FEELING MADANG STAIL: INVENTION OF A VOCAL TECHNIQUE

A new singing practice, locally known as Madang stail, has emerged in the Madang area in the late 1980's. By and large, Madang stail entails a kind of vibrato often sung in falsetto.¹ Although the naming of Madang stail is rather an informal one, it seems to be the most prevalent usage in the sense that people both inside and outside the peri-urban communities associate this particular singing with Madang powerband music. Although the identification of Madang stail by the locals often involve use of local languages, particular wording of the song text, or even accompaniment and arrangement, these elements are still subject to the particular vocalisation. This chapter aims to describe musical traits of what the locals put it singsing i gai filin, or “songs that have feelings.”² As recordings of stringband in the age of gita resis and early powerband indicate, Madang stail has become prevalent no earlier than the late 1980's. Music examples will be presented to illustrate basic techniques of Madang Stail.³ In the end, the effect of Madang stail will be discussed in terms of aural cognition of music-making in peri-urban Madang.

The Origin of Madang Stail

Madang stail is also called nek bilong Madang strel, or stail bilong Madang.⁴ This vibrato-based vocal technique is attributed as an invention of Yabob singer and composer Sandie Gabriel in the late 1980's, around the time he started to record with Tumbuna Traks in Madang town. However, this does not necessarily mean that the locals recognize
Madang sail as a uniform vocal style. For instance, Yabob, a prolific centre of production in the 1990's, has had at least six powerbands and two solo singers after the death of Sandie in 1993, but their employment of the vibrato singing has been idiosyncratic. A local remarked: "In Yabob, our guys have not followed Sandie's way so much. Each one is different. But a lot of other guys outside the village followed only Sandie." Indeed, what is intriguing is the fact that this vocal technique credited as Sandie's invention is no longer called sail bilong Sandie ("Sandie's style") and never called as Yabob's style, but Madang sail—with the name of town and province.

Sandie Gabriel neither called his own vocal technique as Madang sail nor very much conscious of his singing voice as his trade mark, although he apparently developed his medium through experimenting with various sources as he has become one of the best known artist in Madang. The locals attribute his source of creativity to three basic elements: the rock, local singsing tumbuna and women's ritual cry. Aside from having been one of the principle composers in Yabob sore singsing, and an arranger of the singsing tumbuna pieces, Sandie Gabriel was the only singer in the latter half of 1980's to sing songs in the manner of Madang sail as it is called today. In acquiring his style of vibrato, Sandie apparently spent some time with one of his relatives, a broadcaster and program producer at Radio Madang, who had gone through some sort of training in Western singing. Local singsing tumbuna pieces were learned in community, often with an aid of cassette recording. Women's ritual cry was either learned by heart at funerals or perhaps even recorded from time to time. Sandie's story reveals that Madang sail is regarded as an articulation of westernization (the employment of Western pop vocal
technique), historical continuity from the precontact era (influences from the *singsing tumbuna*), and the sentiment of *sore* (the incorporation of women’s ritual cry as a musical idea). Since *Madang stall* relates to positive aesthetic value such as *i gat filin* (“with feelings”) or *nais* (“nice,” or “refined,”) the synthesis of these three elements in the vibrato singing has been regarded as significant.

In reality, it is hard to tell that from what sources Sandie Gabriel received the idea for *Madang stall*, simply from listening to his singing voice. Although the most significant influence from the West is the “crooner” or “fake” pop singing techniques during the transitional stage from the stringband to the powerband, thanks to the introduction of electronic devices such as the microphones, the vibrato of Sandie Gabriel does not necessarily resemble the Western style. As the following instances indicate, *Madang stall* today occurs among various parts of a phrase including those in the middle. At any rate, by suggesting the influence from Western pop to *Madang stall*, the locals seem to image a line of male vocalists from James Brown or Chuck Berry to “Top 40” mainstream figures such as Michael Jackson. Recall that Robert Kig, the lead singer of Madang’s first successful powerband Kanagioi, named Chuck Berry, Elvis Presley and Linda Ronstadt as their initial model of “folk” and “English” tunes back in 1976, when they started their activity in town. A vague shade of blues tradition in the inventing of *Madang stall* might show up from such remarks, although it is still very difficult to substantiate from musical analysis as the following examples will illustrate. Powerband compositions in Madang hardly employ blue-chord progressions except boogie-woogie broken chords of Riwo’s *Madu Rockers* bambooband.

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Experiments with the *singsing tumbuna* have become a practice to peri-urban bands already in the latter half of the 1970’s. For instance, Bilia Lagoon Brothers were said to arrange a piece of traditional dance from the Rai Coast area, called Sikolegato. However, it was not until the success of Kale Gadagads that the Madang artists started to arrange local *singsing tumbuna* pieces in their productions. The people do not have a proper explanation for the adaptation of traditional dance pieces but only to say, “We thought it might be nice,” “We wanted something new,” or “There was a great demand for this sort of music then.” As it will be shown in the examples, the powerband version of the *singsing tumbuna* mainly takes the words only, and the singing bears little resemblance. Women’s ritual cry has been incorporated in the *sore singsing* in the late 1980’s, and perhaps this has been a attempt unique to Yabob. Although Kranket is also known to practice the *sore singsing* as well, the musicians from the area have never incorporated *Madang stall* to this day. It is actually difficult to decide in what way *Madang stall* characterizes women’s cry other than assuming an imagined association. The actual representation of ritual crying is by and large absent in the singing voice of the guitar bands. *Madang stall* does sometimes remind the audience of wailing contour of a mourner for the falsetto and wavy sound of voice, especially when it is coordinated with the words of *sore singsing* in the powerband production, but the tone of voice is obviously different. Along with the alleged relationship with *singsing tumbuna* vocal styles, women’s ritual cry is believed to elaborate the powerband song style by giving a new way of delivering the lyrics, not simply as an embellishment of the melody.

An authenticated performer of *Madang stall* is usually qualified not in terms of
competence but one's identity. If a non-Madang artist—to some “non-Madang” even includes a different district in Madang Province like Rai Coast or Karkar despite strong cultural connection—sings a song in Madang stail, it is most likely not perceived so because of the performer’s place of origin. Non-Madang singers who employ Madang stail is often referred as i bihainim Madang tasol, “merely following Madang.” Although Madang stail initially started as the vocal style of Sandie Gabriel, most singing voices categorized as bihainim Sandie (“following Sandie”) do not exactly sound like an imitation of Sandie Gabriel. It seems as if vibrato and other traits of Sandie’s style are becoming more and more emphasized. Madang stail is recognized as a vocal technique unique to contemporary Madang musicians as the way of gutpela singsing (“good songs”). The village musicians with fairly notable powerband activities such as Yabob, Gum or Blia currently sing in varieties of Madang stail. Outside of Madang, more and more artists seem to be influenced by Madang stail since the mid-1990’s, probably being inspired by the voice of Gerdix Atege, the lead vocalist of Wali Hits.

