative form of Reference to Identity signifies a denial of identity that could lead to a negation of musical value as well. The use of Madang references seems to express the speaker’s intention to describe a poor performance (“Can this be Madang’s music? Never!”), or, more simply, the facts about the composition (“No, I do not think the song is from Madang”). However, the references to PNG and Kristen musics have a very different implication. The locution Em i no Kristen musik (“This [It] not Christian music.”) can almost mean an accusation, and Em i no singsing bilong PNG means something essentially incompatible with the value of the speaker regardless of quality of performance. The following episode in a cultural show during my field research exemplifies how the PNG music can be represented.

... The prizes were given to the singsing tumbuna dancers, and the students on the stage started to play again. The numbers were some copies from the rock but I could not identify. The music sounded like a Western pop tune not only for music but the language they were singing, which was audibly English. No cool wind. Hot afternoon sun. As we walked away from the concert field tiredly and hungrily, I said to myself aloud “Did they really rehearse the piece alright?” Hearing my words, lokal musician X uttered: “Besides, this is not PNG’s song, too (Na i no singsing bilong PNG tu).”

Here, musician X is expressing his dissatisfaction with the performance of the band, being ignited by my monologue. Although a poor performance of lokal tune can be as bad as a poorly sung waitman singsing in reality, X appears to say that the incompetence of the band is partially due to the students’ selection of repertoire itself. Therefore, the references to the Madang region and the PNG nation corresponds to the articulation of positive stimuli (Gutpela or Nais), while a negation of them express the incompetent
(Rabis).

The musical genre in Madang has not simply developing in the specialization of the *lokol singsing*, or domestic guitar band music. As the rock band format has become popular, there have been a number of locals who show interest in Western pop music, particularly hard rock and heavy metal. These Western pops are generically called *waitman singsing*, or “White men’s songs,” and there have been attempts to employ experimental chord progressions, melodic lines, as well as the rhythm. Here is what a local musician in his late twenties—let us call him Harry—has to say about the difference between the *lokol* and *waitman singsing*, in supporting the latter.

So, I never get busy with the *lokol* stuffs. The *lokol* sounds too simple because there is no good base line—some guys at studio always spoil it. The chords are simple, too. I like *waitman singsing* like Eric Clapton, the Scorpions, Santana—they have all the good chords, beats. I am learning them from a chord book I got. And Santana’s got very nice minor chords because they learned from Spanish guitarists. If I could own a production, I would take all the bullshit out [from the *lokol* cassette tunes]. I would only keep *nais* beats and a lot of *nais* chords. But they do not like the kind of stuff we play here in Madang as much as in Lae, so we sort of just like to play for the bars in hotels...

Harry has been active as a powerband musician, has composed songs in his *tok ples* and *tumbuna* in a manner of progressive rock, and has approached for recording sessions with domestic productions. Harry and his band always feel discrepancy against their audience in Madang for their compositions are very often received with indifference. He finds the chords in *lokol* songs too simple by contrast to the *waitman singsing*, and he regards the beat of the *lokol* songs too weak. He names well-known Western pop artists and bands, whose cassettes he purchased or dubbed, as
good examples. The nightclubs in tourist facilities are the places where Harry prefers to perform because the patrons tend to like copies form the hard rock. Lae, the headquarter of neighbouring Morobe Province and the second to Port Moresby in terms of scale and activity, is rather symbolically mentioned above among other centres that Harry and his band have been around for their urban image. Harry laments that his compositions have yet to find an audience due to the locals’ preference to _lokol_ style; in addition, expatriates and tourists never listen to his arrangement from local _singsing tumbuna_ and songs in _tok ples_ or Pidgin in the clubhouse.15 Upon listening to their band perform, the difference of taste between Harry and the grassroots audience by and large seems obvious; Harry’s band never employ stringband tunes, uses progressive patterns characteristic among the hard rock whose complexity is more than the audience can tune into. Yet, despite the _waitman singsing_ has been attracting Harry, it has never alienated his sense of identity as a member of community; in fact he commented Madang’s _lokol singsing_ as a style of good music comparing to the others, and Sandie Gabriel continues to be his mentor and hero. Harry himself does not play the _lokol_ songs unless he performs at village or town _six-to-six_, some of which he has been organizing, and nobody around the community finds anything wrong with, inappropriate or deviant about his inclination.

