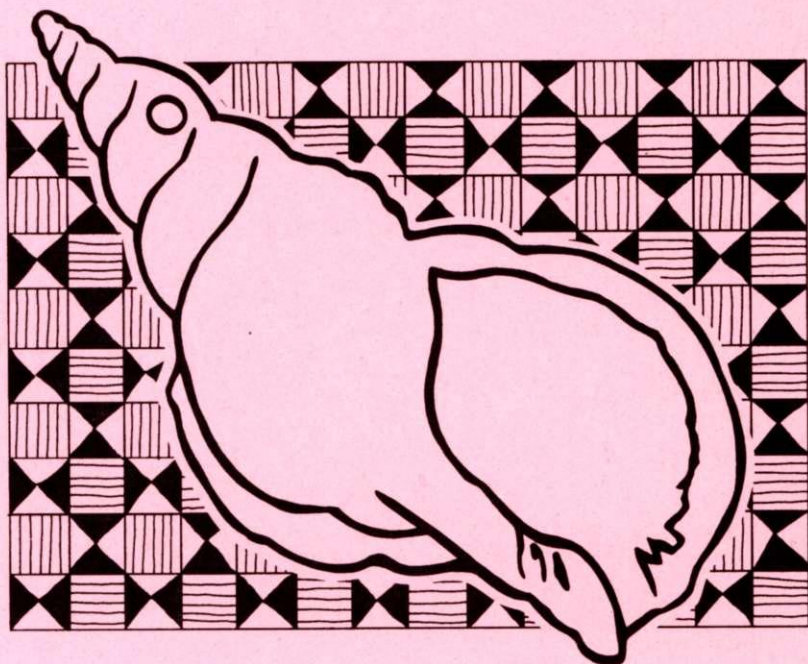


OCCASIONAL PAPERS
IN
PACIFIC
ETHNOMUSICOLOGY



No. 4, 1995

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

New Guinea Ethnomusicology Conference Proceedings

Robert Reigle, editor

Occasional Papers in Pacific Ethnomusicology

No. 4/1995

This volume is the fourth in a series of data-oriented publications on Pacific ethnomusicology. The Papers are intended for material too long or specialised for publication elsewhere, in such fields as music ethnography, analysis, descriptions of recorded collections and archiving. Contributions are welcome, and prospective authors should contact the Editor before submitting a manuscript.

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DEDICATION

Frank Magne had a great ability to make friends with everyone he met. Clement Gima met him through his position at the National Research Institute, and introduced me to him around the time of this conference. I immediately invited Frank to give a paper at the conference. He seemed reluctant at first. I encouraged him, noting that discussions of his work in the forum of the conference would be valuable to the participants (which included many University of Papua New Guinea students), and would be published. Luckily, he agreed to present something.

I felt a mixture of shock, disbelief, horror, and sadness when I learned of Frank's untimely death at the age of 31. He died of complications from pneumonia, in a hospital in Goroka, on March 16, 1994, and was scheduled to leave PNG the following month.

Although I knew him for only a short time, I feel lucky to have met him. In their obituaries for Frank, James Weiner (*Anthropology Today*) and Steven Feld (*Popular Music* and *SEM Newsletter*) wrote about the importance and quality of his work, and how his personality enabled him to break new ground in PNG ethnography. I am very grateful that he gave a paper at the conference on short notice, and dedicate this volume to him.

Robert Reigle
July 16, 1994

INTRODUCTION

We held our Conference from July 1-6, 1993, at the National Research Institute, near the Faculty of Creative Arts, in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. I convened and chaired the Conference, with organisational help from Denis Crowdy (Lecturer in Music at the University of Papua New Guinea), and financial support from the Faculty of Creative Arts, UPNG. Approximately 25 people attended each of the first four days, and 50 people on each of the last two days. Students enrolled in the music program at the Faculty of Creative Arts were required to attend at least two sessions. They asked many interesting questions, and kept discussions connected with the real world of music-makers. Don Niles arranged for the book-launching of Michael Webb's important *Lokal Musik*, published by the National Research Institute, to coincide with the Conference. Other events included a performance by a student Creative Group under the direction of Soru Anthony Subam, and a faculty/student recital held in the University's Open Air Theatre. The Faculty of Creative Arts provided a *mumu* for Conference participants, at the Raun Haus on the FCA campus. Stefan Blaettner kindly translated some of E. Schlesier's notes as a running commentary during the screening of two of Schlesier's silent films on Normanby Island, "Me'udana; sagari Tanze," and "Me'udana; Besspannen von Trommeln." This provided interesting information to those of us who can't read German. As a convenience for the reader, I have organised the papers under the headings Music Learning, Music Scholarship, Older Traditions, and Newer Traditions. (I arranged the headings in order of when the first paper in each category was given; the order does not reflect any hierarchy.) I sincerely apologise to Dr Chenoweth, Anthony Subam and Pius Wasi, whose discussions were inadvertently recorded over or not recorded; the information lost was invaluable and irreplaceable.

Music Learning

We were extremely honoured to have the participation of Dr Chenoweth, who retired at the end of 1993. She wrote the first doctoral dissertation directly based on the author's own fieldwork in PNG (Papua New Guinea). The distinction she makes in the present paper between change and overlay, and her discussion of the music primer used in the North Solomons, add her latest thoughts to a distinguished body of work. Soru Anthony Subam, known for his work with Sanguma as well as his own recordings, generously gave his time and wisdom during many important policy meetings at the Faculty of Creative Arts, where he taught music. His paper illustrates the profound spirituality, an "essence", which informed New Guinea's past musics, and emphasises its importance in music education. The papers by Justin Tonti-Filippini and Keith Stebbins

present some of the problems faced by music educators in PNG. Their work shows that music educators must deal with government bodies at many different levels, and that individual decisions have immense long-term implications for the way PNG music changes, and for the social and spiritual well-being of the nation. The panel, under Keith Stebbins' chairmanship, discussed these and many other issues.

Music Scholarship

Don Niles deeply regretted being unable to attend the Conference; he was doing research in Germany which he could not reschedule. Conference participants didn't have sufficient time to read over his paper before Clement Gima presented it, so no formal discussion followed. My apologies for not getting the paper to participants the day before. I would ask readers of this publication who can assist, to contact Don Niles at Box 1432, Boroko, Papua New Guinea. Frank Magne's talk was quite stimulating, raising a number of issues which were discussed by participants both formally and informally. It also provided a rare glimpse of the inner workings of a scholar during exploratory stages of a research project, letting us in on what kinds of choices must be made along the way, and the struggles of the selection process.

Older Traditions

The older-style traditional musics explored in this conference come from a wide geographical area, representing all four Papua New Guinea regions (Momase, Islands, Highlands, and Papua). Five of the eight papers are by New Guineans, concerning music from their home place. The three papers from Momase (Yamada, Pongiura, Reigle) reflect, in varying degrees, the pervasiveness of spiritual beliefs in musical life. We are glad to have, for the first time, an English translation of a chapter from Dr Yamada's doctoral dissertation on the Waxei of East Sepik Province. Samuel Pongiura's paper on *garamut* communication, also from East Sepik, makes a substantial contribution to the tiny body of published information on that subject. My own paper describes a hitherto unreported combination of sacred voice modifiers with transverse flutes from Madang Province. Two papers resulted from field trips I arranged at the Faculty of Creative Arts. They have special value because of what they describe, and because their authors belong to the culture concerned. From the Islands Region, Luke Balane (from West New Britain Province) describes a musical culture that developed ingenious instruments to produce very subtly crafted sounds. Augustine Abo discusses a performance of a ceremony from New Ireland Province which puts the life of its protagonist at risk. Although anthropologists have published a fair amount on the people of Enga Province, little exists on Enga music. Stella Iningba helps fill that gap with her paper, discussing the Sandalu ritual in terms of its theatre, dance, and music.

Rock land Kamarufa gives an insider's view of the *honto* jews harp from the Eastern Highlands Province. His use of the Kamano term "*honto*" as the gloss for jews harp throughout PNG (paragraph 1) points out the skew we get when forced to use terms imposed from the outside (an issue Kenneth Gourlay had discussed in "The Non Universality of Music and the Universality of Non-Music," *World of Music* 26(2) 1984: 35). Dr Waiko makes available information from his doctoral dissertation. The discussion following his paper was particularly lively, really bringing home the tragedy of the loss of one's traditions, and the importance of music to the nation. Quick to point out that nothing remains the same, Dr Waiko argues that the spiritual well-being of a people depends on a proper understanding of both past and present.

Newer Traditions

The debate at the Conference over what is "tradition" stimulated many ideas, during discussions following papers as well as outside the Conference meetings. My distinction here between older and newer traditions results from a distillation of views observed over five years in PNG, updated with the rich concentration of ideas from the Conference. Though unsatisfactory in some ways, some such distinction is the norm among New Guineans I've known, and it provides a way (both Euro-centric and present-day PNG-centric) to make discussions on the hundreds of New Guinea musics more manageable. Everybody has their own way of thinking about tradition. In PNG, a listener is likely to describe an older song arranged for guitars as either modern or contemporary. At the same time, it might be called traditional because it incorporates a traditional phrase. It is unlikely to be called *singsing tumbuna*, as that implies setting, costumes, etc. The distinction between traditional and modern may be hard to pin down for a nation, a region, or a village, but individuals do have strong views - their definitions (which may be unarticulated) enable them to instantly categorise a piece as one or the other. Richard Moyle pointed out that traditions have to start somewhere, and Michael Webb emphasised that what is traditional is not eternally fixed in time, but continually changes. Several New Guineans lamented the loss of their traditional musics. Pius Wasi and Julie Turalir explained ways in which the best of two worlds can fuse to create music of value and substance. I originally placed Moyle's and Gima's papers in the Older Traditions section, as they deal with issues of transition and change, and include information about older styles. But the essence of these papers concerns living music as it exists today. Richard Moyle analyses a Samoan song which Samoans consider traditional, but is of modern origin. Clement Gima discusses the effects on the musical life of his island brought about by the Catholic Mission and modernisation.

I modelled this second New Guinea Ethnomusicology Conference after the conference convened by John Kelsey at Goroka in 1982. Many attendees, participants, colleagues, lecturers, and students expressed a strong interest in holding such conferences more frequently. I hope that we will not have to wait another 11 years before the next Conference!



LOCATIONS OF PEOPLES

- A. Yangoru Boiken, East Sepik Province. (PONGIURA)
- B. Waxei, East Sepik Province. (YAMADA)
- C. Wawuni, Enga Province. (INIMGBA)
- D. (Tokano, etc.), Eastern Highlands Province. (MAGNE)
- E. Kamano, Eastern Highlands Province. (KAMAREFA)
- F. Usarufa, Eastern Highlands Province. (CHENOWETH)
- G. Nekeni, Madang Province. (REIGLE)
- H. Uniapa, Bali, West New Britain Province. (GIMA)
- I. Uniapa, Vitu, West New Britain Province. (BALANE)
- J. Tungak, New Ireland Province. (ABO)
- K. Tolai, East New Britain Province. (TURALIR)
- L. (Rabaul), East New Britain Province. (WEBB)
- M. Binandere, Northern (Oro) Province. (WAIKO)

PART ONE: MUSIC LEARNING

CULTURAL CHANGE AND MUSIC LITERACY

VIDA CHENOWETH

Introduction

It was 29 years ago that I boarded a freighter in New Orleans destined first for Australia and then on to the Territory of New Guinea. At that time very little was known of New Guinea's 750 languages, and even less was known of the many music systems. Before the year ended, I had teamed up with a brilliant young linguist from the state of Washington in America. She was Dr Darlene Bee, and she was assigned the task of decoding one of the most difficult languages on record, that of the Usarufas in the Eastern Highlands.

Having been a professional musician, in what now seemed like a previous existence, local music was always of great interest to me. Aware of the precarious nature of oral tradition, I methodically set about recording the music of the Usarufas with whom Dr Bee and I would be living over a span of 20 years. The importance of such a task seemed heightened in the 1960s when the United Nations pressed for accelerated effort in preparing New Guinea for independence. Because they lived in isolation from the rest of the world, Usarufas and others like them could not anticipate any cultural consequences which might be the by-products of outside influence. The day would come, we feared, when the live singing heard almost nightly would be supplanted by transistor radios blaring foreign music and, eventually would come the tweeters and woofers of the more expensive weaponry against which locals would be unable to think music of their own creation. Our plan was to record as exhaustively as possible the Usarufa repertoire and to encourage colleagues to do the same in their regions. This was an attempt to preserve a music history for the people and, at the same time, increase our general knowledge of the world's musics. To document the creativity of these people who had had little contact with the outside world was not an attempt to prevent change. One would be singularly naive to think that any form of life remains static. On the contrary, we viewed the act of collecting songs as an opportunity to encourage creativity without superimposing our own ideas of how to make music.

Through the years I have found it important to distinguish between

acts of change and acts of overlay. It is crucial that change be organic if it is to have cultural relevance. Overlay, on the other hand, is deviation brought about by instruction in someone else's culture. The tape recorder was our tool for promoting indigenous expression rather than a tool for introducing the sounds of a foreign expression, for we realised that memory of their own repertoire would be jeopardised by such intrusion.

There has been much said and written over the past decade regarding cultural change. It is fair to say, I believe, that only those who know what came before can adequately examine change. By examination I do not mean evaluation - not how many profit by the change, not how much adrenalin increase (pleasure) is caused by it, nor even how susceptible a people are to it. The question I would put forth is: What kind of change do we label as "cultural" change? The question presented itself when I searched for some objective reason as to why certain reports of so-called cultural change disturbed me. As a hypothetical example, suppose that a well-meaning European resident in a country where oral tradition is the norm, selected a youngster from a remote village where instruments of fixed pitch are unknown and gave the child piano lessons; would this be an example of "cultural" change? I think not. Everything about the situation is foreign, from the instrument's tuning to the music played on it. Such change affects only a segment of a society and not the culture as a whole. It is not a change at which the culture would naturally arrive, in other words. Some still harbour the misconception that the pinnacle of musical accomplishment is to ultimately arrive at the door of Western theory. Cultural change seemed to beg for definition so I set about making one which differentiates between change and overlay.

Change versus Overlay

Cultural change is intrinsic. Overlay is extrinsic. Change preserves cultural uniqueness whereas overlay promotes cultural deviation. Change is newness within continuity, but overlay disrupts continuity. The focus of cultural change is one which alters the process whereas the focus of overlay is one which alters the product. Change is the result of insight and is gradual. Overlay is the result of imitation and is abrupt. Change retains familiarity whereas overlay overthrows familiarity. I submit that cultural change must be endemic if it is to have cultural relevancy.

A distinction drawn between cultural change and cultural overlay affects the way in which education goals are formulated. To provide a people with tools which will give insight into what is their own vernacular is change within the continuity of their culture. It was to shun the practice of overlay that my partner and I learned the language of the people instead of introducing English. By the same token, we chose to sing their songs rather than to introduce any from our own background. Believe me when I say that no procedure is free from criticism. When one seeks to be a part

of the culture he or she serves, there come accusations of trying to freeze the culture or of being opposed to change. If a reverse tack is taken, one may be attacked for cultural insensitivity and an imperialistic outlook. Be that as it may, in the early 1960s the government sought an extensive literacy program demanding the work of linguists who could analyse an unwritten language, compose an orthography, prepare textbooks and teach the people to read and write their own language. To try to contend with over 750 languages was a staggering state of affairs.

My partner Darlene Bee was assigned to the Usarufa language in 1957, and I joined her in 1965. There had never been a school in this region. Most of the population had never seen paper, much less a book. There was no concept of reading and consequently no word for it. We marvelled at the trust, mixed with curiosity, that induced villagers to meet regularly with us as, not until one of their number finally related the symbols and their sounds with meaning, did the class understand why they were meeting.

The excited response of that first reader was an experience I could wish for every teacher. At the time, we were so startled by her behaviour that we thought she might be delirious. She jumped to her feet, clutched and stared at her book while raving, "They are speaking to me!" And now for the first time there was a term for reading; to say that the designs are speaking to me means, "I am reading."

Is anyone [at this conference] asking, "Why introduce literacy when it is not a so-called 'felt need'?" It definitely was a felt need so far as the government was concerned. In just a few years these people would be part of a new nation. They would be voting, applying for a driver's license, enrolling their children in a school, and not one of them could even write his name. So we were then complying with government wishes through the Department of Education, but even in a time of less haste toward nationhood, non-literate societies - once they are aware of the benefits of literacy - desire to communicate by written symbol. Where oral tradition was once sufficient, boundaries inevitably enlarge and expose the advantages of written communication.

In the years before they could write letters, any Usarufa absent from the village for six months was presumed dead. It was not unusual for mothers and fathers to wake in the night and sing songs of mourning for a son who was away, but when he was able to write them, they no longer mourned. Many land battles could have been avoided in those days if property had been described and deeded in writing. As it was, smaller groups had no secure rights to their land and were subject to the domination of larger groups.

During those days I became interested in how the Usarufas conceived music. It was impossible to elicit much information about music because music was not a subject for verbal discussion or philosophising. In the

same way that they never thought analytically about their language but spoke it, they never thought of music in structural terms or even as a phenomenon; they just sang. A composer traditionally received a new song without any training and with no conscious awareness of form, yet the song came forth intact, within the musical grammar that identified it as being local and acceptable.

How did the Usarufas make songs? For centuries scholars have searched for an answer as to how melody is invented. Even the most erudite authors can come up with little more explanation than terms such as imagination, idea, or inspiration. Usarufas speak of composing as not coming from such abstract sources at all. Songs are given to them by a relative who is deceased or by a totem animal or vegetable, which sings to him. On one occasion a lady said to me that a song just came to her while



Vida Chenoweth (left) exploring the meaning of song texts with Usarufa expert Taaqiyaa. Eastern Highlands, 1969.

she was digging in her garden. But all agree that the best songs come in dreams.

How does the composer retain his song if it comes to him when he is asleep? He awakes and begins to sing the song aloud. He also awakens others sleeping in the same hut so that they will learn it immediately. They sing it over and over until dawn so that it will not be lost. But what if the composer is alone? A dramatic illustration of how desperately a composer desires to keep his song presented itself early one morning when our friend who chopped firewood for us was seen rushing down the mountainside toward our village. He was far earlier than expected, and we wondered if he were in trouble. When he was within shouting distance

we could make out only one word of his breathless sentence, "The machine," he gasped. We looked at each other then at him trying to understand the emergency. After he caught his breath he said, "Quick! Get out the machine. I have a new song." The tape recorder was called 'machine.' Aha, he wanted to record! He sang his song twice into the microphone then leaned back, relaxed and smiling, satisfied that his song which came in the night when he was alone had now been stored.

Music Literacy

It was then that I began to ponder the idea of teaching the Usarufas to notate their songs. But how? There was no precedent for teaching a people to write in their own music system, and I had transcribed enough music of New Guinea's highlands to know that Western scales and rhythmic meters would be superfluous to their music systems. It had not been our intention to teach music. On the contrary, we went to great lengths to avoid influencing them for fear of impeding the natural flow of the culture. We listened to our own music through headsets.

Only twice had I conducted experiments in conjunction with music. One instance was to discover for myself whether there is any emotional or aesthetic transfer from European music to a people to whom it was an unknown. The second instance was to test the accuracy of my own analysis of Usarufa music and, at the same time, assess whether the ability to notate music could be grasped by those who had never heard of musical notation. In the first instance, a random group which had assembled to hear a tape of their singing recorded the previous night listened to their performance both enjoyably and critically. Afterward a tape of a Beethoven piano sonata was substituted. The audience became very still and gazed at the recorder as if in a trance. No one spoke. Their faces were so still and attentive that I photographed them, thinking I had been wrong and that there did seem to be some profound aesthetic response. After a few minutes the machine was stopped, and we eagerly awaited some praise of what had been heard. Their response floored us. They asked, "What makes it [the tape spools] turn around?" The inference was suddenly clear to us. They had not perceived music at all as neither the music nor the instrument bore one thread of relatedness to what they know as music. Their music system had no major or minor scales, no harmony, no chromaticism, no continuation of a melodic line in one direction, no meter. What they heard was, to them, noise; and it was fascination with the tape recorder that entranced them. Once again it was proven: music is not a universal language. We cannot repeat the fact often enough, apparently, as intelligent but platitudinous folk who should know better continue to say that it is. They dwell on the idea that if they are entertained or pleased by the sounds of another culture's music that it is the same as understanding it. One of the ethnomusicologist's never-ending tasks is to make clear

the fact that to like is not the same thing as to comprehend. Music is language only to those within its universe of discourse. In spoken language, meaning is exchanged. One may like the sound of French or Chinese, but the language has no communicative power until one is able to speak and understand it. The same is true of music.

The second instance of music experimentation came after what I hoped was a thorough investigation of the features of Usarufa song. Basing it upon those features, I designed a music literacy course for four teenagers whose fathers were song composers. My thinking was that if I could teach them to notate in terms of what I conjectured to be the features of their own music, they should have no trouble composing new melodies which were idiomatic. But first, I wished to check the cultural reality of melodic intervals I had, through emic analysis, deduced to be significant in Usarufa music. By singing them to one of the men, who was looked upon as a song starter, and by his singing the same back to me, I would know whether my calculation was accurate. If he sang something different from what I sang, then I needed to understand why he heard it differently. This initial phase had to be tested before analysis of larger units could proceed. After this was completed, the assistants did not hear from me again until I had composed an Usarufa song. They sang the song, to my great delight, but it could not have been imitated had it not been within their music's grammar. They did not know where the song originated. The four teenagers I selected for a class in music notation were chosen because they were likely to have the musical talent of their fathers and might find the relationship of sound and symbol a natural transference from their reading classes. All were exceptionally quick at learning and, in fact, were able to read anything in the Usarufa language after only 8 weeks of teaching. Here it may be well to add that the more one knows of the thought processes of those being taught, the sooner learning will take place. For example, subtraction was not a viable concept in the region so it was best to teach rhythm in such a way that the pupil was adding instead of subtracting, thus the shortest note-value was taught first and those of longer duration followed in sequence.

The teaching method was to introduce no more than one rhythm unit and one pitch unit each day. The pupils began each period by clapping or tapping rhythm patterns composed first by the teacher then by the pupils themselves. Anything learned was immediately incorporated into a composition. Even upon introducing that first pitch, they composed centric melodies; after two pitches were learned, they composed one-step melodies; with three pitches they composed two-step melodies, and so on. Rhythm vocabulary consisted of a quarter-note, half-note, and whole-note along with their equivalent rests. The dot was introduced later. Because most Usarufa songs can be accommodated by a staff of four lines, we debated on whether to use a four-line staff or the traditional five-line staff.

In the end we chose to use five lines because it was easier for a pupil to find the middle of the staff if it were a line rather than a space. Tonal centre had a fixed position so transposition was oral and did not have to be written. The one whose voice leads the song determines a song's register in Usarufa singing which, by the way, is always communal and never a solo performance.

The four pupils had a merry time discovering the rhythm of their names, of their village name and of any utterance they made. They caught on quickly as to how to write speech rhythmically. Note-values less than a quarter-note were not introduced. If shorter note-values were desired, we compensated for not writing them by altering the tempo.

To learn the sound of an interval we sang syllables. Each syllable signified a pitch and contrasted with all the other syllables either by its vowel or its consonant. The exercise of inventing such syllables resulted in syllables so similar to those of solfege that I decided to simply modify the solfege ones to fit the language. At some later date, who could predict, a pupil might come into contact with solfege in its European setting and be able to identify with the principle. We used "so la li ti to ri re mi fa." Other languages might have cause for further modification, if, for example, any syllable proved to be phonetically difficult or if a syllable carried lexical meaning. In Usarufa there are no one-syllable words.

After two weeks the students handled all the materials admirably. Any system has inherent rules of arrangement, so that when the pupils made a grammatical error, they corrected themselves. If I, in extemporaneous drills, stepped outside the grammar by following an interval with one that does not occur in the syntax of Usarufa song, they stumbled over it or sang a correction. In the end, the course met with success. My analysis had proven to be generative, and the pupils had the satisfaction of writing down their own melodies. At this time of strong, oral tradition, it did not matter whether they pursued writing music down on paper the rest of their lives. For the moment it was enough for them to understand yet one more mystery of the red people (we were "red," not "white") and still remain themselves.

Perhaps the psychological advantage to such a class should not be overlooked. Although songs were conceived orally, then written, a new concept had been grasped in terms of sound and symbol. Moreover, the knowledge that their songs too could be committed to paper added to the people's self esteem. Smaller language groups like the Usarufa commonly suffer feelings of inferiority because of the dominance of larger groups. Larger groups do not learn the language of a small group; the smaller must learn that of the larger group; but if there are books written in one's language, that signifies worth and prestige. The same is true of music that is written down.

Conclusion

I personally remain a champion of oral music traditions and am ever reticent to promote music literacy amongst such people except under certain conditions, and then only if the instructor is a well trained ethnomusicologist. Although there is no evidence that music literacy impedes the creative process when it is taught within the vernacular music practice, it has been noted time and again that teaching the reading and writing of Western music has discouraged the majority and, at best, transplanted a few.

The two conditions under which the teaching of music literacy to oral traditionalists seems to me to be both appropriate and important are these: (1) When it serves as an alternative for having to learn in a foreign music system, or (2) when formal request is made for a course in vernacular music. In regard to the first, I felt obliged to make a music primer for the Eastern Highlands whose only option at the time was to learn music from an Australian curriculum adopted by the new nation of Papua New Guinea. The formation of public schools was a monumental task for which the country, in all its diversity, had no answer except to teach in English the same courses that were designed for Australian children. It was later learned from adult nationals that what was taught musically had no relevance to children of Papua New Guinea. One senior educator now laughs at being taught such songs as "Baa-baa Black Sheep." It was in her province, by the way, that local schools were established which taught children first in their own language and which embraced the idea of a class in local music.

To satisfy the demand for a music primer in the Eastern Highlands, requested particularly by those teaching in the local language, I undertook to write a first music primer based on the features held in common by seventeen language groups. The extra features which identified the separate styles of these groups could be appended as the pupils gained expertise in handling music materials. Before such a music book can be written, the ethnomusicologist must have applied his best effort in rigorous analysis and the testing of each music system involved. My Eastern Highlands primer was the culmination of nine years' study in order to ensure against matter alien to the regional musics. Testing analyses by the response of local singers is a procedure much like psycholinguistic testing in the field of linguistics.

In the briefest possible statement, let me say that melodic fragments were sung to the local singers for repetition. This mimicry tells the analyst whether the local singer has recognised intervals and their syntax as significant in the system. If they are significant, they will be repeated verbatim. Any passage not easily imitated demands further investigation. Once the significant, or emic, intervals are determined, their end-points establish the emic pitches of the music system. What is meant by music system

is a culturally defined musical universe whose elements are related to one another and to their function as components in a larger context through an established network of controls. In an oral tradition these controls are rarely expressed or observed, and yet they are operative. As with unwritten languages, their speakers cannot describe the grammar but can and do operate within a systematic network of controls, without which there would be no common interpretation.

Scientific analysis then became the foundation for not only constructing the primer textbook but for teaching music literacy, first in the Eastern Highlands and later in the North Solomons. In 1983 a course in music notation was requested by church leaders and by students of North Solomons University who wanted to learn to write down their songs. This region, in contrast to the Eastern Highlands, had had 100 years of contact with the outside world. This was an educated adult group who wanted literacy. The primer construction for them was based on music features held in common by nine music systems of the North Solomons Province, and a course was taught as in the Highlands and with the same intent. The trial primer was not an attempt to substitute a written tradition for an oral one; rather, the primer was intended as a mnemonic tool for composers whose songs are conceived orally. It also provided an alternative to the teaching of Western music in public school. Tok pies (vernacular) schools especially would benefit, subscribing to the fact that a people learns more efficiently in its own language.

North Solomons adults who had seen printed music were amazed that they could so quickly handle the simplified materials of this own music system. With no key signatures, bar lines, or chords to contend with, and only one clef used, they were setting a vernacular text to melody in ten days' time. Another modification of solfege syllables was necessary which would relate to the phonetics of these languages of the North Solomons. The syllables needed were: so la li lo re mi fa so. Using this inventory they were sight-singing each day with relish and vigour. The importance of close, individual supervision of each pupil was paramount, so that no one reached an impasse unnoticed. Constant reinforcement of the value of oral tradition was made so as not to convey the notion that music on paper was the "right way" to make music. Closing speeches by the students and by the Minister of Education satisfied me that they would not lose the connection between what they had learned and what was their tradition.

CULTURE/CREATIVITY IN EDUCATION

SCRJ ANTHONY SUBAM

This paper is not from an expert, and there are many questions, many holes, that will arise. These are for you to go into and follow through. I don't have any answers, for the answers you will find in yourself.