Western notation system might transcribe Madang stail as an ornament or a vibrato, whether the locals might feel the vibrato an embellishment or not. Ex. 1a shows an instance from non-Madang artist Patti Doi of the Quakes (POM 107). Patti has kinship relations to the Bel-speaking area by his father’s side, and he is ethnically a Manam, but because his centre of activity has been in Port Moresby throughout his career, he is not recognized as being Madang strel. The song entitled Tumoata is perhaps a rendition of Ex. 1b Yam Ionen manin ienmeg, composed by Aksim Sining, for melodic resemblance. Note that the vibratos usually take place in the descending lines toward the cadences.
Music Examples (Actual pitches an octave lower)

Ex. 1a

Ex. 1b

Oti zag o i nad pa nu e i nad ba
ged get e lak; ma de fa tu, fa
tu ya wau toz pa u se
lag a bej te a

Execution

Ex. 2a

Sele mole sele mole a
Gogol wara e ka

Ex. 2b

Si pa e si pa manua e
Si pa
si na e si pa manua e

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Interestingly, in the album I pairap ken, Madang stall employed only in Tamoata, other numbers being presented in a Rabaul instrumental style common to Pacific Gold Studio productions.

Sele mole⁹ and Sipa manua e in Examples 2a and 2b are hit songs by Mogo Hotline of Bemal, Trans Gogol (TT 104). Mogo Hotline, alias Michael Makalu, is usually referred as employing Madang stall despite that he is from Bemal, a village in the hinterland from a Madang perspective. Michael is a former employee to sale department of Tumbuna Traks, and has lived in town. Mogo Hotline’s style is to sing in falsetto and to apply vibrato to stretching notes, as these examples suggest. To illustrate another, Ex. 2c Malelum (TT 103) is an arrangement from singsing tumbuna Kanam by Ziros of Sinem, a village adjacent to Gum; they both speak a variety of the Amele language. The vibratos have exceptionally long and high waves, and they are evenly executed. These songs were favourite songs of especially younger generations in the Madang area.¹⁰ Sandie Gabriel himself did not make the vibrato as obviously as Mogo Hotline, but it has been present since his second album. Ex. 3a Longpela taim (TT 42) shows vibrato voicing in the stretching notes, while Ex. 3b Ad o ad o (TT 42) presents a more showy case of vibrato which is more reminiscent of Madang stall. Thus, Sandie Gabriel himself had no uniform way of applying his style. Still, the fact that Ad o ad o became one of the most favourite tunes to dance among local six-to-six, along with its offbeat rhythm produced by the keyboards, suggests that the execution of Madang stall is capable of creating an atmosphere in the compositions. Whether Madang stall has a connection with vibrato singing in some guitar bands and kwaia singing from Central Province, is still uncertain.
(Words undecipherable)

Ex. 5a

Ex. 5b

Ex. 5c

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At least, it is clear that during the time of *gita resis* and before, when Kranket’s Aksim Siming learned guitar band singing from his uncle-in-law from Yule Island, there was no experiments in vibrato vocalization. Some examples indicate similarity in the idea of vibrato. Ex. 4a *Ples Paramana* is a song sung by Vali Rai, a former member of Paramana Strangers, recorded with Madang’s Tumbuna Traks (TT 112). This is a song about yearning for the narrator’s home *ples Paramana*. Note the distinct vibrato singing, which is reminiscent of Madang artists, appears in the stretched enunciation of *o sori o*.\textsuperscript{11} To compare, Ex. 4b is an example of execution of vibrato of Central stringband B.B. Kings (the words were not able to decipher for transcription) (IPNGS 008). Most vibrato singing in Central bands seems to take place in stretched notes due to prosodic adjustments where the number of syllables in a certain line is much fewer than the others.

The Invention of Contour

In the earlier days of stringband music, the melodies were molded from the harmonic skeleton of hitherto learned foreign compositions. As the composer became familiar with the basic structure of the melodies, they started to be modified and altered in order to accommodate with the syllables and phrases of the new compositions. Many “standard” stringband numbers before the advent of powerband mostly have melodic skeletons from Western, particularly those frequently observed in American sheet songs\textsuperscript{12}. Ex. 5a *Ngame sansan laulau mon* by Elisa Imai (TT 13), the oldest *tok ples* composition for the guitar band known today, have been presumably inspired by waltz tunes. Ex. 5b *Mitihog mui* by

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Wesley Bosli (TT 13) is reminiscent of Anglo-American tunes, and Ex. 5c O bo izinen kin by Aksim Siming (TT 13) shows a more personal style perhaps molded from various Pacific tunes. The surviving stringbands and bamboobands have not adopted Madang stall apparently because there is virtually no local demand for the stringband asa dance music today; since the guitar-based format is limited to tourist facilities and cultural shows, the performers tend to preserve the original vocalization, which is full-voiced and straight. As in the cultural shows where the stringbands or bamboobands and powerbands are given different sections in the program, Madang stall is generally associated with the powerband.

As the keyboard and rhythm box have become the essential ingredients to powerband productions, the melodic skeleton of songs also changed from the more or less formalized chord progressions to experimental, the “new wave” style. In the new style, minor harmony has become a possible selection in the chord progression, as well as diminished and augmented chords. While the introduction of electronic instruments has resulted in less rigid polyphonic structure of the stringband, it has enabled the composers to experiment with the melody of compositions. Ex. 6a Mangi nogut (TT 109) and the chorus section of Ex. 6b Aidau e by Wali Hits (TT 109) represent the melodies composed in a chromatic contour with the usual Madang stall vibrato by lead vocal Gerdix Atege. Ex. 6c Minarao, another number from Wali Hits (TT 109) represents a rare instance of melody in a minor melodic structure. The chromaticism in these cases seems to have a relationship with Gerdix’s Madang stall singing, for often the two intertwine each other to make a complexity.
The introduction of electronic instruments and its subsequent effect of the experiments with modal elements in the melody of powerband music are the arrangements of *singsing tumbuna*. As many local composers attest to the fact that it is totally impossible to transcribe the *singsing tumbuna* into the powerband, Madang traditional dance pieces have very subtle melodic contour that never can be reduced into diatonic scales. Ex. 7a is an excerpt from a section of Yabob *singsing tumbuna* piece called *Sirori* in a large strain of *singsing* named Daik. As a typical dance piece in coastal Madang, it has the *kundu* (an hourglass drum) section accompanied, which is played by men, and male and female sing along without any harmonic elements. The singing voice has a rather narrow range of interval, which is notated here as not exceeding a major third, and often shows a highly sliding contour to move from one tonal centre to another. Ex. 7b *Sirori* e (TT 66) is a rendition from the same part of Yabob *singsing tumbuna* Daik, arranged and sung by Sandie Gabriel.

