This chapter will illustrate how social formation of the guitar band music has taken shape into a generic construction by particularly focusing upon organizational schema such as the formation of the band and the learning process of music.\(^1\) As for the band organization it will become clear that the principle of wantok plays a dominant role, which is based on village network. The word wantok derives from the Melanesian composite of “one talk,” signifying that shared language parallels with shared communal bonding. In the initial stage of the rendition of song text, the kopikat (copycat) strategy, which reproduces the original performance without getting known to the words of music, was used. As the art of kopikat becomes mature, the performer starts to acquire improvisation, composition, and original singing and instrumental technique that as a demand in the lokol audience.

Musicianship and Organization

A village band usually consists of members from the same village, with occasional inclusion of friends in town. To explicate, the following Table 3 shows a history of membership of Yabob lokol band Old Dog and The Offbeats. The band initially started as G.F. Rockers and was active between 1979 and 1980. G.F. Rockers were inspired by powerband Kanagioi, but their intention was to compose lokol tunes. Old Dog and the Offbeats were a development from the G.F. Rockers and formed in around 1988. Old Dog and The Offbeats have produced four cassette albums from two studios, one in Madang.
town and another in Port Moresby.

Table 3: Membership Change of Old Dog and the Offbeats (Yabob)
(Abbreviations: v-lead vocal, g-guitar, b-bass, k-keyboards, d-drums, m-manager, oth-other unspecified parts, ?-part unclear.)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Willie Tropu</td>
<td>v, g</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1962-?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul Tropu</td>
<td>g</td>
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<tr>
<td>(1966-)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johnson Lanke</td>
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<td>(1960?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Michael Lanke</td>
<td>b?</td>
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<td>(?-)</td>
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<td>Terry Tobotol</td>
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<td>(?-)</td>
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<td>Lawrence Tropu</td>
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<td>(1970-)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Demas Saul</td>
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<td>b</td>
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<td>(1965-)</td>
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<td>David Salok</td>
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<td>Julius Onkau</td>
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<td>Maniot Okole</td>
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<td>(k?)</td>
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<td>(?-)</td>
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<td>Eki Egurupa</td>
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<td>John Subam</td>
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<td>Martin Molt</td>
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<td>(?-)</td>
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With Willie "Old Dog" Tropu going solo in Moresby, activity as a band has become sporadic. The members of Old Dog and the Offbeats are mostly from virilocl householdsin the same village. The exception is Terry Tobotol, whose father was a Tolai; there might have been a few more, but there is no clear data. The formation of the band shows another principle known as tirungu (close associate by generation)\(^2\) relationship in Yabob. In the case of Old Dog and The Offbeats the members whose area are known falls within a decade between 1960 and 1970. The members with the same surname are brothers, namely the Tropus and the Lankes. The three core members, Willie and Paul Tropu and Johnson Lanke are close friends but from different clans: Willie and Paul belong to the Kakon clan, and Johnson to the Madib. The parts of the band has been relatively fixed: Willie leading the vocal, Paul and Johnson playing the guitar, Lawrence the drum, and Demas joining the base until he became a fulltime musician to the Tumbuna Trak studio. As many other powerbands, the keyboardist has been changing because of the availability of the instrument. Musicianship in the keyboard is a special skill for there is no piano in the village as well as the town households.

While the dissemination of guitar band music is never selective or esoteric, membership of guitar bands is formed in terms of wantok almost without exception. The principle of tirungu relation actually stands on the notion of wantok. The Tok Pisin word wantok is the generic term that denotes relatives, fellow villagers, neighbours, and so forth, although when used as an address, the word wantok can rather connote a forced sense of camaraderie such as the one between a sales attendant and a client. As it has been described previously, there are three strata of languages in use in Madang: tok ples, Tok
Pisin and English. The ethnic boundary of peri-urban Madang communities naturally corresponds with the local category of *tok ples*, or the "village talk," and this principle has played an important role for formation of the guitar band music at various levels especially those regarding compositional practice and member organization. The village organization based on the notion of *wantok* sociologically consists of closely settled clans (*klan*) that share a common *tok ples*; it is very rare for a clan to have a 'different' *tok ples*, although it has occurred.\(^3\) Since the term *wantok* never includes a spouse, parent, child, grand parent, grand children and sibling; it does not signify a member of the family but those who might be related in a more extended level of kinship. A *wantok* may mean a *kandere* (kindred of mother’s side) and a *tambu* (in-laws) who usually come from a different village or clan. In the Madang area very often a spouse’s language can be acquired by spending some length of time in his or her *ples* (village).\(^4\) The competence of the "foreign language" varies from a phrase-book level to a near-native one, but the phonetic system of *tok ples* around Madang is never so widely different each other that the comprehension between them does not seem a strenuous task. Although grammatical structure of the languages is notably different between the two language groups of the Trans New Guinea and Austronesian, the people appear fairly free to interchange. Thus, the concept of *wantok*, in reality, is rather a fluid one, in which other than one language, with various degrees of competence, can be in use. In everyday conversation reference to a *wantok* has a strong connotation of social identity such as, "Oh, he is my *wantok*. Let him come in," or "She is my *wantok*. She will introduce you the place," and this sense of identity is based on the proposition "We speak the same language, so we understand each
other." Of course, in reality there is something like wantok stil (stealing one's relative's possession), and friction and fights are ever present. But still, the image of a wantok is a close, familiar, and helpful figure.