Culture

What is "culture," the term? To different people it means different things, each with his own definition, though not necessarily wrong. To many Papua New Guineans today, the term "culture" points to the traditional modes and aspects of life, what our ancestors believed in and something that is experienced only in villages, *singsing* or in the museum. Culture to me means more than that. It is the "presence" of my past — not just mine, but Papua New Guineans' past, in this present moment, any present moment. When I am alone and thinking of a song from home, I not only just hear it, but it is something that is alive in my being at that moment. When I hear the sound of the Sepik flutes playing, I not only identify with it, I can feel the very presence of it, vitally alive.

With my thinking mind I find it hard to explain, for it is just a living, "vitally alive" experience. But the most concise definition I can put it in is: culture is the presence of my past in the present. Whether I sit in a classroom, in a hotel room, or in a PMV [public motor vehicle] bus, that "presence" is there when I tune in to it. It is not what we may call my imagination, because many times it is very intense, tangible, and alive. You may argue that it is my imagination; then I'll tell you that it is the doorway to that "aliveness", to the presence of my past in the now, wherever that now may be.

As Papua New Guinea and other so called "Third World" nations have taken up Western ideologies and formats of living and education, the quicker and further we have moved away from our own rich and most diverse cultures. Our traditional methods of education, of knowledge, were and are based on experience: on doing, on learning through experience as the individual grows, on the actual facts of survival, on life (how to garden, how to fish, when and how to celebrate, how to take care of the old, your parents, your children, etc.), on a whole way of life that's vibrant and alive, on dealing with these activities within a relationship between the individual and the whole community or tribe, and their beliefs.

The present system of education was designed by people alien to our cultures — must I say was structured to "mould" human beings into strengthening and upholding a system that is foreign to their own, in this instance Papua New Guinean. One can look around and see that the Western system after all its big masters, professorships, and doctorates, is not capable of absorbing and catering for the many graduates that yearly come out of this manufacturing line. Many who have studied a particular subject for many years find that in the end there is no place left in the structure to take them in. Many intending lawyers and scientists are doing clerical jobs, or collecting garbage or sweeping the streets, and the list goes on. Why then, spend 15-20 years studying maths, English, and science, when in the end, it really must come down to our relationship with our fellow human beings that matters.

In modern Papua New Guinea, art (music, carving, dance, etc.), which is the pillar of our traditional societies, is not even deemed of any kind of significance to be emphasised as a subject for human growth at all levels of the present education system. Separating art from the human being, the child - from primary school level on to high school, university, and on leaving school - has a real "lost person" syndrome, wondering where his roots are and believing in the importance of art for self-expression, not as a separate entity but central to being a total person.

Institutions

The Faculty of Creative Arts (formerly the Creative Arts Centre and later renamed the National Arts School) is one of the very few places which was established to encourage young people to come in and learn, and to stimulate their primary artistic interest whether it be music, theatre, painting, sculpture, graphic arts, or textiles, to develop a skill for the student's future in their later years of work. Much of this is Western-oriented, with strains of traditional values and ideas therein. This in no way points blame at anyone, but as food for thought asks, "How can we have traditional values, an identity of ourselves as a civilisation with a rich, vibrant, and colourful past, when there is no foresight to cater for such values and teachings in the present educational curriculum?"

The seriousness of this thought requires the daring to allocate specific funds to spearhead a programme that makes a 100% effort to bring in traditional teachers and material from wherever in the country to divulge this invaluable knowledge to our youth. Blame is not right. Correcting or rather change is right; meaning, to blame the colonial educators or our current academics won't change a thing. Change can happen now, and through foresight one can see that content in education needs a drastic overhaul. Instead of "Baa Baa Black Sheep" or "Twinkle Twinkle Little Star", the introduction of traditional songs that relate directly to the child in the early schooling years (an example of music content; in other as-

pects of art many possibilities are available) will have a major impact on his growth as a Papua New Guinean.

Because of career placements of parents, many children relate to their parents' place of origin by name only; the traditional ties and values are virtually non-existent. The more we move on in years, the more it will be so, as more people from villages are encouraged to educate their children. Therefore it is of the greatest importance that wherever possible, educators and planners must involve traditional values through songs and dances - *Art* at the earliest possible age. "Why?" we may ask. Because Art is the expression of the spirit, the soul of a people - a person. Look at many of the buildings and structures of today, and compare them with our fathers' houses and artwork. It is not hard to see how soulless, expressionless the people of today "is." I say "is" because it is a group consciousness, the modern PNG consciousness brought about by the effect education has had on how we modern-day Papua New Guineans think.

After years of schooling in a system that is primarily geared to sustain and support a structure that is economy oriented, introducing traditional art-forms to our adolescents (e.g., as at the Faculty of Creative Arts) is quite an awesome task because we are not only dealing with trying to teach a method of doing, but in essence trying to stimulate within the heart of the individual a love, an affinity not only with the art, but with his/her past itself. That comes not simply from a few years of learning, but from the actual inner growth of the individual. That is why a child, who is subject to being immersed in traditional values from the earliest age in the education process, matures not only through grasping and understanding methods, but through the actual blossoming of a love relationship with his/her past, a vital growth process. From this deep relationship, he does not just use his past traditions as a tool for his creativity, but with a tenderness that makes it a part of the substance of his creation.

Substance of the Creative Process

What then is the substance or essence from which this creative process happens? I'll just tell you three little stories. When I was small, now thinking back and looking at it, there were many things that we did that now I couldn't do. We didn't have toys because my parents couldn't afford to buy us toys. But we in this community, because of that situation we were in, had to make things ourselves. Some of these little things, looking at it now, were the most creative moments of my life. We'd make those little sailing boats from coconut husks, carve them and put a little rudder in them, and stick a coconut broom in with a leaf on it. We'd put the boats on the reef and let them race. Our parents couldn't afford it, so we created our own enjoyment.

The next story is about my mother's thread-winder. I'd wind the thread around this thing. I'd cut tracks in it and stick a rubber band to the other

side, stick on a pin and pull the rubber band back, and then stick a pencil in and wind it. Then I'd sit on the ground and look at this thing running up the little mountains, with its little track.

Just looking at those moments, I find that those were the moments that were really alive to me.

Another example: I was walking through the garbage dump a few years back, and I heard this guy playing on tins, at the rubbish in Erima. I went over and there was this guy, his name is Barry. I still remember it very well. He was sitting there and he had all these tins lined up, set out in a drum format, a drum-kit. He carved two sticks from there, and he was playing and singing some song, and he was drumming incredibly in time, rolling in time. He couldn't afford a drum-kit; he saw it on television, he got excited, he made himself something. It excited me also, from seeing him. That's the kind of thing I'm talking about, the vitality of all such times when you have to depend on yourself to come up with your enjoyment. We had to look within our own selves to create our enjoyment from what was around us. Children born today have comforts stuck into their hands from birth, or when they start to walk. Parents, thinking that love is giving to the child whatever toys he yearns for, have started the suppression of an individual's growth.

The beginning of the formal education process is the start of a hectic conditioning of a human mind, learning all sorts of subjects to make a person "more intelligent." The whole process of so-called education is actually the brainwashing of a person, moulding that person into becoming something we tag with the name lawyer, accountant, doctor, etc., to fit into and uphold a system, a man-made structure. This person has lost all the openness and freedom of youth, of life, and has become a manufactured something that the system has created, thinking in a particular mode; someone in the lawyer mode eats lawyer dinner, another has accountant breakfast, etc., etc. Those who turn to the study of art are the ones whose souls are crying for expression. Art to me, ultimately, is the expression of the soul. Why then is our education system not geared towards the expression of the soul, the growth of a being? Because this modern education system, as I mentioned earlier, is geared primarily towards the sustaining of the larger economic system and not towards the growth of a human being, the growth of a person.

The solution from my view lies in a radical, fearless, bold step to revamp the whole education system. Primarily, we must reach an understanding of a truth, the thread which bonds our traditional societies to other ancient societies of the West (like Greece): art and the human person are not two separate entities, but very much part of a living process of every single being in that time and place. In our traditional societies art-forms, including music, carving, singing, dancing, etc., are not divisible from the rules that guide the particular society, but are inherent, and constitute the very basis and expression of a vibrant society, the very fabric that distinguishes one clan from another,

the very pulse of what we term "the culture of the people", the living energy that distinguishes the crocodile clan from the lizard clan. If this part or essence of what we call traditional culture can be knitted into the fabric of our existing education system, I would dare say that it would have a great impact on every other aspect of not only our life, but the whole of today's society. Presently at the Faculty of Creative Arts, music students who have been through the mill of this education system are conditioned in set patterns of thought (hearing) by their environment, and strongly influenced by media (radio, and recently television). When expressing their creativity in terms of music-making, they are strongly drawn to the use of formats which include mainly Western instruments, with heavy strains of what is now the "in-sound" structure that the influential recording studios like Pacific Gold, Chin H. Meen, and Kalang, to name a few, are into recording, and which are displayed on the air waves. Though this is so, traditional musics of this country form a strong core (along with other subject matters and appreciation of as many other cultures) of the students' subject matter.

Also of importance is to remove any prejudice of cultural barriers (for example, "as I am from Sepik, our flutes and music are better than Highlands") and to instill an openness and love that draws in all traditional musics and also that which inspired the music, nature. Music in the traditional setting is not separate from life, as mentioned earlier, but is the very expression of life in and around you. The sound of the wind rustling the leaves, the song of the flowing brook, the call of the wild geese, the orchestra of crickets in the twilight, are all expressions of life, the music of life, which is the inspiration and source of the traditional artist's creativity.

Seeds have been planted and fruits have been born and others are now in the process of growth at the now "Faculty of Creative Arts". What you hear on the radio may be called PNG popular music, but you haven't heard what "Culture/Creativity in Education" is all about if you haven't heard the shift in structured patterns of thought about what PNG Creative Music is, that is happening slowly but surely at the Faculty. It is the adventure spirit, drawing inspiration from traditional song structures and instruments, and in the deepest reality feeling the spirit of this relationship. It is not pushed or played on the radio, but it is played up at the Faculty.

If this creative spirit can be instilled in our young at the very beginning of the process of formal education, using our forefathers' values and traditions as a catalyst for growth, then relationships between people, nature, and the society we create would be truly meaningful.

I foresee the music and art students of today grasping this invaluable knowledge of our traditions. As future educationists, they will be the ones to restructure the whole education system so that it is not the mechanical monster it is now, manufacturing beings to support itself, but a guiding light, a guiding spirit which encourages, nurtures, and allows the growth and blossoming of a person, through the artistic spirit of our forefathers.

THE TRAINING OF EXPRESSIVE ARTS TEACHERS FOR THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA: A MUSIC EDUCATORS PERSPECTIVE

JUSTIN TONTIPLPIN

This paper describes Papua New Guinea (PNG) music, which shows how traditional music properly belongs in the village way of life, and how urban life, technology and the churches have had an impact on PNG's artistic expression. With reference to *tok pies*, primary and secondary schools, a questionnaire sent to all the secondary schools in PNG, and the programs for training music teachers at the Goroka Campus, UPNG, the paper discusses some of the problems for expressive arts in formal education. Finally, the paper makes three recommendations for the improvement of expressive arts teaching within formal education in PNG.

Introduction

I begin by quoting Don Niles, an ethnomusicologist from the National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea who, in 1982, said,

What has been produced in the schools under the name of "traditional" music fits well into Western mainstream music, having little to do with any traditional music. In fact, what is produced probably contributes to the destruction of traditional music in this country.

Before taking up the argument, I would like to give this paper some perspective by briefly describing music and education in PNG. After that, I will describe the situation of expressive arts in the schools. In this I will report on a questionnaire which was sent to the PNG secondary schools. I will then describe the teacher training programs at the Goroka Campus. In this I will report on a questionnaire given to final year music students. Finally, I will discuss the future directions in expressive arts education in PNG.

Music in PNG

As an Australian training music teachers, writing music education materials, and influencing music school curriculum in PNG, I have some

doubts as to what extent I should base my approach on PNG traditional music, or popular electronic music, or religious music, or Western music. Is it possible to dissociate PNG traditional music from traditional beliefs, ritual, dance, and crafts - in short, from the village? I will illustrate this point by playing you two video examples of traditional music:

Kama Wosi - Music in the Trobriand Islands. Filmed by Les McLaren (1979). In this video you will see: a magician in the garden calling on the spirits for a successful harvest; the mourning song of women which is sung during the night in the village; children singing, dancing and playing instruments in imitation of the adults; preparations and performance of a traditional dance "brought back from Demwana [the spirit world]".

The Red Bowmen - the Ida ceremony of the Umeda people in the West Sepik. Film-maker: Chris Owen. Anthropologist: Alfred Gell. Children participating with the adults during the annual Ida ceremony which is a "fertility ritual focussing on a complex metamorphosis of figures representing cassowaries". Although filmed in the late seventies, this ceremony is no longer performed.

Even though all the major towns also have annual or bi-annual celebrations of dance and music, it is the involvement of the village groups which give the show a sense of identity and artistic wealth. Church, school and professional theatre groups occasionally participate. In Port Moresby, the Hiri Moale festival involves a re-enactment of the *hiri* trading voyages as this next video clip shows:

[Screening of "Hiri Moale Festival (1989)" - from *Pacific Singing and Dancing*. Filmed by the writer (1991).]

Arguably, the competitive nature of the bi-annual Goroka Show has led to increasingly exaggerated costumes as we will see in the next video clip. As a result, the judges at the 1992 Show informed participants that points would be given for authenticity.

[Screening of "Goroka Show (1990)" - from *Pacific Singing and Dancing*. Filmed by the writer (1991).]

Popular electronic music is making a tremendous impact on PNG's musical identity. Some groups combine traditional music, instruments, dance and costumes with modern technology to produce an unusual artistic expression. You will see this in the next popular video clip:

[Screening of "Goruna" by Ronnie Galama, from *P.N.G. Supersound* video clip.]

This song is based on a legend from the Marshall Lagoon area of Cen-

tral Province. It tells of a brother who turns his sister into an eagle because she burnt a special wood which he uses in making magic. However, most of the electronic popular music is far more Western, and it is not unusual to hear chord sequences, phrases, or even whole songs from English-speaking countries being performed in local languages, especially Tok Pisin. Compare this next song, "Mi lovim yu" performed by Henry Kuskus with the well-known "Red Red Wine". [Song played]

Religious music is also very popular. PNG being a Christian nation, many people are involved in singing religious songs in their vernacular, Motu, Tok Pisin, or English. Choral singing of this kind such as that of the Peroveta singers of Central Province or the Tolai choirs of East New Britain shows strong influence of the earlier missionaries. More recently, we are seeing a popularity in gospel songs with electronic arrangements. A number of anthropologists such as Tony Crawford have argued that Christian music - Western in nature - replaced traditional music. To illustrate this point, I will play two excerpts from *Gogodala - a Cultural Revival?* filmed by Chris Owen. This film is based on the attempts of the Gogodola people to revive their traditional music, dance and crafts through the building of a traditional long-house. [film screened]

Western music, which I will define here as being music which has been written using staff notation, and is usually played on Western orchestral instruments and solo instruments such as the acoustic guitar and piano, has had only a minor role in PNG. I include it here because it features very prominently in education, particularly at the Faculty of Creative Arts of the University of PNG. However, with the growing importance of technology in music including several multi-track recording studios and television in PNG (including the Indonesian Palapa satellite), an ability to write and edit music using computer programs and sequencers is likely to be enhanced by the ability to write music using Western stave notation.

Education in PNG

Against this rich tapestry of PNG music, particularly as expressed through the villages, we place formal education. I do not wish, in this paper, to enter into the whole debate about the values of our current schooling system in terms relevant to education for national development, nor the question of what national development actually means. However, in terms of understanding the role of the schools in contributing towards - or, as Don Niles might suggest - a destruction of, a genuine PNG artistic expression that is relevant to our new technological society, it is first necessary to see the size and nature of formal education in PNG.

Without a detailed statistical description, I will simply state that, in 1991, there were: 100,933 Grade 1 students, 17,112 Grade 7 students, 1,053 Grade 11 students (Department of Education, 1992). These figures show that about 1 % of the population has the opportunity to receive higher secondary educa-

tion. I argue that this tends towards an elitist educational system. Given an estimated 27% increase in the school age population by the year 2010 (Grubel, 1993), I would suggest that it will be very difficult to change this situation without major research and restructuring of the education system.

Most notable in recent attempts to change this situation have been the government's "free education" policy, subsidies for some College of Dis-tant Education (CODE) subjects, and the growing popularity of the *Tok Pies* schools. All have resulted in more students in education, but I have not as yet seen any figures showing improved retention rates.

From our cultural perspective, the *Tok Pies* schools are of particular interest. While the secondary levels of education are based on largely Western curricula, and remove students from their village context by placing them in boarding schools, the *Tok Pies* schools have the potential to be far more culturally sensitive. These relatively autonomous schools:

- exist in the village, sometimes with no classroom at all
- have a curriculum influenced by both the National Department of Education and the village community
- are for very young children at Grades 1 and 2 levels
- use teachers who are adults with Grade 8 education or better
- rely on community support and initiative
- require low operational costs
- most importantly, teach in the vernacular.

Expressive Arts in PNG's Secondary Schools

Because of the tremendous wealth of PNG's performing and visual arts, and the negative effect which formal education was having on these arts, and the need for a curriculum which expressed a greater sense of integral human development as reported in the 1986 Philosophy of Education (Department of Education, 1986), the National Department of Education (NDE) decided to make expressive arts a compulsory subject in all of the country's secondary schools. Recently, I decided to test the implementation of this decision by sending a questionnaire to the 142 secondary schools.

This questionnaire contained 34 questions, of which only the first seven were compulsory. As I am still receiving responses to this, and intend to follow up schools who have not responded with another questionnaire, I will not report in detail at this stage. I expect my full report to be completed by the end of 1993. However, as I do not expect many more responses to the first questionnaire, I think some of its findings are worth mentioning here.

Firstly, I am disappointed that, even though self-addressed and stamped envelopes were included, only 46 schools have responded so far. Of these,

- 37 are teaching expressive arts, almost all timetabling two 40-minute periods per week for each Grade
- 40 have some kind of extra-curricula expressive arts activity, such as an annual cultural day (21) or arts club (21)

- they employ 50 trained and 54 untrained expressive arts teachers
- 17 schools are using the Mime book produced by the Curriculum Unit (CU) of the NDE
- 19 are using the Games book of the CU, NDE
- 9 are using the Drawing book of the CU, NDE
- 7 are using the Singing book of the CU, CDE
- 6 are using the Instruments book of the CU, NDE.

I suggest that the 96 schools which have not yet responded are likely to have a lower degree of expressive arts activities in their schools. Notably, the drama books are much more popular than the visual arts and music books. This probably represents their different writing styles and the suggestion that the drama books are more user-friendly. The lack of use of the Singing and Instruments books in schools which do have active programs is of concern, reasons given by the expressive arts teachers include a lack of trained expressive arts teachers, the loss of the accompanying cassettes, and no knowledge that the books exist. Although the provision of an accompanying music cassette seems to be necessary for a music course, it in fact limits the practical usage of the book, as music cassettes are very easily lost.

The Expressive Arts department (EA dept) of the Goroka Campus continues to receive frequent mail from teachers requesting various materials such as books, cassettes and videos. This is not the responsibility of the EA dept, but rather then CU, NDE. Furthermore, the EA dept has produced several good quality publication, notably music books by Michael Webb and Don Niles, which are used in teacher-training, but which are not available to the schools, due to a lack of time for academic staff and a lack of money. It would seem desirable for a closer link between the EA dept and the CU, NDE. I can see tremendous benefit if the CU could station a full-time staff member in Goroka to work closely with the EA dept in writing relevant materials, distributing these to the schools, and maintaining a high level of correspondence with the schools.

Expressive Arts Teacher-Training Programs

Here I will briefly describe the two expressive arts teacher-training programs and comment on the need for greater student autonomy in these programs.

Two expressive arts teacher-training programs

FCA diploma graduates are eligible to attend the Goroka campus for one year of education studies, which qualifies them for a diploma in teaching expressive arts, secondary. These FCA graduates are either music, drama or visual art specialists. As I have already argued, the division of the arts into specialist areas is a Western concept. It is contrary to traditional artistic expression. However, I rate this as a successful program, and the ability of the FCA and the Expressive Arts Department of the Goroka campus to

work together in this way is without parallel within the other teaching subjects within the UPNG. Because this joint program has been run with significant numbers only over the past three years, it has yet to have an impact on secondary education, except in higher secondary education.

The Goroka campus also offers a three-year diploma in teaching to Grade 12 graduates. In this program, students choose two teaching subjects, one of which may be expressive arts. These expressive arts students study music, drama and visual arts. Recently, a one-semester course in traditional dance has been added. Because of a shortage of teachers in other subjects, and the low priority given to expressive arts within formal education, it is not uncommon to find expressive arts-trained teachers teaching in other subject areas.

The need for greater student autonomy in training programs

Aware of the importance for expressive arts teachers to consider their subject as important, the need for them to be able to stand up to opposition from principals and inspectors, and to show initiative in designing new programs in schools with very few financial resources, I have recently adopted an approach to teacher-training which gives the trainees a higher level of autonomy. It is a case of "sink or swim". As a part of this process, I asked my third-year students to complete a "Music Program Evaluation" sheet, whose aim was for them to tell me what they wanted to learn, and which we would then try to implement.

Their reaction to this additional responsibility was very positive, which is contrary to the attitudes found in other developing nations (of course, my small population of nine makes it impossible to draw definite conclusions) as described by other writers such as Dunbar (1991) and Murphy (1991). The music students were specific in their requests. They wanted to:

- spend more time in the making of traditional instruments
- learn more music theory
- spend more time learning how to play electronic keyboards.

In order to facilitate these, we hired a traditional wood-carver for one day per week to assist three male students in carving kundus (which was in addition to the making and tuning of bamboo trumpets and panpipes to a pentatonic scale). In making these instruments, we were not trying to reproduce authentic traditional music but, rather, to use elements of traditional music for our own musical expression. Further examples of student autonomy included each student having his/her own song, usually in vernacular, and each student completing the first level of a keyboard course which used stave notation.

The above demonstrated to me that these students, whom I would not describe as exceptional, responded well to greater autonomy and exercised an ability to be creative. This is contrary to formal education in PNG,

which has tended to assume a high level of heteronomous learning with little scope for creativity. Greater autonomy is essential for students who, after graduation, may well find themselves very much on their own and facing significant opposition in the school situation.

Conclusion

PNG has a rich variety of traditional performing and visual arts in the villages. Some urban artists have demonstrated that it is possible to marry these traditional expressions with modern technology, although the original ceremonial meaning and belief system may not be included in the process. The role of education is not to try and do what the villages can do better, but, rather, to use PNG traditional artistic elements such as songs, instruments, harmonies, body-painting, dance, legends and crafts and change them, using the artistic performing skills, technology, language and "philosophies" appropriate to the urban and/or rural lifestyles of the various communities.

Education can, and should, play a greater part than is currently the case in this development of a genuine PNG artistic expression. For this to occur, more people should be encouraged to remain in the villages through a greater emphasis on village-based education, while formal education needs to improve the quantity and quality of its expressive arts programs.

Recommendations

1. Given the high percentage of untrained expressive arts teachers in the schools, I recommend that the Goroka campus design an in-service program for these teachers. Such a program should use distance education techniques and include a high level of interaction by the use of appropriate materials and communications networks.
2. Given the problems which new expressive arts graduates face in the schools, I recommend that the expressive arts teacher-training programs include a higher level of student autonomy, and design a follow-up support program for graduates in their first year of teaching.
3. Given the fact that CU is not utilising its expressive arts positions, and the Goroka campus has been involved in this area of producing and distributing materials, I recommend that one of these positions, salary and appropriate funding be transferred to the Expressive Arts department of the Goroka campus, UPNG, thus creating a much closer link between materials production, distribution, usage by trainee teachers and the teachers in the schools.

By way of a final remark, I would like to invite artists and educators to be critical of our Goroka campus programs, and to suggest ways by which we can better assist in the overall aim of a genuine PNG artistic expression which is relevant to our growing and changing rural and urban communities.

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Discussion

Michael Webb: This is a huge area, but I noticed you said in your presentation, both in the section of video clips and your comments throughout it and some of the things you said in the wrap-up there, the conclusion, point towards a search for what you call the genuine Papua New Guinea artistic expression. I think one of the things that hinges our discussion is, or are, notions of authenticity - what we actually think is authentic or genuine. So, for example, I was sort of dismayed when you said that the Goroka Show Committee has told people that they won't earn any more points if they try to bilas any better or any more outrageously. I was absolutely overwhelmed by the creativity in the roots-based theatre in just about all of the excerpts of the Show performances there that you showed, some pretty amazing stuff.

The very fact that, in the fifties, a show was established in the first place, and there is some interesting documentation to suggest why it was actually established initially in Hagen, means that the context has really very little to do with village-based expressive culture. It's just a completely different context. It's just one among virtually all of the excerpts that you showed on film, of what I would assume is genuine Papua New Guinean artistic expression. I don't really think that it's a question of which is genuine and which is unauthentic. I think it's a question of what's our criteria for selection, given the richness that we have available to use in the system.

Justin Tonti-Filippini: I wouldn't argue with that.

MW: I'm just curious about the terms "genuine" and "authentic" and all that

sort of stuff; to what extent that has any weight in deciding what goes into the curriculum?

JT-P: One of the reasons we have the arts curriculum is to try and provide something that is Papua New Guinean, rather than, perhaps, use the words such as "genuine" and "authentic"

MW: Even the term "Papua New Guinean" is problematic in itself. It's a new term in the sense that, are we talking about national culture as a sort of a public culture, or are we talking about the composite of every individual, with the expression.

JT-P: Well if you look at the national curriculum, to some extent, you're going to have that kind of national [?]. One of the points I tried to make in the paper was, I don't like that sort of national position. I prefer to see the villages take more of a role, for the kids and the students to be able to spend more time in the villages. In other words, I'd like to see a better development in non-formal education.

MW: I think that's admirable on the one hand, but I think it's unrealistic on the other. I think it's a bit of both. I think you have to have that concern, but on the other hand, the nation demands a national culture, and the nation is developing a national culture, which is distinctly different from individual forms of artistic expression that exist in remote areas or in semi-remote areas. So I think that you're obliged (not you, I'm not talking about you), to understand that national culture, a pan-Papua New Guinean culture or whatever you want to call it, is different to local culture. It obviously should be rooted in that, but it is going to be different by definition. Also, the dimension is development, regardless of whether we think it should or not, or what it should be like.

Audience #1: I'm new here, and I am interested that this was a competition, am I correct in saying that?

JT-P: Yes, that's often the case.

A#1: Are there competitions given regularly?

JT-P: I guess the biannual is every second year, the Goroka Show. They have one in Hagen as well; they're all over the place. Some are on a competition basis, some are not.

A#1: Where I come from in the United States, we've been having very good success with competitions. At the University of Maryland there was a Marian Anderson vocal competition last year, and it was worldwide and very successful. It was a week-long competition with various workshops and concerts. I can see how a university-sponsored competition on this level would be very, very positive - competition of tribal groups who would come and perform and compete and give workshops and, well, you could be as creative as you want, it could be talks, lectures, videotapes, etcetera. I just wondered if any Papua New Guinea university has ever set up anything like that?

JT-P: The provincial governments usually set up the competitions.

A#1: What do you think about the University setting up something like that?

JT-P: It's a question of funding.

THE STATE OF MUSIC EDUCATION IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA, 1993

KEITH STEEBNS

Preamble

This paper aims to give a general perspective of the current state of arts education in Papua New Guinea with special reference to music. Music is currently taught as a component of Expressive Arts (or Creative Arts as mentioned in certain reform documents such as the 1991 Education Sector Study).

Expressive Arts was initiated as a subject in the early 1970s as part of a new Papua New Guinea "Community" syllabus. It took the components of Art and Craft and Music from the 1967 Primary T syllabus and added components such as dance, drama, creative writing, etc. However, apart from attempting to integrate the arts, its greatest change was to stress the importance of teaching Papua New Guinean arts.

As a subject with a large time allocation it should have had a team of curriculum writers preparing "model" materials, and specific cultural materials. However, given its low priority within the Education Department, it has had only one officer to carry out the curriculum tasks for Grades 1 - 12, apart from six months in 1988 when two officers worked together. Since March 1991 there has been no expressive arts curriculum officer. In comparison, the science office, which has less than one-third the time allocated to expressive arts, has had three or four officers working on science over the same period. (Community School Science also had a special radio project with a team of approximately ten staff working over a three year period.)

In 1988 a proposal to have a team of three writers was approved in principle; one to assume responsibility for music, one the visual arts, and the third dance/drama. It was proposed that the three officers would also assume responsibility, one each, for the primary, secondary, and upper secondary levels. The proposal was never implemented.

Education Reform

The catch cry at the moment is "educational reform", and a major exercise is under way to provide greater educational access for children in Papua New Guinea. The 1991 Education Sector Study has proposed that this take place by:

1. Providing a three-year village vernacular or *tok pies* education, with bridging to English in the third year;
2. Stopping Grades 1 and 2 in Community Schools and providing Grades 7 and 8 in Community Schools, thereby doubling the number of Grade 9 and 10 places in Provincial High Schools;
3. Encouraging at least one Provincial High School in every province to provide Grades 11 and 12.