Since a duplication of original melodic contour of the *singsing tumbuna* is highly demanding to the local composers, the arrangements from the *singsing tumbuna* sometimes often show a remarkable variety of arrangements. Examples 8a (TT 55), 8b (TT 66) and 8c (TT 73) are different renditions of *Uia mon e*, a Yabob *singsing tumbuna* from Maimai. 14 Note the idiosyncrasy of the three different composers within the same village; Ex. 8a accompanied the reggae beat, Ex. 8b represents an unidentified dance style, and Ex. 8c comes from the stringband era, composed presumably as a waltz. Ex. 8c employs a vibrato in the middle of the melody, but it is not certain whether its original stringband version was sung in the same manner. In arranging the *singsing tumbuna*
pieces, the composers are never forced to make a replica of the melody not as clearly as words. "We have to make a new melody," a local remarked, "in order to make the sound of tumbuna song fit into the sound of guitars." Another instance of arrangement, to elaborate, is Ex. 9a Krititangale, a song about an octopus, yet another section from Daik, and its arrangement by Old Dog and the Offbeats as in Ex. 9b (TT 37). It is interesting to see how Sandie applies his Madang stall vocal technique to the melody, since actually there is hardly any Madang stall vibrato voice apparent in the original singsing tumbuna. Sandie is said to have developed Madang stall at least to some extent from the local singsing tumbuna, yet none of his arrangements sound reminiscent of the original melody. Compare the versions of Sirori with those of Krititangale, which do not employ vibrato in both versions. Of course, the similarity or causal relationship between the local singsing tumbuna and Madang stall is a cultural fact for the locals, no matter how they appear differently in the notated examples.

However, Madang stall is not always used for all the arrangements of the traditional dance pieces; the appropriation of Madang stall is, as it has been quoted from remarks of a local previously, not a necessary ingredient for commercial hits. Ex. 10 Maimai kahunge (CHM 1136) sung by Willie Tropu presents a case of a distinctly Madang artist who is not characterized by the vibrato singing style. This number shows little employment of vibrato on the phrase sar e, although it became a great favourite among local six-to-six "discos" when it was released in 1997. Maimai, from which the song is entitled, is a part of Yabob singsing tumbuna; this tune was somehow rated as number one on nation-wide PNG Top 20 around July of 1997. There are actually
relatively few examples of adopting of traditional rhythmic patterns into the powerband music, and *Maimai kalunge* is one of such instances that incorporate a reproduction of *singsing tumbuna* in the beginning of the piece as an introduction (it is not transcribed in Ex. 10). But as in the rest of the cases separation of sections between the reproduction and adaptation is clearly marked by a pause. The *singsing tumbuna* and the guitar band music are recognized as something incompatible with each other at least in terms of musical structure; therefore, the composers have to juxtapose them instead of to integrate. Although *Madang stall* is probably based from the vocal contour of *singsing tumbuna*, as the story of Sandie Gabriel explains, in an analytical level reconstruction of the traditional dance piece into a powerband song is not a goal of the composers. Instead, for the locals it utterly significant the presence of homology between the vocal styles of the traditional and the contemporary in terms of vibrato vocalization. Note that in the two versions of *Sirori* the vibrato is present in both of them; only the executions are different. The aesthetics of *Madang stall* is to feel the vibration in the singing, which has not been present in the previous guitar band music genres but obvious in the *singsing tumbuna*.

To summarize, the following points become as significant. Firstly, it is difficult to identify in what sense *Madang stall* resembles the *singsing tumbuna* despite the claim that Sandie Gabriel was possibly influenced by the traditional song style in inventing his unique vibrato singing. Since there is no obvious relation found between the two singing styles, the discourses that proposes a relationship between *Madang stall* and the *singsing tumbuna* is imagined, if not spurious. In fact, the preservation of the original words seems more important than the melody, as one might witness in a local *six-to-six* in which the
crowd would elated to hear an arrangement form a well-known *singsing* piece, standing up to dance excitedly. The homology between the two styles, rather, seems to be identified with the microtonal vibrato singing, which did not exist in former stringband tunes. At any rate, this sense of continuity from the *singsing tumbuna* and the *lokol* powerband bears the foremost importance in the invention of music.

Secondly, the arrangement of *singsing tumbuna* and the experiment with chromaticism have never been possible without the introduction of electronic instruments. In this sense, the true incubator of *Madang stall* would be the synthesizer instead of the *singsing tumbuna*. Electronization has enabled the composers to disregard the harmonic structure in the instrumental and vocal parts hitherto prevalent in the guitar band music in the area; number of musicians decreased, and vocal parts became rather simple, with the lead vocal taking much of the part in the verses. The role of solo singer increased as the polyphony of stringband faded, which fact might have interacted with the advent of "star" singers rather than collective bands. The lack of polyphony was compensated for altering the quality of the leading vocal part by various styles of vibrato, as Sandie Gabriel experimented with his *Madang stall* singing. The invention of *Madang stall* should be understood a transition from the guitar band music to the powerband, in which the most fundamental change took place in the form of electronization.

Lastly, the local genealogy of *Madang stall* from the *singsing tumbuna* is based on the aesthetics of subtleties that value the vibrato singing in the two genres. As it has been pointed out, to view the vibrato singing in the powerband song style and the traditional dance songs in a causal relationship is actually an articulation that regards the
powerband music within a discourse of historical consciousness. However, in the root of such discourse there is an attachment to the vibrato singing styles that sees the vibrato as significant and valuable. Chromaticism, melodic contour in the arrangements from the singsing tumbuna, and the invention and prevalence of Madang stall find a nexus in the powerband, as they have become realized thanks to the introduction of electronic instruments.