To the locals it is a fact of life that some like _lokol_, some like old stringband or bambooband, some like gospel, or some like _waitman singsing_, as Table 2 summarizes below.
Table 2: Ideal Types of Audience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gospel</th>
<th>Pacific</th>
<th>Lokol</th>
<th>Western pops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Evangelist</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Choice</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old-timer</td>
<td>Choice</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lokol</td>
<td>Choice</td>
<td>Choice</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>Choice</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard-rocker</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual</td>
<td>Detached</td>
<td>Detached</td>
<td>Detached</td>
<td>Choice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The six ideal types of actors, Evangelist, Old-Timer, Lokol, Passive, Hard-Rocker, and Intellectual, represent more or less regular reaction to musical stimuli according to the genres identified as Gospel, Pacific, Lokol, and Western Pops. Although the boundaries among both the ideal types and genre are rigid by all means, they delineate variation of musical reception. The ideal types tends to be vocalized by men with a particular interest in composition, performance or production, but activity such as singing, dancing and listening indicates them categorical regardless of gender. The reactions categorized here as Positive, Choice, Passive, Negative, and Detached characterize stimuli, but actual behaviour of each might vary depending on ideal type genre. The Positive reaction of an Evangelist toward the Gospel can be devotional ecstasy, while the Positive reaction of an Old-Timer to the Pacific tunes might entail nostalgia (Cf. Appendix 4). An Evangelist
consists of any Christian sectors but seems to be more prevalent among radical schools. An Evangelist is an active supporter for religious music and against current popular music categorized here as the domestic Lokol and the Western Pops. An Old-timer (Aksim is one) laments the recent development and shows a lack of interests in the music after the powerband. A typical Old-Timer belongs to the generation of gita resis or before. The Pacific music such as old stringband and bambooand tunes, which is today only available from the local radio and sporadic performances in private or a cultural show, is the passion for an Old-Timer. The Lokol appears to be the most prevalent character of all music listeners. A Lokol listener is a fan of the powerband and generally represented by the generation born after 1960. A Lokol fan displays a more acceptance towards the older guitar band genre than most Old-Timers do towards a Lokol tune. A Lokol listener might purchase domestic cassettes and attentively listen to weekly hit chart radio program PNG Top 20. A Lokol is usually either indifferent or relatively unenthusiastic to the Western Pops. A Passive listener perhaps represents the majority of music perception, and only this category consists of non-musicians entirely. A Passive might lack interest in music at all, even a religious one. However, a Passive is present in the six-to-six and other attractions for entertainment, and in this sense this type consists of the matrix for all the ideal types. For lokol tunes are the ones that a Passive is most likely to encounter, a Lokol might be the ideal type from which a Passive would develop. A Hard-Rocker and an Intellectual are obvious minorities. Harry belongs to the type Hard-Rocker, a minority mostly grown up during or after the era of gita resis with a taste for Western pops but rejects gospel and lokol powerband songs. A Hard-Rocker is usually vocal about one's
preference and known for a subcultural attitude toward Western Pops. A Hard-Rocker might not be a fan of the Gospel, but this does not necessarily mean a denial of Christian faith. Lastly, an Intellectual with a tertiary education maintains a detached attitude to the guitar band music by the grassroots. An Intellectual might show some interests in jazz and other forms of Western music, and sacred music without a commercial orientation (like indigenously composed hymn) as well as the *singsing tumbuna* are also an interest, even if such attention might be academic one. Some Intellectuals are professional musicians with a particular interest in a new brand of electronic music that is circulated as *lokol* tunes, but the *Lokol* listeners find such “new wave” experiments too complex and detached from their primary activity in music, namely dancing. As a consequence, productions by an Intellectual musician tend to find more audience in Australia or New Zealand, as in the case of the Sanguma band or Ronnie Galama (Hayward 1995). Contemporary jazz and serious music with a perspective of ethnomusicological scholarship in the past curricula by the Department of Creative Arts at University of Papua New Guinea might have played some role in the general attitude of an Intellectual.