This year a start has been made in the Madang and West New Britain Provinces with Malala and Hoskins Provincial High Schools providing Grade 11 in 1993 and Grade 12 in 1994, and with seven Community Schools in Madang and two in West New Britain providing Grades 7 in 1993 and Grade 8 in 1994.

Already there are over 1,500 village tok pies schools with an estimated enrolment of over 40,000 children throughout PNG. However, the task of bringing them under a common three-year national government umbrella has raised a number of issues yet to be resolved. Issues such as who should have responsibility for the schools, community or government; should the teachers be paid a proper salary by the provincial or national government, or should they receive a subsidy; what curriculum should they follow; what structure is most appropriate for urban areas; how should existing one or two year vernacular programs currently being run by provinces be incorporated into a "national" system, etc. All of these issues are in many ways insoluble, given the current non-formal education powers provinces have.

The 1991 Sector Study, in its chapter on curriculum states:

For Elementary Schools (Prep, 1 and 2)

The language will be chosen by the community, and there will be four areas of study:

1. Language and Cultural Studies
2. Mathematics
3. Creative Expression and Physical Education: drawing, singing, movement, dance games
4. Home Room Activities, (page 178)
(N.B.: no time allocation is given.)

Primary Grades 3-8

The language will be English, (p. 179)

Grades 3-5

Creative Expression and Physical Education: Similar activities to those in earlier years, but with games, music, and exercises appropriate to the age level of the children. Time distribution of approximately three periods per week (40 minute periods) i.e. 120 minutes instead of the 180 minutes currently allocated.

Grades 6-8

This cycle is to introduce a more systematic, subject-centred approach to the curriculum. Creative Expression, two periods per week, i.e., 80 minutes instead of the 210 minutes allocated in Grade 6. Grades 7 and 8 currently allow for 2-4 periods per week. If a school selects four periods, then the subject can be assessed and a grade recorded on the student's certificate.

Provincial and National High Schools

No specific mention is made of expressive arts in the sector study.

The Current Situation in Village Tok Pies Schools

In East New Britain Province the *tok pies* prep schools allocate one period per week specifically for expressive arts, however many activities during the week are based on expressive arts such as singing, drawing, and drama activities. No expressive arts materials have been prepared for this level and the activities should be thematic and based on the child's own culture.

The teacher has to prepare song charts, etc. No expressive arts materials are supplied.

Elementary teacher training is very haphazard at present and ranges from one week attendance at a University of Papua New Guinea course (where it has been documented that some participants who have never had any education have trouble in writing their name after the week, but are still given a teachers certificate) through to a one-year modular programme consisting of 4-5 weeks initial training and an "apprenticeship" under an experienced teacher for the rest of the year.

Some very poor teacher training programmes have no music studies. There is a lack of materials to teach music, e.g. song charts, percussion instruments, etc. The question as to whether education at this level should be formal or non-formal has not been resolved.

The Current Situation in Community Schools

The approach is thematic and should be based on the child's own culture in the early Grades, with a widening horizon in the later Grades. However, many teachers still lack confidence in teaching children traditional songs and crafts.

There are a range of Teachers Resource Books available for the Community School level, including the 1988 Curriculum Statement; a programming book; resource books on PNG instruments, Dance and Movement, and Pattern; and cultural books demonstrating how thematic units can be prepared in different cultures such as the Mekeo. Currently a series of sample thematic units is being prepared for community school Grades.

The materials that were prepared for Grades 7 and 8 are being used in the "top-up" Grades, but teachers are having real trouble using them as they lack confidence and in-service training. The Grade 7 teacher at Yomba Community School stopped teaching expressive arts last semester as he didn't have pencils and paper for the Drawing Skills TRB unit. Most teachers didn't use the Grade 7 cassette as they didn't have cassette recorders.

Community School teacher training in expressive arts is carried out at nine Community School Teachers Colleges by lecturers who have demonstrated an interest in expressive arts and who have had "on the job" training at a college, one year of education studies at UPNG, and have studied one of the arts for 12 months in Australia. As such, many are very weak in their own artistic competencies. In the last couple of years Colleges are looking at Faculty of Creative Arts graduates, especially those who have had teaching experience, as possible lecturers. Hopefully this will upgrade expressive arts skills at this level.

I have identified five concerns:

1. Current teacher training doesn't provide music lecturers with the necessary skills to carry out the duties as listed on the duty statement.
2. Lack of a complete set of Teachers Resource Books.
3. Lack of musical equipment in class.
4. Reduction of time for expressive arts with education "reform."
5. Current pressures on expressive arts by other examinable subjects and other subjects within the "social and Spiritual" area of the curriculum.

(N.B. a Secretary's instruction allows for flexible time allocations within the Social and Spiritual subject area, i.e., Christian Education, Social Science, Health, Physical Education, and Expressive Arts.)

The Current Situation in Secondary Schools

The approach is more of a subject skill development where pupils develop skills in music, the visual arts, and dance and drama. The students are also required to undertake an integrated project.

There are a range of Teachers Resource Books available for the Community School level, including the 1988 Curriculum Statement. Those written for Music are: *Singing and the Basic Elements of Music; Musical Instruments, Hit, Plucked, Struck, and Shaken; Singing in Harmony* (yet to be published), *Drumming* (yet to be published). (N.B. These books were all prepared by Michael Webb.) Supplementary materials in music include: *The PNG Music Collection* (11 cassettes and book), *Riwain!* (2 cassettes and book), *01 Singing Bilong Pies* (2 cassettes and book), *Paitim Winim na Meknais* (book), *Song-book and Guitar Tutor* (2 cas-

ettes and book). (N.B. These materials were prepared by Michael Webb and/or Don Niles.)

Teachers are prepared at either the Faculty of Creative Arts at UPNG, Goroka Teachers College, or a combination of both campuses. While in Wewak this year I spoke with an FCA music graduate who was teaching Maths and Science, and an agricultural graduate who was teaching Expressive Arts! As such, provincial administration is an area that needs attention.

Areas of concern for secondary schools include:

1. Lack of a complete set of Teachers Resource Books.
2. Lack of funds to pay contracted writers.
3. Reduction of time for expressive arts in schools.
4. A significant number of trained expressive arts teachers are not teaching the subject (approximately 30%).
5. Lack of musical equipment in class.
6. Teachers being reluctant to teach unfamiliar *tok pies* songs in their classes.
7. Poor provincial educational administration in some provinces.

The Current Situation in Upper Secondary Schools

The approach is subject-based, where students cover each of the four areas in Grade 11, and select music, dance/drama, or a visual art to specialise in during Grade 12.

Grade 11 and Grade 12 Teachers Resource Books for Music have been written. Keith Stebbins wrote the Grade 11 booklet and Justin Tonti-Filippini wrote the Grade 12 booklet and prepared the cassette and video. The same supplementary materials listed for Provincial High Schools are set for Upper Secondary Schools.

At present, teachers are trained at the FCA and attend a one year Education course at GTC, though this could change with the new GTC Advanced Diploma in Expressive Arts.

For upper secondary schools, three areas are of concern:

1. Reduction of time for expressive arts in the new top-up schools.
Note that Hoskins Provincial High School is not offering the subject.
2. Teachers lack the skills to provide good musical models for students and for musical extension activities within the school. For example, it was claimed that the music teachers lacked the skills to play the music for a musical that a national high school wanted to produce this year.
3. Content of syllabus: some say a more rigorous course is required. This is a charge that could be levelled at the Faculty of Creative Arts as well.

Conclusion

The following educational areas need attention:

A. The gap that exists between what the expressive arts curriculum statement sets as goals and what is actually achieved in schools.

B. The lack of a team of expressive arts curriculum writers which is needed to complete the set of expressive arts Teachers Resource Books, charts, etc., as outlined in the 1988 expressive arts curriculum statements.

C. That more evaluation of current materials and curriculum be carried out and recommendations made as to how they can be improved, e.g., the implications of a multicultural programme, cultural content versus skill development, etc.

D. The current education "reforms" need to be evaluated against the "integral human development" which is the first goal of our national constitution. The declining place of the arts needs special consideration and research.

E. Surveys of expressive arts teachers need to be carried out to evaluate the current utilisation of the trained teachers in the country and to prepare manpower plans for the future.

F. The possibility of issuing music kits to all teachers needs investigation; e.g. kits containing cassettes, a cassette player, a guitar, pitch-pipes, and appropriate music texts for the Grade.

G. The publication of the last UPNG Waigani Arts Seminar (1989?) papers and recommendations needs to be completed and made available to the public. This seminar was chaired by the current UPNG Vice Chancellor and the papers and recommendations are with Dr Minol. The report needs to be tabled through the University Council before publication can take place. It is through a greater community awareness of the issues of concern that changes can start to take place.

It is important that the university takes an academic lead in the development of music education. I hope that students or staff of the universities will investigate some of the above areas.

This paper shouldn't be all doom and gloom. The materials and curriculum we have developed in Papua New Guinea are being used in other Pacific countries such as the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and Tonga. Our curriculum has been included in the Expressive Arts programme in the University of New South Wales. We now have a number of PNG students studying music and music education in universities in New Zealand and Australia. Most importantly, performing music continues to be a vital part of all PNG societies and there is a genuine love of both traditional and contemporary music in all societies. These are the seeds that we hope to see flower over the coming years.

Discussion

Soru Anthony Subam: Does the Education Department or government body have a policy, or something that polices, that works out that there is a balance of teachers between different schools, or is it just left to the provincial government? What is actually the structure?

Keith Stebbins: The staffing and allocation of staff to schools is a provincial administrative responsibility. There are a number of positions schools have, but which people they put against those positions is a provincial responsibility. Although there will be an expressive arts position at the school, if they find they've got too many teachers at a school in another subject area, they'll often just hold a teacher against that position. So it's a problem, it varies from province to province.

Stella Inimgba: You made mention that attention is being paid to science and other academic subjects than expressive arts. Is there any way of letting the students know that expressive arts can be academic, because it seems to me that they are just seeing it as something that you can just do just to support what your profession is. Has it ever occurred to the teachers to let them know that expressive arts can be academic?

KS: Well, I know when we go around to the national high schools for assessment, we do try and talk to the Grade 11 students about careers in the arts; again, we stress that at the Grade 11 and 12 level. In the *Teachers Resource Books* we're starting to look at different Papua New Guinean artists who are making a living out of the arts. Michael [Webb] started that by doing musical self-portraits and things like that. We'd look at artists, and they have exercises looking at which artists are performing or making money out of the arts in their own community, seeing it as a career option for those who have skills in that area. But when the subject is not counted towards marks for a student to go on in their education, that contradicts no matter what anybody else says. That becomes the crunch. When you can score points for it, then it has meaning, then it has value.

SI: So what are the people designing the curriculum doing about this?

KS: There's no one designing the curriculum. There's been no one in expressive arts since March 1991. I'm Principal Curriculum Officer, Language and Literature, so yes, I make a noise. When I get a free afternoon, which is virtually never, then I can do something like trying to get Michael's book finished before I see him next time [laughs].

SI: I asked this question because we are also facing the same problem in our faculty. The ambitious student comes in and when he sees that probably he may not go higher than just the diploma or the certificate, after one year he will move on to another department. I guess the students are having the feeling that, "If I am ambitious, I want to make my career in the academics," that he probably [?] creative arts, or theatre, visual arts, or music, cannot be given that opportunity. So that's why I asked this question. It seems to me that while they are in high school they get the impression that expressive arts can only be an extracurricular activity.

KS: It has to be the reality of the situation which changes people's attitudes. If they see Papua New Guineans going through a system, getting good jobs, getting money, getting a lot of job satisfaction, then that becomes a very viable career alternative. I think that's what we need to concentrate on, setting up the infrastructure where Papua New Guineans can see the jobs, they see their friends going into

jobs, they see their friends going overseas doing postgraduate studies in arts disciplines, they see that there is a variety of career options there; it's not what we say, but it's what is happening. They see the alternatives of Papua New Guineans being in bands, spinning around the Pacific promoting their cassettes. These stories go through the community. Then it's what's happening which is far more important than anything that we say. I think that's the important thing.

Mind you, you will be pleased, I had a meeting with OIDA and Finance a couple of weeks ago, and I raised the absurd situation of the Drama students being out in the cold in terms of National Scholarships and things like that; and how the running battle was just completely irrational when there are career options which do exist in that area; how it was just hard to see how the office of higher education could make those sorts of decisions - when they're insisting on data, when you quantify integral human development of a society, those cultural values, and there is enough that you can quantify to provide the data.

I was talking to the people in finance who are collecting the manpower data, and they were saying how they're waiting for people to give them the stuff because they're economics students straight out from university and they haven't got the background, they're dependent on what resources are fed into them. So I think that area, we need to be collecting and supplying a lot more data to those agencies which are making those funding decisions, as well. We do have to scream through forums like this, over areas which do worry us.

Frank Magne: A pretty open ended question, it might be nice to go to Michael too, re the *Riwain!* books: I was wondering what kind of feedback you've had from these various publications, particularly given that it seems that you've got a very strong performance emphasis, rather than, say, theory/learning emphasis, right throughout the Grades. One obvious question that also refers to the arts faculty from *taim bipo*, has to do with the whole sort of trend, the influence of education on modern music, both through the Grades and the National Arts School. I wondered whether you'd comment on that.

KS: Yes, I'll comment briefly, then I'll let Michael comment. In our store, we keep all the books there. The books which get stolen the most are *Riwain!*, Michael will be pleased, and his *Guitar Tutor*. Probably we have the highest theft in our stores for those books, and they're the first books to disappear from the stores. I think that speaks volumes on just how popular that is amongst the teachers. I don't think I've ever told you that, Michael, have I, that yours is the most stolen book in our education store? But I think that speaks volumes.

In terms of the influence that education has on the rest of the music society, I think it has a very, very strong, hidden influence. The songs that are taught from other cultures into communities, often then become the basis of string-band songs, etcetera, etcetera. That little one I sang from New Hanover, "Manmania Susu", appeared in a song book up in the Southern Highlands, I was curious to see. It was one that we used as a demonstration song in schools.

Another song that is better-known, "Spangane Gane", which was taught to me by a student in Morobe province, that was put out by Sanguma when we did that at an education workshop at the high school, and we used that as an example of taking a traditional melody and modifying it. I was surprised when I was in Hon iara last, that one of the local string-bands there sang "Spangane Gane". You have that influence which is spreading around the Pacific, and we often are completely unaware of just how strong those influences are.

Certainly the whole area of Western notation and Western tonal structures - Don [Niles] has done a lot more work in this area, and Michael's doing work in that area - is having a major influence, where we're having the situation where the people are not just bilingual in languages, but I'd say they're almost bi-musical, that they can sing in different tonal structures. This is a skill which is acknowledged and recognised and developed in a place such as Indonesia. We need to be looking at that and doing it here, but when we've got such small language groups, it becomes very, very complex and time consuming. Again, a lot more work needs to be done on this, to see just how it can be done, how it should be done, what are the best processes, etcetera, etcetera. But there is a major influence coming on.

I remember a song that was taught in 1976/75, "Lana Gidobia," the Hiri-Motu journey, about the Lakatoi canoes. I heard the same version sung only three years later in a string-band style, and done in a traditional *singsing* setting where the song had changed its form/structure - and we're seeing an awful lot of that. Of course, I got cross and said, "This not the way it should be - if you're doing traditional dancing, at least be authentic," and so they went back and changed the melody. But they thought it would have more audience appeal in the traditional singing setting if that was changed. Michael, do you want to add to *Riwain!*

Michael Webb: Just a couple of comments about *Riwain!*, it's actually a collaboration, Don Niles and I did it. We received some letters from people in the bush that said they'd heard that we were pop-stars, and they wanted us to send copies of the book and the tapes. Some people thought that it was us singing, and they were our songs on there. I don't know how they heard that by the grapevine, but they're some classic letters.

I have just another little aside to what Keith was saying about that book. It's amazing the sort of local confidence that it's given some musicians, and even prestige within their own community, for some reason, just because it's in print. The power of the printed word is amazing. I've found some musicians on the Gazelle Peninsula, whom I've met - I had previously never met them - and their songs appear in the book. They've got a copy of it that's been ripped off from a school by one of their relatives, that was brought to them, and they'd say, "Here, your song's in the book." They're really proud of the fact that they have a song in the book; a couple of the composers.

Audience #1: Has the Department of Education thought of a language policy?

KS: Yes, I've said what the language policy is, that for the first three years of schooling the language will be in the language that the community decides. In town areas it would be English or Tok Pisin or Hiri Motu, or if there's a large particular ethnic group, they can use that language. Then for Grades past that the language of instruction will be English, but a vernacular component will be included, and that is so that right through the upper years teachers can do activities in Tok Pisin or a vernacular or Hiri Motu. Just whatever's going to provide the most effective communication. The national government put that through as the national literacy policy in 1990. If you're particularly interested in that I can get copies of that policy.

Audience #1: In terms of publishing all these books, would you have enough funds for publishing all the books in different languages?

KS: Well this is where we're looking at provincial departments having the

responsibility for producing materials for the cultures in their own community. Again, I think a lot of this is an area where there must be overseas funding agencies that can be tapped, such as embassies, for producing materials for particular cultural groups when they're being prepared. That can be done in this way.

Student #1: How much does it cost to produce a single book?

KS: It depends who writes it. We sell the books at cost if they're sold through the curriculum unit, it would be about a kina fifty. For example this one from Goroka Teachers College cost us nothing to write because it was given by Goroka Teachers College; students at Goroka Teachers College gave it to us to publish. But the books that Michael and Don have done, the *Riwain!*, and the *PNG Music Collection*, and *01 Singing Bilong Pies*, they didn't get a toea from it, they just gave it for the Department to use. So the ones we put out for schools, it's just the cost of the paper. That acknowledgment should be appropriately made.

When we're doing *Teachers Resource Books*, we do have contract conditions that are just the same for contract writing in any of the other subjects. The contract fees are set, whatever the going rate is, it's for I think an E06 teacher; it works out on a time basis, for the period of time that it's estimated to write it, and they just set standard rates. So it's one or two thousand kina for the writing, for books like this.

It varies. It's gone up a bit lately, fortunately, but of course they've got no money because the Finance has cut that, so it's an awry current situation. But really we're getting the books incredibly cheap when you compare it with other countries, if there was copyright involved. We can put these books out to schools for a kina a copy, whereas if we were to buy a similar sort of book from overseas we'd be looking at 10 kina a copy, with all the copyright and extra costs built into it.

So really what we're doing in Expressive Arts is keeping our materials at minimum cost. I'm happy with that policy; I think that's working well. Maybe copyright will be a problem. We'll have Don Niles and Michael Webb turning into millionaires overnight and they can claim royalties on the copyright [laughs]. Hardly likely.

Student #2: If I'm right, didn't you say something about school subsidies, for example from school fees, for materials-things like guitar or cassette recorders. What do you have to say on this free education, with this?

KS: That is a political question, I'm a non-Papua New Guinean, and I reserve the right to answer [laughs]. I can say that the Education Department was against that policy because it was against the policy of self-reliance. But it's a political issue and if the government didn't go ahead with that, it wouldn't have a chance at the next elections, or if a vote of no-confidence comes up in February. So it was a political platform, the Department of Education had nothing to do with it. But I do know that now in schools such as Alexishafen, they spent two thousand kina that they'd raised from school fees, on materials for the school. So one effect is that it's helping a little bit in freeing up a little bit of money for school purchases.

Student #2: So there was no proper research before [?]?

KS: You will have to ask the national government. It was PDM platform, Wingti's platform. It does have value in very economically depressed areas where children had to stop going to school because their parents didn't have fees. But whether it needed to be applied across the whole country is something that I think the Department of Education - I'm not saying myself - the Department of Educa-

tion would have liked to have seen more study gone into.

Student #1: What do you think of the copyright issue that's been going on, because we think that we need copyright to preserve our culture, PNG music, and all that stuff. Do you think we really need a copyright, or just forget it?

KS: There are many pluses and many minuses in the copyright debate. Certainly from an education perspective, the minuses outweigh the pluses, from the Department of Education viewpoint. But then there are other basic human principles that apply, and they need to be looked at to see if an accommodation can be made so that the various organisations concerned can reach something where there isn't the exploitation of PNG artists, which can take place, where someone can record a song and then another group performs and makes a lot of money out of it.

But where do you stop the copyright? Do you go back into the village, the traditional ancestor from years ago, who wrote the song, is the copyright there? Does it rest in the clan, does it rest in current performers? It becomes a very, very complex issue when you're looking at traditional arts and crafts. I don't think it's so much a problem with contemporary arts and crafts, and contemporary music. But I think it needs to be looked at very carefully, and the structuring and the wording of any copyright would be a very complex issue. It's a debate which is an important debate, and it's one that hopefully they will come to some resolution fairly quickly to protect contemporary artists. I feel very strongly that there should be some protection for contemporary artists. But the traditional area is very complex.

SAS: Just going back to my point before: you said some of the policies that need the Secretary's signature, after he's signed then it's passed down to the lower levels of education. Don't you think there needs to be a restructure of the structure itself, for check and balance, going back to the point that there is an imbalance of teachers in specific areas. Has there existed a particular kind of, not policing but, body that checks these areas? Whether it's in the provincial government, or whether it's in the main hierarchy in education, that does actually go down to see that these things are implemented?

KS: Well there are two checks. On the provincial level they have a provincial planner, who should be keeping an eye on those sorts of issues. On our national level we have inspectors who can identify where there are weaknesses in certain areas. So there are checks in that area, but while the responsibility, under the organic law with decentralisation lies with the province, then the province has the final decision. If they don't have funds for transferring teachers or they don't have enough married houses at a particular school, you'll find that those issues take priority. Or, if they don't have a particularly effective provincial administration, you have those problems again. So, a combination of those factors.

Maybe this government will do away with provincial governments and Education will have a lot more power to control those things, who knows? Again, it's a political issue. We can note the concern. This is where we'd be looking for you with your fieldwork, to do a lot more research into those areas and into those problems so we can have the data there and we can make a case for change, the best world of change. It's that area that I hope that some of you will get interested in and say, "Hey, I'd like to work in that area," or "If I'm doing a research paper, I'll do a research paper on that area." It's that sort of issue. And awareness, if we can have the greater awareness maybe we can raise a few consciousnesses and get a few changes made.

Student #3: [?] Papua New Guinea music, theatre arts, and all this, and then [?] ethnomusicologists, but we have not mentioned any single thing in curriculum [?] ethnomusicology, whether the students in any field, when they're in the national high school, to have interest to get into that field. How will the students, either the national high school or the Faculty of Creative Arts, to get into that field, actually to enable people [?]

KS: Within the Grade 12 music syllabus, you've got the theory, you've got PNG music studies, you've also got an area performing traditional or contemporary music, and there's also an area called Options. This is an area that's one of the weakest areas that's being taught in national high schools, Grade 12 at the moment. It's an area where students are supposed to pursue an area that interests them, either in their own traditional music or in recording. Some of you would know the options that you did when you were at national high school, and you're supposed to present that for the moderation, and it's got weighting in the assessment. It is an area that has not been done well. It's an area where we need to strengthen teachers' in-service and teacher training. So that's one component; there is provision in the current syllabus for students to pursue their interest. It's not being done as well as it should be, at the moment.

The other area in terms of identification of career options that are available - again this is something that needs to be stressed in expressive arts newsletters, through the teacher talking to the students, and the examples that are available in Papua New Guinea contemporary society. We need to have much greater awareness of the different people working within the music industry, and working within music in society, too, in our education programs.

Samuel Pongiura: The point I was trying to make has been raised. The problem I found out when I was teaching expressive arts in high school is that many parents and students see education as a ticket to finding a job. They put more emphasis on English, maths, and science. When you want to add expressive arts they say, "What is expressive arts going to offer you in the future?" My question now to you as a representative of the Education Department - maybe Robert could add something on to this - is about opportunities for expressive arts people. If we teach them in high school and they come to, say, FCA, opportunities - look at all the people that have graduated from arts school. How many of them are ethnomusicologists now, how many of them are teachers now? Many I've seen just wandering around working in the shops for the Chinese or something. You have not made use of those teachers. There are lots of schools without teachers, and you need them. How come you let them go like that?

KS: Well Samuel, to get into Goroka Teachers College, and I might tell the students now, Justin [Tonti-Filippini] might have said something about it, you need to have an upper pass in Maths and English in Grade 10, and preferably matriculation, with passes in Maths and English. This is why we tell students that if they can get those Grades while they're here in Moresby, so that they can have the academic levels to be accepted at Goroka Teachers College, then they can be trained as teachers. So the ones wandering around here now are either those who don't have those academic levels or they're not interested in education, and that's fine. I mean, we don't want everybody to be teachers, God help us if that was the case [laughter].

The other point I wanted to make is that expressive arts as a subject in schools

is not primarily for careers, it is primarily for integral human development, the development of the whole person, where students can develop creativity, develop expression, and can enjoy the arts and develop skills in them. It's only a small percentage that we're going to be targeting for careers in the arts. But that's not the justification for arts education in the schools, the justification is for integral human development, as stated in the national constitution, and as Sir Paulias Matane really stressed in that philosophy of education in 1986.

SP: What I was really trying to get at is, you get problems here teaching the senior Grades. When I was in Kainantu I was given four periods. Many senior students will give you problems, in a classroom situation. They'll say, "Ah, it's not important. I'm not going to sit for that examination. It's not important. I'm going to do my English, I'm going to do my maths." How can we make it really important, how can we make the students want to appreciate it?

KS: Well that comes down to the teaching, doesn't it. It's doing things that the students really enjoy, so it is a really enjoyable subject area, where they feel they are challenged and where they are developing. But yes, I take your point that it is a problem. If you're doing four periods, it can count as a practical subject. So if it's seen as counting towards their certificate . . . That's common for all subject areas, isn't it, especially the P.E. and guidance, you have those sorts of problems there. We see enough instances where there is a very positive attitude towards the subject, and where students really enjoy the subject. It's the teaching, it's the materials, it's curriculum; there's a whole lot of factors involved in that.

Student #1: [?] stress the importance of teaching Papua New Guinea arts?

KS: Well it's the Philosophy of Education, I mean it's government policy, the constitution. If you look at the five goals in the constitution, the first goal is integral human development, where all aspects of the individual are developed. I think it's the fourth goal in the constitution which says that this will be done in Papua New Guinean ways, using Papua New Guinean culture. That speaks for itself, just as well as common sense.

Looking at experiences of other countries which have lost their identity with their own culture and tried to go into a modern, Western, American society, we've seen all sorts of problems in the social structures in their community, with that loss of identity. It just becomes a copycat art, rather than a truly creative cultural growing program. That objective which is stated in the syllabus, to give a pride in their own culture, is one that is very important. It's in all the curriculum statements, and that comes straight out of the constitution. Certainly any of the educational documents, such as the Matane "Philosophy of Education" stress that.

Audience #2: I'm sitting here as a parent; I have children in the school over there. I'm talking also in support of what Sam is saying. I know you're an educationist, you come from the Education Department. Perhaps you could throw a bit of light on whether the government has any plans or incentives, other than the teaching profession, for any of the students here, when they go into the work force. Is there anything else apart from teaching, for them? Or is that their own decision?

KS: I think we had an interesting question raised at Michael's talk, about how many were making a living out of their music, in terms of performing. Did you say one, or one group or something, or one or two?

MW: First of all, the question of what is a living, is important in any answer to that question. I was just saying that, in a fairly small town like Rabaul, you only

actually had about 15 full-time professionals making a living - working in music as a job. But there are a number of other musicians that gain considerable royalties out of their cassettes, but only for a short period of time, and it's very much dependent upon the whims of the population. It might make 10,000 kina over three years, and then people for some reason don't respond to their music any more, ever, commercially that is.

KS: I don't think it's the government's responsibility to try and create jobs, necessarily. I think it's society, both the private, informal, non-government sector, as well as the government, to create a climate where music can develop. It's got to be just a natural progression; if you try and force something it would be artificial, and probably doomed to failure. It has to be a natural utilisation of the resources that are here.

You've seen, some people have made a lot of money out of the cassette industry here. Hopefully more Papua New Guineans will tap into that as a source of income; the ones behind the scenes, behind the recording industry. There are options there. If you tried to quantify the amount of money that is circulating in Papua New Guinea from music, you'd be looking in the millions of kina. But how that money's being distributed is another very, very interesting area. Maybe one of you will do research on that and analyse where the funds actually are going, which are coming out of the music industry here, not just within government, but also within the private sector. It would make some very interesting reading.

Clement Gima: I'd like to ask a question on behalf of those who are not interested in teaching, or who don't have the qualification to go into teaching. Is there any backup from the Education Department if I'm interested in going in to do research in traditional music. What will I do to qualify for government funding to go back into the society and help catch the music that is about to *go pinis*.