Coordination of the Vibrato with Words

Madang stall emphasizes the sound of language in a number of cases; often these words are those that occupy special value in the text. Ex. 11a Hangu panu (TT 73) describes and praises the beautiful landscape of the narrator’s village, or hangu panu (“my village”) in tok ples Yabob; note how the vocalist Willie Tropu stretches the syllable sori at the beginning of verse as it repeats each time. This incorporation of vibrato in the word sori creates a special effect which otherwise might not be attained by ordinary vocal techniques. The vibrato in Hangu panu is delivered in a wailing contour and in a high tessitura. Willie usually does not emphasize vibrato; however, the vibrato in the word sori indeed extends to six and a half beats, occupying an extremely long space in the text. The word sori is also the only Tok Pisin idiom incorporated in the lyrics, and along with the vibrato the word sori stands out in the text. In Hangu panu, the wording of the text is rather redundant if it is read straightforwardly; only the audience who are provided with the connotation of words such as panu, and so on, can reconstruct the intention of the composer. In Hangu panu the word sori is the sole key to gather the atmosphere of basic
sentiment of the song for a non-Yabob speaker. In this regard, the application of *Madang stail* to *sori* might amplify the emotional significance of the song text that emphatically express attachment to the *panu*, or village. In addition, the articulation of vibrato in *sori* takes place within the syllables of the word, which is one of the characteristics of *Madang stail*.

Ex. 11b *Boskru* by Jansh Talad (TT 113) also has a stretched enunciation of *sore* at the beginning of the verse, but his *Madang stail* singing is more obvious at the end of stretched vocables *a* or *e*. In the enunciating the word *sore*, vibrato is executed only slightly. In the case of Jansh Talad’s *Boskru*, contents of the song become more important than its modification, by contrast to Willie’s *Hangu panu* in which the emphasis is given to the image of his *panu*. *Madang stail* is a device for distorting the sound of words. *Boskru* entails a conversation between a teasing young local girl and a sailor boy, in which the content of the talking—the young girl making fun of the boy’s thin statue, “just like a real man of Arop”—is the whole point of this song as an entertainment. The vocalist might have not wanted to confuse his audience by inserting *Madang stail* vibrato too emphatically in the middle of the syllables, cutting the flow of discourse. As in *Boskru*, when lexical elements bear more significance, the vibrato tends to be employed to lesser extent, if not devoid of it at all.

As the contrast between Examples 11a and 11b presents, appropriation of *Madang stail* would distort the lexicon and syntax of the lyrics when it is used in a certain kind of words and phrases. Ex. 12a *Long solid days* (TT 21) is a unique case in this respect, although this is apparently one of the earliest experiment by Sandie Gabriel. In
the *Long solid days* Sandie’s famous *krai* takes place in the chorus. This chorus reproduces a voice of crying child who pleads one’s mother to stay with her family; in reproducing the atmosphere of emotional protest of the child, the singer sings these lines in a wailing voice. These vocalizations lack exact pitch-centres and are not transcribable in this Western-based notion; the crying voice of the word *mama* is applied to form a break in middle of the phrases. *Long solid days*, in this powerband version, is developed from a composition for the stringband, but in the earlier performances in the 1980’s this crying voice was not incorporated. This ‘realist’ representation of crying, as the Sandie Gabriel was said to develop his style from these experiments, seems to suggest one of the ingredients of musical inspiration in the process of inventing Madang *stail*. *Long solid days*, as the locals say, were frequently sung in village *six-to-six*, and actually cause emotional reactions from the audience; some of the listeners were seen shedding tears when this song was performed.

Ex. 12b *Kros bilong tupela* (TT 21) by Sandie Gabriel represents a development of the vibrato singing from the previous *Long solid days*. The lyrics is as follows:

(Verse):  
*Kros bilong tupela*  
ol i no tingting long pikinini  
pikinini mi no save  
i no save long mama i dai pinis  
apinun nau  
na aiwara i kam na em i stap long krai.

(Chorus):  
*Mam o o o ye*  
gigo wain e sare sare sare sare.

(Verse):  
Quarrels between the two:  
They are not thinking about their child.  
Child I do not know.
S/He does not know one's mother died.

(Chorus): Father, o o o o ye
        gigo wain e sare sare sare sare.

(Sandie Gabriel, Kros bilong tupela)

Notable vibratos appear in the phrases tingting long pikinini (literally, “thinking about the child”) in the verse and the chorus *Mam o o o o ye* which is actually an address to father, for the word *mam* means a male parent in *tok ples*. The chorus section was likely adopted from a part of a certain *singsing tumbuna*. The vibrato in the stretched enunciation of *Mam o* gives a special quality to the address which otherwise might sound rather insignificant without it. As in the previous *Kros bilong tupela* and the following *Mama ma-mama*, the addressing in this example entails kinship relationship. Through the alteration of the text from traditional dance into a narrative, the text of *Kros bilong tupela* creates an atmosphere of a story of tragedy and sadness. The efficacy of *Madang stall* here is the articulation of addressing to someone very close. Through these instances addressing becomes an essential element to the articulation of the vibrato singing; *Madang stall* is therefore no longer an experimental ornamentation to the melody but an aspect of speech in the song text.

Ex. 12c *Mama ma-mama* by Wali Hits (TT 109) is one of many examples in which the spirit of Sandie Gabriel’s *Kros bilong tupela* is inherited. This song is composed in three languages juxtaposed with each other in the order of *tok ples* of Gum, Bel (or Yabob), and Tok Pisin, each mournfully repeating, “Mother, o Mother, my child is dead.”

6 Although vocalist Gerdix Atege does not incorporate Sandie’s crying in his contour straightforwardly, his use of *Madang stall* has distorting effect on the words
are enounced as tok sore, or lamenting. In fact, use of vibrato in the addressing words is frequently found among the songs, in which sore is either expressed or dominant sentiment, whether or not the song is composed as a sore singsing. Songs such as Ex. 12d Kalibofo (CHM 1014) addresses the narrator's feeling to Coast Watcher's Memorial, not as commemorating the casualties in the war but attachment to Madang as his hometown. The effect of Madang stall is to make the addressing sound more emotional. The addressing words, because of its natural syntactic order, are usually placed at the beginning of the song text, and in many cases they are formalized to the extent that one does not need to hear every syllable enounced in order to decipher the text. This enables the words to adopt Madang stall; vibrato makes the addresses sound more emphatic so that the attachment of the sung subject can be imagined.