Interestingly, Harry's preference to *waitman singar* has no relation to class-consciousness or subcultural identity, of which he has no knowledge and position. Being a typical case of peri-urbanite relying on “informal” economic transactions (Barber 1993), his livelihood is not based on urban settings, and his commitment to the village *mangi* has always been serious. There is no regular sociocultural factor correlative between Harry’s taste for *waitman singar* and his way of being as a *wantok*. A sense of yearning for Western pop culture must be present, but Harry and his group are not expressing their
sense of identity as the Westernized, comparing the self with Western urban working class. Their imagination does not extend to fashion of a pop—something as being nais is not necessarily “pop,” for the former is a particular feeling of neatness attached to the local livelihood— and they remain to find their identity as Madang. Their conscious selection of 
waitman singsing to lokol singsing has no place in their sense of being in the community—to choose between the waitman and lokol songs have no subcultural principle. The waitman singsing in local concert situations never attracts a large crowd. The audiences prefer the elements of the lokol music because in this way they can extend their imaginations and embodied senses attached to everyday life in the peri-urban settings. In the same token, Harry’s comment is his sense of attachment to a particular form of music in his own terms whether it might be related to his everyday life in community or not. It would be even dishonest as well as ethnocentric to repudiate Harry’s claim deeming his musicianship not compatible with an ethnotheory of aesthetics, or simply a deviant cultural behaviour. Western music such as serious music or jazz has never been valued in the rural societies; even any knowledge of Western music theory is not counted as a positive disposition that might opim nem (raise reputation) of the musician. In Madang, performative competence in singsing tumbuna does not seem to contribute greatly for social advancement, at least when it is compared to possession of pigs, command of English, station in religious organization, political credence, entrepreneurship, occupation, cash, or criminal record (sometimes). There is no outright cultural rivalry or hostility between the singsing tumbuna and the guitar band, although the latter often takes blame for moral corruption from the evangelists and the intellectuals.
with a background of tertiary education who set their field of activity in Port Moresby.\textsuperscript{20} There must be some elements that make \textit{lokol} more attractive than \textit{waitman singsing} to the peri-urban audience in Madang despite periodic objections.

Conclusion

If music-making in Madang is seen as a postcontact phenomenon, its ethnotheory has to be sought in considering the emergence of the concept of \textit{musik}; the genre has interacted as an arena for performance, composition, and reception of the produced sound. The question, then, becomes how people hear music in order to regenerate compose or to find its significance. Today, the \textit{lokol} guitar band songs reflect everyday experience of local livelihood in a most direct way. As the advancement of modern technology enabled the introduction of electronics to the guitar band music, music-making has become incorporated into capitalist economic system to a large extent. The identification of musical performance with place names especially, the ones entailing regional and national boundaries, clearly operates in terms of “imagined community” as Benedict Anderson noted (Anderson 1983). In reality, however, audience reaction varies according to the category of music and attitude toward each genre of music.

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\textsuperscript{1} Still, some natives have apparently tried to outmaneuver the colonial powers. A local informant accounts why only Yabob has had both the Protestant and Catholic missions in the prewar times:

The bigman of Yabob, my father, was a man of \textit{singsing}. When the Protestants arrived at Yabob Island—I was only a kid then, so I don’t remember exactly when—they tabooed a lot of things, like, they burned down the \textit{darem} (young
men's house), which I saw. There was a magic to catch wild pigeons, but that,
too, was tabooed and lost now. Of course those kundu singings were tabooed as
well. So, the man went around hiding to play his singing in the bush so that the
missionaries can not catch him.

Then, one day he visited Alexishafen to see his in-laws: his wife was
from Kananam, and saw there a lot of singing tumbuna going on without taboo.
He asked the villagers why it was okay to beat the kundu, and they replied that
the Catholics did not care about the singing. Now, he met a missionary in the
station to let the Catholics build their own church and graveyard on Mareg Island,
and let his family convert to Catholic. He himself did not, though: he got never
baptized, and before the meal he would pray to Anut, God in our old times,
instead of Our Father. (TB)

The bigman of Yabob is in this discourse represented as a man of practical reason. He
successfully continues to perform the singing tumbuna, despite the Protestants'
persisting prohibition, by patronizing the rival Catholic mission. The process of
interaction in the sequence is an appropriation of cultural knowledge between the colonial
power and the natives to achieve their goals through manipulation and counter-
manipulation.