The idea of wantok also reflects the modern institution of the Melanesian nation-state. Indeed, the word itself is derived from Tok Pisin, which is an invention a result of westernization; therefore, the concept of wantok has been destined to expand its category in order to identify the imagined community of PNG as a whole against other nations, particularly the west. In this regard, the word wantok presupposes an anonymous collectivity, not an individual. When the word wantok is used as an address, it is never spoken to the addressee's relative but a stranger; in practice, an in-law may be addressed as Tambul or Kanderei. The address Wantok! on the other hand, is a general reference to someone whose social category or relationship to the addressee is not apparent. It is interesting that, unlike some other words in Tok Pisin, the word wantok has not been included in the tok ples of Madang as a loan word. The sentence in which the term wantok is used is always spoken in Tok Pisin, and identity of the wantok is often anonymous figures such as in the following lyrics of a couple of stringband numbers:

Today is the day for us all Papua New Guineans.
Now one ocean gathers and prospers the way of ancestors.
You wantons, come here, and enjoy yourselves.
The way of Papua New Guinea will be shown, and we will see.

(Jomba Drifters, Dispela de em i de bilong yumi. The original in Tok Pisin.)
O wantok woman,
you simply fooled me,
you wrote my name
underneath yours.

(Aksim Siming, *Meri wantok*, The original in Tok Pisin and Bel.)

The first example, composed for a multicultural event celebrating the independence of PNG, clearly represents the *wantok* as the nationals, and it addresses so forth. However, the use of the word *wantok* is exclusively used for the syntax in Tok Pisin, the first three lines, and not in the *tok pies* Bel, the last line of the verse. The second example, a standard stringband number by one of Madang’s first composer and guitarist, tells the audience about a denied love: the last two lines are a Tok Pisin idiom suggesting an outmaneuvered protagonist. This verse is followed by three more others sung in the *tok pies* Bel, and each time the line begins with *O papa inan pain* (“village woman”), *O Morelang pain* (“Morelang woman”) and *O Tatakorek pain* (“Tatakorek woman”). Morelang and Tatakorek are names of settlements in Yabob and the *panu inan* in this *song* presumably signifies Kranket. The first verse in Tok Pisin, therefore, is a more general statement, and the word *wantok* parallels with each geographical name. The idea of *wantok* actually presupposes a cultural “Other” as the addressee such as the women of other villages or the fellow nationals who must be communicated in the lingua franca. The context that the idea of *wantok* is used is a modern folk model of interrelationship with strangers in the era of imagined communities, not a kind of communal sense of identity at any rate.

Complexity of multilingualism and articulation of style in the peri-urban Madang communities gives an important perspective to the formation of guitar band music in the
following respects. First, although it is not possible to survey all the bands formed since
the 1970s, it is clear that band members have been predominantly organized in terms of
village wantoks. Even if the members do not come from the same village, there is always a
home village where the majority of the members. The wantok-based band organization has
created a preference of composing songs in tok ples. As the later chapters will discuss in
detail, practice of village guitar band has a root in the gita resis, a series of competition of
the guitar bands in the 1970s. Naturally compositional ability and musicianship were the
essential qualification, and although intra-village adaptation has been common—the
member of a band in competition should not exceed ten, and a village can send as many
bands as desired—the musical ideas were not easily transmitted from village to village. As
a result, the style of music shows a remarkable variety according to villages: the
bambooband, of example, flourished only in Malma, Riwo, Siar, Bilia and Amele, each of
which developing their own repertoire and innovations of the bamboo. Even the electronic
media such as the radio or sound recording hardly influenced the situation for each village
would develop its own interest in adopting the music. In Kranket the village bands more
or less chose to stick to the old stringband format, presumably due to its closeness to
tourist facilities where such music is still in demand as it being a symbol of the colonial
Pacific. Kananam was successful in creating a unique guitar solo by listening to the
Papuan stringbands on the radio very much thanks to personal talent of the guitarists.
Riwo developed a special style by tuning into the bamboobands of the Solomons,
although no particular developments from the bambooband is notable. Latecomer Yabob
adopted the powerband in the 1980's and found a way to a new style for lokol sound. It
is as if the pre-contact system of *meziab dazem*, the secret society that valued magic based on young men's house is resurrected into the contemporary practice of guitar band music, despite which is an illusion because the two pertaining so much differences and displacements.

Second, group organization of the guitar bands has influenced use of language in the song texts, which has been predominantly composed in the native tongue of *tok ples*. The subject of the songs often involves either the name of the band, as if it were an introduction, or local geography around Madang, frequently micro-geography in the village. As Table 4 indicates, of the 48 samples of stringband and bamboo band songs composed between 1946 and mid-1980s in the Bel-speaking area of Kananam, Riwo, Siar, Bilia and Kranket, 11 songs (22.9%), or nearly a quarter of the entire sample, call out geographical name. This frequency of geographical name shows a stark contrast to that of personal name, which appears in only 2 of the entire sample (4.2%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference to Proper Names in Bel Songs</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Geographical Names</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Names</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Reference</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>72.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The landscape that is referred in the lyrics is usually a scene of action or even a subject for
sentimentalism:

O Mitibog Island, I shall leave you now.
How is the island?
I do not like this: you cannot see me from here,
and you will not be able to as well.

I think of my parents that now I do no more,
they will cry and say
that I am alone and there is not another,
when I lose my life.

(Wesley Bosli, *Mitibog nui*)

Here, Mitibog, a part of the territory of Kranket village, is portrayed as homeland from where the protagonist is about to depart. Such examples of “maudlin” songs are always composed by the natives of the *ples* as described, and tend to be a favourite number of the performers. The overall sentiment of the lyrics of “Mitibog nui” is clearly by Wesley’s text that concentrates on signification of the lived world of the village, by using *tok ples* and reference to micro-geography.

Lastly, in relation to the presence of *tok ples*, which has been vital to signification of song lyrics, urban social identity never prevailed in both musical expression and social formation of the guitar band music in Madang. The peri-urban guitar bands in Madang are not urban but rural by imagery and social formation, and compositional technique has taken a strong emphasis on the reference to village life. If there is anything conscious about composition and reception of the music, it is the articulation of the refined (*nais*). There are a couple of episodes regarding Sandie Gabriel, prominent songwriter of Yabob who was killed in a car accident:
Sandie once told us that our songs must have weight (singsing mas gat well), and there are words that have more force than the others. As you sit down by the beach under the moonlight, you get a feeling, and you think about a lot of things as you see the quiet landscape where the sea stays so calm and beautiful. These things are the source for composing fine songs.