KS: My answer to you, Clement, is to do exactly what you've done. You've got a job with the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, and you can go back into your community to do study on your traditional music, which you've done. Mind you there's only limited jobs in that regard, as you know. If there's felt to be a greater need, then it's your organisation, that government body which needs to expand its operations, and make a case for the expansion of those operations. Not our Education Department; that's your worry, [laughter]

SAS: You mentioned the word "human integral development." As the Education Department, or as the body that's come up with that term, can you explain this, please, before I follow up on it.

KS: Okay. It's in the national constitution, not Education Department. It just means developing all parts of a human; their aesthetic development, their physical development, their mental development, their social development - all the different aspects, not just preparing students in a school to get a job, for a career, where they do just academic work. We're interested in the whole person, all aspects of the person - their culture, their own feelings, their emotions - giving them the confidence to be a worthwhile member of society; all aspects. And to come to terms with themselves, to help them develop and mature as an individual. So it's from the national constitution, not from the Education Department. I hope that clarifies that at all times.

SAS: That follows down to what you mentioned about teachers not being able to cope with the material you give them. There is all this material that's there, and

maybe methodically they haven't picked up the right things, or if they do, they don't have the creativity to follow through. Is the particular curriculum, or whatever we may call it, within the structure of the education, bringing out or able to bring out this particular thing in a human being, that is able to cater for situations like this, where the material or the instrument or whatever that is there is not the only thing that enables him to perform, but what is actually there - for him to use the situation to get the student to . . . As we have at the Faculty of Creative Arts, where we encourage students to be creative not in the sense of what is around them, but to go over those boundaries that are actually inhibiting them from creating that situation.

KS: Obviously we need to have more effective pre-service training, more effective in-service training, and we need to stress the role of arts in optional, elective activities, as well as within the subject, where students and teachers are going to be involved in creative activities because they want to be involved in them, not because the curriculum or syllabus says they should be involved in it. I think when that happens, when they can be just doing it for fun, and enjoyment, for creativity, like the option groups that we've been talking about for Grade 12, and like activities you're doing here, that you can really reach the highest points of achievement. That's something that we need to look at, not just as part of the formal system, but having an important part in the informal life of a school, and educational institutions.

PANEL DISCUSSION: TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND EDUCATION

KEITH STEBBINS, CHAIR

Robert Reigle: Today we've got a panel on traditional music and education in Papua New Guinea. We've invited Keith Stebbins, who will chair this panel, and he's written some issues on the board; Tony Subam, who is teaching music at the Faculty of Creative Arts; Luke Balane, who is a graduate of the Faculty of Creative Arts; and Michael Webb, who is currently doing his Ph.D. studies on popular music in Papua New Guinea. Michael also, as those who were here earlier know, has been heavily involved in music education in PNG for many years.

Keith Stebbins: I think we should add that Luke is at the In-Service College in music, too, so, it will be interesting to get comments. I thought I'd fire a couple of these questions and let different members of the panel respond, and then if there are questions from the floor as we're looking at those issues, we can have questions there, or comments that you feel about from the floor. It's not an exhaustive list, they're not in any formal structure, so we'll just get started. If there are other issues that come out of them, we can list other questions up as well. The first question I'm going to throw at them is: what is traditional music, how would you define traditional music?

Soru Anthony Subam: From this standpoint of time, if we look at what has happened already, maybe if you identify with your music of your people and your fathers, to me I see that as my traditional music. As we move on in time, the people from the later generation will probably see this music as part of their traditional music; the growth, it's a movement. But from now, I see what has developed from the past, I see what my fathers' music - the music of our people, not just from my area, but from all areas of Papua New Guinea. That's the traditional music to me. I'm looking at it from the point of view of now, it's a development.

Again I say, in 10 year's time this music here is part of that tradition that has developed. If you pinpoint it in time, you hold it, then you freeze it, and it becomes something that you can talk about. But as from now, this music, what I'm doing, or whoever - it's just creating music that keeps developing. But it may develop into tomorrow's traditional music. We can look at it from all kinds of angles. But some of us like to freeze it and say the traditional music is only what the people in the village sing, it's only what those instruments are playing. That is a very special part of us,

of course, which we have to hold on to. But it's a growing thing, and that is a main factor in my traditional music.

Luke Balane: I would look at it from an ethnic point of view, where we all come from. To me, "traditional" in the sense that we are referring to our traditions, different ethnic groups that we come from, would be a music that has been part of a tradition, that's part of our culture as well, as we've seen it through this pushing change that we're going through. It's part of our tradition, I'll put it this way.

Michael Webb: This could take forever, but... I think it's a highly problematic label. I think it's a label. First of all, it's an English word that's been brought to Papua New Guinea, and then somebody has taught us to attach meanings to that label, and various of us have different ideas of what that label means to us. It has ideological connotations, it has political connotations.

If we go back to what Richard [Moyle] said yesterday, and this also follows on from what Tony just said, if we talk about something being traditional, we're talking about something being deeply meaningful to a community of people that have something in common with each other, and that community is geographically bound somehow, that is they're contained either within a nation-community, or even within quite a local, specific community. It also accumulates the connotations of being traditional and cultural, and so forth, by being used over a period of time. It's not something that's transitional, that is, that today it can be traditional and tomorrow it can't, and that sort of thing. I think that was a very useful working definition, but the way we've been throwing it around the last few days is highly problematic.

Another thing, I don't know why people keep asking this question that I've been hearing for about 15 years, and that is, should we consider Peroveta to be traditional? I can never work out why people keep asking that question. Of course it is. The same could be said about the choral tradition in the New Guinea Islands region. It's been deeply meaningful to people for over a hundred years, and it has a very relevant place in local culture. By raising those two examples of Peroveta and the choral church music tradition in New Guinea Islands region - and you could refer to other examples, too - I'm simply saying that it doesn't have to mean that it has to be played on a kundu or garamut, or you have to have a certain vocal timbre, and so forth. Okay, I better stop and let somebody else ...

KS: I get intrigued at times, when traditional songs are not taught to school children. They might teach a version of a traditional song, and I think this comes up later, where maybe all the consonants are dropped, because they don't want the true traditional song, which is deep and meaningful, to be used in public.

MW: To respond to that, I think all songs are versions; all performances are versions, and we have to keep that point in mind as well. I don't

think that there is necessarily a single, authentic, genuine version.

SAS: It's just come around because of the great impact that the Western movement has had on the culture. The impact is so great that the change is not slow, it's come out really fast. That's why we have this problem of fixing titles, where we can't really put the meanings inside. Where, in some areas of the West, where development has progressed over a long period of time - not development, but change - it's slow, it's not really seen. Then, you can see that the change in music and change in other things are not very noticeable.

RR: I'd like to draw a parallel from jazz. Around 1960, when all this free jazz came out, the free jazz musicians said, "I'm just extending the traditions that already existed," but everybody else in that community said, "No, that doesn't have anything to do with jazz." These labels are useful for us. Sometimes we do want to refer to that body of music that does consist of kundus and garamuts. I don't think that we should discard all labels, because anything that we discriminate with our minds, we want to be able to discuss it, and labels can help us with those discussions. In a sense, there is no music that's outside of tradition; there's nothing that came from Jupiter or Venus, that we're playing now. Everything is related to some tradition. In a sense, every music is traditional. But sometimes in discussions you want to delineate different aspects of it, or talk about certain parts of this big, giant thing of "music".

MW: Okay, well then let's say you've got music performed in the village for a specific occasion, for a specific ceremony; then you can have the same piece performed in town in a competition, and you can have the same piece recorded on a cassette, and it might not have gone through a radical transformation, it might be pretty much the same piece. In each case they're versions, and which one do you refer to as being the true, traditional version, particularly perhaps, between the first two categories? There's a vastly different meaning between the music performed in the village, for an occasion in the village, and the music performed in town at a competition or a display, even though it can be virtually identical in sound. Which one would you call traditional?

Audience #1: In the village.

KS: Yes, we've got three questions from the floor.

Student #1: If I come from a musical group, from a culture, and if I get a piece of music from a foreign group, like say, Peroveta, which was influenced by the Samoans, and my people have been playing it for about a hundred years or so, then can I call that piece of music or style as my own traditional music?

MW: I believe that the meaning shifts. I'm not prepared to point to a time in which it did become traditional, because that's not up to me to do, for one thing. But what you consider it to be now is not necessarily what you would have considered the same repertoire of Peroveta to be in 1915,

or 1893. There's a point of time which, perhaps it was foreign and it became local, in meaning.

Student #2: In relation to traditional music, for instance, if our traditional music was recorded in a Western style, [?]. Then they say, "My people have been playing that music since ...". My people rejected it and said, "No, it doesn't sound like our own music, it's had a lot of changes with that plastic machine in it." Is that, shall we call it traditional music or Western-blended music?

KS: Haven't you answered your question - you're calling it "Western-blended music"? Would you call it that, or would you call it "traditional", yourself?

S#2: To me, I think it's not a traditional music, because my society won't accept that music. They say, "It's our music, but it's been changed around," with different, say, if a bamboo flute and they use synthesiser for the bamboo, with not much of its syncopated [?] extra, on it.

KS: Maybe you'll have to wait for your children to say that you accept it and it becomes traditional for your children, not for you, at least from the definition that's proposed here. Yes, it's a very complex one, when we come to look at selecting materials for schools. There's no easy answer.

Richard Moyle: It's easy to limit the idea of traditional music to the end-product, to the way music sounds. You can call traditional music the act of making it, and if, in the area you live, it's common for people to take any song and make changes to it, then in time that practice itself becomes traditional. So the accent shifts away from the final product to the style in which it is performed.

KS: This is obviously an area that, when we're looking at traditional music and education, needs to have a certain clarification. We have to have some idea of the problems, in our minds. If we try and use that definition of being deeply meaningful, then what do we do with music from other cultures, when the meaning is not clear? Should we be using the music from other cultures in our schools? For example, should we be teaching songs from another country if we don't know what the meanings of the words are?

MW: I don't think the meaning's confined to the words. That's only one level of meaning.

KS: Yes. But it's a major area, isn't it, in terms of education. What role does communication, the meaning of the songs have, within a music education program?

SAS: Let's look at the word "traditional" itself. It could be attached to any particular type of traditional music, or traditional games. Let's find out what the word "tradition" means, then we can see whether it evolves or it's stuck in one place. It's like what Richard just mentioned. I think when a group of people, like in music, start to believe and identify with

something, then over a period of time, their children that come after them, identify with that particular way. It's become their tradition. That falls back to what he said in the morning about identity. If we look at it from an overall point of view, not just from now, then if it goes further to education, then we've got to decide: where do you want to go, how do you want to head? Then we can say, "What shall we choose from, from our traditional music, to set our course?" Otherwise we're just going to float this way and float that way.

Samuel Pongiura: When I was seeking our traditional music, I would say it's something being an original part of the culture. It is part of them, it's part of their culture, it's a cultural activity, and it's part of them. That's why, I think that's the way it should be original. It's part of a culture, it's part of a system. That's how I look at it.

KS: Yes, the interesting question is: when does it become part of your culture? Because culture's always changing.

SP: Take an interesting situation. If you were performing in a cultural event, the music becomes part of it.

Student #3: It becomes culture when the people from that society accept it, and they have been doing it for a couple of times.

KS: Yes, you can see there are many, many grey areas here. The educationist has to come to terms with the selection of materials and the approaches. I think we'll jump on to the next one, because we'll come back to this area and clarify things going through some of the questions. You'll notice that, in the book that Michael has written, he uses traditional music or contemporary music to teach what I've called Western or international music concepts. I've asked what problems are there in using traditional music to teach the Western traditional concepts. Do you want to comment on that?

MW: Just refresh me: what concepts?

KS: Well, we use concepts in terms of rhythm and pitch and the elements of music when we're using those. They're terms that are used internationally, but often there are components of traditional music which don't necessarily fit so readily into those concepts. When we're looking at different local effects, for example, that could be part of a traditional music.

MW: I could go into vocal timbre and vocal production. For the sake of the syllabus, I wrestled with this problem on various committees for quite a few years, and what we ultimately decided was that for us to progress, as Robert mentioned a few minutes ago, we have to have a language, we have to have a set of concepts that we all agree should be in currency. We used English terminology to talk about discrete aspects of music, like the rhythmic aspects of music and the metrical aspects of music - perhaps that term doesn't apply - or melodic aspects of music, and harmonic or multi-part music, or timbral aspects of music, the unique sound qualities of the instrument. I remember in 1985 in Madang we had that big conference

and we argued endlessly over what actual terms we should employ, which discrete areas of music we could actually put in a syllabus. In some cases we chose not to use the term "harmony", for example, because it has a specific, Western, musical, historical meaning. For example, we talked about what can we call what we understand by "harmony", can we call it "multi-part music", do we call it "polyphony", then "polyphony" has a particular historic and technical meaning, too, in Western music. All of these concepts were problematic, but we had to come up with a vocabulary that we could use.

KS: I'm just also wondering if too much dissection kills the animal. This is probably a different issue, but with the traditional music where it has certain magical or spiritual roles, whether these are lost in the approach we take to music.

SAS: Definitely. Music, as I see it from my people, has deep spiritual meaning. It has an essence to it, why it's done. If that is lost, then we haven't got the *kaikai belong en*. We've just got the shell, we're playing around with the shell. That also sits with music played today. If you're really performing something and you're not performing with insight, then it doesn't come out. That's something that we all have to learn, to do things to the fullest. That was what our traditional people were involved in. When they did *singsing*, it wasn't just halfway, it was learning to do things to the maximum.

RR: I'd like to make a further comment on this question of using traditional music to teach Western musical concepts. After teaching ethnomusicology for some years, it's apparent that there's so much in traditional music that is extremely complicated, and if you go to most American universities and study for four years, you won't come across a lot of the things that exist in traditional music, because it's not a big part of European music, which is the main music that's taught in most American universities.

For example, especially in the area of timbre, what most Westerners call "special effects", and things like that, those things are a very important part of traditional music. Another important part is rhythm. Many traditional rhythms are more complex than a great deal of European music. I think that European music rhythmically was very simple until just recently. A great deal of traditional music, if you try to write it down in Western notation, you find that you don't have any way to do it because our notation doesn't fit very well with those kinds of complex rhythms. In many cases, traditional music is a bigger area to draw from for examples than Western music.

LB: Some of the teachers that I've been with for the last five months find it very, very confusing to relate Western music to their own. One of the teachers told me, "I really don't understand that pipe-note." So I asked him, "What is that pipe-note?" He referred to the note with the line going

down and the little dot there, he calls that a "pipe-note". It's like a smoking pipe. The first time I heard it I was confused, so I had to explain it to them. Then he told me, "That's one of the problems we had in community school, where we really don't understand those notations. We have trouble teaching music. When it comes to that, we just flip the pages over and we do something else." So I had to do a little bit of in-service for them before they went back to their schools. They left two weeks ago. Sometimes it can be a little bit confusing to them.

KS: That's an important point, that we can put obstacles to learning, unnecessary obstacles often. Rather than making music an enjoyable, fun activity, we make it confusing and put people off, which is a major concern.

MW: That question about Western concepts and so forth, it's a reciprocal sort of a point. It's not only a question of using traditional music to teach Western musical concepts. It's as much a question of using aspects of Western music to teach traditional musical concepts as well. It's reciprocal.

I don't entirely agree with the statement that Robert made, that areas of traditional music performance don't exist within Western music. We could argue this for a while, too. That's a question about whether all musics are as complex as each other, or about whether all languages are about as complex as each other. It's a big issue, but it's sort of related to that. It's simply a matter of the discipline of Western musicology, that's chosen to ignore certain aspects of Western music, and chose not to address them, and addresses other aspects. Hence they've acquired certain value through teaching.

I take your point in one sense, but I think we could learn from the discipline of the study of other musics and go back to Western music and say "There's a lot more there that we're just missing, that we've chosen to ignore."

KS: Yes, it's interesting up at Goroka Teachers College, Justin was using different forms of notation. We're using different forms of notation for the Grade 12 exams, too, where students could choose between sol-fa, the numbers, Western notation, and I think we've even started looking at the time-unit boxes that we've got in one of the booklets there. But then we found that was making it confusing, because there were too many different musical languages that students were expected to learn. So Justin has cut straight back to Western notation, so they're much simpler to use up at Goroka. We tried to cater to everything, now we just let students know there are different styles, and for certain rhythmic exercises the time-unit boxes are a much easier way of understanding the rhythms than using Western notation. But for the exercises and the exam, they were done just in Western notation. I think this was just introduced last year. That's just an aside.

The next area then is: When should specialised musical skills be introduced into a child's education? You'll notice from the materials I was showing you this morning, we're introducing the specialised concepts at Grade 7, we're starting then to concentrate on specialised skills. Primary level of education, we're just having it as cultural identity, where the children can sing and enjoy songs from their own community, and where they do very basic accompaniment, either what's done in their own community, be it singing in parts or putting *ostinati* with it, or simple accompaniments. But there are no specific requirements, it's just culture-based. I'll throw it to the panel, whether we're leaving it too late. In many societies they start on the specialised skills in music when the children are three or four years old. Are we leaving it too late here in Papua New Guinea?

LB: It seems the Education Department stresses that the education system should use its culture as the basis for arts education. I think it's a good idea to get the children to appreciate their own culture, from Grade 1 up to Grade 7, before they can be exposed to Western music. That's my personal point of view. I think it's a good idea, because if you expose them to a Western concept at an early age, you know what the change is like at this moment, they'll soon forget about their culture and they'll want to play reggae or some other styles of music. *Olsem, tingting bilong mi ya.*

SAS: This country is just full of teachers. I don't mean just teachers from classrooms only. We have teachers outside, teachers' teachers. We have only thought that teachers must go through this particular channel and come back. But if we ourselves as creative people know, that it's a wide area, and our children can learn not from us only. It's an open stage where, if we want these values to be learned, we can also bring the real teachers in, where we can learn as well, and they can learn. We've always seen teachers as just the ones who qualify, the ones who go to Goroka Teachers College, and so forth. If we really want to talk about culture, let's talk about the people that know about it. Let's involve them. Let's be open-minded enough to use the real teachers, the teachers who know about it.

MW: What I think we should have done at the beginning, as well as at some stage during the conference, is have a look at a definition of culture, I think it would be very useful. When we talk about utilising culture - I'm a bit hesitant about that - using culture in the school, and I think we should realise that the school is part of this complex thing that we call culture. We're dichotomising everything, we've got Western culture and local culture, or Western culture and traditional culture, or whatever. We've got culture and then we've got a whole lot of domains within it, or worlds, or something like that. We've got this issue that's been talked about a couple of times, national culture. Not only do we have worlds of culture, but they also overlap in different areas.

Frank talked about a concept this morning that he called the

"reification" of culture. What reification means is to think about something that is abstract as though it was concrete. Culture is a more abstract concept, but we like to make it concrete, we like to think of it as a thing, as an artefact of some sort. Richard touched on the point about performance being an additional way to think about music, rather than the song, piece, or composition, as object. We have to think about culture as performance, as daily life, as activity. That brings together a couple of the points that Tony made.

Whether you decide to utilise people outside the school or not, they're being utilised in the education of students. The process is a continual one. Sometimes there might be a disjuncture between what happens outside school and what happens in school. The ideal situation would be that there's continuity, that you move in and out of the two worlds from before school, into school, and out of school again, and one supplements the other. As far as deciding that you're actually going to start teaching complex musical skills, or sophisticated concepts at a particular point in time, we can decide when we're going to do it, but that's beside the point. Because it's going to be done anyway at some point. There's always going to be people that miss out. If we decide on the age of seven, somebody's going to be learning abstract musical concepts and aspects of music long before that, and others are going to be in a different environment where they might miss out, and so forth. Sure, we need a policy, though, of some sort, so that we know what we're doing in the school. I think that's really what you're talking about.

KS: Yes, the Philosophy of Education states in the introductory sections, that teaching subjects such as agriculture and expressive arts are a shared responsibility for the school and the community. But how that sharing should take place, of course, raises a whole lot more questions. Any comments from the floor, then, on that issue, peoples' strong views on when children should start specialised skill development training?

S#2: I'll come back and ask you a lot of questions later on. The first is, in our society you learn music when you are a kid, that's when you are fully, you talk about integral development. You know more about most of the things. But, in our society in PNG, we are lacking this. The question is, on the last day you introduced basic skills of teaching at the Faculty of Creative Arts, which most of us students have enjoyed going to that class. The students should use our experience to go out and do a bit of the practical teaching in community schools. That should be [?] and put into some sort of a curriculum, or whatever you can think of. That should be the basis where we can start to exercise, when we do that, we'll see the reaction, we work together, and then that's how we develop, from the primary level, up to high school, and then onward.

Julie Turalir: I have a question. When you talk about music being introduced at the early age, to age seven, what type of music is . . . ?

KS: There I'm referring to instrumental skills. That's the common one around the world, when they're, say learning to play an instrument, the violin or something like that, a little violin. So it's instrumental skills.

JT: What about theory and [?], do they all come under "instrumental"?

KS: Normally theory would be taught later, when children are able to think in more abstract terms, when they're about 11 or 12 years old, from that point on. But certainly the practical skills, the technique of handling different instruments, can be started when a child is three or four years old. It's done in Asia: China, Japan, have Yamaha method, Suzuki method, where they do a lot of work with a very young child.

JT: I just have a comment to make. If the child starts at Grade 7, to go on to theory, then if somebody is very interested in learning that, learns fast at the early age, Grade 7, would the person be allowed to take any theory classes or any other subject within expressive arts?

KS: The only way it can happen in Papua New Guinea at the moment is through private tuition. But often people who are having private tuition are saying, "Why isn't this going into our school system, at an earlier stage?" This is a criticism of the current education system. Most of you are aware of that little Filipino boy who was playing on EM-TV, piano fellow, and he got his music teaching qualifications when he was in Grade 8, down in Australia. He did his A M S A , he passed his theory exams and practical exams at a very early age, because he started when he was very young; he started when he was three or four. He worked very hard, he was doing three or four hours a day practice on piano and violin. It's that sort of thing.

Often we have criticism of what we're doing in our schools for not pushing students hard enough. That's an extreme case. Whether we are leaving our own too late, or are you happy with that, waiting till high school for starting to concentrate on those theoretical concepts, and then starting to develop some skills on an instrument, traditional instruments or Western instruments, and developing more literacy in music at that stage, using whatever notation the teacher decides. That's the question.

I just wanted to share the problems that we've had on panels, to be aware of some of the issues in it. It's not an easy one. Throughout history the most successful musicians were those whose parents had been good musicians, where it had become something built into that home, with that family support. That's something we need to be aware of, too.

JT: I think music should begin when the child is young, although some may take it as too much for the little child to take. Today most youngsters are very interested in music; not only modern music. The schools back in the villages have their own traditional dances and songs, but maybe for the people in the cities, they may be set to forget their own culture. But the people back in the village still hold on strongly to their own music. But if you're talking about only instruments, I don't see any reason why

music should be only taught starting from Grade 7. If the child is interested, music should be taught from then on. If other people can pick up from church, songs like the notes 1, 2, 3, and so on, from the early age, then there's no reason why that course cannot be taught from Grade 7 on.

Clement Gima: I think that Grade 7 is too early. We should start with the Grade 1's, even earlier than that. Then the child will have, like Tony said yesterday, the creativity. If we are going to use just Western instruments, when he goes into high school, he will realise that it's not only these, but he also has his own traditional music. I've read some people like George Telek, saying, he is turning back to his roots. That's how he said it in the paper, 1991 or 1990 article in the *Post Courier*. I believe such things like that will happen.

SP: We have learned it now and it's too late. Looking at our school situation, many of our cultures, our music, we don't really have a system like the Western system. Some of us have, some of us don't. The area I come from, we have songs but [?], so I can't follow up that. It is best if that is taught at an earlier age. Now I see that Western notation, or pitch, or whatever I'm learning here, helps me to learn the rhythm, to understand the rhythm back at home, and the singing. To teach this at an early age would be very useful.

KS: We probably will see a shift in syllabus change over the years. As parents and teachers develop more skills, I see that there will be an introduction at lower levels. I just thought it would be something interesting to share. This syllabus and curriculum is never constant. It's always changing, and we'll be anticipating changes in that area. I certainly expect that.

Student #4: I'm a bit confused whether we are talking about the traditional specialised musical skills or modern specialised musical skills. If we're talking about ideas, it is taught as being a grown-up child of whatever culture, you've got to learn the traditional specialised musical skills first, and then when we come through high school, to Grade 7, when we are taught these modern, specialised musical skills, we will have no doubt to blame, modern musical skills. What I'm trying to say here is that when we are small we should be taught our traditional, specialised music skills, then when we come to Grade 7, we'll have no problem in getting both traditional specialised music education and modern.

KS: This is an area which is going to need a lot of research. There has been some work done at London University by people like Keith Swannick, who have looked at stages of development, and when a child is ready to undertake certain musical activities. This is something that we need to have a lot of studies done in PNG, to look at when children are able to acquire certain different musical concepts. This can be done through games, and what are the minimum ages you should be introducing certain activities. Then, of course, it all comes back to materials and teachers, and

teachers' competence, the society, etcetera, and the environment.

SAS: I see this, not so much what age they're ready. Like I said earlier in my paper, it's the growth of an individual. Some are more focussed towards being painters, others towards music. You cannot say that we'll teach everybody and they'll become musicians. We've just got to give whatever's there to them, and then they, from their own growth will follow what line of life they're going into, whatever skill. But it must be there, available, from that early age. I don't think we have any right to say, "We'll hold it back," and "At that age it's the right age." At that age it might be the right age for some people, but not for others. Growths are different. Also, the tendency to follow to whichever art your soul follows, is different. Somebody might go towards painting or carving, another might go towards music. But the thing is to have them all there, at that stage of life, so that they can follow their line of life. Some may grow later, some may grow earlier.

SP: That point Tony just made is true. Back in school I realised that, if I teach a music lesson, someone who is very good in music is going to get an A, the rest will get C's, and come last. If you change study in the grade, say visual art, the other fellow is going to be a musician, the musician is going to come last. You draw a pattern from, the other one is going to come, so the idea is really to [?]. It's not to try and say, "Okay, let's teach music only" No, we can't do that. We can't say "visual arts only," or "dance and drama only." We could [?] it out and the child will have to [?] interest, develop some [?]. When he comes to a higher level, then a special [?].

KS: All right. We'll jump on to the next question I've got here. I should throw this one to Juliana across there. What should music educators do about songs like "Puramatang?" I think you know that, "**Puramatang, puramatang**, turn me, row me", and the second verse is "**Ravu vimanasikil, I malai ma.**" The first verse is *puripuri*, magic song from Duke of Yorks, the second verse is [about] washing your face in coconut milk, going to school. What should a teacher do with that? The second verse is completely harmless and suitable for schools, the first verse, if you're from the Duke of Yorks, you might be upset with it, because it's from a traditional song. Do you want to comment on that? What do we do about songs like that?

JT: Well first of all, you must define that word. You say "**Puramatang**" is a magic word in Duke of York. In my own dialect it is not a magic word. It's a humorous slang or saying. I'll say it in pidgin so I express it much better. "**M i grisim pes bilong yu**", and "**to mi ron mi ron mi ro.**" It's just child's language. Could you elaborate a bit more on that particular song, so I can answer it?

KS: Yes, Dan Pidik, who is a lecturer up at St. Paul's and here at Moresby Teachers College, is from the Duke of Yorks and he found that

highly offensive, that they'd taken magic words from Duke of Yorks, and made fun of it in Kuanua. He said it shouldn't be in any children's song book. And yet it's taught on the radio, everybody here probably knows it.

JT: Anyway, this is how I define it in my dialect, it's just a humorous song. It's not offensive. But maybe to Duke of York it may mean something else.

KS: What do we do in a situation like that?

JT: Well, in my area it's okay if the song is taught. I should say it's a child's song, that the children can learn to sing. *Em tasol.*

KS: Any comments from the panel before I throw out the next question?

SAS: I don't know, I would have sung it "*bulmakau, bulmakau.*" [hilarious laughter from the audience] No, because I didn't really know the words.

LB: I can remember that song very well from when I was a kid. I guess it's how people relate to the song. I like the song, even though I did not know the meaning. But now that I know, it [?] in some ways. I guess it's how we relate to it, to the singing.

MW: It's a good example of songs whose meanings are specifically local. They're understood differently in areas as close to each other as Tolai and the Duke of Yorks. The issue behind your question is, we're really talking about national or public culture here. Should we include in a repertoire of songs for the whole country to use, because all the material's coming from a central body to be disseminated throughout the school, should we include songs that are in some sense offensive to some people? I don't think so, not if that's the way people are going to feel about it. There has to be a panel of people that are fairly representative, that decide on these sorts of issues.

When we put *Riwain!* together, we had this problem. That's different, we're not talking about traditional songs; but some of those that we asked wanted to include songs like "Rausim Laplap", and so forth. Some of us decided that since it was particularly going to be used in schools, that it would be unwise for us to do that. Others said, "This is a well-known pop song throughout the country, and if it's representative of popular songs over the last ten years, then it should be there." You're always going to have a conflict of interest. It's a good question. With regard to traditional music, you need to consult elders. You need to find out how sensitive the issues really are behind certain songs before you clear them, because it's not worth offending people.