The vibrato singing occurs in the phrases sung in English as well. Ex. 13 If I ever say good-bye (TT 66) presents such a case in which Sandie Gabriel's singing de-referentializes the original syntax of English to a certain extent into his own world of Madang stall. It is significant that here Sandie uses vibrato in the middle of the phrase between ever and say, rather than either in the beginning or the end. The English phrases in the powerband compositions are often referred as a result of appropriation of existing lyrics, especially when it is applied as a sort of catch phrase to conclude the verse.17 The text of If I ever say good-bye employs three languages, tok ples Yabob, Tok Pisin and English; they are actually not juxtaposed as independent verses but mixed together into a singular context. In this case, the vibrato in the English line, which perhaps most young generations of the area would understand, is effective in stressing and aestheticizing the
Ex. 13

"Da lin taim yu bin tok im mi bai mistapwantaimyu foeva mo o mug
i lo pa dai
ni aku kunlonmon utor deg
tasol le wa
mi no inap ting lus long yu bai mi
ol taim ting ting long yu but one thing you
make mi wonder if I ever say good-bye"

Ex. 14

"u mar ma tain hei
ta mas deg
bi na ma
pik ta ta mas hei
hi na
sain ma tain
i en deg
be de ni
so ri bu ben gu"
English words among the rest of the verse. The application of *Madang stail* vibrato is to enrich the song texts, which are sometime incomprehensible because of multilingual audiences.

As it has been demonstrated above, coordination with the words is essential to the application of *Madang stail*. The followings further discuss the significance of the vibrato singing in enunciation of the words. Firstly, the vibrato singing takes place in several vowels in succession, but rarely extends to three or more words. *Madang stail* is normally applied to the length of one or two syllables. The longer executions of vibrato is usually employed for vocables that contain few or no lexical significance, and the shorter ones involve a part of the words. Not every Madang vocalist employs *Madang stail* to a great extent, and the same vocalist retains a range of variety in applying the vibrato vocal technique. The articulation of the vibrato singing depends on how the vocalist intends to sing the song, and the significance of the words are decided in terms of the importance of the lexicon in context. As the fact that many of the vibratos occur in the stretched sound and vocables, the enunciation of *Madang stail* is not necessarily a clear way of singing as long as intelligibility of the lexicon is concerned.

The vibrato in the syllables of words creates a special effect in the addressing phrases. The application of *Madang stail* to the addressing words interacts as in emphasis of the quality of sentiment of the addresser and the attachment to the sung subject. The vibrato is essential to these songs in that it signifies a particular domain of sentiment; it might even have driven the singers to sing in such a way. The application of the vibrato to addressing words in text articulate sentiment that can not be located without such an
effect of emphasis. If there is any intention present in mind of the performer, it is solely due to the imagining of cognitive pattern, which is found as being capable of inducing emotional reactions among the audience. The sentiment expressed by the singer and invoked among the audience through the vibrato would have bear a different effect if a normal singing voice had been applied, sometime even dramatizing the texts as in Sandie Gabriel's *Long solid days*. Nonetheless, the vibratos do not necessarily clarify the lexicon of the words for it alters the sound to the phonemic level. The displaced words produce a different property of sound, hence significance, of language from the normal speech acts. The vibrato itself is charged with the sentiment of attachment, through displacing the sound of the words. The application of vibrato attracts the audience with the specification of the sentiment, and the phonemes of the words become blurred in the musical sound and the singing voice. *Madang stall* creates both musical and textual significance of specific words and phrases in a given syntax.

**Vibrato in the *Sore Singsing***

Women's ritual cry has been attributed to the invention of both *sore singsing* and *Madang stall* in which Sandie Gabriel is credited as the incubator. In this section let us look into how the coherent discourse of some of Yabob *sore singsing* attains the effects of the distortion of language through the execution of *Madang stall*. The incorporation of *Madang stall* in the *sore singsing* particularly among commercial cassette recordings has definitely influenced the signification of the former. The nexus between the signified sentiment of text, or emotionally charged textuality, and the vibrato singing becomes most
obviously interrelated in the following examples of *sore singsing*.

Ex. 14 shows an entire melody of *sore singsing Umar malain hei* by Sandie Gabriel. This tune is in fact one of the first recorded instances that Sandie started to develop his own style of singing. The first verse in *tok ples Yabob* and the chorus in *Tok Pisin* are translated as below:

**(Verse 1):**

It is not for long time *that* you lived and left us;
it is as if you have never been here.
You had a long time more to live, yet you are ruined.
*Sori*, my dearest.

**(Chorus 1):**

If you were able to speak, I would say *something good to you.*
But no, you left us and are gone.
Our feelings are struck, and our hearts are truly broken.
*Sori* my dear, you are gone.

*(Sandie Gabriel, *Umar Malain Hei)*

*Umar malain hei* was composed in order to commemorate the death of one of his *wantok* cousin; its text, in a mild way, accuses the dead for having died in a young age. Aside from very slight vibratos in almost all the stretching notes, the typical execution of *Madang stail* in *Umar malain hei* is applied to the phrases *tamasdeg binama* (literally, "you stayed then left us"), *iendeg bedeni* (literally, "was there, then you ruined it"), and *oule e* (literally, "you have gone away"). These words locate in the middle of a sentence or a melodic phrase. The first two phrases enounced with an attack each on the beginning of the syllables—*ia* in *tamasdeg* and *i* in *iendeg*, respectively—as Sandie's style. The first two vibratos, on particle *-deg* (indicates approximately "as" or "then") that appears twice, are executed in a rather sharp *tremulant* voice: their length is short (within one beat) and the movement is quick. The last vibrato on *oule e* is, on the other hand, occurs in the
stretched interjection of the e sound; it is sung in a rather wavy vibrato and the note extends to eight beats.

The slight changes of contour, which are not exactly in vibrato yet still noticeable as elaborations, take place in the stretching notes in the phrases umar malain hei (literally, “It not for a long time”), hina sain malain (literally, “your long time”), and gomu uyan ta ngapau pe (literally, “I might speak to you some good words”). Since this vocalization is somewhat difficult to produce in the syllable containing e, the vibrato in pe has more marked pitch change, which is notated in the example as a descending contour within the syllable. This elaboration is always executed within a length of one syllable and without strong fluctuation, they might sound a closer to Western singing style than strong execution of Madang stail vibrato. Sandie Gabriel’s singing frequently employs this sort of soft vibrato, and produces an illusion that he was singing in Madang stail throughout the text. As it has been stated, Madang stail does not consist of a singular way of vocalization but has various articulations in order to accommodate to particular situations.