Really, if Sandie was alive he would be still sitting down in that house down below (on Yabob Island), and he would practice all through the night. When the sun comes up, he would go to bed and never get up until afternoon. When the sun goes down, he would pick up the guitar, and start composing again. Oh, you would be listening to his voice till daybreak, hardly asleep.

Eminent powerband composer Sandie Gabriel’s reference to the village landscape of Yabob Island as an essential source of composition derives from his nocturnal habit of composition in the village. As Sandie’s case exemplifies, the incubation of musical ideas that predispose rural everyday images is fairly common to the peri-urban Madang, since the song text that involve maritime landscapes is not an exceptional characteristics of Sandie but a general inclination of the Austronesian-speaking coastal communities. As to the peri-urban Madang communities, the communities are in fact not only imagined, as in the extended notion of wantok or Beautiful Madang, but also actually in practice because of the multilingualism and social process of composition itself.\(^5\)

Men as Performer

Gender asymmetry in the peri-urban Madang society is not negligible even to musical activities, as much as other parts of the country. As in the case of most PNG societies, music-making has been men’s domain; in many cases women have been kept away from
musical knowledge or even touching and seeing the instruments, and ethnographers have seen it in relation to gender symbolism of various cultural objects (Herdt 1981:1-19). Around Madang, few stories about the bamboo flute and bullroarer survive in the coastal communities, which might indicate that the possession of the wind instruments played an important role in the belief system of meziab dazem. Contemporary music in Madang, in terms of social formation, has so far involved sexual division. Since musical activity regarding the guitar band music is essentially a domain of men, I would like to discuss the situation by categorizing the men as social actors in the peri-urban society without reducing the subject into the polarity of male and female identities (Dubisch 1986:26-31).

The opinions that downplay or deny women’s musical faculty such as singing and dancing are non-existent in Madang. A musically talented woman, especially a good singer or dancer in the singsing tumbuna, is referred as a “woman of song” (meri bilong singsing), and there are some women in the younger generation who can play the guitar. However, the locals never come to a plausible conclusion why Madang women do not play the guitar in public or compose a stringband tune. They say, “Maybe that shows PNG is an underdeveloped (i no develop yet) country,” “Women can get raped by the raskols—it’s not safe here during night,” or “Well, in the first place there was a kastam of tabooing women away from playing the instrument. Then the guitar came in, and…” However, none of such explanations satisfy even the locals. Exploitation and physical violence can very much apply to men’s risk as well, which is in fact heard as an explanation of some people who left the band or never wish to go professional; even the
fear induced by the tragic end of Sandie Gabriel is mentioned sometimes. Reference to
historical background never explains why the Tolai of East New Britain, for instance, has
a number of active female musicians, whereas their kastam is not far different from
Madang's in terms of male domination (Niles and Webb 1988:14; Turalir 1995).

As the colonial Christianity did not encourage women to compose sacred music
such as those in the Kanam Buk either, despite Western tonality was generally learned
regardless of sex through the kwaia. Guitar band music, too, came to Madang basically as
something for men. The earliest composition in a Madang language Ngane sansan laulau
mon, or "I was always in the middle of the sea" by war veteran Elisa Imai narrates an
experience of romantic conquest from a male point of view.

Before, I went to war.
I killed in a lot of ples, but it was like nothing they say,
"You were near to the mouth of shark. My eye is red all over.
Their bellies are yellow, the sharks of your ples
the big ocean."

(Elisa Imai, Ngane sansan laulau mon)
The locals agree that shark reference in the lyrics alludes to women of Pacific Islands;
probably the yellow bellies characterize ethnic Polynesians. On the other hand, it is
interesting that Elisa's singing attracted young men as well as many young women, as it
has been quoted in the previous chapter. As a local put: "Once the girls go out to hear the
boys singing with the guitar, they would forget about helping housework and never come
back." This asymmetry of music-making probably did not matter the participants for
Elisa's music was clearly received as an entertainment among the younger generation.
Women's inactivity in the guitar band music seems to be largely because of signification
of the guitar as a tool for attracting females by men in its early stages of introduction, as it has been illustrated by the case of Elisa Imai among the locals.

Especially during the epoch of stringband and bambooband, some interested young women participated in the bands, often playing the instruments, and some became a competitive singer; however, entries in competitions were limited to men without a particular reason. When the powerband became the main medium for the band music in the 1980, women stopped playing in public altogether, which is blamed as a result of deteriorating public security. It is uncertain that why Madang did not have female stringbands as in East New Britain, or competitive recorded artists with a background of kwaia as in Central (Turalir 1995). The risk management of not placing women in public attention in fear of making their, and the community's, security vulnerable sharply contrasts against the men's acquisition of the guitar band music through mobilization to the outside world, such as the town community, military facilities, and foreign provinces and countries. Therefore, the folk model for sexual division of musical activity in the peri-urban Madang is not based on displaying of masculinity but more or less functional reasoning of social activities.