2 However, from a village church service on one Sunday I came to have an impression that
the locals are not very confident of the actual melody of individual Kanam songs. Kanam
as a singing tumbuna perhaps originated in Karkar (Niles and Webb 1988:40).
3 The Samoan missionaries taught the Polynesian kwaia chorus in the Lutheran mission at
Siar before World War II.
4 By the “field of cultural production,” I am employing Bourdieu’s term (Bourdieu 1993).
But while such a sociological framework is useful to signify articulation of contests and
negotiations, class stratification that he finds as basis of the structure as a vital element in
Madang.
5 “Patfon” is name of a rock that stands on the shore of Siar.
6 It seems that the gita resis does not originate in Madang, and the term must have come
from other places.
7 To record four songs each from a single band was a suggestion by one of my local friends
who was also happen to be a musician. His limiting of the samples to four is intriguing in
that he said the four songs as sufficient (inap) for a field recording; perhaps he was
thinking back the regulation of gita resis that limited the entries to three unconsciously.
8 Currently, in Madang the dancing is the only form of public entertainment except for
showing of the video in private house. Although young children (escorted by their mothers) and women are regularly present in the six-to-six dancing, liquor and drug consumption, and “raskalism” are essentially a male activity. The gates are usually set in somewhere between 1.00 and 2.00 kinas.

9 The initial instrumentation tried by Kitawa Band was an eight-tube set and a pair of vertical ‘stomping’ tubes.

10 The television station, called EMTV, has been open since 1988 and it broadcasts domestic and overseas music videos, but due to a low access to the television sets and limited selection of music programs, the television’s impact have been negligible to the locals.

11 Chris Seeto has no relation with Greg Seeto, manager of Pacific Gold Studio.

12 The Kigs hail from Komoria in the Takia region of Karkar Island.

13 Adorno’s discussion on “fetishism of music” entails a behavioral characteristic of the “regressive listening” that blindly supports popular cultural industry. “Fetishism of music” is a consequence of commodification process even involving Schoenberg and Webern, and its really means that commodification of music can destroy mutual relations that marks more communal and concentrated mode of music-listening (Adorno 1995).

14 Rabis does not even have a positive connotation as bad in English.

15 Actually, the audience in Madang, including the musicians, has hardly been influenced by the ‘new waves’ in Port Moresby. The artists such as Ronnie Galama, despite their publicity elsewhere in the Pacific (Hayward 1995), are never heard in local six-to-six. Ronnie Galama’s unpopularity in Madang is not because his better-known compositions are arrangements of Maopa sungsing tumbuna of Central Province, but the way he arranges them is not suitable to dance with.

16 In presenting a paper about the soro sungsing of Yabob at a music conference held in Port Moresby (Suwa f.e.), I found a number of PNG audiences, especially university students looked puzzled in disbelief. They did not seem to understand the cassette examples of powerband renditions of Sandie Gabriel’s tunes were initially composed for commemoration the songs appeared to them as just lokol pop tunes that the urban moral majority associate with immoral conduct and mayhem (Neuenfelt 1998). It was totally beyond their imagination—even if my command of English as a foreign speaker might have been a reason for it— that the sound of acoustic guitar and the melody of the pop can generate emotional responses in Christian mortuary practice. The postcolonial situation in PNG is that urban elite and emerging middle-class from various backgrounds are now endorsing cultural radicalism that construct their ideology in world system. Of
course, the modus operandi of music-making must be sought in such aspects of aural cognition as well.

17 Ronnie Galama, a native from Maopa in Central Province, received more audiences through his music video in Australia than among PNG grassroots. Galama’s best compositions Goruna and Rinunu are based from traditional Maopa legend, and its musical structure does not have the sort of the beat that most powerband compositions do. Hayward points out: “the difference between Galama…and other PNG music videos…is in their attempts to begin to commodify Galama in terms of his traditional ethnicity and cultural identity” (Hayward 1995:14).

18 In fact, there is hardly any low-income working class in PNG, for “lower income” households are often associated with rural subsistent livelihood and informal sectors in squatter settlement.

19 I took no statistic to correlate audience type with socioeconomic factors such as income, education, or gender. However, Harry’s case seems one of the many that have no relation between musical distinction and socioeconomic one.

20 Western musicology, with an emphasis of the jazz, has been taught at the tertiary institutions such as Goroka Teacher’s College or University of Papua New Guinea. Occasionally, high schools and corrective institutions have provided music education as well, especially workshops of musical instruments such as the guitar; however, music theory has never been subject of the study.