In terms of words, the vibratos in Umar malain hei are applied to the syllables that have relatively weak significance. The particle-deg certainly does not contain special meaning by itself that can attract the audience, and interjection e is really an addition to the sentence. Umar malain hei has messages that has to be intelligible enough for the audience to emotionally respond, as well as the composer’s sentiment of sorrow has to be expressed to the imagined audience, the dead. This is not to say that Sandie Gabriel regarded his vibrato singing as subordinate to the rest of his compositional parameters such as the words, harmony, beat, and so on. However, as in many other cases of his
singings, Sandie clearly allocates the vibrato so that the sound of the words should not be altered to the extent that they become totally indecipherable.

The words of Ex. 15 *Nen a*, another composition by Sandie Gabriel, are as below:

*(Verse):*  
*Nen,* raise your head and look around,  
see the place above us.  
Although my life is about to end,  
the cloud and the sea, the rain and the wind stay calm.  
*Nen,* do not be frightened, for I have inherited the power over them.

*(Chorus):*  
*Nen,* I am man of the Panu Domon clan.  
*Nen,* do not be frightened, for I have inherited the power over them.  
(Sandie Gabriel, *Nen a*)

*Nen a* is probably the best known example in which Sandie Gabriel applies *Madang stall* to such a great extent that almost every stretching note has at least some kind of ornamentation. Sandie's pattern of vibrato is also rich in variety: from the soft descending motion to the quick and sharp enunciation. Most notably the vibrato takes place at the beginnings of the line that start with the word *nen*; since *nen* is enounced with an attack every time, the vibrato to the word makes it stand out. The vibrato in *Nen a* is so integral to the structure of the melody, it is almost impossible to remove or even alter the particular vibratos from the melodic skeleton. In *Nen a* a *Madang stall* is the necessary technique of vocalization in order to perform the song without altering the impression and nuance of the melody.

The addressing of Yabob *tok ples* phrase *nen a*, which is not translated here, can be used as addressing to a mother, a daughter, a woman in general, or a general interjection, as it was described in the previous chapter. The lyrics of the song was taken from the
mourning talk of a woman at the funeral of her father; her text transcribed by Sandie Gabriel was actually a reproduction of the last words uttered by the mourner’s father, who reassured his crying daughter by figuratively stating his peaceful ending. The addressing effect of *Nen a* lies in that the word *nen* is repeatedly enunciated in the beginning of each sentential structure; the vibrato adds emotional significance so that the addressing is regarded as something not ordinary to the ear of the audience. In the enunciation of *nen a* vibrato is basically applied to both of the two vowels *e* and *a*, instead of singing in vibrato just in the stretching notes; the distortion created by the vibrato gives the audience—Yabob speakers that is—an impression of emotionally charged speech. In this sense, Sandie’s vibrato in *Nen a* presupposes the audience who understands the text of the song; the vibrato in this case seems to bear signification of the *sore singsing*. *Nen a* is an example that suggests the locals’ theory regarding women’s ritual cry as an ingredient to Sandie Gabriel’s *Madang stall*. Since the text of *Nen a* takes the mourning woman’s cry, homology between the vibrato and the wailing contour is easily sensed with efficacy. It should be noted that the melodic contour of *Nen a* invariably shows a descending pattern to the final, reminiscent of women's ritual cry that usually ends with descending contour in order to take breath. Along with the incorporation of vibrato into the melodic structure, and the frequent addressing and its vibrato in the word *nen*, *Nen a* bridges the signification between *Madang stall* and *sore singsing*. This means that *Madang stall* is regarded as being capable of expressing the sentiment *sore* (“sorrow”) or *wari* (“worry”) through the association of wavy voices between the mourning cry and the vibrato vocal style.
The incorporation of *Madang stall* in *Sapar*, as Ex. 16 indicates as well, does not necessarily mean that the vibrato singing always signify the sentiment of *sore* or *wari*; the locals never attest that the vibrato *stands for* crying. In *Nen a*, the contour of Sandie Gabriel's voice somehow resembles with someone wailing, and women's ritual cry has been regarded as one of the sources for the invention of *Madang stall*. However, the singer in recording was not at all commemorating the death of the unfortunate derelict from somewhere else—he was singing the song by request from a field worker such as I, and he sang it in the way he would sing any guitar band tunes as he wishes. The true argument here is supposed to be the fact that *Madang stall* has become compatible with singing *sore singsing*; the vibrato singing is not considered to be odd or inappropriate for the songs for funeral and commemoration even for communal, stringband settings. Therefore, the connection between *Madang stall* and *sore singsing* is a homology to a limited extent; while there are songs such as *Nen a* that remind the audience of a wailing voice in the vibrato singing, other songs do not appear to represent or imitate a crying voice. Even in the case of *Nen a* it is not totally clear if the wailing contour in the melody is a representation for crying; in fact imitation occurs in a rather straightforward way in the chorus of *Long solid days* in the form of sobbing *mama*, etc. The *sore singsing* and *Madang stall* complimentarily express the sentiment of *sore*. The incorporation of *Madang stall* in the performances of *sore singsing* indicates that *Madang stall* is suitable for the *sore singsing* as well as ordinary powerband tunes. The vibrato singing has become a representation for refinement with which the *sore singsing* sounds better (*moa nais*).
The relationship between *Madang stall* and *sore singsing* has been recognized in the discourse that regards women's ritual cry as a source of the vibrato vocal style. The cases such as *Nen a* and *Long solid days* suggest a generic connection between the singer Sandie Gabriel's musical idea of vibrato and the sentiment of *sore*. If the imitation of cry in *Long solid days* is regarded as an experimental phase of *Nen a*—the former was composed and released on cassette before the latter—the developmental process becomes rather clear. It is true that Sandie Gabriel perhaps developed his brand of *sore singsing* almost simultaneously with his vibrato singing; however, when the vibrato is applied to *sore singsing*, each case of execution is different. The connection between the vibrato and the *sore singsing* is the sentiment of *sore*, or the discontent caused by loss of someone dear. The signification that bridges the two is the association *Madang stall* is *sore singsing*, and *sore singsing* is *Madang stall*; at the core of the association there echoes a wavy sound of voice.