Student #5: I read a paper on this same issue. The paper is from the U.S. Some states are banning a popular tale, fairy tales about [?]. They're banning it because they think that it is offensive to it kids. Maybe it contains something about killing, just general killing, simple as that. They are banning it. This should be looked at. Whatever is going into such things,

traditional, good for kids, should be out of this.

KS: It's certainly a dilemma that music educators have, with 860 different languages. It's almost impossible not to have a traditional phrase not to be offensive in one of the 860 languages. What brought it home to me when I was teaching community school when I first came up here, was when they taught an English nursery rhyme which had a nonsense phrase, which was very rude in the local Motu language. It was played on the radio and the kids all broke up screaming laughing when this phrase came on. If people want to hear, I'll whisper it to them afterwards, I'm certainly not going to say it here [laughs]. But you just don't know. English words can be very offensive in certain languages.

MW: That applies to instrumental music, too. Perhaps you shouldn't have people making sacred flutes and that sort of thing either, in schools.

KS: But it might be perfectly acceptable in one culture and sacred in another culture.

MW: Perhaps every school should put the material by the school board first, the governing council, and say, "Do you think this material is suitable?"

KS: Michael has deleted musical instruments from his book that are considered sacred in the cultures. That's an interesting thing when you're working, how purist should one be in this regard, and when society's changing. A difficult one.

The next question is: How should teachers who are from a different cultural group teach the children's traditional songs? What things do they need to note? Not just songs, [but also] teaching music from a different cultural group.

SAS: It just falls back to what I mentioned earlier when you were talking about that integral human development. The government's all very well talking about that, but I kept thinking about how a structure could be maintained so that these things can be followed through. Otherwise they're left alone by themselves over there, and they don't work out, that's why we find teachers . . . I think this falls also into what we're talking about right now, content and things. If we had a structure that is maintained, and held strongly from the top right down, then we can push those points that we're talking about now - what songs, the policies can run down right through the provincial level. It doesn't always have to be the same, but those meanings of songs, and also things that can be put out into different areas, schools, wherever, so that it can be followed. We need a structure that is strong and policed well, an education guideline or structure.

LB: In a different culture area the best thing to do is to get a person from the local village to come and teach, especially in the community schools or high schools. That same point was raised to me when I was taking the teachers. I told them, "If you cannot teach, get somebody from the village to come and teach them their own songs, or get another teacher

to teach it for you." That is if you're teaching in a different community.

MW: Just one quick point. To summarise the issue, you're sort of saying: should what is the intellectual or cultural property of one particular group become the cultural property of the whole nation? That's a question that I'm not really qualified to answer. I don't know if any of us individually are qualified to answer. It's a very big issue.

KS: It's an area where offence can be taken very readily, and it has been taken a number of times. I remember an Ayura *singsing* when there was a group which performed a Papuan dance, and the Papuan community happened to see that dance on EM-TV. They were really very, very angry because it wasn't performed at all well and the students shouldn't have been performing it. It really can lead to a lot of offence. The important thing is the communication with communities to find out what is acceptable.

I guess this ties in with what the school should do when the school or public version of a traditional song is provided. We have instances of that where communities say they don't want the authentic version, but they'll provide another version which can be used in schools. Teachers need to be aware of that when they're looking at that. The next question was based on one of Don Niles' hobby horses, on the need for having correct pronunciation so you don't cause offence over the language; and to use the correct singing style, so there'd be a nasal style or whatever, when you are doing community work, so it doesn't appear as if you're making fun of it. You need to take the extra effort to learn some traditional songs properly. Do you want to comment on that?

MW: Some of the pop music examples are good test-cases for that. The one that Julie mentioned about a woman from Central Province married to a Hagen man singing one of her husband's songs, and it being accepted in Mt Hagen. Or, like Julie singing a song from the Southern Highlands and consulting with the composer who gave it to her and the song subsequently becoming widely liked in the Southern Highlands. It's not really a question you can answer in terms of policy. It depends on who's doing it and what the context is. If you've got permission and if it's done to the best of your ability, with goodwill in mind, it seems to me that it would work, but otherwise

KS: Still a possible pitfall for a music educator in PNG. We've got a lot of Faculty of Creative Arts students there. This one is: should the Faculty of Creative Arts have courses run by traditional musicians for the gifted Papua New Guinean musicians where minimum qualifications are ignored? Where you don't have to have academic qualifications to attend here, but if you have competence and skills and interests in particular traditional techniques, should we be having programs such as were run in the old Creative Arts days, where artists such as Kauge were able to develop? Should we have similar programs for Papua New Guinean musicians?

SAS: There should be a program like that, but not just for outside people - it should be for the students as well. And advertise; outside, whoever's interested should be able to attend. It's a very necessary part of their studies.

RR: At the moment the existing thing that's related to that is, each year we bring in musicians from a village who spend one month teaching. That should be expanded. That should be a much bigger part of the program than just one month out of the year.

S#1: We should have traditional musicians teaching us traditional music, because they're the experts in their own culture. When they teach us, they can explain all those different things that come with their music.

KS: It doesn't worry you if they're from a different cultural group than your own?

S#1: No.

RR: Having brought musicians here now only twice, it's interesting about mixing these two contexts. People who don't have any experience with this academic world all of a sudden being put into a very academic situation. Also, it's difficult for the students to deal with that situation. When you're in a village and learning traditional music, you've got an existing structure for teaching that's been tried and tested for years, so everybody knows the rules and things go smoothly. But, when we bring musicians from another culture here to the university, there are many conflicts, and I find it's an extremely difficult thing to make it work. It's hard for the students to put in the energy that they need to put in to give to those visiting musicians for a short period of time.

Student #6: At the Faculty of Creative Arts we all come from a different cultural background. It's very hard for us to adapt our own culture into [that of] the invited, traditional guests who come to teach in this department. Therefore, it should be brought back to the village.

MW: Reverse.

Student #6: Yes. To the village. The second question, to our child's growth and education.

KS: Yes, that's a two-way thing, it can go both ways.

Stella Inimgba: I don't know whether research could be carried out where sounds or music from different areas could be studied and then classified into groups. Musics that have related elements could be classified, and then the major elements in those musics stressed. Somebody who has carried out that kind of research, whether the person is somebody from the village, a Papua New Guinean, or whosoever, - when you're saying, "I'm teaching this type of music, it's found in this area, these are the major elements found in it," so that people from that area can be covered. Then you group another cultural music that has related elements and do the same. I don't know whether it makes sense.

KS: That's what Kodaly and Orff did. Kodaly did it in Hungary and

he got all the traditional songs, categorised them, got the most common intervals, taught from those, and then developed teaching techniques from that. With 860 different cultures here, we're asking the impossible. That's the concern with such small cultural groups. It's an interesting one there, and it's going to be one that I'm going to look at, but we're running out of time.

When we're looking at traditional music, how do teachers handle religious objections to performing traditional music?

SAS: Just explain "religious" first. Traditional religion, or Catholicism, or whatever?

KS: Many of you know of instances where students won't sing a traditional song or perform a traditional dance: they say it's because of religious reasons. Some churches are stronger in discouraging the traditional music than other churches. What does a teacher do when they come up against that problem? Teachers are coming up against that problem. You're unaware of the problem?

SAS: No, no. It's a hard area to talk about.

LB: I just want to present a problem here and maybe you can give a suggestion for this one. We have a case at the In-Service College where one student never attends the assembly (we have assembly every Monday), the reason being that she belongs to a certain church. She won't say the national pledge and sing the national anthem, and she says that it's against her religion.

S#1: Before we start this, I think we should put religion into two groups: traditional religion and religion introduced by Westerners - Christianity.

S#6: Forget about this religion, Western religion.

Audience: [laughter]

KS: I thought it was a good one to stir up, to finish off. We're getting hot enough as it is, we might as well finish on a hot topic [laughter]. Comments?

S#1: What do you really mean by "religious objection"?

KS: I'll tell you a story, then. Down at Manumanu, just along the coast down here, there was a church group, in that case it was the Jehovah's Witnesses. The children wanted to sing some Motu songs, they were having some visitors coming down there. The Jehovah's Witnesses took their children out of the school and said they weren't allowed to sing any of the Motu songs or traditional songs, the old songs. They didn't send their children along for that. It's just when a church group opposes traditional music on religious grounds. What does the teacher do in that case?

Audience #2: I'm head of Expressive Arts at Keravat National High School, and teaching drama there, and I've come head on to this situation where students have refused to participate in dancing to music, not just traditional. I've been aware of some groups having objections to traditional music, and being non-Papua New Guinean, I certainly wouldn't pre-

tend to teach traditional dance, but I do encourage students to do it themselves. My answer to some of this had to be to change my course and make some of the things optional, so that students had an option to make a presentation in a variety of styles, and they'd pick a style that seemed to be a traditional style. I've had to actually take some things out of the course, where teaching Western-style dance has been objected to, because people said that their church [?] music. I came head-on with this when I was teaching some Western-style dancing and some people just refused to participate and started dropping out of the class, and came to me and said they'd given me enough chance, that I'd gone too far. That's been my answer, I've had to change courses and make things optional.

S#2: Our government is emphasising Christianity in this country, plus keeping our traditions. Those are two things which we have to look on. On that ground, if I am a teacher, or anybody, you have to make it optional, so that you make something that is suitable for the Christian group, or those who would like to be a traditional group.

KS: I'll tell you what I did with the Jehovah's Witnesses down at Manumanu. I went and saw the church leaders in Moresby and I said, "Have you got any religious objections to this?" and they said "no," and they wrote a letter down there, and the kids were back in singing the customary songs the next week. There was no need for any optional activities. It was just something which was localised and was not generalised through the community. It's important to have good communication at all times. If you can explain your position, if you explain that this is a Papua New Guinean way, it's part of the constitution, it's part of the Philosophy of Education, often you'll be surprised at how much tolerance there is, even within some of the religious groups. It's important to have that dialogue and then come back to the options as the last resort. But try to get the communication flowing first.

PART TWO: MUSIC SCHOLARSHIP

REQUEST FOR SUGGESTIONS FOR COLLECTIONS OF PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING PAPUA NEW GUINEA MUSICS

DON NILES

In 1974 the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies was established. One department of this institution was devoted to PNG (Papua New Guinea) music. Today, this Music Department is part of the Cultural Studies Division of the National Research Institute. From the beginning, however, it was recognised that merely to make recordings for an archive was insufficient. Much recording of PNG musics had already been done and numerous books, articles, and theses in various languages had already been written concerning this subject. Although much of this work was very preliminary, there is still much of value to be found within. It was felt of vital importance that these previous efforts be available in PNG and accessible to Papua New Guineans.

To a large extent, we have been very successful in obtaining copies of most early recordings made in PNG, so that the present collection contains recordings dating back to 1898.¹ I have elsewhere discussed in detail our efforts in locating and obtaining copies of these collections.¹ Similarly, through extensive photocopying both locally from the excellent New Guinea collection at the University of Papua New Guinea and overseas from libraries in numerous countries, we have a fairly extensive collection of written materials as well. My presence in Germany now is due, in fact, to further archival research.

However, locating and obtaining copies of such materials is only the first part of such efforts. It is equally as important to us to disseminate the results of research on PNG musics - results of our own research, as well as that of outside researchers. To this end, the Music Department began a publication programme of recordings and books. Since the recordings issued by my institute are not of further relevance here, the remainder of this paper concerns only printed publications.

A wide variety of printed materials have appeared, including song texts and translations, a bibliography, a collection of children's games, a

description of dance, catalogs of commercial recordings of PNG music, a study of sound-producing instruments in Oceania, and three books as part of the new Apwitihi series (see following list). In all these publications, the foremost aim has been to make materials available locally - overseas interests are very much only secondary considerations.

Two of these publications (Fischer 1983 and 1986; Wassmann 1991) have been translations from other European languages into English. These important books would otherwise have remained inaccessible to most Papua New Guineans since German, in spite of its importance in Papua New Guinea's colonial past, is not taught anywhere in the country.

Throughout all these publications, therefore, there has been a concern with making materials available as widely as possible to Papua New Guineans in languages they understand. Papua New Guineans need to know what has been written about their country.

With this information as background, I would like to introduce two planned publications from the Music Department. Both are collections of readings concerning PNG musics.

The first book will be a collection of English translations of articles written in other languages. Considering the writings that have been done on PNG, the vast majority of such articles will be translations from German, but there is at least one French and one Italian article which may be included. Additionally, perhaps articles on music in Irian Jaya should also be included, both because of the cultural links between PNG and its neighbour and because very little in English is available on musics there. Obviously this would involve a number of articles in Dutch. Still, would this make the volume too big or of less significance and use to PNG? There is also a developing body of original contributions in Japanese. Any suggestions of materials in Japanese or any other language we have overlooked would also be very welcome.

The second collection of readings will be original English language writings, but collected with the idea of being basic material to be used in undertaking studies on PNG musics. Hence these readings, which may spill into two volumes, will be source books for upper secondary and tertiary school students. For this reason, in addition to the articles themselves, these collections will include basic, useful information on PNG, such as maps of each province with districts indicated, population of districts, languages with approximate numbers of speakers, etc. The articles are planned, at this stage, to be grouped according to province with brief introductions to the groupings highlighting the significance of the contributions, pinpointing important issues raised in them, and contextualizing them.

The whole purpose of this presentation to you here now (and a similar one to be made at the International Council for Traditional Music Conference in Berlin) is to seek your opinions, if any, on anything related to these collections. Attached are lists of items which are being considered for inclusion (please forgive the varied formats of each, but these are very much

working documents). Contributions to earlier basic lists have come from Robert Reigle and Gordon Spearritt, for which we are very grateful. Some of the items will definitely appear, others probably not, most are still being thought about. Is this a good selection? What do you recommend? What are the ones we've overlooked? Which are not worth inclusion?

Items for inclusion should contain valuable information about PNG music/dance. It is also important to include some items which reveal the concepts and ways of thinking of the time. We also feel it would be preferable to include things that may be hard to locate, in contrast to those which can easily be found in a high school library.

What are the vital articles on PNG (or, more broadly, New Guinea) musics which should appear in such collections? The collections should be fairly up-to-date, meaning that we are not only interested in important old writings. If extracts from books should be included, what pages should be included? Any suggestions as to possibilities for the difficult subject of finance would also be very helpful.

It is very likely that these books will be used quite widely throughout the school system in PNG. Consequently, we feel that these collections are of great importance as they will probably shape the thinking of many music students. I sincerely hope that you will take a bit of time to consider these lists. I very much welcome your comments.

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WHERE'S THE MUSIC COMING FROM? DIALOGUES ON MUSIC AND SOCIABILITY AROUND GOROKA TODAY

Preamble

LOUISE MENTJES AND STEVEN FELD

Frank Magne, whose verbal presentation to the Conference is transcribed below, conducted research in and around Goroka and Ifiufa, Eastern Highlands Province, from December 1992 to March 1994. On scholarship from the United Kingdom Economic and Social Research Council, Frank's fieldwork was to be the basis of a Ph.D. dissertation in social anthropology at the University of Manchester. His death at the very close of his research shocked his friends and colleagues in PNG, Europe, and the USA, and surely deprives Melanesian anthropology and ethnomusicology of a passionate contributor and critic.

Everyone who encountered Frank found out, sometimes the hard way, that he was energetically fond of shaking things up, contesting the routine,, resisting the typical approaches and methods of the academy. No doubt about it: Frank did things his own way, and he did them to the limit. The course he was taking into the world of PNG culture and music was innovative and it was forcefully contemporary. He was working against the grain of traditional anthropology and ethnomusicology's emphasis on fixed or spatially bounded "cultures" and "musics", and embracing a world of vague or contested edges, blurred social entities, extraordinarily explosive politics, and hybridised creativity. In many ways, Frank imagined his project in dialogue with numerous contemporary academic debates. But on the ground he was also in pursuit of new and intensified experiences, in search of the heights of sociability.

Frank's papers, letters, and discussions reveal the emergence of an extremely complex project. He called it an exploration of the political economy of self, emotion, movement, and otherness as constructed through the heteroglossic discourse of young, marginalised adult men around the Goroka area. He was concerned with how symbolic practice and expressive culture as representations of self and emotion are integral to the (de)generation of power and sociability in contemporary PNG. He sought

new understandings of Melanesian concepts of self, emotion, and discursive styles by uniquely foregrounding social movement and focussing on "raskols", who are highly marginalised, othered, migrant, disempowered, peri-urban, male youth. Frank's writings reveal an approach to the self not as "taking the form of a bounded individual" (Proposal: 29) but as multiply constructed through interaction, memorialised in terms of place and movement, and transformed and represented "through transformations and representations of the body" (*ibid.ZX*). Here he follows the writings of Marilyn Strathern, Steven Feld, and Edward Schieffelin, among others. He approached emotions as "cultural performances and discourses that mediate social relations" (*ibid:40*), rather than as "natural, somewhat irrational physiological responses of the body" (*ibid:29*). He was intent on explicitly inserting issues of power into the current theorisation of emotion. Discourse he took to include "not only oratorical language but also music, yodeling, dreaming, lamenting, acts of listening, moments of silence and the dissemination of the written word" (*ibid:AX*). Discourse, then, does not communicate primarily through reference. Here he draws especially on the work of his teachers, Steven Feld and James Weiner, and extends his University of Texas at Austin M. M. thesis, "Emerging Agendas in the Ethnomusicology of Small Scale Societies, or Emerging Agendas in the Ethnomusicology of (S^Tall-S^crlc.Societies) or, the Meaning of Meaning Squared". The thesis theorises the centrality of music in cultural representation and social formation. Frank was interested in the difference and complementarity of discursive styles and the connections between them; in how discourse itself is "an object of interest and reflexivity"; and in "how cultural images of self and emotion are embedded within and produced through discourse" (Proposal: 41).

He was personally, ethnographically, and theoretically attracted to those individuals, social groups, domains, and practices which exhibited a heightened cultural mix, for here he saw the provisionality and playfulness of culture foregrounded. Movement as trope, metaphor, and social and physical action exemplified such provisionality. He therefore framed his study with three basic questions about movement: "First, how do young adults experience and reflect upon movement back and forth between town and village as a movement between and through potentially different symbolic spaces? How are the spaces of town, village and in-between themselves "enunciated" (de Certeau 1984) through movement? Second, what kinds of relationships do young adults, as they move through and enunciate these spaces, construct with a variety of "significant others" (Mead 1934), including: members of the elder generation or parent culture, young adults and adolescents from other language groups, missionaries, employers, representatives of the state (such as school teachers, police and magistrates), and foreigners (be they tourists, travelling people, anthropologists, or more permanently situated expatriates)?" (Proposal:!) "Third, how are young

adults'... ideas and experiences of movement and otherness registered in their concepts and practices of self and emotion and in their use of different linguistic and musical styles?" (Proposal:6) In rethinking the dynamics of young adult population movement and young (male) adult sociability, he planned to "juxtapose the literatures on towns and population movement . . . with (1) the Melanesian literature on self, emotion and discourse, (2) the cultural studies literature on adolescent subcultures, (3) the texts of popular culture (including Hollywood films and country and western songs), (4) the insights of continental hermeneutic and post-structuralist philosophy and literary theory (particularly as evinced in the writings of Bakhtin, De Certeau, Derrida, Foucault, Kristeva, Ricoeur, and Volosinov), and (5) recent work emerging from discourse, practise and performance centred approaches to cultural anthropology, anthropological linguistics, and musical anthropology" (Proposal:6).

These excerpts indicate the great range of issues Frank sought to integrate in his work. His was undoubtedly an ambitious and original project, and the following discussion, largely improvised in response to requests for elaboration of his questions and interjections during the conference, shows that, even at just six months into his research, he was well on the way to exploring the richness of the local significance of those issues.

* * *

FRANK MAGNE
(GASAKOWE SEGI NAVE)

This morning, as I was thinking about the folly of agreeing at the last minute to give a paper, I realised that I could give two papers. One would be about music, but it would be about five minutes long. The other wouldn't be about music. The one that wouldn't be about music is the one I'm going to give, for reasons I'll give you shortly.

But if I were going to talk about music, I would be talking about the poetics of code-switching in *tok pies singsing*, by which I mean both code-switching between different local languages - where I am that's going to be Tokano, Alikano,² Dano, Tok Pisin - within a song, and code-switching between *tok pies bilong taint bipo*, and *tok pies bilong nau*.

I'd also be talking about how songs are encoding memories and events. When composers compose a song, they often encode memories and events; I'd be talking about that. And I'd also be talking about how songs are sung, but not heard. Here I'm thinking about songs that are used in preparation of *malira* magic, and songs that are used in preparation of medicine, where songs are silently blown into tree bark, ginger, *kambang*. The efficacy of these practices hinges on the song.

I might also talk about how ideas of female pollution that were for-

merly associated with such instruments as bullroarers are now applied to contemporary instruments, such as the guitar. Many musicians I know quite strongly hold to a taboo against young unmarried women holding their guitar; *krai bilong gita bai go kranksi liklik.*²

I might also be talking about the linguistically varied repertoire of musicians, singing Sepik, Kate, Chimbu, Morobe, Vitu, and Popondetta songs, and the significance that they have, not in understanding the meanings of words, but in reproducing the original *nek*.

Or about the performance dynamics of different churches. Different denominations have different ideas about the relative values of popular musical forms. I'm quite charmed by the view held by S.D.A.'s [Seventh Day Adventists) that, while the acoustic guitar is okay - *em stap insait long Man Antap* - the power guitar *em samting bilong Seten*.

Or, finally I might be talking about cultural remixes, as in the classic recent example of Nokondi Nama, where a Bena guy sings a Chimbu song to a reggae beat with Asaro mudmen as his visual backdrop.

But I'm not going to talk about that, because that would be basically the limit of the talk for the moment. I've been in the field for about six months now, and I've got about five or six different themes, and topics are coming out quite strongly. One theme and topic that I'm wanting to work on, but isn't coming out very clearly, has to do with music.

So, in a sense, what I'm going to do is present a problem paper, whereby I read out where I'm at with my research and point out the lack of any real commentary on music, and see if I can get any feedback from you. I'll see where your comments are and where I might be going, or where the music might fit into this thing. *Em klia?*

I'm working in the Goroka area, the Asaro valley. I'm working both in the town of Goroka and the set of villages at about 12 to 17 kilometres to the west. It's a semi-nomadic fieldwork style. Within any given week I might be hanging out at clubs on the Daulo Pass, hanging out with *PMV boskrus*, I might be hanging out in wine markets - all those kinds of scenes. I might be going to S.D.A. churches, I might be going to Pentecostal churches. I might be having wild talks with the local rugby team on the relative merits of creation versus evolution, science versus religion. I might be hanging out with probation officers, going around picking up the local guys who just haven't done their appointments. Those are the kinds of scenes that I tend to go around. In terms of musicians, of course I've been hanging out at *six-to-sixes*, I've been hanging out at music rehearsals, and I hope, progressively over the next few months, I'll be hanging out at Kumul record studio.

At the moment there are about five different topics that I'm working with. Music, I'm pretty sure, fits into them, but again I'm not too sure how. The first topic is with whom - it's youthful young men. When I came here I thought I was going to be working with Grade-6-leavers, but actually the age grade of the people I'm working with is somewhat older,

it's people between the ages of 18 and 28. There are a variety of reasons I noted down; this is basically a report I sent to somebody a few weeks ago, that I'm reading off.

Why this age group's particularly useful: first of all, good Tok Pisin speakers start around the age of 16 where I am; before 14, 15, 16, *olsem i stap long pies tasoi*,⁴ after 15, 16, they begin to become more mobile, and with that mobility comes an acquisition of Tok Pisin; it's in this age group that not only communicative competence, but playing in Tok Pisin is particularly marked. Harking back onto comments that were made about national culture and its relationship to music, Tok Pisin is particularly important. So that's one reason why I'm focusing on that age group.

Secondly, of course, and related to that, representatives of this age group are particularly mobile, both between town and village, and between one town and another town. Additionally, this refers to something that is traditional - the foregrounding of place and movement is very significant in local imagination. So, youth sort of take that foregrounding of place and movement and do something else with it. That's my hunch.

The third reason for focusing on the age group of 18 to 28, is that, when elder people talk about *pasin bilong yangpela*, it's the practices of this age group they tend to be referring to. The *pamukpasin*, moving around, drinking a lot, those are the kinds of things that I'm tuning into.

Fourth, this is the age group that presents me with the widest range of life histories. The idea of culture coherence, the idea of tradition, all those kinds of things are most problematised by this group. Coming back into the music thing, my hunch is that what I'm going to come across is a wide variety of different kinds of knowledges, with different kinds of repertoire from amongst this group. Some young men are very familiar with *tok pies singsing*, or compose in that genre; others aren't, but are familiar with songs from all over the country that they've learned from cassettes. So coherence is fractured at that age group.

So that's the first topic, understanding this category called male youth. In terms of this work it's primarily focussed on men, but the problem I have is that a lot of *tokpani* goes on between men and women, so I cannot exclusively say this is about young men. My take that I'm coming on is that it's about young men, but young women's stories are being inserted into the project. There's a methodological problem in that, I'm working on at the moment.

The second topic has to do with images of self. There are three different images of self that I'm working with. One is *man lotu*, the second is *man sindaun nating*, and the third is the *kauboi - kauboi na bikhet man*. Now, in terms of *man lotu* - I'm translating this as the religious or Christian self - I'm interested in how the kinds of self that are crafted by S.D.A.'s, Pentecostals, Four Squares, Assemblies of God and Lutherans differ both from other culturally available images of self and from each other. I'm

thinking here, for example, of the injunctions against eating pig, about not being able to eat *buai*, about not being able to smoke, about not being able to go to *six-to-sixes*, the way in which this is played off differently within different denominations.

The second image of self that I'm working with has to do with *man nating*. I've become interested in understanding the correspondences between *nating* and using *meri nating*, *tok nating*, *kros nating*, *lap nating*; in other words, the whole series of *natings*. What's the relationship between *man nating* and using *nating* in everyday life.

One of my hunches that I'm working on at the moment is the key image, "em i man nating", that links the most of all the above phrases, has to do with the sense of a lack of intentionality, agency, purpose, *raison d'etre*. *Man nating em stap tasol*, as opposed to *man lotu*, who's always thinking of *abrusim paia*, *bihain taim*; *o, bisnis man em laik apim em yet*.⁵ In other words, the man nating doesn't have a future narrative.

Now a third image is that of the *kauboi*. I'd really like some feedback on this. Of the three images of self that I'm working with, this is the one that a) I'm the least clear about, and b) this is the one that everybody calls me, and I've got no idea why. I've got an image of the *kauboi* as a slightly transgressive figure, but it's quite a non-discursive figure. It's not heavily talked about, but it's referred to. I've got an image of *kaubois* about moving *laik bilong en, pulling' meris*, those are the kinds of characteristics of the *kauboi*, but beyond that I'm not clear. Maybe some of the students here could give me some feedback on them. That's for topic number two.

The third topic has to do with emotions and the body, and I find myself tuning into four topics. *Sori*, which I generally translate as "missing for" or "yearning"; *sem*, which can mean either "shame" or "embarrassment", heard in a wide variety of contexts, from asking for a debt to be repaid or regretting *tokaut* or talking out; *laik*, or desires in "*laik bilong yu*"; fourth, *kros*, normally invoked in verb form as in "*em i krosim mi*." The other stuff on emotion has to do with the links between emotion and the body; I'm thinking of stuff like "*bel*" /or stomach: "*bel hat, bel hevi, wan bel, mi no wan bel, tainim bel*"⁷ which conveys a whole series of responses of you to somebody else, except for *tainim bel* which is about conversion. *Skin*, as in *planti sem i stap long skin bilong mipela*. * *Leva* as in *leva bilong m*.⁸ So, those are the kinds of emotion words and body words that I'm tuning into.

The fourth topic that I'm tuning into has to do with place and movement within this town or village. Under the two words "place" and "movement," I've got two different things: 1) a discursively marked contrast between town and village, which is actually undone in actual practice, and 2) a foregrounding of place and movement in the local imagination.

To start with the contrast between town and village, this is metalinguistically marked, at least where I am. Through a contrast be-

tween two registers of Tok Pisin: Tok Pisin *kanaka*, *na taun* Tok Pisin. *Taun* Tok Pisin is constructed as a mix of English and what I call *stretpela* Tok Pisin, which is the unmarked form of Tok Pisin. Tok Pisin *kanaka* is constructed as a mix of Tok Pisin and *tok pies*, though what I think is actually happening in Tok Pisin *kanaka* is that Tok Pisin is being turned inside *tok pies*. An example of Tok Pisin *kanaka* would be "*amapidu*," where they're taking the word "*amamas*" from Tok Pisin and putting a *tok pies* suffix onto it.

That brings up one interesting question in terms of word order, when so far as the *tok pies* tends to take an accusative word order, by which I mean object-verb-subject, in terms of sentence construction; and English and Tok Pisin tend to take a nominative word order, which means subject-verb-object. That's significant because of the different theoretical ideas about what's involved in word order, and that implies different ways of looking at the world, basically.