Women's participation in postcontact music-making in the Madang area has been somewhat limited, or at least it has never been as noticeable as the men. To discuss women in term of guitar band music tends to become how women are represented in the lyrics, some of which have been also exemplified in the previous sections. Despite seemingly passive position of women in the music-making of guitar band, however, they have been playing a quite essential role to production of sound-producing practice as a
whole. One is that women, like men, have been actors of aural cognition through engaging a range of activities such as attending to concerts and dances, becoming a concern of male musician, or even playing and singing in performance in some cases. On the other, there have been sound-producing practices in which women take more active role then men. The fact that the guitar band music has been organized basically by the male member of the communities. But this does not necessarily mean that the aural practice in the process of music-making has never been a shared conduct with the women, although comparing to other centres of guitar band activity in PNG women’s initiative in Madang is not as strong. The women in the Madang area has been active in various occupations such as bank clerks, nurses, sales representatives, church works, civil servants, and so forth. Men and women often take parts in domestic chore especially cooking, child rearing and house cleaning as a result of change of residential pattern from men’s secret society to nucleus family. Although today the women do not commit to guitar band activity per se, there have been a number of them who can play the guitar or ukulele; in addition, before the mid-1980s women were often incorporated in the stringband and bamboo band as singers. While the increasing case of violence, as the locals often claim, is often blamed for the recent inactivity of women in the guitar band today, it must be stressed that sex or gender never seem to make any radical difference in term of aural cognition.

The most notable sound-producing practice by peri-urban women in Madang is women’s ritual. The cry comes out spontaneously any time during the death and mortuary ritual of the mourner’s family, relatives, or friend; it consists of a wailing with no formal pattern of voice that expresses accusation, remembrance, or rhetorical phrases
of death. In this sense, women’s ritual cry is regarded as a “ritual” in a strict sense, but a
general activity of mourning. The wailing pattern of ritual cry is found among the women
only, although men, too, cry from time to time during the mortuary ritual. There is no
local discourse to theorize why only the women have specific pattern of crying; however,
the crying is always present in the funeral and burial, and considered to characterize the
occasion. In terms of the *singsing tumbuna*, Madang women never play the *kundu*, the
hour glass drum; it seems that the sound-producing instruments by and large have never
been regarded since the precontact era, and the locals neither encourage nor discourage the
women to play the drum. Men and women sing and dance as one group in performance of
*singsing tumbuna*. Their singing is usually heterophonic, meaning that they basically sing
in the same shape of melody. Thus, aside from women’s avoidance of the *kundu*, their
musicality does not differ essentially. It is fairly natural to assume that both women and
men have similar pattern of aural cognition, in spite of the different role in musical
performance.

The same proposition applies to the guitar band music. In the guitar band music,
especially since the advent of the powerband, women have become not spectators in
public performance altogether; however, they, regardless of age, are music-goers to the
local concerts such as the *six-to-six*. The dancing at the *six-to-six* is a kind of disco dancing
with no formal dance style and there is no cheek dancing, but man and woman can form a
pair to dance face to face. Women sometimes accompany their children or children of their
wantok in earlier hours, between around six to ten in the evening; old and married women
tend to stay aside and remain as the spectators, while young unmarried women take part
in dancing more freely. The most basic part of guitar band music, *tromoi lek*, or “throwing out the legs,” involves the men and the women alike. The composers of powerband music in the Madang area, who are male without exception, compose their song texts essentially from men’s point of view. There are numerous love songs dedicated to someone special or an imaginary character. These songs express a wide range of feelings from happiness to heartbreak, and many of them take form of addressing to the subject. For instance, Aksim Siming’s *Meri wantok*, as translated previously, mildly accuses the narrator’s loved one of flirtation—and many others addresses to the narrator’s mother or daughter, expressing the feelings of yearning, sorrow of separation, family love, and so forth. Unlike popular songs of the west, which the guitar band music has taken its musical idea to a large extent, there have been no songs by male composers that narrate from women’s perspective.

Although women do seem to take personally directed messages in the compositions dedicated to them, in more general contexts they find addressing not related to their sense of identity as a woman. For instance, these love songs are frequently played in the six-to-six, but they do not really take the contents of the lyrics seriously in many cases. While they do sense the male attitude to the female sex from these song texts, in the context of the outdoor dancing sessions, along with male audiences, much of the messages of the lyrics do not seem to be deciphered. These love songs in the concert context loses its subject because of the use of it as a dancing music or spectacle. Like male audiences, women in a concert situation find various purposes and impressions of the performance; therefore, meaning of the song texts does not necessarily become the determinant element for the whole atmosphere of the music. In the outdoor dancing, the performance obscures
its initial “meaning” of the composition through noise and occasional confusion. However the performer categorize these songs as love songs, whether the songs signifies a love or not becomes not very important to the audience as long as they are satisfied with the music for the dancing. While musical talent would involve more personal elements, aural cognition—which is the foundation of musicianship—has no substantial difference in terms of sex, as the fact that musical performance involves both sexes as the participants suggests. Men and women together embody the sound of music, and as long as it is a shared experience there is no discrepancy of the feeling in the field of performance. In the concert situation the aural cognition of audience displaces what is being sung to the musical sound for dancing, and the messages in the text become not necessarily an essential element of the music. The categories of song, such as love songs, in the concert situation lose orientation of the subject.

The corporate principles for the guitar band have had a strong relationship with haus boi (young men’s house) where young boys would live as a group where friendship of the tirungu (tizag in Bel) bares foremost significance: they would share room, food, cooking utensils, secrets, enemies and musical instruments. It is rather natural for young men, especially in the era of the gitu resis, to form the groups according to village boundary. A long-standing guitar band activity has been considered as an increasing chance for domestic arguments, risk for getting involved in an accident and inefficient profit. In addition, presence of male bonding among young members of the community (mangi) does induce the reasoning such as “If you get married, you won’t be acting like the time you were a mangi. It’s not nice to fool around like that, not taking care of your
family, not helping out your *meri* (*wife*).” Although domestic violence, adultery, separation, polygamy, gambling, alcoholism, addiction to marihuana, protest suicide and other conflicts might take place regardless of musical behaviour, it is regarded to increase the risk of them. Sustaining male bonding in the guitar band activity is regarded as the most important aspect in terms of social formation, and that very fact instantly becomes a potential threat to family life. Although few locals find social formation of the guitar bands as continuity from the precontact era, the basic pattern of conduct reflects the *mulung* institution of bachelors.