The Imagining of *Madang Stall*

One might find something ominous in the atmosphere of the whole body of work by Sandie Gabriel whose career as a musician abruptly terminated by tragic death of the composer himself. Some local musicians relate Sandie's untimely death with his passion in composition, his preoccupation with the *sore singsing* and other general songs about sorrow and separation in particular. As the example of *sore singsing Sapar* suggests, the post factum attribution of causality—that a song foreshadows a death—has become a prevalent association in the Madang area; therefore, the tragic departure of Sandie Gabriel
looms over nearly everything that he attempted, experimented with, or became celebrated for. As a consequence, the vibrato style initiated by Sandie Gabriel, or the nek bilong Sandie, instantaneously connects the singer’s tragic end with his successful invention in a deep level of the sentiment: sore. Sandie’s vocal style has become popular among the local singers only after his death, and the association between the inventor’s death and the emotiveness of Madang stall seems to be almost inseparable. The vibrato singing is ridden with the image of Sandie Gabriel his works; the whole body of work done by Sandie today cannot be referred without his achievement of expressing the sentiment of sore, which was ironically culminated by his own death.

In judging powerband cassette recordings produced by the performers in the Madang are, local musicians often comment the songs with critical phrases such as singsing i gat filin (“song that has a feeling”) or nogat filin insait (“no feelings inside”). By commenting the songs in these terms, the speaker is usually referring to an execution of Madang stall; if the vibrato sounds good, it is a singsing i gat filin. A singsing i gat filin is also a gutpela singsing (“good song”), and valued highly. The songs that belong to nogat filin insait are those without any vibrato (stret tumas, “too straight”) or awkward execution of it, especially those with the waves or fluctuation of pitch executed too evenly. Here, the criterion for judging of a good song is based on whether the song contains “feelings” to the ear of the audience, and such feelings are expressed in terms of how well the vibrato is executed. A good articulation of Madang stall is the vibrato that has uneven waves, and this sensibility toward asymmetrical pattern of vocal execution is reminiscent of the precontact singsing tumbuna song style as well as women’s ritual cry.
Of course, the audience does not find a good *Madang stall* should resemble or imitate the *singsing tumbuna* or women's ritual cry. However, aesthetic homology or "iconicity of style" (Feld 1994) with a positive significance inevitably finds the nexus in the execution of *Madang stall* under the category of *singsing i gat filin*.

If a particular execution of *Madang stall* does not fit to the ear of audience, such as due to the use of *lok ples* outside Madang, incompetent performance, etc., the performance will be regarded as either *Em i bihamim Madang tasol* ("It is merely following Madang") or *nogat filin insait*. Thus, *filin*, or sentiment dominant in *Madang stall* is *sore* but at the same time it is *nais* ("nice," or "refined")—feeling *sore* is a nice, refined state of emotion. Feeling the *sore*, in the sense that it is a sorrow, might not necessarily be a positive emotion, but to express it—or to create the atmosphere of it regardless of intention—so that the people can share the sorrow is a refined interaction. By the term "people" (*ol man*)¹⁸ the Papua New Guineans usually mean their *wamtoks*, or the members of the community and their kin. This is the moment that *Madang stall* becomes a musical experience charged with articulated sentiment; the execution of vibrato becomes a refined expression of their particular sentiment that instantly reminds the audience of everyday experiences of various states of *sore*. Local composers regardless of genre—the *singsing tumbuna* or guitar band music—invariably attribute their source of musical ideas to images of scenery or events in everyday life. They would enounce the impression of a certain condition, emotion, sequence, ideas, images of scenery, and so on. While it is not regarded as important to narrate or inform whatever the source of text, the composers spend a long time pondering upon the words enounced in melodic contour;
how the song is sung is more crucial for the composers than what the content of song is. How the song is sung equals to the whole content of the text itself. New compositions for the singsing tumbuna, for instance, usually entails a certain impressions of the event of performance: if the day in which the dance is performed is memorable, the lyrics would repeat nal e, nal e ("the day, the day"), etc. A guitar band tune might celebrate Independence Day, grieve separation, mourn, confess love, caisson the wantoks, express the feeling for the panu, and so forth.

To ask, "Why do you sing songs this way?" would not be a good at all in order to find the significance of the articulation of Madang stall. The informant might shrug and answer, Bikos em i save kamap olsem ("Because it happens as it is"), or Bikos em bia moanais olsem ("Because it would be nicer this way"). The local explanations such as filin, gutpela singsing, nogut, Madang stall, and so forth, are in most cases uttered in order to finish the conversation with the inquisitive student. Indeed, to ask how good is a good song is really a tautology that only receives a final, silencing comment such as, Em i we bilong mipela Madang ("It's the way of us Madang"). Even the attribution of the invention of Madang stall to the singsing tumbuna has been rather contradictory when the executions to the arrangement from the traditional dance pieces are examined. Such locutions are not a display of regional identity in an ordinary sense; it is rather a speech act of mildly refusing to scrutinize the aesthetic reaction that really belongs to the realm of tacit knowledge or uncanny feelings of significance. Therefore, it rather has to be stressed that the nexus resulted by various levels of signification in the execution of Madang stall is interacting like a force that creates a realm of aesthetics or synesthesia that makes the
locals positively or negatively express it. What is intriguing about the term Madang stall is the fact that it was initially a personal style of Sandie Gabriel: As Sandie died, Sandie’s style has now become Madang’s style. While such a naming shows a parallel with anonymous authorship of singsing tumbuna repertoire, this is not a display of regional identity. Even if such a sense of identity is present and intended to be expressed, it would be empirically false regarding that there are Madang artists who do not incorporate the vibrato as much as some non-Madang singers who have acquired the style, as the locals themselves are certain. In fact, Madang stall seems to be spreading to a number of non-Madang artists in the country to the extent that sometime in the future it might as well be called PNG stall, instead of Madang stall. If Madang stall becomes prevalent among the powerband vocalists throughout the country, their will be no point in distinguishing the song style with a name of a province, especially regarding that the domestic productions are aiming to market PNG powerbands overseas in the Pacific. Differentiation of Madang stall is never based on sociopolitical intentions in an ordinary sense; rather, it is an articulation of attachment of the vocal style to the audience who has been experiencing so much through the sound of the vibrato invented by their wantok artists.