Town or village are also contrasted in terms of the pragmatics of voice. In town one lowers one's voice to evade the look of others against the fate of shame. Town or village are also contrasted in terms of talk about practice; the behaviour of a particular married woman in *taun*, not offering tea to guests, not cleaning the house properly, wasting money, and not looking after her girl in the village is talked about by her folks in Merieka within the framework of the town-village contrast. *Mi tingting mama bilong en bai karim em i go long Mosbi* In terms of actual practice, though, these contrasts are undone. People move continually back and forth between town and village.

Turning to the second theme that the foregrounding of both place and movement is obviously in part a product of my own fieldwork practice of moving back and forth, but I think there's something local going on there. Images that strike me include children's games, the *wilwil* on a stick, women sitting by the roadside after work in their gardens, daily movement on PMVs to and from town, moving to town to find a wife, going back to the village to find a wife (from a male-centred perspective, that is), and the discourse of greetings - I can give you a bit of *tok pies* here - "*Netekapi, netekapi. Nate, nufi. Nakalapti vinini. Goroka nowewe. Watawosa motowinunu.*" *All that said was, "moning, moning. Yu stap, mi kam. Yu go we? Mi go long Goroka. Mi go, yu stap."* So in other words, in everyday speech, when people greet each other, there is a "*yu go, yu stap*" poetics, foregrounding going and staying, which, in some of the songs that I've transcribed, also comes out.

Penultimately, I want to talk about language and music, except here I'm just going to talk about language. The most striking feature of all the speech communities that I move through, there are basically four or five different language groups I move from: Siane, which is on the Daulo Pass; Dano, which is in the Asaro area, upper Asaro; Tokano, which is my

area; and then Arikano, which is in the Goroka area. Additionally there are different forms of Tok Pisin. But of course there are much more; in marrying women and in marrying men also bring their own languages. So just within my own very small clan, the following languages are spoken: Tokano, Arikano, Dano, Kafe, Popondetta, and Siane. They're all spoken, though accesses to these languages are not equally distributed, of course. So, in other words, there is a diversity of languages within any one setting. So diversity and multi-lingualism. I think that's also relevant for looking at music.

I noted there are two registers in Tok Pisin that are metalinguistically marked. There's a third register which is not marked, which is the one that I think that most of us use, which I'm calling "*strepela* Tok Pisin". It's where Tok Pisin is not mixed at all, but in fact comes out in a language in its own way, so to speak. Most of the work I'm doing is in Tok Pisin. One of the problems I'm having so far as *tok pies* goes, *mi save hap hap tasol*.¹² I'm still learning tok pies. In terms of Tok Pisin, one of the things I'm getting into is the metalinguistics and metapragmatics of *strepela* Tok Pisin. *Tokaut, tok pani, tok pilai, tok strong, mauswara, tok, tok nating, tok halt, tok bokis, tok parabol, tok baksait, tok bilas*¹³ - those are the kinds of things that I'm trying to work around. In terms of language use, more broadly I'm getting interested in the practices of code-mixing, code-translation. Not only between Tok Pisin and *tok pies*, but also between neighbouring *tok ples*'s, between Arikano and Tokano. People frequently move within the space of one sentence, without any space, from Tokano to Arikano. Much of that, I think, is also going to come out in the music.

The final theme that I want to talk about has to do with time. This theme is the one that, as it were, encapsulates all the other themes, including, I suspect, the music theme. Basically I've become interested in the relationship between two moments, or markers of time. *Taint bilong waitman, taim bilong waitskin, taim bilong masta, taim bilong nau*¹⁴ - that's one frame. The other frame is *taim bipo, taim bilong tumbuna*¹⁵ Now, in terms of what I call cultural ratification and cultural reflection, that is, when you ask people explicitly about those two terms, what's happening is that one sense of time is said to have replaced another sense of time. So *taim bilong nau, taim bilong waitskin, em i kamap nau, na taim bilong tumbuna i go pinis*.¹⁶ Examples of that would be the wholesale adoption of *lotu*, Christianity; sexual promiscuity *na pamuk pasin*; the rise in the cash economy/value of money; those kinds of things are indexes of how one kind of time has taken over from another. However, when you actually start listening to talk, it seems to me something much more complex is going on. At least two kinds of times are simultaneously juxtaposed and remixed into each other.

I'm going to give you some concrete examples of this. Talking with my best mate up there one night over a carton of beer, I mentioned that,

now that the rainy season was over, I was going to head back into the bush, do some bush trips. Steven's response was to talk of fear of *tambarans*. *Tambarans* have been re-described as devils. Devils and *tambarans* have been described as previously from *taim bipo*, residing in the villages, as having been pushed out into the bush by Christianity. There's a sense in which several different complicated things are going on there, both in terms of *taim bipo*, *taim bilong nau*; Christianity, non-Christianity; the village side and the bush side.

Then there was this rather wild talk with the rugby team, which I'm still trying to transcribe. Where - in context of a debate - there is no other word for that, for the speech event, between me and them, over the relative merits of creation versus evolution; religion versus science - creation and religion were reworked as Melanesian customs, set against science constructed as Western custom. In fact right at the end, they said, "Okay, you're an anthropologist, your gig is to fit in with us. You gotta dump this evolution stuff, and you've gotta believe in creation now." A wonderful reflexive move!

The third example is another mate of mine, who's simultaneously a musician, teacher, and magic-man. He's got this fail-safe technique for inducing abortion. He takes one Disprin tablet and silently mouths into it, "*Si apogoki, mari, kita yamaniki.*" Now that's interesting for two reasons: one, you've got a juxtaposition - he's not actually mouthing into it, he's silently singing into it - the juxtaposition of Disprin coming from *taim bilong nau*, with a *tok pies singsing* which is silently sung, comes from way back, and isn't a contemporary practice at all, taught to him from his uncle, *em i samting bilong tumbuna*, those two come together. At the same time, the language he's using is not a Highlands language, it comes from Vitu Island off West New Britain, which is where his lineage came from. So you've got a *tok pies* which is incomprehensible of course, to Highlands people, being used, and held to be efficacious in a Highlands area. Those are the weird kinds of juxtapositions that I'm into and finding.

Then finally, there's a line I often hear in the context of talk about *sanguma*, *malira*, and *poising*⁷ which has bugged me for quite a while. It goes, "*sapos yu bilivim, em bai wok,*" - "suppose you believe this, it's going to work." So what's that about? If you're in a culture where things are taken for granted, then you wouldn't have any need for that kind of line. It seems to me that that line comes from the effect of juxtaposing two kinds of time together, *taim bipo* and *taim bilong nau*. What's happening is that culture is provisional, what's out there is up for grabs.

That's basically all I want to say right now. But I want to give a justification for not talking about music. Quite apart from it being the theme that I'm least clear about - I'm not sure, I think I have to change my take on it a little bit, adopt a more formal perspective - I'd also suggest that, for me, ethnomusicology is just a branch of anthropology. All I'm

doing at the moment is picking up the context in which I expect the music's going to come from. At the same time, I do need to start rethinking my material in terms of getting at musical practices there. That's just all I'm going to say.

Notes

1. Robert Reigle transcribed this paper from the recording, and added, as end-notes, translations of some of the Tok Pisin (see the Lexicon of Tok Pisin for words not explained in end-notes). Louise Meintjes proofread and corrected the text, in light of Frank Magne's field notes. Steven Feld and Louise Meintjes suggested the title. Frank's original title, given verbally and in haste, was "Problem Paper: Where's the Music Come In?"
2. Frank pronounces this both "Alikano" and "Arikano." Switching of "l" and "r" is found in many highlands languages.
3. "the guitar sound will be a bit wrong."
4. "it's like, they just live in the village."
5. "A worthless man just exists," as opposed to "a church man," who's always thinking of "avoiding hell, later; or, a businessman wants to promote himself."
6. "Pulling" is a heterogloss of the Tok Pisin *pulim*, "seducing."
7. "angry, worried, agreed, I'm not in agreement, become a Christian,"
8. "One's being," as in "a lot of shame exists in our being."
9. "sweetheart," as in "my sweetheart."
10. "I think her mother will take her to Moresby."
11. "Good morning, good morning. You're here, I came. Where are you going? I'm going to Goroka. I'll go, you stay."
12. "I understand it only partially."
13. "speak up, humorous talk, joke, forceful talk, nonsense, speech, meaningless talk, secret talk, code, parable, talk behind one's back, make fun of."
14. "time of the white man, time of the white-skins, time of the Europeans, time of the present"
15. "time before, time of the ancestors."
16. So "the time of the present, the time of white-skins, it's here now, and the time of the ancestors is gone."
17. "sorcery, love magic," and "black magic".

Discussion

Frank Magne: I'm presenting you all [?] of the problem, right? This is the work I've done. The problem is, where does the music come in. Now, at the beginning I came out with a whole series of one-liners, which has to do with sort of accessible musical stuff that's here. The music stuff's all back in the *pies*. I came with some one-liners or comments on some music from different traditions, but I couldn't talk about them, because apart from anything else, they would come across as very disconnected. They were *singsing tumbuna*, *singsing tok pies*, part of it was my comments on Nokondi Nama. So what I did instead was present everyone with the context of what I'm working at; and working up to my fourth idea, on where the musical practices and musical imagination might lie, given that.

Michael Webb: Frank, this is probably not going to help you out in the sort of

questions that you're asking, but I'm just curious about Nokondi Nama, and how they're perceived as a pan-Highlands band and to what extent local people in the Goroka and surrounding areas invest in Nokondi Nama. I'd like to know how many of those people watch TV, how many are familiar with Charles's videos.

FM: Well, the video dissemination is quite wide, largely through trade-stores. You come to the trade-stores. One way for any store in the village to get up customers is to put the TV up there and, you know, Wednesday night Mekim Musik, Thursday night Fizz, Friday night football, and Sunday night sometimes football. They're all there. So in that sense there's quite a widespread . . .

MW: Charles has got Nokondi Nama, the very name itself is sort of a pan-Eastern Highlands construct.

FM: It is. It's pan-the other side, it's pan-Bena down to Kainantu.

MW: Although Nokondi's on the Eastern Highlands provincial flag, it is our local bit of lore, if you like.

FM: It is. That is right. I've never actually come across that explicitly. Well I guess I have, I have come across precisely the commentary of Nokondi Nama's pan-Highlands band, because what people comment on are that, "Well, you know, this is a Bena guy, he's singing a Chimbu song." So people are commenting on the fact that he's taking it from different places within the highlands area.

MW: If you watch Pepsi Fizz and if you watch Mekim Musik, for example, just the other week there were a string of letters to the M.C.'s of those programs that say "Play more Highlands music, we're tired of coastal music," and then you have responses to those letters in the following week that say, "How can she or he possibly play Highlands music when Charles is the only one doing it?", or "Nokondi Nama is the only one putting it out on video, so we're actually pleased that you're playing Nokondi Nama to the extent you are", etcetera, etcetera.

FM: Right. One of the differences that comes across between the Highlands and coastal sounds has to do with the commentary on the recording studios. There is a fairly widely held perception of the work that Pacific Gold do and that C.H. Meen do, as being both foreign and *nambis-Yike*, so there is a local commentary on the value of Kumul Studios.

MW: As both Pacific Gold and C.H. Meen . . .

FM: Are looped together in that.

MW: That's pretty curious because in the Tolai area you have people who talk about musicians like Telek and Leonard Kania, who left Pacific Gold to work for Chin H. Meen, and they talk about the transformation of their sound, which has become very non-Tolai, as a result of joining another studio which is just two doors down. And their using mostly Tolai musicians to back them. Anyway, that's a side issue.

FM: I was going to say that the local record studio is [his?].

MW: So why wouldn't Nokondi Nama record with Kumul, then?

FM: I haven't asked Charles that question. I don't know, I'll have to ask him.

MW: The other thing I'd be interested in, what sense do you get response to, Charles doing a duet with Kathy Lee on a Nokondi Nama video?

FM: None at all. That's something else I need to do. I haven't really listened to pop stuff. One of the problems is, I haven't adopted a formal perspective at all, in terms of asking formal questions. Only now am I beginning to transcribe some of the songs I've heard; I've put myself in a position where I can. In a sense, six months is too early for me to even comment on this.

Richard Moyle: Apropos of that, do you find parallels between language and the music in particular, where in the sense that you may have words from more than one language, do you find that repeated in song texts?

FM: Yes, more so particularly in *tok pies singsing*. There are two different strategies. One strategy is within any stanza to move from one word to the next, from Tokano to Alikano, to Tok Pisin. Or sometimes what will happen is that one stanza will be in one language, another stanza will be in another language; and there are often different reasons for that, moving into a different language. From what I can understand, some of the times it has to do with invoking both your mother's and your father's side. To give you an example, I just transcribed a song a couple of days back, which was a song composed feeling sorry for the death of somebody's cousin-brother. The guy who sang it is based in Ifiufa now, so he was using a Tokano *tok pies* for the first stanza. The second stanza he used a different set of emotion words, which more strongly heightened, and he used Alikano *tok pies*, which is the place of origin both of him, his wife, and the guy who died. That is one possible reason why he used that. So that definitely happens. Also in contemporary *tok pies* songs that are composed, I've come across songs where the first line will be in *tok pies*, followed by a Tok Pisin line, followed by a *tok pies* line, followed by a Tok Pisin line. Sometimes the Tok Pisin is repeating *tok pies*, sometimes it's saying something else. In terms of the kinds of songs a lot of youths sings, though, that are learned from cassettes, code-switching often isn't a big deal in the song because they learn from cassettes, and often they [?] one particular language. What's significant is that these young men are singing songs from a different language that they have no knowledge about. They have no idea what the words mean, but they are very keen on reproducing the *nek*, or the timbre, or the tune of the song.

Student: If I'm right, you mentioned something about places and movements. Is there any effect in music why these youths move from village to city?

FM: That's a great question; I don't know. The question I would ask you is, how do you think I should elicit that, or figure that out? One obvious way has to do with a figurative understanding of movement, right? Not a real understanding of movement, but an imaginary one. Cassettes are an example of the way in which culture is moving and being disseminated. That would be one example. Another area of questioning might be, is there a genre of songs which is about movement, about moving from the different places? Not that I know of. But is it also the case that people are into singing different songs because they're markers of places that they've been to, that when they're singing a Catholic song, that they've got memories of Henganofi; or Morobe song, they've got memories of Lae. I don't know, this is the kind of stuff I've yet to work on.

Clement Gima: You mentioned an interesting point, *olsem, sapos yu bilip long posin o samting olsem, em bai wok. Sapos yu no bilip, em i no inap wok*. I'd like to ask you, you are foreign to that place, do you think if some *puripuri* or *poisin, oli wokim long yu*, do you think it will work?

FM: *I gatsans*.

Audience: [general laughter]

FM: Where I come from we don't have sorcery, and we don't have *malira*, or we don't have the kind of *tumbuna marasin* that you have here. One of the things I have to do is suspend disbelief, at least from a relative perspective, and say, "Yes, this can work." I'm increasingly coming round to the feeling, "Yeah, it does." If it

doesn't then there's something very curious going around. The *sanguma* problem is seen as a problem that's becoming a far larger problem over the last ten years. I'll just give you one anecdote. We met a young Grade 6 woman, I saw her a few weeks back, and she was limping away, and I said, "What's wrong?" and she said, "Well, you know, I broke up this fight between two women yesterday, and the older woman put *sanguma* on me." I said, "Come on, you can't be bothered walking two miles to the school." She said, "No, no." She was in pain for about three days. What's happening with belief and practice here, I can't figure out. But there's no reason why - *ya, bai gat sans em bai wok. I gat kainkain marasin man, tu. Sampela pawa bilong ol i no gutpela tumas; sampela ol bai kisim tingting, ol bai kilim i dai.*

Student #2: I heard from some of my Highlands friends that people in the Highlands don't practise *sanguma*, so I was wondering how come you're talking about *sanguma*.

FM: *Olgiaman*. Well, the serious answer on that, is the same answer I picked to talk about violence, and that is that sorcery and violence are two ways of creating others. They are two ways of saying, you know, "This is a friendly, peaceful place, we don't have sorcery, stay with us and it won't be a problem. But, the next settlement, town, valley, province, that's where you get it." So for where I am, in the Asaro valley between, on the one side Bena and Kafe, and Chimbu on the other side. Chimbu are the sorcerers, and the Bena and Kafe are all *poisin man*. So in other words, it's a way of creating a distinction, it's a way of creating difference. This is my interpretation. But certainly compared to the *nambis, yu tok long sanguma*.

Student: You're saying that Simbus are *posin man* ...

FM: I'm not saying it, they're saying it.

Student: . . . and *nambis* are *sanguma man*. What's the difference between them?

FM: Oh, right. That's a really good question, and one I haven't figured out yet. They use different words, right. They'll say that, "*O' lain bilong Kafe em lain bilong poisin, lain long Chimbu em lain bilong sanguma.*" My hunch has to do with whether it's intentional, conscious, or whatever. Maybe I can get some feedback from you on this, because everyone here has as much to say to me as I have here. You've got plenty of information to give me too. The side on *sanguma* is "*Spirit nogut, i lusim skin bilong yu long nait ya.*" So the person who is a *sanguma* is not consciously, necessarily directing thought, whereas a *poisin lain* is. You have to engage in certain sets of practices. For example, in the Madang province there's one group of people that my group of people are really scared of, the Wesan. We went over there to straighten some problem about, basically the killing of another guy. There was a big war a couple years back, one of the Ifiufa *lain* got killed, and then two of another *lain* got killed recently. It was claimed that the Wesan *lain* had done it all. But when we were there, there were all these injunctions about not leaving cigarette butts around. In other words, something has to be employed from you, taken from you, to be used. That's my hunch about *poisin*. Something has to be done to something. Whereas *sanguma* is just all in the thought.

Robert Reigle: In a lot of parts of PNG, a lot of traditional institutions are being abandoned or are slowing down in frequency. For example, before, a village might have four *singsings* in a year, and now there might be two years between *singsings*. I wonder if you have any comment on how these new and evolving

social institutions, like *six-to-six*, the effects of video, and things like that, what effect do they have on the previous institutions, and how do you see those changes taking place?

FM: You're asking a pretty cool question here. I think one of the most powerful influences in that regard is church. Denominations do differ in relationship to *kastam*. The S.D.A. church is particularly strong where I am, on *daunim kastam*. What's interesting about that, though, is that where I am, it's not as if you just have one church that's dominant. So you'll have S.D.A.'s, you'll have Pentecostals, and you'll have Lutherans, all within the same village, often within the same *haus lain*. So culture is in a sense provisional; the S.D.A. lain will be dropping their practice, the Lutherans will be keeping it, Pentecostals will be keeping some aspects of it and not others. To take the example of *taim meri kisim sik mun*, the time a woman's first period comes up, it's a major deal in terms of *kastam*, a six-week deal. The S.D.A.'s will keep to the seclusion line, which is the first part of the practice, but in terms of when she's being outed, taken out of the house, here is where there was virtually no ceremony, and the night before there was no *singsing*. Whereas other denominations will retain the *singsing*, but Pentecostals won't necessarily retain the *bilas*, that goes when she's taken out of the house. The Lutherans will. That's one part of the answer, would be to say that religious denomination is extremely key in determining what aspect of any one cultural practice is maintained or not, amongst who. You could say one thing that's changed is that culture is no longer singular, if it ever was, and I'm not entirely sure it ever was, but it certainly isn't now. I don't actually think that *six-to-sixes* have a replacing relationship to traditional *singsing*. A lot of young men that I hang out with are in fact very interested in *dispela samting bilong taim bipo*. Not long ago there was what's called a "*fri*" out at Aletiufa. Aletiufa's sort of out of Goroka towards Mt. Otto. It's much more on the side of *kastam* than where I am. It's a long way from the road. There are about three different kinds of marriage. One kind of marriage is where a guy decides he would like to marry this woman, comes up with the bride price beforehand. So they go over one night to the woman's *haus lain*, and they leave the money. They put a little fire going, and they wait. In the morning, the woman's lain wake up, and if it's acceptable they take it, so the two are married.

In the other form of marriage, the bride price is paid some months or some years *bihain*. But this time it's paid beforehand. As soon as they accept it, the period called a "*fri*" is initiated, which is three weeks of singing, where the young unmarried women of the *haus lain* have their own *haus* constructed. All the men from all the different areas will be encouraged to come along, as long as they bring sisters with them. (I wasn't even smiling, [laughter]) For three weeks this custom's going on, of *singsing na kis-kis, tupela wantaim*. I took a bunch of the lads I hang out with to this particular custom, and they were just right into it as cultural tourists, because this was something *long taim bipo* that they had no knowledge of and they were getting into it, in an almost curious, kind of touristy kind of way. So I don't think that it's the case of popular music or *six-to-sixes* as paradigmatically replacing an interest in *singsing tumbuna*. I think the causes of how *singsing tumbuna* has gone down are much more complicated than that, and I don't think there's a necessary lack of interest. I don't think that's the answer.

Student: If I'm right, you mentioned something about singing through a tree trunk.

FM: Oh yes, that's when you're making *malira*.

Student: Is the voice, or the sound that comes out, distorted? Are these voice-modifiers?

FM: Oh I see what you mean. No, it's not a tree trunk, it's a tree bark. There's no sound, in a sense. It's silently blowed song. So in other words, for example, you have this particular tree, right, that you've scraped on, you've got it in your hand. And the guy will [demonstrates blowing]. You can't hear it. It's silently blown song.

RR: You had mentioned that the S.D.A. churches where you're doing your research, condemn the electric guitar but condone the acoustic guitar. Were you able to find out why they do so, and also how the people feel about that?

FM: Okay, the acoustic guitar, *em i stap long sait bilong Man Antap, na pawa gita em i stap long sait bilong seten*. The reason why that's the case is that, *pawa gita apim nem bilong yu*; it has the kind of presence that is too projective, from the perspective of S.D.A. It has the kind of, *apim pawa bilong yu*, is basically the reason. So S.D.A.'s have this line about the meek singing, so to speak, whereas Four Squares and Pentecostals just don't give a . . . The audience dynamics in Pentecostals and S.D.A.'s are very different. S.D.A. services are much more somber in general terms, than Pentecostal or Four Square, which are much more celebrational. Pentecostal services - this is characteristic of these kinds of services worldwide, but social participation and individual autonomy, the two together are both privileged. In S.D.A.'s, what happens is that it goes according to a particular consensus, so an S.D.A. performance will have certain parts to it. *Ol S.D.A. lain, ol i no map mekim tok bilong dispela i go kranki*.

An S.D.A. performance will be divided into certain phases, right, and the pastor will kind of, in a consensual kind of way, introduce "Well, what song are we going to sing now? What prayer readings are we going to do now?" That's a very different dynamic from the Pentecostal.

Postlude

LOUISE MENTJES AND STEVEN FELD

In the months following this presentation Frank refined his ideas about place and movement. He articulated town, village, bush, and highway as marked spaces. He also refined his treatment of the "habitus of generation" by describing youth (among other categories) as a "sliding scale of differentiation" (Misc. field notes, n.d.). He detailed marriage practices as a feature of the selfhoods of young men, and noted how movement between women coheres with other forms of mobility. He was increasingly drawn into thinking about local concepts of time and movements between them. He was considering how, on the one hand, *taim bipo* and *taim bilong nau* "are juxtaposed in a contrastive sense, one eclipsing the other. Changes in the environmental world, changes in the cosmological world, changes in gender relations, changes in language [are part of this process.] ...These changes are subject to both orthodoxic and heterodoxic tendencies." (*ibid.*) On the other hand, he was concerned with "how the two times are remixed": "how *kastom*, as it were gets inserted into a non-kastom context or present; how images of the *bipo* remain salient in the present; how some practices of *bipo* remain practised." (*ibid.*) He was beginning to insert music, along with other discourse, into this "aesthetics

of juxtaposing and remixing" (*ibid.*).

Frank's articulation of place, movement, generation, gender, time, and discourse as heteroglossic makers and markers of self was emerging along with a delineation of the relationship between religion, *kastom*, and the politics in the Goroka area. He saw the interface of missionised religious expression with beliefs and practices about the local spiritual world as providing an interpretive frame shaped by and shaping local interpretations of global politics. (Foreign intervention is most directly experienced as corporate exploitation of PNG's oil reserves.) Frank experienced, and came to understand, these dynamics most intimately through his increasingly involved friendships with a particular group of "*raskols*", for whose symbolically complex world he developed a fascination and deep respect. "There is some interesting stuff going on down here particularly among the churches of the younger generation - the churches of the Pepsi generation - the choice of the new generation. I'm doing a fair bit of work on (1) the religious discourse of the end of the world, (2) how Biblical texts mediate village life with the global political economy (as in the 666 figure of Revelations (Chap 13) with seven heads (the G7 nations) and 10 horns (the European community), (3) how religious affiliation constructs a tension between younger and older generations, (4) how churches of the younger generation compete with each other - the Bible as a ground of contestation, (5) Satanism and rascalism, (6) how young men move in and out of religion and (7) how the "total" picture undoes rather than constitutes "totality" (Letter to L. Meintjes, n.d.)"

Frank's research materials are archived at the Music Department, Cultural Studies Division, National Research Institute, in Boroko, PNG. They comprise 65 C90 cassette tapes, a 60-page research proposal, and about 1000 pages of field notes. These include language notes (Tok Pisin, Tokano, Alikano), transcription and translation of a few of his tapes into Tok Pisin (conversation, interviews, song lyrics), and reports and letters written through the course of his research. His field recordings include church services (various denominations), *singsings* and other *pies* and *kastom* events, *six-to-sixes*, gospel and secular singing (including rehearsing, jamming, making a demo, performing), and numerous "storying" sessions - informal conversations - with his "*raskol*" friends.

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PART THREE: OLDER TRADITIONS

VOICES IN DREAMS: SOUND PERCEPTION OF THE WAXEI PEOPLE IN THE EAST SEPIK HILLS

YOICHI YAMADA

The Waxei people, whose population was approximately 300 in 1988, live along the middle of the Korosameri River, a southern tributary of the Middle Sepik River, in the East Sepik Province. They are sedentary hunter-gatherers subsisting mainly on wild pigs, birds, fish, and sago. Their indigenous language, which they also call Waxei, is Non-Austronesian, belonging to the Bahinemo Family of the Sepik Hill Stock.¹

This paper concerns a Waxei musical performance, a men's ensemble of 10 to 12 side-blown bamboo flutes without finger holes, rendered inside the men's ceremonial house and visually kept secret from women. The players must be adult men who have arcing scars along their shoulder blades as a result of initiation. They stand in a circle, each blowing a bamboo flute and stamping their feet strongly on the floor. The performance usually continues through the night.

This kind of performance is ubiquitous in the East Sepik Hill area, yet the Waxei are distinctive, in that they clearly regard the sound produced through the bamboo flutes as the "talk" of a female spirit named Sagais. Sagais is believed to dwell in a river and has a strong power to kill human beings. Her existence and activities are demonstrated through a myth and various experiences of encounter. People fear Sagais, but the performance through bamboo flutes is the only means for them to summon her and communicate with her peacefully.

The Waxei also state that they are in a "dream" while they are perceiving the spirit's sound. The dream is often regarded as a mode of commu-

nication with spirits in many societies of Papua New Guinea (Kurita 1989). It is also believed among the Waxeï that spirits can easily enter the consciousness of a dreaming man. For spirits, the dream is a channel through which they can come into contact with the human world while, for men, it is a channel through which they can communicate with spirits through sounds.

The performance of bamboo flutes among the Waxeï thus shows a unique perceptive process of sound. Their auditory sensation seems to work beyond physically recognisable acoustic phenomena. They distinctly interpret the tones produced through bamboo flutes as spiritual sounds and situate them as a socially important mode of sound. Such a unique consciousness and attitude for sounds provide a significant viewpoint for an ethnographic study of sound and an anthropology of perception.

In this paper, I shall first present a myth upon which cognition and knowledge about Sagais and the bamboo flutes performance are based. Then I shall extract themes from the myth as spirit, dream, and bamboo, and argue their symbolic interrelationships. Next I shall describe in detail the contexts of performance, its sound structures, and its mythical and spiritual meanings. And lastly I shall situate the Waxeï's outwardly peculiar phase of sound perception in a broader socio-cultural setting. What will be tacitly questioned throughout this paper is how the Waxeï hold a sense of reality for sound.

The Myth of Sagais²

A woman lived on Mt Ubadaniq, which lies on the upper course of a tributary of the Korosameri River. When she was sleeping at night, a spirit named Sagais emerged in her dream and told her to come to the mouth of the mountain stream in secret, to the men. The next morning, when she was standing there, she heard a rustling noise approaching her. Soon Sagais appeared in the form of a woman. Sagais made an exceedingly tall bamboo emerge in an instant and cut out a head-pipe close to the root, which means the head of herself. Then she made five woman-pipes and five man-pipes. She explained that talk in a high voice would be generated from the woman-pipes and talk in a low voice from the man-pipes. Lastly she cut out an edge-pipe which makes a song better. Sagais said, "If you give deep breath to these pipes, my spirit will come back and enter them. The first song to call me must be *tageya tuwas*. When the spirit stays in the pipes, it is sure to talk to you."