The essential aspect of the guitar band music as male activity in Madang is that it is always an ambivalent, almost a dilemma to some extent, representation of self suspended in between individualism and anonymity. Since there is no musician who acts solo in the Madang area (those who are interested in acting as such would go to Port Moresby, where the star is becoming an institution of pop music industry), everybody is a member of group no matter how short the group would last. In an extreme case, a solo musician appears with studio accompanists as if he was a leader of the composite band. For instance, few people might have heard of Michael Makalu, but his song *Sele mole* by Mogoi Hotline (*mogoi* means a brother in the *tok ples* of Bemal, Trans Gogol) is still a favourite number for *six-to-six* dancing especially among children. As it has been already discussed, formation of the bands has a strong parallel with the linguistic boundary of the peri-urban communities, and the members are naturally the *wantoks* in most cases. Even cautionary statements and edifying messages to the *wantoks* in composition are usually circumvented usually by taking an elder (*lapun*), rather than the composer himself, as the
narrator of the lyrics:

O my friends, this is the place
where our great grandfathers founded.
If you wander around other places,
when you come back it will be gone already.

In the lion of Yam the sea stays calm,
an old man raises his voice and talks.
He calls out and he says:
"Everybody, change your mind!"

(Aksim Siming, Yam ilonen marin tenmeg)

This Aksim Siming’s piece, (here only the first and third verses are quoted) composed in the Bel language in 1959 for a stringband setting and later arranged for the kwaia, is an illustrating example. The lyrics indicate the composer’s edifying concern about urban development and disintegrating communities is voiced out as an anonymous village elder’s opinion, although it might have been based on a real-life event. Although it was clear for the man, who had already seen the effect of modernization while he was in Lae and Fiji as a student, how important for the locals to realize communal ways of life, it was not his interest to air out the issue as his own idea. Aksim did not choose to portray himself as a prophet, bigman or colonial chief huluai who dictates people what to do, for anonymity relieves the performer from public gaze.

Jealousy is a negative consequence of individualism in male social conduct that often involves guitar band music. The jealousy is a repressive element for the ‘standout’ activities such as leading the vocal part, conveying personal messages in composition, or producing a solo cassette album. The possible outcome of jealousy might include physical
assaults or sorcery by the enemy (birua), although outright and intentional attacks as a result of fame are rather rare. The source of jealousy in the society where honour has the foremost significance is clear: public advancement. The power that arouses excitement, romantic feelings and admiration is nowadays amplified by the loudspeaker and reproduced on cassette, and one can attain publicity for an outstanding performance which enhances sexuality, demonstrates one’s achievement of music-making. The performative technique of music-making, especially composition, is regarded as a result of learning. It in a sense still belongs to esoteric knowledge because the nature of music-making is, as it was in the age of the singsing tumbuna, at least partially a product of individual talent and commitment which only a selected few can excel. Despite the presence of jealousy, the conduct of apim nem (from “upping name,” i.e., attaining fame) by means of music is not necessarily considered to be a vanity or self-indulgence, as long as the wantok finds a sense in the performance. Here, the principle of reciprocity and redistribution of wealth applies: fame, money, leadership and other recognition one might receive from one’s musical talent should be shared among the community. The bigmen of musical world are those who take risks in music-making.

Love, affection, ecstasy, denial and betrayal have been a favourite topic of the guitar band music. Table 5 shows the subject of affection among 35 transcribed songs from Amele-speaking area (Amele, Gum and Sinem), 48 from the Bel-speaking area, 11 from Nobonob, and 107 from Yabob composed between 1945 and 1997 in any band format.
Table 5: Subject of Affection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Amele</th>
<th>Bel</th>
<th>Nobonob</th>
<th>Yabob</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 (1.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5 (2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3 (3.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fraternity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>25.4 (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Dead Person</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5 (5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Pity</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5 (5.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4 (4.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Clear</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>90 (44.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>201 (100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By “Subject of Affection” I mean a thematic treatment of the subject by means of address.

If there is a constant syntax that relates to the phrase “Let us celebrate the Independence,” this text takes the “Nation” as the Subject, for instance. However, the original context and intention of composition are in fact never clearly known to the audience. As the following chapter will discuss in detail, it is also difficult to decide how the song is generally regarded. Therefore, I categorize such ambiguous song texts under “Not Clear.” The category “Not Apparent” includes the songs without any strong orientation to the subject. Aside from the significant presence of laments in Yabob songs (See chapter 4), affection regarding heterosexual love has a notable prevalence next to that to “Home” and “Self-Pity.”

The following Table 6 further elaborates the theme of the love songs. The category “Comedy,” which represents comical treatment to the theme with sarcasm,
risqué diction, or even buffoonery, shows the least significance among most language
groups. (Samples from Nobonob are taken entirely by a single cassette produced by
Yondik.)

Table 6: Themes of Heterosexual Love

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comedy</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inquiry</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearning</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sorrow</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dominant note among the love songs are “Inquiry” (ask for company or relationship,
inquiry for true love), “Yearning” (desire, agitation, admiration, longing), and “Sorrow”
(heartbreak, separation, denial of love). The male attitude towards love as the addressee of
text in these songs mostly has a serious outlook. Thus, there is always a risk of it being
interpreted as deemed as indecent in the case of a married man, who is supposed to be a
responsible husband and father, to compose or even sing such songs unless the depicted
romance is understood as a fiction. Indeed, it seems that there is a general sense of
uneasiness for love songs if a married man sings them. Actually, there are a number of
songs that are actually based on other contexts, despite that it might sound like a romance
at the first look:

For a longtime I have not seen your face,
you stay long way, long way from me,
I just look at your photo always,
I just look at it, and think of you always.

100
But you are not staying close to me,
you are staying far away from me
I do not know
whether I will see you again or not.

(David Onkau, Longpela taim. The original in Tok Pisin.)