The discourse that paraphrases the prevalence of Madang stall is an attempt to finalize the efficacy, which is ineffable by nature, of synesthesia produced by performance of the vibrato. Madang stall, therefore, is actually a name for a condition rather than a particular vocal technique per se; such a condition entails attitude towards music-making as well as the atmosphere produced by it in which the vibrato resonates in the various levels of spaces: physical, cognitive, and social. The attitude toward music-
making and its produced atmosphere of performance is the root of the naming Madang stall, since the scene of everyday activity of the local artists have been largely around the town. The discourse on the significance of Madang stall is a result of contrast against the powerbands of other provinces to which the locals are exposed through the media and concerts. But still, the sense of refinement that incubates such a discourse is not a product of manipulation of transaction but everyday experience. Madang stall is a refined way of expressing things belonging to everyday life, which are cultivated through music-making; Madang stall is a nexus of sentiment that differentiates the refined from the ordinary by means of articulation of the vibrato singing style.

Conclusion

Madang stall is a result of transition from the stringband to the powerband. The introduction of the electronic instruments and cassette recordings have necessitated the performers to rely more on the percussion and the timbre played by the synthesizer and the electric guitars than ensemble of solo instruments involving the ukulele and the acoustic guitar. Madang stall is invented in order to compensate for the decreasing significance of polyphony in singing and instrumentation, and increasing variety of the timbre, the rhythm, chromaticism and scant harmonics imported from Western pop music. The naming of Madang stall does not necessarily characterize the song style of all the artists known in the area; in addition, as the cases of non-Madang singers incorporating Madang stall indicate, to regard the vibrato singing as distinct to the area is also misleading. There have been a folk model to explain the origin and prevalence of the vibrato singing by
introducing cultural and musical factors; the *singsing tumbuna* and women’s ritual cry are particularly regarded as sources of inspiration of Sandie Gabriel. However, *Madang stall* in practice is an invention of performative technique that sensitizes words and other enunciation in text through distorting the words. Such sentiment, being incorporated in the songs to which the audiences are attached in various ways, has been culminated in the word *sore*; in this particular sense, the word *sore* actually entails a wide range of feelings rooted in attachment rather than mere signification of sorrow. *Madang stall* bears geographical name because the positive aspects of music-making which refinement, attachment and the sentiment of *sore* express are all familiarized and embedded in the everyday life in the community. The audience differentiates *Madang stall* in performance when the performers are identified with the area and the vibrato singing is present. The vibrato singing entails a sense of refinement known as *nais*, which summarizes the positive aesthetic sentiment prompted by *sore*. The vibrato singing is recognized as an emotive vocal technique that articulates the familiar, the refined, the attached, and *sore*. As the audience becomes more familiar with the vibrato, an impression of *Madang stall* molds into a style from which the environment of performance generates with or without actual singing every time. The addressing effect of the words sung in *Madang stall* interacts as an articulation of sentiment, which is the foremost criterion for a *gupela singsing* (“good song”). Through this inculcation the locals make distinction of the performers as those *Madang stet* (“real Madang”) and *bihainim Madang tasol* (“just following Madang”). Consequently, *Madang stall* became an important signification of the sentiment underscored by the addressing words, and the naming of *Madang stall*
indicates the association of the vibrato with the grassroots.

1 Although I am reluctant to squarely apply Western classical terminology, here I define “vibrato” as “quick reiteration of a single pitch produced by an intermittent stream of breath with fixed vocal chords,” and “fluctuation in pitch” (Randel 1978:540). Yet, my application of the word “vibrato” can be more liberal in order to characterize vocal ornament in general form time to time. Of course, the locals never make any distinctions as such.

2 Regarding copyright and quality of field recording, the musical examples entail transcription only.

3 Not all examples transcribe the exact vocal range: treble clef is used for the melodic transcriptions.

4 Nek biong Madang strey, “voice of real Madang”; stall bilong Madang, “style of Madang.”

5 A phrase with predicate marker i can be translated in a number of ways in English according to context. Compare this translation with the one in the beginning of this chapter.

6 Presumably, their sore singsing, which I am yet to hear, never incorporates women’s tok sore as a part of text.

7 I had no opportunity to record and compare women’s ritual cry with Madang stall while I was in Yabob, although I heard it once when I attended a burial on Yabob Island graveyard. That opportunity was also the only time that I saw sore singsing being performed, with a strong effect on the attendants. Of course, it happened hardly a couple of months after I arrived in Madang, and I did not think what I saw was actually going to develop into one of the central topics of this thesis then.

8 The words of the lyrics are not transcribed. All music examples transcribe only a part of the whole text and melody.

9 “Sele mole” might have some connection with Bemal singsing tumbuna called Sael, which is said to be composed by a river spirit but widely practiced in the area through the trading of the singsing (Niles and Webb 1988:40).

10 Presumably, both songs are arrangement from local singsing tumbuna, but I could not substantiate this.

11 What I have expressed as a “discovery” of sore in Chapters 3 and 4 is probably a simultaneous phenomenon along with the tradition of vibrato singing in laments in PNG.
as a whole. The incorporation of the word *sore* in the guitar band lyrics is also found in the coastal Central Province (Niles and Webb 1988:3-5), although there is no direct historical connection with Madang is apparent. As it has been said, sore has been already incorporated in *tok ples* lexicons of the area, and even *sore singsing* are separately invented and practiced in Kranket and Yabob.

12 These Anglo-American tunes might be casually referred as the style of Tin Pan Alley, vaudeville, or parlour songs. On the other hand, despite the presence of black American soldiers during and after the W.W.II, there is hardly any influence from black American music traditions in the Madang area.

13 *Aidau e* is probably a part of *singsing tumbuna* from a Motu-speaking area, but I could not substantiate.

14 No recordings of the “Uta mon e” section of Maimai were made.

15 By the word “vocalize,” I mean vocalized sound, which does not consist a part of a word or devoid of lexical signification.

16 Gum (Amele): *Awa au awe ya ni met adi*. Bel or Yabob: *Nen a nen e nen a hangu ai imate*. Tok Pisin: *Mama ma-mama pikinini (bilong mi) i dai e*.

17 While the locals did note the appropriation of English phrases from overseas pop songs, usually they never recalled the identity of the source.

18 In standard Tok Pisin, *ol man* is supposed to be *ol manneri*, literally “the men and women”; however, Madang speakers regardless of sex tend to shorten it to simply *ol man*.