The Ubadaniq woman went back to her village with Sagais' pipes and told the woman who had only daughters to gather secretly at a deep bush in the evening. She explained exactly what she had been taught by Sagais. Then they began to blow the pipes together. They were all joyfully dancing and playing, strongly stamping the ground, until dawn. Because the women didn't take care of their families and devoted themselves to play

Sagais' pipes every night, the men became discontent and suspicious. So they decided to send a man to reconnoitre what the women were doing. The man walked into the bush, concealing himself in the shade of trees. At a little way down from the summit, he found the women in raptures, holding and blowing the bamboo pipes. Being astonished at the sight, he returned to the village and explained what he witnessed. The men stood up to fight with the women. They took spears and went into the bush.

A violent battle broke out. The women's defensive power was fairly strong. After the long struggle, the men finally deprived the woman of the pipes and ran away with them to the village. Then all the men gathered in the men's house for fear of the women's counterattack. The woman who met Sagais came up there and addressed the men loudly, "Okay, men, keep the pipes with you from now on. We aren't angry with you any more. The pipes you have just taken from us are from Sagais, a female spirit. If you blow them, Sagais is sure to appear and start talking. She is to appear not for us women but for you men. You should keep them secret."

Spirit, Dream, and Bamboo

Sagais, described in the myth, is a fundamental being of female spirits which are recognised by the Waxeï to dwell in several specific riverbed rocks or bamboos, along rivers and creeks. She is able to appear in human dreams, manipulate human beings at will, transform into a human female, bring forth a bamboo in a moment, and produce fascinating sounds through bamboo pipes. These diverse abilities exemplify her transcendental strength and importance in Waxeï society. Here I shall extract three concepts from the myth: spirit, dream, and bamboo, and give brief explanations which can be premises for understanding Sagais' "talk".

The generic Waxeï term for spiritual beings is *yabosgas*. Since all spirits are considered to be potentially malevolent and harmful to human beings, they are also called *swoni yabosgas* ("evil spirit") or *swonuj* or *swonus* ("the wicked"). The Waxeï recognise three types of spirits: spirits of the dead, spirits of sorcery, and spirits of the supernatural. The spirits of the dead are called *nuxui yabosgas* and dwell in their own world beneath the mountains. They sometimes transform themselves into birds (the Pheasant Coucal) to fly to the human world and have a glimpse of human life. The spirits of sorcery are named *sokwi yabosgas* and are made to appear and are controlled by human sorcerers who know a special spell. They are thought to turn into small bats or centipedes to attack men. Supernatural spirits, for which there is no generic term, are divided into six categories according to the places where they reside.

Although each spirit has its own character, some common features can be extracted especially in terms of the Waxeï cognition and perception of spirits. First, it is believed that spirits have "life" (*iyogoq*) and malicious "thoughts" (also *yogoq*), and therefore, they sometimes attack or even kill

human beings. Second, the emergence of a spirit can be visibly perceived as a "shadow" (*xojofas*) wavering in the dark, tangibly as a soft, gentle "breeze" (*wifojqaj*) caused by the "breath" (*gofshuqaj*) of spirits, and audibly as "low sound" (again *yogoq*). Through these shadows, breaths, and low sounds, people vividly feel the spirit's life and its inviolable power.

"Dream" (*siyoxus*) is another important topic which can be extracted from the myth. Sagais appeared in the Ubadaniq woman's dream and ordered her to come to see her secretly. The woman blindly obeyed Sagais; it is easy enough for a spirit with strong power, such as Sagais, to control human beings entirely as it likes. For such purposes spirits often emerge in a human dream and give directions. The Waxei explain that a spirit in a dream looks like a human being, but its figure is too obscure to discern definitely. It seems to be extremely difficult for the Waxei to cognitively and visually distinguish a spirit existing essentially as a "shadow", from the dream itself as a field where the spirits emerge, since dream itself is also regarded as a "shadow" of some states. The emergence of a spirit is, therefore, felt more vividly through auditory sensation, and personified because it utters human words. Thus the Waxei ascribe the source of sound perceived in a dream to the spirits.

For the Waxei, every dream is considered to be controlled basically by spirits. Sometimes they even state that spirits generate the dreams. A dream is a suitable occasion for communication between spirits and human beings. When men are in dreams of any kind, their consciousness and thinking are wandering somewhere, a phase which has a fundamental affinity with the existence of spirits forever roving over the world.

The women infatuated with blowing bamboo pipes in the myth could also be regarded as being in a kind of dream. They were absorbed in the performance, leaving their families and household duties, and enthusiastically danced every night, stamping their feet strongly on the ground. This abandonment of everyday life and the self-intoxicated state of the women were, as such, obviously induced by Sagais. That is to say, they were in the very dream to be charmed by Sagais' talk.

The symbolic meaning of bamboo is the last topic which we should examine here. In order to get songs of Sagais, a set of bamboo flutes is needed. The Waxei call them *kunu bogonim*, which consist of 10-12 short *bogonim* ("pipes"), cut out of *kunuj* ("bamboo") and given a *buseis* ("mouth") for blowing. This set of bamboo pipes is indispensable equipment for obtaining Sagais' talk, and is a symbol of Sagais herself for the following reasons.

First, the bamboo which Sagais gave to the Ubadaniq woman in the myth is not considered to be a natural one but an artificial one which Sagais herself generated to possess. This bamboo named *taibamus* is unique: it can be used only for flutes, because the distance between nodes is too long and the walls too thin and weak for constructional usage. *Taibamus* is,

therefore, a mythical bamboo which Sagais created to rule and control the women.

Second, the bamboo pipe is a traditional device of metamorphosis and spirit possession for the Waxei. As an example of its use in metamorphosis, we can cite an ancestral myth of a Waxei clan in which a short hollow bamboo pipe, which a boy, getting no share of fish from his sister, passed through, out of deep grief, to turn into a spot-winged flycatcher. His skin changed fully into feathers as he was going through the bamboo pipe. As an example of possession, the Waxei use a long bamboo pipe, into which they summon ancestral spirits to draw strikes of signals to reveal the murderer-spirits. Such a pipe, usually three metres long, is never called a bamboo but an "evil stick" (*swoni kumaj*) or an "evil pipe" (*swoni bogonis*).

Sagais' bamboo pipes, thus containing the mythic and symbolic processes, could be situated as a spiritual device where Sagais' power enters and appears with sound as talk. They are also a symbolic device of social privilege, in the sense that only those who own them have a chance to experience her power. This social privilege, however, can be retained only in a shaky manner: although it is legitimated by the myth of Sagais that the ownership of bamboo pipes was passed down from women into men's hands, the myth itself might be the result of favourable interpretation by men; if a spirit does not possess and express its power as talk, the bamboo pipes are not intrinsically valuable as material objects. It is, therefore, necessary for men to conceal the flutes and their myth from women to cover up the uncertain existence of bamboo pipes themselves.³ The sound produced through Sagais' bamboo pipes is thus interpreted as her talk with the background of mythic and symbolic interrelationships between spirit, dream, and bamboo. It retains general features of an aural aspect which the Waxei call the "song" (*windioqos*), being signified as a peculiar mode of communication with a spirit.

The Contexts of Sagais' Talk

Sagais flutes are nowadays played on the following occasions: when a new set of flutes has been made, when a domestic house or a men's house has been newly constructed, when an owner of the flutes is inclined to play, and so on. In each case, an owner family of flutes or house, or a clan who wishes to celebrate the new men's house and increase its social prestige has to present meals (usually wild pigs, chickens, coconuts, rice, and canned fish) to specific relatives and friends participating in flute performance, who then necessarily give cash in return to the owner's side which should be equivalent to the meals they received. The meals are usually distributed after an all-night performance undertaken in turns by an owner, his relatives and friends.

The bamboo flutes can be made at any time and by any adult man. The man cuts down a tall bamboo beneath the lowest node and then cuts it

into four lengths, using his forearm and fingers for measuring. The manner of cutting which sort of pipe comes from which part of the bamboo, and assigning names, exactly follows the way demonstrated by Sagais in the myth: in order from the root, the one longest "head-pipe" (*togo bogoniq*, c. 90 cm), then four to five "man-pipes" (*uyagu bogonim*, c. 74 cm) and four to five "woman-pipes" (*toganu bogonim*, c. 62 cm) respectively, and the one shortest "edge-pipe" (*jemxaidai bogoniq*, c. 50 cm) (4). Each pipe has a node left at one end, close to which a "mouth" (c. 2.5 cm in diameter) for blowing is cut out.

The performance of Sagais' flutes usually starts at around eight o'clock in the evening when it has grown fairly dark. Prior to this, the men have taken bamboo flutes out of the attic of the men's house and washed them with water. This is not only for clearing cobwebs and dust from the inside but also for making it easier to invoke Sagais, a river spirit, by moistening the bamboo flutes themselves. They have also carefully stopped up the gaps in the walls of the men's house, the inside of which becomes a stage for performance. This is, needless to say, for guarding against women's eyes. Then 10-12 men go into the bush close to the men's house, hiding the flutes, and wait for real quiet and darkness, while holding their breath. Other men have gathered inside the men's house to sit calmly, only chatting in whispers.

In due time, the men in the bush stand up and hold the flutes. The men give a signal with their eyes to one another and begin to blow the flutes strongly together. This is the opening of the melody *tageya tuwas* ("a leaf of *tageya* tree") which Sagais taught to the Ubadaniq woman in the myth. Performing this tune, the men start stamping their feet in time to its metrical rhythm and then walking to the men's house. Under cover of darkness they enter it and continue blowing there, stamping their feet hard on the floor. After four to five minutes, a man makes the remarkable sound of a footstep, at the signal of which only the low sound "*pupupupu. . .*" of the head-pipe remains. At this they finish the first performance of *tageya tuwas*.

After a short interval the men start *tageya tuwas* again. This tune is considered to be a message for invoking Sagais and inducing her to enter the bamboo pipes. Waxei men believe that if Sagais catches their message, she is sure to come out from the river to their village and enter the pipes, but they also recognise that it is fairly difficult to summon Sagais. Even after the second performance has finished, their facial expressions remain rigid because Sagais has not appeared yet. Several men utter to themselves: "No, she doesn't come (*mba, osuya mba afayusud*). Soon, she is coming (*uxas yadaxusa*). She should catch the *tageya tuwas* (*osuya tageya tuwas fisa, wade*). We can only wait (*num bedyumuyang watunum*)."

The men persevere in repeating *tageya tuwas* over and over, taking short rests between repeats. They say they can occasionally feel a faint

breeze, when Sagais emerges. That breeze is her "breath", which goes into the bamboo pipes and makes a "low sound". After the fifth or so performance has ended, a man begins to produce a small sound similar to a whistle, displaying a rough melodic movement and rhythm pattern to the others. The sound is not clear like a real whistle but more feeble and breathier. It is a sort of sound signal indicating that the man has perceived the emergence of Sagais before any other men and that the players should proceed to the next tune.

The men then start blowing the pipes again, but in a different order and combination from *tageya tuwas*, producing a new song called *yogoq*. In this tune which literally implies "throat", "life", and "low sound", the appearance of Sagais is certainly recognised by the people gathered at the men's house. *Yogoq* refers to a tune in which Sagais herself declares that she has already turned up in the human world.

Once the appearance and possession of Sagais have been manifested through *yogoq* in this way, the sounds generated from the bamboo flutes are regarded totally as of Sagais herself. In this regard, Waxei men make an explicit comment that "we only blow into bamboo pipes; it is Sagais who sings (*num. bedyumuya gofshuj kunu bogonisma, igo sagaisiya windioqosa*)." It is not men, therefore, who decide which tune shall be played next. Each tune as a content of spirit's talk is something which the spirit herself shows and gives to human beings and something that just emerges as such. The Waxei say that Sagais enters into a man's "thinking" (*sketa*) and secretly teaches him the next tune to play. They also express this state as really feeling like hearing the sounds of a song. That is, Sagais' message doesn't emerge as a series of words but as a pattern of sound which constitutes the song, however vague it is.

Such perception of sound as being indicated by a spirit entering into a man's mind is not peculiar to the Waxei, but rather similar to ours; for instance, the perception of a melody which accidentally occurs to us or a song which we unconsciously hum to ourselves. While we are not aware of the source of melody or song, the Waxei clearly interpret that the melody they hit upon is caused by the spirit. They also recognise that they are in *siyoxus*, a dream at that time. They are awake with their consciousness open exclusively to the spirit. It could be regarded that the spirit draws men's consciousness to herself and creates a special state of mind throughout the process of performance. The men continue blowing the bamboo pipes after the model of melodies which have occurred to them, that is, the ones which Sagais has shown. Then men's breaths mingle with Sagais' breaths - that is, her life itself - to emerge as substantial sounds. They are really Sagais' sounds, structured and expressed as song and talk.

Two hours or so after the performance has started, the women begin to gather in twos and threes around the men's house outside. Dressed in skirts made of the fibres of young sago leaves, they stand near the men's

house and, in an exaggerated movement, shake their hips from side to side to the rhythm of the tune without any steps. As a result of the movements, their skirts sway and make rustling sounds. The women seem to listen earnestly to the sound of the bamboo flutes, not uttering any sounds. Even if they have no knowledge of the Sagais myth, they are certainly aware that the sounds from the inside of the men's house are Sagais' voices. Although it is socially prohibited for women to approach the secrets of myth and bamboo flutes, they are able to share a common experience with the men in being enchanted with the spirit's sounds. Therefore the situation where Sagais' talks are revealed through bamboo flutes is to be understood as an occasion for social experiences of spiritual sounds, shared by both men and women.

As Sagais was invoked by men's appeal at the beginning, it is also the men who put an end to her talk. When they judge the ending time is approaching, the men who will receive the meal estimate its amount well, gather the money balanced with it, and wrap the cash in a cloth to hang on the end of the edge-pipe. As the meal is primarily to be dedicated to Sagais, the money is also to be offered to her as a matter of form. Then they start playing the last tune named *sigaxus*, "cicada." This tune has a similar melodic structure to the first tune, *tageya tuwas*, and consists of a short pattern slowly repeated many times.

When *sigaxus* has been repeated several times, an elder man takes a leaf-stalk of sago palm and approaches the players. The moment he strongly strikes the floor with it, all the players put the bamboo flutes on the floor and let them slide to the exit on the side of the river. Sagais' talk is brought to a close by the striking sound of the petiole, and she goes back to her original home in the river, being led by the sliding of the flutes. Thus the bamboo pipes finish their role as spiritual devices and again become mere objects. The men wrap them in a palm skin to put back on the attic shelf. Then the women who have been dancing outside through the night, as well as the men, go back to their individual houses.

The Structure of Sagais' Talk

Sagais' talk which emerges through the bamboo pipes is regarded as a "genuine song" (*windioqo mafus*), a unique Waxei musical concept. It is, therefore, endowed with all the following general structural characteristics of Waxei songs: the independent unit of tune; the *bittagas* as a name of each tune; the repetition of a musical sentence ending with *songoqaj* (a phrase consisting of rapid alternation of two tones and/or reiterated unisons), a term which originally denotes the human elbow, and derivatively the bend of a winding river; and the organisation of vocal parts composed of "high voice" (*yabangu buseis*) and "low voice" (*buseiyogoq*).

The sounds which constitute Sagais' song are generated by four kinds of bamboo flutes of different lengths. Because a flute is blown strongly, as

shown in the myth, only one tone (basically the second overtone) is produced from each flute. Therefore the tonal organisation of Sagais' song is almost constant as being composed of four tones: for example, E (edge-pipe), (woman-pipe), *Bl*, (man-pipe), and Gj, (head-pipe), from high to low. Among these, the two tones of the edge-pipe and woman-pipe are categorised as high sounds while the other two of man-pipe and head-pipe are low sounds. This demonstrates that two ranges or parts of high and low are the basic components in songs of bamboo flutes, as well as in songs for human voices.

Among the four, the high sound of the woman-pipe and the low sound of the man-pipe are given especially important meanings as tones which make up the "frames" (*subem*) of Sagais' songs. Since the frame must be strong, four to five each of the woman-pipe and the man-pipe should be used to produce sounds of the necessary density and loudness. The structure of all the songs is based upon the alternating progression (*nunugonunugofd*) and the simultaneous progression (*dabusnefa*) of these woman-pipes and man-pipes, while the edge-pipe and head-pipe each plays a different role.

As the term *jemxaidai* (which is translated as "edge" here) primarily implies "a state different from others" or "a state departing from others", indeed, the high sharp sound of the edge-pipe is clearly audible, rising over the mass of sounds, and in the melodic structure it has the role of articulating and accentuating the movements of the other tones. Sagais' utterance in the myth that the edge-pipe "makes a song better" points out such a function of the pipe. On the other hand, the implication of the head-pipe, which is cut off from the base of bamboo that is identified with Sagais' head and is a basis of Sagais' being, is obviously disclosed in the role of its sound. That is, the lowest sound of the head-pipe is a genuine *yogoq* ("low sound") and its continuous sounding gives to the melodic structure Sagais' real life as living power. In other words, the sound of the head-pipe functions as a fundamental tone which supports all of Sagais' songs, just as the pipe itself sustains the existence of Sagais herself. Thus the constitution of bamboo pipes which was originated by Sagais in the myth is reflected in the sound structure to produce melodies.

The sound structure of Sagais' songs can be generally classified into two types, according to whether the tonal progression of man-pipes and woman-pipes is alternating or simultaneous. *Tageya tuwas*, shown in Figure 1, is a typical example of alternating progression.⁵ In this tune, the sound of the edge-pipe overlaps the sound of the woman-pipe to articulate the alternating progression and accentuate it. The sound of the head-pipe, on the other hand, also proceeds synchronously with the sound of the edge-pipe to intensify the accents in a low tonal range.

The most important aspect of Sagais' song is that it is perceived and understood by the Waxei not only as a structure of sound but also as a

structure of talk. "Talk" is translated from a Waxei term *bujofqaj*, an abstract concept that can be defined as an utterance with a comprehensible content which can be explained with words. The term *bujofqaj* is used clearly differently from its cognate, *bujom*, which means "words" or "language" in a broad sense. Thus the Waxei express that although Sagais' songs don't have *bujom*, they do have *bujofqaj*. This means that Sagais doesn't utter the words themselves but expresses the significant concepts interwoven in the sound structures. The Waxei perceive them, extract the



Figure 1. *tageya tuwas*.



Figure 2. The sung melody and text of *tageya tuwas*.

conceptual content from them, interpret them linguistically, and understand them as *bittagas*. With regard to this process, they explain that they can "sense" (*osketame*) the *bittagas*, because Sagais' sounds enter into their "thinking" (*sketa*). This is why they are in quasi-dreams when they are listening to Sagais' talk.

That Sagais' songs are recognised as talk can be confirmed by the performance practice that the men sitting around the players are actually able to sing words to the sound patterns produced from the bamboo flutes. The words uttered at that time are *bittagas* as sung text, which show the conceptual content of the talk given by the spirit and interpreted by the men. What the men sing to Sagais' talk is a single melody which is extracted from its structure. Although the method of extraction varies according to the song structure, it is generally formed to be chosen among the sounds of man-pipes, woman-pipes, and head-pipes. In the case of a tune such as *tageya tuwas* in which the alternating progression of man-pipes and woman-pipes is dominant and the head-pipe also overlaps with either of them, a melody woven by the man-pipes and woman-pipes is sung. Figure 2 shows the sung melody and words from *tageya tuwas*.

The Waxei explanation that Sagais goes into the bamboo pipes and utters her talk is never a result of their abstraction or a product of their imagination. This can be demonstrated concretely by the fact that the men can extract a melody from the talk and give it words. Furthermore, another fact should also be added to strengthen this. That is, the spirit's voice can be actually perceived as a strange but truly acoustic sound. The spirit's voice sounds similar to a human being's, but its feeble tone quality is obviously different from a human voice or the sounds of the bamboo flutes. If we concentrate our consciousness solely upon the spirit's talk and listen to it most carefully, it is possible for us as well to perceive the voice floating and wandering over the song structure. The simpler the structure of the tune is, the more clearly it can be perceived.

In *tageya tuwas*, for instance, it sounds low, resonating behind the melody of the woman-pipe and man-pipe. It can be heard not from the beginning but eventually at the last stage after the tune has been repeated several times. It is regarded precisely as Sagais' "breath", which indicates her long-awaited emergence. In the next tune *yogoq*, where the spirit's appearance is clearly revealed through the continuous "low sound" of head-pipe, the spirit's voice sounds more distinctly. Overlapping the joyful voices of men who have felt the spirit's emergence, it can be heard as a squeezed and strained sound: "*we: we: w o : o r 'yogora yogora yo*" (a phonological change of *yogoq*). It is nothing but the singing voice of the spirit.

According to acoustics, the sound which they feel as the spirit's voice could probably be analysed as a resonating sound resulting from the complicated interweave of different fundamental tones, overtones, and breathy sounds inevitably leaking from the instruments. As the lengths of bamboo

flutes are not strictly the same, even the pipes of the same kind have slightly different fundamentals and overtones. Such various tones from the bamboo pipes combine to produce an unusual sound with a complex waveform. In fact, the spirit's voice distinctly floats over the sounds of the numerous man-pipes and woman-pipes.

Whether this phenomenon occurs accidentally or arises intentionally, the important fact is that people are able to sense the vivid emergence of the spirit's life and power. They can actually perceive the spirit's voice through its talk. In this sense, the sounds and melodies rising over such talk can be regarded as symbolising the spirit's power. On the other hand, the single melodies sung by men can be conceived to be manifestation of their will to try to take the spirit's energies into themselves by imitating the symbolic melodies. The sounding of the men's voices overlapped with the spirit's voice are exactly the expressions of rapture of those who have experienced the force of the spirit.

Meanings of Sagais' Talk

The content of Sagais' talk is comprehended as *bittagas*. That is, *bittagam* (plural form of *bittagas*) represent the conceptual contents which people have extracted from a spirit's talk. I have thus far recorded 36 tunes in total, and I have been given detailed explanations about their *bittagam* by several Waxei men. When I asked them whether they know other tunes besides these, they did nothing but show embarrassed expressions. Since the *bittagas* comes into existence simultaneously with a substantial sonic structure of Sagais' talk, it is extremely difficult for them to think of it out of context. These 36 tunes are, nonetheless, enough to survey the meanings of *bittagam*. They can be generally divided into two categories: the ones which allude to the context of the Sagais' myth and the others which stand for the existence of Sagais as a spirit. In each case, the *bittagam* are symbolised by way of strategic concealment of real meanings. Thus outwardly, the *bittagam* are literally interpreted to exhibit superficial meanings, behind which there covertly exist mythical or spiritual meanings interpreted with relation to the cognition of myths and spirits.

In the first place, the *bittagam* which make men think of the context of the myth can be arranged according to the main topics of myth as follows. For example: *Kombuxomajiq* is the proper name of a mountain situated eastward of *Ubadaniq*, over which Sagais is believed to have passed to come to *Ubadaniq*. For women it is just a place name, but for men it generates a vivid image of the spirit's wandering. A similar association is drawn by another *bittagas*, *dajai tuwas*. *Dajai* is a name of a palm tree which grows only at *Ubadaniq*, and *tuwas* is a leaf. Through the calling of a palm tree leaf, men are reminded of *Ubadaniq* which was a stage of the myth.

In the myth, the women in *Ubadaniq* are described as having gathered at a small open space in the upper mountain to blow the bamboo flutes. The

place is symbolically indicated by *igofn miyoq*, meaning a tree (*miyoq*) where many birds (*igofimi*) assemble. Here the sound aspect of many birds gathering and twittering actively, is connected with the scene that various tunes are generated from many bamboo pipes. And the state of women dancing and blowing the pipes in rapture is indirectly shown by several bittagam as follows: *Kogweis geituna*, "a wallaby skips", expresses the springing movement of women who are likened to wallabies. *Ujas*, "sole of the foot", suggest that the women enthusiastically danced, stamping their feet strongly on the ground. In contrast with the women who happily devoted themselves to dancing, men were deadly hungry and discontented with them in the myth. *Nakus*, "a broiled sago", represents the food eagerly desired by the men, in which their hunger and anger are symbolically contained.

In the second place, the *bittagam* which represent the existence of Sagais as a spirit are illustrated as follows. The river where Sagais dwells and the state of Sagais herself drifting there are suggested vividly through such tunes as *munaij* and *sigaxus*. *Munaij* is a small fish which is ubiquitous, like Sagais, in the surrounding rivers. The state of their swimming in a large school is sometimes identified with the appearance of Sagais as a shadow. *Sigaxus* is a cicada which is often on a tree along the river. Its sound, resonating against the surface of the river and echoing through the trees, is like Sagais' voice from the bamboo flutes. Being led by this tune, Sagais goes back to the river, her home, where the voices of cicadas resound.

Like other kinds of spirits, Sagais is also believed to transform herself into various birds and to make sounds which are always perceived as the antiphonal singing pattern of two birds. When people mention the names of birds as *bittagam* of Sagais' songs, they usually think of birds which are the metamorphosis of Sagais. Included in such tunes are *nungutokwam* (Papuan Frogmouth), *gujombuq* (Spot-winged Flycatcher), *wis* (Western Black-capped Lory), *kouq* (Trumpet Manucode), and *maxoq* (Coronated Fruit Dove).

Lastly cited are tunes in which the nature of Sagais as a supernatural spirit which has a transcendent force to kill or wound human beings is brought into relief through the talk of Sagais herself. Among them, the most direct is *yakas swonus afa*, "a wicked female spirit ate Mother". This *bittagas* is regarded as representing the deep grief of a child whose mother was killed by Sagais. Here Sagais is making a display of her power by showing the child's weeping as talk. A similar and more concrete example is *kaffi bomuq*. *Kaffi* is an all-black, small cormorant (Little Black Cormorant), and *bomuq* is a shortening of *bomboqaj*, meaning "wave". What the men directly perceive from this tune is the wave movement the cormorant makes when it dives into water to catch fish. This, in turn, concretely reminds them of a cruel scene when Sagais pulls men into water to kill them.

In this way, Sagais talks a myth and talks about herself. The *bittagas* is a result of men's interpretation of Sagais' talk and is also a core of their

mythical and spiritual images. Although Sagais' talk is, in this sense, a product of the Waxei's cultural imagination, at the same time, it is obvious that it is realised through the absolute recognition of the transcendental power of a spiritual-mythical being and the social sentiment of being in awe of it. Because such cognition and feeling really exist in society, people are able to regard the sounds from bamboo pipes as substantial voices of spirits and acquire the concepts of the spiritual world from the sound structures as songs. Thus the Waxei notion that Sagais enters the bamboo pipes and talks to them is produced precisely from their social reality.

Conclusion

The performance of the blowing of bamboo flutes by Waxei men can be interpreted as a process through which the voice produced by a female spirit possessing bamboo pipes turns into a song, then, its structure is regarded as spirit's talk, and the images of spirit and myth vividly appear in a semantic field of sound. It seems possible for us to find one of the keys to understanding Sagais' talk in a mental state which the Waxei themselves call *siyoxus*, dream. They recognise that they are in a dream in a broad sense, when they perceive Sagais' talk. They gave me various explanations about this state of dream, which can be summarised as follows: at an early stage of performance they are not sleeping but relaxed with open consciousness, and as the playing continues, they gradually forget themselves and their awareness wanders somewhere. To the men who are in such light dreams, Sagais makes her voice echo and shows them the next melody. The spirit's voice is surely perceived as sound, although it is actually incomprehensible from where it is exactly sounding. Nevertheless this perception of sound makes people more and more excited and leads them to a precious experience of pleasure.

Sagais' talks usually have melodic structures which the men have already heard in the past. Therefore they can understand the whole structure of tunes and the order of blowing the bamboo pipes, when Sagais suggests only a fragment of a melody. But they also admit that somebody occasionally hears a melody which has never sounded before. A man who senses such a melody is always in a real dream during sleep, without exception. He awakes soon and, before forgetting, teaches the other men the outline of the melody and the order of blowing by the whistle-like sound. At first it is difficult for men to find a meaning in the talk thus produced, but as they try to sing to it in monophony, they begin to feel some mythical and spiritual images through the movement of the sounds. A *bittagas* named *maxoq*, which reminds them of Sagais who turned into a Coronated Fruit-dove, appeared in this way 14 or 15 years ago for the first time.

This episode shows that Sagais' song is "given" by the spirit and, at the same time, demonstrates well that to hear the spirit's voice is neither a surrealistic phenomenon nor a peculiar experience. It is precisely a realis-

tic experience which is situated somewhere among such essentially continuous states of human sensation and perception of sounds as the state in which we hear words or melodies in a dream, the state in which we hear a sound as an illusion or a hallucination, the state in which an unknown melody unexpectedly crosses our minds, the state in which we spontaneously recall a familiar melody in mind, and the state in which we physically and distinctly perceive an acoustic sound. With respect to such perceptual experience, the Waxei are noteworthy only in that they regard all these sounds as being given by a spirit.