The addressee’s reference to “you” is his little daughter: the composer was living in Port Moresby at that time. Like this example, the composers do not play around fiction very much in their songs, and this rule corresponds with general retirement of married men from guitar band activity. This rule is also a reflection of that Madang composers invariably speak of taking “life experience” (samting bilong laip) for their inspiration. As a consequence, composition marks the peak of activity to most musicians. Romantic conquest and separation from their loved ones and home due to mobile style of living are the characteristics of unmarried men. Where the life history is abundant, so is creative inspiration.

The Learning by Skin

Save bilong skin, or the “learning by skin” has been the essential conduct of learning not only for music but also in almost every aspect of the peri-urban communities, such as building canoes and houses, clearing gardens, catching fish, making pottery, or the learning of singsing tumbuna. The distinction of save bilong skin is apparent from the word that implies such knowledge, a “knowing-how” of cultural conduct, as something being ineffable. The learning process of music is summarized in Table 7.
Table 7: Learning Process of Music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Singsing Tumbuna</th>
<th>Guitar Band</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prepubertal</td>
<td>Joins in dancing led by paraents.</td>
<td>Rarely instructed to play the instrument except a kapok gita or ukulele.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Follows the dancing steps.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiate</td>
<td>Learns dancing as part of the munung* ritual.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor</td>
<td>Men prepare the kundu to lead the dancing.</td>
<td>Member of a haus boi. Forms group to play in public. Starts composition.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The munung initiation is not in practice in all the communities today.

The learning of singsing tumbuna consists of prepubertal young child, the intensive instruction in part of the munung ritual, activity as a grown man, and a selective group of leaders who hold influence in music-making as well as everyday life. Young children start with joining in the group being accompanied by a parent or wantok, being dressed up like main dancers; the children and their company would dance in slightly away from the main dancers. As the children grow older, they gradually get used to the dance; if they are boys and have an opportunity to enter munung, dance is formally taught as a part of traditional knowledge by grown men who supervise the initiation. The grown men might prepare their own kundu drum to join the dance. Male leading dancers known as man bilong singsing, or “man of songs” are the composers. A man bilong singsing conducts the performance with his kundu. As for guitar bands, interested young children start with
smaller instruments, moving onto an acoustic guitar. If he acquires command of music, he joins a group to go out for performance, and many starts composition in this stage. Leading figures of the guitar band are principle composers and lead vocalists. In most cases they start composition or lead singing during their bachelor days. Many stop the activity after marriage, and active married musicians are either contracted to music studio or live band performers at tourist facilities.

In Madang, when being asked about learning process of certain musical skill or knowledge, a local might shrug and say: “That’s a matter of save bilong skin: it’s hard to talk about.” Reference to the Tok Pisin phrase save bilong skin, literally “knowledge of body,” is a typical reaction by the locals who wish to indicate that transmission and acquisition of an ability belongs to the realm of “tacit knowledge” (Polanyi 1966). In particular, musical skill is not to be learned from school education in Madang. Local guitarists do know chord names and are able to tune the instrument, some have even learned it from a book, and the singers can harmonize in thirds. However, nobody is quite sure about musical scale, and despite they can identify the chords “A major,” “C minor,” etc., neither any of my informants knew that these alphabets represent the base of each chord, nor were they able to call individual pitch in a scale or melodic line. Thus, pitch is recognized and can be reproduced, but the locals never verbalize musical scales or individual pitches from a melodic contour take no part in their musical skill. Indeed, there is no need to learn Western tonality and music theory since they have nothing to do with dissemination of performative knowledge in practice; instead, one can sit and watch closely what others are doing, mentally picturing their activity. In this light, musical skill
is acquired in Lave and Wenger's concept "situated learning" (Lave and Wenger 1991). The following case study, a life history of Kranket man Aksim Siming, exemplify the basic pattern of situated learning that has not been changed so fundamentally over the decades.\footnote{11}

Aksim has not see the guitar until 1945 when a Malayo-Chinese-Melanesian mechanic, who used to lived in old Chinese quarter in town, playing the ukulele and singing songs like You Are My Sunshine, which is one of the earliest memory of western music for Aksim.\footnote{12} A couple of years later Aksim picked up an ukulele, which is left in an old American military hospital in Finschhafen, where his father used to work. After the Siming family comes back to Kranket, Aksim learns tuning of the guitar and ukulele by playing old Tolai and Motu songs from Aksim's uncle-in-law Bill Natera, who is from Yule Island of the Papuan district. Bill eventually ordered a so-called kapok gita, a miniature version of the guitar with a trade name of "Pacific Guitar," which Aksim's father gave it as a present to his then very young son. Bill Natera was an engineer, and lived in town with his family. Aksim played the instruments and sings along with his Papuan uncle. Eventually, Aksim and his company, which includes Aksim's close relatives in the same generation, appeared in house parties. Social dance, a favourite pastime of the era, were held in town by the "mix race" (intermarried households of various provinces, not unnecessarily interracial in an ordinary sense). Bill Natera absorbed more of hula, foxtrot and waltz through the attendants, but Aksim and his wantok friends were hesitant to learn dancing. Aksim was also given instructions in the guitar and songs sung in Tok Pisin, English and Motu from a former serviceman of Siar,
named Bas Meng, who learned playing fragments of songs with the old guitar which was probably given to the man during his service to the Allies.

Aksim won a scholarship to study in medical college in Suva, Fiji from 1954 to 1956, and there he learned how to play the steel guitar and the favourites of his friend from various parts of the Pacific sing. Since Fiji had dance halls in Suva with active professional musicians, he did not appeared in public performances. Aksim came back to Madang in 1957 to work for the Provincial government to instruct public health programs; although he was busy, he willingly performed by request during his inspection tour in the main stations of provincial districts whenever off duty, including occasional performance in the houses of expatriates. He started composition in around 1957, when he was called up to Manam and Bogia in order to take care of public hygiene program after the volcano disaster of Manam Island. In Madang, Aksim played with his wantok friends whenever being requested for free of charge ("Nobody even thought of it then," Aksim recalls), to play in the parties in villages and town. In the end, he acquired songs in Tok Pisin, English, Tolai (perhaps Kuanua), Motu, Solomon Island Pijin, tok ples of Solomon Islands, Fijian, Tahitian, Rarotongan, Indonesian and Malay along with his own compositions in Bel and Tok Pisin, although Aksim does not comprehend most of these lyrics. Throughout his musical activity, Aksim preferred a band with three or four men, namely two guitars and one ukulele, so that "the sound of the part becomes clear." He took no interest in new band forms that arrived in Madang after 1960’s consisting of more performers and new instruments. Aksim stops public performance after his marriage in 1966, and has gone no formal recording for his years ended before the advent of local
public radio programs.

Aksim's case summarizes the following points: in save bilong skin of guitar band music. First, participation in Madang guitar band starts directly from the learning of the instruments such as the ukulele or the kapok guitar. Joining in an entourage at a young age to watch the whole undertaking in practice has become a practice since the age of band competition and profit-oriented six-to-six in recent years. However, not only that save bilong skin entails such a process of watching the band perform but following the band is not a required step for a making of musicianship. Kapok guitar and ukulele are especially considered as desirable for newcomers because of the size of the instruments and the reduced number of strings in the ukulele that has four strings instead of six for an acoustic guitar. Neither etudes nor children's songs are present; there is no particular repertoire to serve as practice piece. Regardless of age, a new comer joins the production as back vocalist, ukuleleist, or a player of kapok guitar.

Second, there is no written music, transcribed texts, or tabulature to learn the music; for some reason printed or written materials are avoided for learning device, unlike cassette recording has become a great aid to the musicians. In terms of singing, the first assignment of the new comers is to try to mimic song lyrics exactly the way it is sung. While if the learner is familiar with the language used in the lyrics would certainly benefit—English has been the case for Aksim—it is not necessarily required to understand the content of the lyrics as long as the pronunciation is acceptable. Syntax, lexical groupings, and other grammatical elements are frequently disregarded; the learner's concern is clearly a reproduction of the sound images, not transmission of message. In this
regard, learning method for singing resembles with that for *singsing tumbuna* in which the meaning of the lyrics is often indecipherable. The only complete information they usually have about the foreign songs is the name of the language used in the lyrics, although occasionally the performers know the meaning of some of the words, particularly proper nouns and loan words from English. On the other hand, it is difficult to characterize *kopikat* as a pedagogical practice for it is not institutionalized. There is no talk like, "Do this *kopikat* so you can learn the guitar quick," or "If you want to play with us, start with *kopikat* of this melody." Really, the *kopikat* is either a genre of music or quality of performance in a strict sense, especially copies from Western pop music, as in the repertoire of powerband Kanagioi, or the various stringband and bamboobands in an early stage. Although it is true that Aksim started from *kopikat* of performances, *kopikat* as a learning process and that as a performative category fundamentally different in terms of objective. Composing entails a crucial part of *save bilong skin*; in this regard, *save bilong skin* actually includes *kopikat* but the latter is not the essence of the former.

Third, Aksim's decision to terminate his musical activity publicly with his marriage has been a common practice. Although Aksim's mentor Bill Natera did continue to play with or instruct his bachelor *wantoks* after marriage, he did not participate in open-air performances very much. Retirement from guitar band activity with termination of celibacy gives the guitar band a characteristic of socialization activity that bridges *wantok*-oriented community and outside world of spectatorship. Aksim relates his withdrawal from the guitar playing as because of audiences' changing taste from small ensembles to larger settings with new instrumentation, which he did not feel content with.
inasmuch as it tends to obscure single melodic parts. He recalls that he wished to give space of activity to the younger generations. Here, the conflict is portrayed both as between aesthetic that audiences' taste failing his, and societal that he is becoming old and committed to his family. Aksim did not like the way of new bands, which relied on volume rather than intertwined vocal timbre. He felt that the younger generations needed more space to develop their musical talent. Being a musik man is not regarded as a chore of a married man, and the priority is obviously given to looking after his families.

Fourth, the note-to-note or word-for-word learning method of guitar band music parallels with the learning of sing in intertribal exchange in which new compositions and renditions took place as a result of complete copying of the originals. This suggests that overall characteristics of aural disposition have not really changed fundamentally in spite of Westernization of performative idiom through the intervention of colonial institutions, as far as cognitive nature of music-making is concerned. This mimetic learning process marks not simply the early stages of introduction of the guitar songs, but the situated learning of the newcomers to the genre by and large throughout the ages. As for composing, it requires a special interest and usually does not start until the performance skill, including taking care of newcomers and the group. Native tok ples or Tok Pisin is the languages for composition. Interestingly, however, many of the newly composed lyrics actually make sense to the composer, especially when it is composed in native tok ples. This point expands the notion of learning as mimesis; the transition from the art of copying to the creation of new texts needs to be explored further.
Conclusion

The wantok system, language conflict, aesthetic expectation, gender role expectation, modern institutions, relationship with the outside world and even the presence of Pacific War all fall into consideration in the act of composition and the acquisition of musical competence. In the case of acquisition process of Aksim Siming various factors that have been more or less general elements in the peri-urban Madang have played essential roles in his making of musicianship. Focusing upon groups of musician in terms of communities of practice is helpful in order to illustrate their activity by not relying on static description of ethnic identity. The distribution of knowledge in situated learning is an answer to the question for how the compositions by natives have become a vehicle for communication. Aksim Siming finds that he has felt that his audience has been paying attention gradually on the content of the lyrics. He has become thirty already when he has begun to compose in his tok ples and Tok Pisin: He speaks of his sense of control at that time, “Bihain mi wokim, kam mi save” (“After I worked, I came to know”). To compose a song in the languages used in Madang, there should be interaction between the composer and the audience, even if such a relationship is not a social fact but an imagined, assumed or internalized one by the composer. Composition becomes as a significant subject since kopikat does not explain the whole process of music-making. Coordination is required not only in terms of heuristic knowledge of the body (and mind) but also interaction among the actors involved in music-making.

1 By “learning process” I mean making of musicianship, characterized by the idea of “situated learning.” Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger’s critique of the concept of learning has
raised an issue of how apprenticeship in a general sense reproduces practical knowledge, skill and social action, which is not a simple transmission of information and instruction of factual knowledge. Based on ethnographic studies of various non-vocational groups such as Yucatec midwives, Vai and Gola tailors, Alcoholics Anonymous, and so on, the two authors have explored a cognitive model of learning which does not have a basis on didactic or modern school institution (Lave and Wenger 1988). Lave and Wenger elucidate that novices attain their goals (to become a tailor, a non-alcoholic, etc.) by participating in the “communities of practice” in which the skills will be learned by first committing to “legitimate peripheral participation” then gradually moving on to full participation.

Learning viewed as situated activity has as its central learning characteristics a process that we call legitimate peripheral participation. By this we mean to draw attention to the point that learners inevitably participate in communities of practitioners and that the mastery of knowledge and skill requires newcomers to move toward full participation in the sociocultural practices of the community. “Legitimate peripheral participation” provides the way to speak about the relations between newcomers and old-timers, and about activities, identities, artifacts, and communities of knowledge and practices (ibid.: 29).

Lave and Wenger’s work covers a wide range of interdisciplinary studies between cognitive science and anthropology, and there have been attempts by groups of anthropologists to employ it for analyzing rituals, performative arts, and so forth (Fukushima 1995; Tanabe 1989).

Lave and Wenger’s attention to making of practical skill in non-pedagogical settings is helpful in elaborating the musicianship in Madang as well. What is different from apprenticeship in Lave and Wenger’s examples, however, is that music in Madang has hardly been a process of reproducing a required standard of goal like sewing clothes or becoming non-alcoholics. Music can transform its style and fashion, value or mode of production in which idiosyncrasy and originality are considered as important, and there is no fixed institution of musicians in which the “old-timers” hold power, controlling resource and distribution of knowledge. Lave and Wenger’s model should be considered in a broader sense in order to accommodate with the situations in Madang.

2 The tirungu relationship is cultivated in the haus boi, and modern education system certainly plays a role as well

3 The clan known as Nop in Yabob, for instance, used to have a distinct tok ples, since the clan once constituted a village in Schering Peninsula that was driven away by the colonists.
Multilingualism in a suburban or peri-urban setting seems to be a general phenomenon in PNG today, as Magne delineated the situation in Goroka where several tok ples are in use, mixed with Tok Pisin, and so forth (Magne 1995:79-91).

5 Benedict Anderson phrased ideological construction of nation-state as “imagined communities,” in which native language in poetical discourse becomes a vehicle of building a sense of counter-historical communalism (Anderson 1983). By the same token, situation in Madang seems like a complexity of representation of imagined communities on local level.

6 Some sound producing instruments were used as a mean of social control by impersonating the voice of spirit (Hannemann 1996:21). Yabob locals also told me about the bamboo flutes then kept in the darem that were hidden from the eye of women and children. The old instruments have been completely wiped away in the Madang area today but the kundu and rattles.

7 In the region around Port Moresby, there have been female powerband singers with a background of church kwetaa singing, and in the northeast New Britain there have been stringbands consisted of women only (Niles and Webb 1988:4, 14; IPNGS 008).

8 Also, especially young women rather fear of rape when the concert becomes rough by angry or bored male audiences who would start fighting or throw objects to the stage.

9 A local, who was a composer and guitarist in his own right, was puzzled as I claimed I came to “get knowledge” (kisim save) of guitar music of Madang. He exclaimed in sheer amazement “You don’t play the guitar, so you don’t know the music, you hear? Yet you say you do! You are not saying it right! How do you get to know the music if you can’t play it?”

10 This fact that they did not have pitch names and scale system presented a tremendous difficulty in reconstructing alignment of bamboo tubes in the bamboo band without a real specimen. I would ask, pointing out a drawing of a bamboo set on the notebook “If you hit this bamboo, does it sound C or G?” They would reply “No, no. They are for the chords, like you hit them dom dom dom dom. Oh, are you about do re mi like the waitman use? Sori, that’s something that only you can figure out. We can’t help you on that.”

11 The life histories and data introduced here are reconstructed from field notes of interviews and informal conversations.

12 The name of the man was Meng Wat. He was occasionally seen performing, likely as a pastime, in front of a hotel that used to stand at today’s new Anderson’s Supermarket. In prewar days he played the harmonica only. It is not clear whether Meng Wat was his entire given name or either just “Wat” or “Meng”, his family and descendants no longer
live in Madang, and the last news of his was that he went to Wewak sometime after the war.

13 For some reason, the steel guitar has never been widely used in Madang.

14 They were often birthday parties, even in the village.

15 The sole exception is a song composed in Manam, “Nala i Tauna” that describes Aksim’s evacuation from the disaster-stricken island. In fact, composition in foreign tok ples is very rare in the entire Madang.

16 The innovations include handmade chordophone called liptikes (“leaf tea case”), made from a wooden tea container for the resonator. In the 1970’s, when the number of the acoustic guitar increased, the lead guitar is connected to an amplifier made of a radio speaker by a wire so that virtuosic improvisations can stand out. Various attempts with idiophonic instruments including the bamboo are tried out. Aksim recalls the new trend started around mid-1960s when the bands began to be paid for performance.

17 Indeed, it is intriguing that there is no parody in Papua New Guinean music regardless of genre. Even cover versions of western tunes hardly aim to undermine the original atmosphere of lyrics. Likewise, outright imitation of foreign syllables aiming comical or nonsense effects is non-existent.