Notes

- 1 Laycock (1981) and Dye, et al. (1969) refer to this language as Watakataui, a term derived from the name of their former village along the Weisas River, a tributary of the Korosameri. However, it seems more appropriate to adopt "Waxei" as a language name as well as a group name, according to their own designation. A general ethnography of the Waxei is presented in Yamada 1991. Also refer to Yamada 1987 concerning their migration and group formation processes. In the transcriptions of the Waxei language used in this paper, three conventions representing uvulars need special attention. They correspond to phonemes as follows: q (a voiceless uvular plosive), j (a voiced uvular plosive), and x (a uvular fricative).
- 2 This is an abridged version of a myth in the Waxei language told by an elderly man. The complete text is presented in Yamada 1991.
- 3 With regard to men's secret ownership of paired bamboo flutes in Papua New Guinea, Gourlay discusses their social function and significance, comparing many ethnographies (Gourlay 1975). Finch, who analyses various myths of bamboo flutes in Highlands societies, points out that the cultural superiority of men is symbolised by bamboo flutes, but its symbolic structure is intrinsically unstable: "the men . . . , since they are unable to escape their dependence on women, cannot feel secure in their dominance" (Finch 1985:212).
- 4 The length of pipes shown here is not an average of all the sets but the measurements of a set called *xofxainda*, named after the Palm Cockatoo. The longest set consists of a circa 120 cm head-pipe, c. 100 cm man-pipes, c.80 cm woman-pipes, and a c.60 cm edge-pipe.
- 5 Musical examples show a repeated sentence which ends with *songaqaj*. Actual pitches are shown. The tones of the edge-pipe (upward stems) and woman-pipes (downward stems) are in the upper staff, the tones of the man-pipe (upward stems) and head-pipe (downward stems) in the lower staff. The approximate number of seconds required for playing one sentence is shown at the beginning of the staff and the typical number of repetitions is at the end.

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Discussion

Robert Reigle: On page number 21, is the spirit's voice the total sound made by the pipes, or is it only a part of the sound?

Yoichi Yamada: The whole structure of sounds generating from bamboo pipes are recognised to be a talk of Sagais. And they use another term, *buseis*, "voice", for the special sounds floating over the whole structure. So if you can perceive the sound floating over the structure, it becomes very much easier to understand the explanation. Because they differentiate Sagais' talk and Sagais' voice. The talk denotes the whole structure of sounds. On the other hand, the voice is another sound floating over the whole structure. In the demonstration I showed you, I also hardly perceived the voice, because it depends on the audio set, whether we can perceive it or not. It was hard but, we're also able to perceive it. Could you try to listen to it once more? It's hard to explain the nature of sounds by words. Sometimes it sounds like children's voice, and sometimes it's like "*we: we:*" [imitates guttural sound]... I can't describe it well, but it's like "*we: we: we:, we: we:, u:, we: we:, u:*", like this. It clearly floats over the whole structure, I mean the overtones of the bamboo pipes, [plays example from compact disc] In this performance I can perceive the sound, [plays another example from CD]

RR: But it's definitely a . . .

YY: Different.

RR: A separate sound?

YY: Yes, separate; separate from the structure.

RR: And they call it . . .

YY: Voice.

RR: Sagais' voice.

YY: Yes. I experienced Sagais' performance five times total. In the first and second performances I couldn't perceive any of Sagais' voice-dimension. But in the third performance, at midnight, I hit upon - I felt I perceived the sound, so I asked them by singing to the melody, and they said, "That's it" [laughs]. From that time, I could have perceived it any time, when they performed Sagais. This is a very delicate matter. For these several years I showed this performance in my class, and very few of the students could perceive this. But once he or she could catch the spirit voice, this peculiar sound, it became easy to perceive that. I think

that how this spirit voice emerges is a matter of acoustics. That is, the overtones of bamboo pipes. Pipes of the same kind, man-pipes or woman-pipes, are not exactly of the same size, so the overtones of each pipe differ. And this condition of the overtones produces that special sound. And also breath leaking, when they blow the pipes, is mixed with the subtle difference of the overtones of each pipe, to produce a very peculiar sound.

RR: It's something that would appear if you did a spectrograph analysis?

YY: Yes, because it is an actually sounding overtone.

Student 1: Are these bamboo pipes voice modifiers, where you actually blow inside?

YY: Voice . . . ?

SI: Modifiers. The sound is produced by blowing through the pipe.

YY: Oh, no, no. They never utter a word or they never generate the voice when they blow. But other men, sitting around the players, sing.

RR: Is the sound of stamping on the floor part of the spirit voice?

YY: No. In the myth, there's a description that the women were very joyful and stomping their feet strongly on the ground. The men follow the description of the myth.

Student 2: We have this similar type of bamboo that we play, and we believe the spirit - what we call the spirit - to come, and we can actually feel the overlapping of the bamboo.

YY: Feel what?

S2: Overlapping of the bamboo, when blowing, can feel the presence of the spirit.

YY: Inside the bamboo?.

S2: Yes.

YY: We can see this type of bamboo flute around the south of the middle Sepik River. And I guess the people of that area hold the similar cognition that the spirit enters into the bamboo flutes and he or she utters something, some messages. How about the Chambri case? I mean, do they recognise clearly that the spirit enters into the bamboo and the sound is also recognised to be a spiritual voice?

S2: Yes. [?] produce different overlapping.

YY: Overlapping?

S2: Yes. I believe you went to Chambri Lakes, right?

YY: No. In the south area of Lake Chambri there are Mari and Bisai people. I heard that they also have the same type of flute and they also recognise the same way.

S2: I think there's overlapping [?], they're overlapping.

YY: I see. That's very interesting.

Audience: It is also important to know that the Papua New Guineans have developed a [?] way of looking at the world. The world of spirit and the world of [?], and the two go hand in hand. You cannot separate them.

YY: The cognition and perception of spirits for Waxei people, and I think for almost all the people in PNG, we cannot separate them from their life. I'd like to stress that Sagais, a *masalai*, is a very awful existence for the Waxei, and they actually very much fear Sagais. Only through this performance of blowing bamboo pipes, they can communicate with *masalai* peacefully, without being attacked. It's a very rare chance to meet with the spirits. I think this is the most important function of blowing pipes in their social life.

MIE HOWIE: GARAMUT COMMUNICATION OF THE YANGORU

SAMUEL RW. FONJURA¹

Preface

It is true but sad to mention that, in every part of Papua New Guinea, our traditional religious ceremonies, our music and dances, and our arts, are fast dying without anyone realizing it - victimised by Christianity and government ignorance. One of the many cultural groups to be a victim of such outside influence and ignorance is Yangoru, in the East Sepik Province.

The findings in this paper center on a single village, Kufar, near Yangoru township. I will discuss Kufar's origin, traditional ceremonies, music, and the use of *garamut* as an integral part of cultural activities. It should be noted that all villages speaking the Yangoru-Boiken language would have similar ceremonies, beliefs, customs, music, and stories about their origin and family group/extended family. Such stories include the origin of the family, the family tree, where they migrated from, etc. I have attempted to put on record some of our rich culture and traditions, which face the threat of extinction.

The Yangoru Sub-District

The Yangoru Sub-District (YSD) is situated southward on the foothills of Mt Turu (Wale Rurun in Yangoru dialect; Wale = *masalai* or spirit that lives in water holes, and Rurun =Yangoru name for Mt Turu), the highest point of the Prince Alexander Range, which stretches from the Murik Lakes in the east, to the boarder of Irian Jaya in the west. YSD is approximately 30 kilometres south-west of Wewak, the capital of East Sepik Province. The YSD includes sections of the territories of the Arapesh, Abelam, Boiken, and Sawos peoples.

The people of YSD speak the Yangoru dialect of the Boiken language, a member of the Ndu family which makes up the Middle Sepik Stock of the Sepik-Ramu Phylum. The Boiken speakers occupy a large area from the Sepik plains to the Prince Alexander Range, right up to the north coast. This area includes Wewak inland, Boiken, Hawain, and the offshore islands of Wallis, Tarawai, Yuo and Karasau.

The Yangoru Boiken live in large villages divided into many hamlets. They build their houses on stilts or on the ground under coconut, betel nut, and other useful trees. Closely related families may live together in a hamlet.

The culture of the Yangoru Boiken people was purely traditional and intact before European contact, World War II, and the establishment of the churches. The first European contact was in 1912, by two Catholic missionaries, leading to the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church in Yangoru in 1947, and followed by the Assembly of God Church in 1950. Since then, the traditional religious ceremonies and the music, what had been part of their lives for countless generations - in short, their identity - has been gradually dying out.

Background of the *Garamut*

Garamut, the Tok Pisin term for the wooden slit drum, belongs to the Sachs/Hornbostel classification "idiophone". It is of hollowed wood and comes in various sizes. The cross-section varies according to geographical location: round, triangular (south Solomons), or oval (Fischer 1986:18). *Garamuts* have grips or handles at one or both ends and are either suspended or laid on the ground. They are either jolted, or struck with the side of the stick (as in Manus and parts of West Sepik Province). In most cases the jolting or striking is at the middle section of the *garamut*.

Yangoru Boiken people call *garamut* "*mie*", which also means "tree". *Garamuts* are made from three types of trees: *hwabo* (*kwila*); *miamba* (a type of teak tree, second to *kwila*, in Tok Pisin *garamut*); and *moruhwo* (rosewood). A *garamut* made of *kwila* is called *hwabo mie*, which also means "big man"; that's why *hwabo mie* has a lot of significance and is higher in status. *Garamuts* are made in pairs; the bigger is called *selek* (first) and the smaller *heik* (second).

The length of the *garamut* is determined by a hand span, usually of the owner. The instrument can be sacred or secular, depending on the situation (see below). It is normally put in the *tuo leka* (*tuo* = man, *le* = sit, *ka* = house) rest house for men, and only men who know how may play it.

Women do play *garamut* sometimes, including the *singsing* rhythm *hrie mie*, and the less important, smaller *garamut*. The beating of the *garamut* is called *mie hru*. The two beaters are called *mienjei* (*mienjei* can refer to one or two beaters).

Garamut Usage

The *garamut* is primarily used for two specific purposes: communication and music, the former being most frequent, usually on a daily basis. In communication, very distinctive rhythmic codes which may represent a person, a clan, a location, length of time, or a multitude of other keywords for specific purposes, are used. Each purpose has its own set of keywords and rhythms.

The communication network is interesting because the Yangorus have developed a unique system of codes and rhythm. They can tell a story from the start to the end, in detail. It would be like a normal face-to-face

conversation. Words like "attention"(a/cwc> *akwo*), "west"(£w&/e), "le|*Yaowhie*), "end"/(iw/*suo*), "forum"(ma/ig/*pili*), and "come"(m/a), can be played in a particular rhythm. In the process, the keywords build up a mental picture, and people respond to it. In time of conflicts (for example, before a fight breaks out), the rhythm to call a fight, called *Hao Lili* or *Woro Woro*, is played. To express anger, men beat *Wambili Mie*.

Origin

I was told that our ancestors developed this system by imitating the voice (hoots) of the black coucal, a bird called *hwek* in the local vernacular. There are two types: *Suanga Hwek* (shrub coucal; *suanga* = *kunai* grass or pitpit leaf), and *Hembe Hwek* (forest coucal; *hembe* = forest or bush). The voice sounds like 'hoooh hoooh hoooh' or "woop woop woop", slowly delivered on a descending scale. Sometimes a longer series is given. Pairs often duet; the deep and flatter sound is from the bigger coucal while the high and sharper sound is from the small one.

The *garamut* is a duplicate of the above. In pairs the small one produces a high pitch while the big one produces a deep and low pitch.

For music, it is used during the time of *singsing* "*Walle Hrie*" (celebration songs or spirit chants; *walle* = spirit, and *hrie* = song/to sing), to announce the *singsing* - "*Hrie Mieki*". The *singsing* itself is accompanied by a different rhythm.

Restrictions

1. Young men, women, and children may not sit on the *garamut*.
2. One may not beat the *garamut* after someone has died, until per mission is granted by the elders or a pig is killed and given to the *meri* exchange partner. This ban may last up to a month.
3. One may not use certain swear words near the *garamut*.
4. One may not beat the *garamut* while someone is sick and on their deathbed.
5. One may not beat the *garamut* after someone has performed a magic rite (*Mwariki*) in a particular event, because it will affect the magical powers that attract people to bring money in that event.

Playing the *Garamut*

The *garamut* can be played by one person, who is called *yehrok mie*, or by two people, called *yiri-mie*. People specialise in playing a particular *garamut* part (i.e., one knows *selek-mie*, the other knows *heik-mie*); some know both.

Yangoru *garamuts* have oval-shaped cross-sections. Large ones are laid on the ground; small ones are positioned horizontally against the post of the *tuo le ka* men's house (*tuo* = man/men; *le* = sit; *ka* = house).

Codes, Keywords and Rhythms

Every Yangoru man, but excluding those living outside the YSD and those not given one, have a *garamut* name, *tuo miekik*. Women come under the clan totemic rhythm. If the children don't have a *garamut* name, they come under the father's. For example, in Kufar village, *garamut* names by family group are as follows:.

FAMILY NAME	GARAMUT NAME
Mande Hing	Riehunek Pouro
Jive Hing	Lomonek Pouro
Hufatuon	Huonjenek Pouro
Ampo-Tuon / Java-Tuon	Pienek Pouro

Examples of individual *garamut* names include:

INDIVIDUAL NAME	GARAMUT NAME
Karianga	Hulahuek
Hombina	Yehre-Lomo
Pongiura	Hiane
Sarahuru	Sause Nangu
Ningis Yawi	Wrasaihe
Hahuasi	Wafimbukie
Petrus Yendowia	Ohwiewafi

Individual and clan *garamut* names are different. They are like our fingerprint; no two names can be the same.

Location or directions have standard rhythms, given as from the location of the *garamut*: source = *wrofitk-karit*, east = *yembi-jause* (also *yembi-sause*); west = *bukie bukie* or *bukiero*; north = *anti kombi*; and south = *kulika*. (See Figures 1-4.) If the message is for all the people, all directions have to be used. If it is for one particular person, then his code name plus his direction code (from the sound) are used.

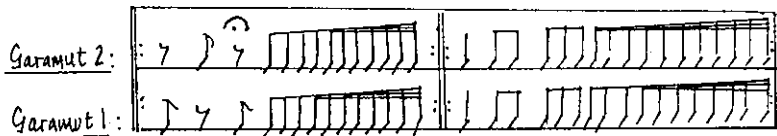


Figure 1. Source (Yangoru Boiken = "wrofuk-kari"; Tok Pisin = tok save long pies).

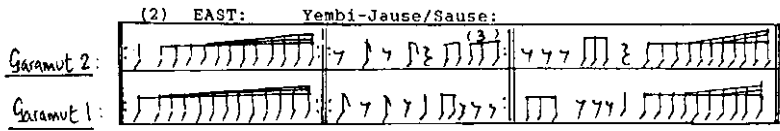


Figure 2. East (*Yangoru Boiken* = "yambi-jause" or "yambi-sause").

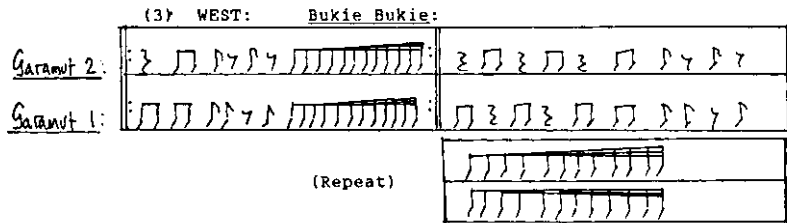


Figure 3. West (*Yangoru Boiken* = "bukie bukie").



Figure 4. North (*Yangoru Boiken* = "anti-kombi").

Figure 5 illustrates the standard rhythm for announcing a *singsing*, called "*hriemieki*".

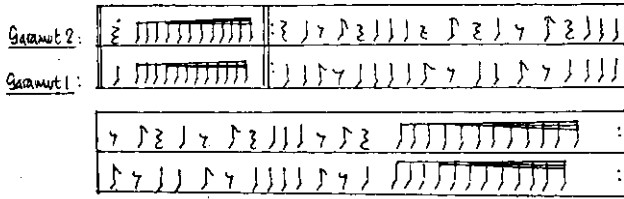


Figure 5. Announcing a *singsing*, "hrie mie ki".

Vocabulary of Codes

- A. *Wrofuk karik* - represents people of Kufar (i.e. where the *garamut* is played). (Tok Pisin *tok save*)
- B. *Awohwie* - "let's tell them."
- C. *Arihwi* - "let's tell them our name."
- D. *Saushau* - "Morris".
- E. Hembajren - "Hemboura."
- F. *Hwi* - "Call off their names." (/w/ =source or list). (Players D. and E. are mentioned so that the listeners will know.)
- G. *Peri/Wora* - "they must come now."
- H. *Mangipili* - "talk." (Tok Pisin *toktok*)
- I. *AuralLehri* - 'they must come,' or 'forum.'
- J. *Hwisuo* - "Cut it off." (i.e., end the list of names, *suo* =c ut/cut off).
- K. *Pollem polle* - About pigs.
- L. *Haram polle* - "Boar."
- M. *yo'wfc* - "Boar."
- N. *Hwala* - "shell ring," (i.e. talk about payment)
- O. *Mangi pilai hajera ra* - "Finish talking and put it down." (i.e., come to a conclusion or general consensus of the discussion).
- P. *Hehek* - End of message.
- Q. *Anjire* - End of message.
- R. *Ahelihik* - End of message.
- S. *Niekpouro* - We are telling them through the *garamut* to come.

I would like to play some examples. The first is where somebody broke into somebody's house and stole something; the owner is expressing his anger. [Recorded Example 1. Expressing anger.]

The next example is the standard rhythm for going into fighting. [Example 2. Going into fighting.]

The third example is the standard rhythm to announce that a *singsing* will take place, so that they know there is going to be a *singsing* tonight, tomorrow, or whenever. [Example 3. Announcing *singsing*.]

When two people beat the *garamut*, the leader calls out the keyword

or code, that rhythm is played, and people who know how to interpret it will get the meaning. The next example is about sorcery. Somebody has been in bed for quite some time, they suspect that they made sorcery on him and they want to bring everybody together to discuss the matter, and to see if he has done something wrong, very serious, and if they want him to die, he has to die. But if they want him to come back to life and live a normal life, they'll say "Don't let him die."

If you look at the codes for Example 4., below, first of all, before the message proper, they have to get the attention of the people (#1). "**Hwahwatuo**" (#1) means *man save slip tumas long bed*, so it means *em sik na slip*; they want to talk about a sick person. The ninth code is "**Yilohwo'Xt**"; *yi* means arrow, it's like *ol i bin sutim em long spia*, they made sorcery on him and he's already in bed. "**Yilohwo**" means to remove the spear; the *poisin* bag is hanging in the house somewhere, so they want to remove that, *rausim spia*. They've already done something to make him very sick, and they want to remove it so he becomes well.

Codes for Example 4. Complete message about sorcery.

1. **Akwo akwo** - "Attention." (Tok Pisin, *harim*)
2. **Aohwie** - "tell."
3. **Arihwi** - Introducing the players.
4. **Hembejren** - "Hemboura." (proper name)
5. **Hembetuo** - "sarahuri." (proper name)
6. **Aohwie** - "tell" (what it is about).
7. **Hwahwatuo** - "sick person."
8. **Aohwie** - "tell" (what shall we do to him).
9. **Yilohwo** - "remove the spear" (we should not allow him to **de**).
10. **Tuontuo** - "Every man."
11. **Wampili** - "Must come" (to discuss this).

The next example is to bring the people together, and ask if the village people could help contribute so that you can make payment for the pig that you have killed.

Codes for Example 5. A message calling people together to pay for a pig.

1. **Akwo akwo** - "Attention." (Tok Pisin = *harim*).
2. **Aohwie** - "tell."
3. **Wrofuk Karik** - Tells the source village of the *garamut*.
4. **Arihwi** - To introduce the subject of discussion.
5. **Aohwie** - "tell."
6. **Polle** - "Pig."
7. **Yua** - "Money" (traditional shell money)
8. **Wallere yua** - "Introduced (foreign) currency." (kina and toea).
9. **Niek bouro** - "We are telling you through the *garamut*.""
10. **Wahin** - "For sponsorship." (credit; Tok Pisin *dinau*)

11. *Tuontuo* - "All men."
12. *Awarahwie* - "talk about it."
13. *Ahwraya* - "Bring it with you/End."

The last example concerns a *bik man* in the village who wants to call somebody; there's something wrong, he's somewhere in the bush or in another village. They beat the *garamut* and tell him, "*Yu mas kam hariap*. You're in trouble," or something. They are calling an individual person. In this example, the person is west of where the *garamut* is (see #2 below). They call for David Billy Ningis, whose *garamut* name is Wamasause. They have to tell him his name; if there are many people they carry on adding the *garamut* name, if there is one person they must end the list, cut it off. That code is called "*hwisuo*" (#7).

After sending the message, they wait for the person to come. If that person doesn't want to come, he might return the message and say, "I'm not coming; "I'll come tomorrow." He can do that, or if he has nothing else to do he can go to that particular place where the *garamut* is played.

Codes for Example 6. Calling for a person.

1. *Akwo akwo* - "Attention."
2. *Bukiero* - "Attention to the west."
3. *Aohwie* - "tell."
4. *Arihwi* - "tell his name."
5. *Wama* - Syllable of his name.
6. *Sause* - Syllable of his name.
7. *Hwisuo* - "End the list."
8. *Aohwie* - "tell (what it is about)."
9. *Wambrik* - "discussion." (*Toktok tasol*).
10. *Mafa* - "that's all." (*Em tasol*).
11. *Mia* - "You must come."
12. *Awara lehri* - End.

Garamut Construction

Mr Karianga Neihembe provided the information in this section. The ownership of a pair of *garamuts* has been compulsory for each family unit, with the father having authority over it. It is an integral part of the traditional culture, playing an important role in many cultural activities.

The process of making the *garamuts* is secret from the time a man decides to make them to some time after it's put in the house. Couples who live together and have sexual relations are strictly forbidden to participate. Only mothers with babies (*nen mia jiki rau*) are allowed to prepare and give food to those involved.

It takes two or three days to make a *garamut*, depending on its size. During the first day, men cut down a matured *kwila* tree, or they select a fallen tree. They remove the outside layer of dead wood, cover the log, and go home. There they prepare tools such as axes, crowbars, metal bars,

and, in the past, stone axes.

On day two, the men set out early in the morning "*huekten nakaren kwa*", when the black morning bird (black coucal) and the rooster crow. A small ritual mixture, *yamasama buak* (steaming of special leaves and vines to produce a fragrance), is poured on the place where the log will be cut and hollowed. The task involved is quite enormous. Problems such as the wood being too hard to cut, or no sign of progress, may arise. This would prompt another magic rite called *kambahele* (*kamba* = spirit of the dead; *hele* = chase), to chase away the spirits believed to cause such problems.

Near completion comes the most important stage, where the experts will ensure that the *garamuts* produce the right pitch and loudness. The pitch of the two *garamuts* are different. I don't have precise measurements. The *selek* (first *garamut*) has a deep or low pitch, while the *heik* (second *garamut*) is higher in pitch. They'll test the *garamuts* by beating them. A *tuo-hru-tuo* (friend) from a nearby village will respond to the *garamut* early in the morning by briefing the owner of its sound quality and volume. He will say whether more work should be done or the work should stop. The latter is called *mie lihi* (*mie* = *garamut*; *lihi* = finish), thus indicating that the quality of the *garamut* is good.

Garamut beaters are also cut from the same tree trunk or from the branch of another tree. *Nare suo* decorations are made on the *garamut*, based on sorcery or other significant events, to commemorate it.

Meanwhile, wives of those involved cook food. *Terek* chants are sung by *hulatuo* (*hula* = friend; *tuo* = man) or *eri tuo* (*eri* = exchange partner), to the wives and sisters of those making the *garamut*. These are usually love chants, making fun of or teasing one another. Men sing about men and women sing about women.

At the end of the second day, or the third day, the *garamut* is completed and pulled to the village. Lots of coconuts and food are prepared for the *huntuo hula* (friends) who will help to pull the *garamut*. The pulling process is called *mie peri roa Ufa* (tie the *garamut* with rope and pull). In the house, men beat the signal to notify the people that a new *garamut* is coming. This rhythm is called *anjiji* or *jiji*, and welcomes the *garamuts* to the village to become part of it. Men also beat the rhythms *rima huasi worn kia* (coconut, betel nut, climb up, climb down).

Now comes the presentation of yams and dry coconuts with shoots (*ruik tima*) to the friends who have come to witness as a sign of gratitude and appreciation. Yams are put in large piles together with cooked food, and distributed. This is called *warakua mngu huie* ("hire yam give"). Large yams are given one each to special friends from far away. A separate pile *mungu pe* ("yam put on sago palm leaf-stalk"), is given to other friends called *hasintuo* ("rivals").



Plate 1. Length of *garamut* is measured using a handspan.



Plate 2. *Garamuts* are either laid on the ground or put horizontally against the wall or post of the house.

Previous debts are also settled, otherwise the owner will receive a lot of resentment, teasing, and be regarded unfit. A compensation payment may be made if the *garamuts* are made from another person's or clan's land, this maybe in the form of shell rings, *yua huala*, or a pig with yams, if it's from the *eri* exchange partner. Today it may cost up to K200 to use another person's tree to make *garamuts*. This payment is called "*mien pifa yafi*" ("payment for the tree trunk").

While the new *garamuts* are in the house, they are regarded as sacred. They are covered with dry coconut leaves; children and women are not allowed to go near them or sit on them. Before the owner may start using them, he has to cook a particular soup called *miesere huara*, with pork, fish, and a tree leaf called *hwambeka* as main ingredients. The soup is eaten by the public. The *garamut* is now ready for use.

Yangoru hrie-hwori (s/ngsmg/songs/music) is quietly and rapidly dying out. Our young ones are no longer singing any *terek* (chants) or even making any attempts to learn some of our own traditional songs - our medium of expression, our identity, what has been part of the lives of our ancestors for countless generations. Young people no longer have respect and love for our songs, our dances, and our history.

However, our oral traditions show that Kufar village has been a traditional power, a leader in warfare, decision making, traditional ceremonies, and other associated activities, in the era of *yi waria* (fighting with arrows) and *horombo ki* (building initiation houses). The present generation has failed to uphold and practice its traditions, but memories of history will linger to time indefinite.

Note

1. *Mie* means *garamut*; *howie* means to call or sing out.

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SOUND OF THE SPIRITS, SONG OF THE MYNA

ROBERT REGLE

My paper is about a song from the Rai Coast in Madang Province. I'd like to use a substantial amount of my presentation time for listening to this song. As you'll see later, it has three parts. Before starting, I'll just play the first part of the song [Example 1, "Wiru"]. What we just heard is the summoning of the spirits to enter into the instruments, or to be present in general, at the *singsing*. The name of that song is "Wiru".

Setting

I recorded this in Sorang village, in Rai Coast District Number One, of the Madang Province. Sorang is approximately 100 kilometres east of Madang town, and about seven kilometres inland from the coast. The elevation is somewhere around 400 metres. It's not very high, but it's at the beginning of a very high mountain range, the Finisterre Mountains.

The Rai Coast consists of a thin coastal strip; rising very quickly from that thin coastal area is a steep mountain range with peaks in excess of 14,000 feet. Because of these steep mountains, many rivers and streams cut through the area. Those rivers and streams affect the way people travel around. The larger rivers are difficult to cross, and become dangerous during times of rain; people occasionally drown and are carried away by them. Those rivers helped determine how music spread around the area.

Sorang villagers speak Nekeni language. In the *Language Atlas of the Pacific*, by Wurm and Hattori, Wurm calls it Nekgini, and also distinguishes Neko. There are seven villages that speak this language and Wurm has divided them into two groups, based on Z'Graggen's work. Perhaps a more accurate assessment is that they all speak the same language, but with slight differences. The differences don't appear substantial enough to indicate separate languages.

The Rai Coast starts at Astrolabe Bay and goes east to Morobe Province. The Nekeni language area, one of several dozen found on the Rai Coast, follows a line going inward. There are big rivers on both sides of it. Rivers separate some of the interior villages. The seven villages stretch inland along a curved line.

The population of Nekeni speakers is somewhere around 1,000. Each village has about 125 people in it. Nekeni is a non-Austronesian language. The linguistic situation is very fluid. Adjacent villages, which might be only 15 minutes' walk apart, exhibit differences in vocabulary. Slight differences exist in the words for god, garamut, and other important con-

cepts. Usually the terms are similar, but have a changed vowel or syllable within the word. So even within the language there is great diversity.

The Neken area was pacified during the 1930's. Around 1935, Lutheran missionaries came to the coast. Many of the villages along the coast burned all of their magic things: stones, instruments, carvings, bilas. Most of the villages located more than an hour's walk inland did not participate in that destruction. Today we find that, of the seven Neken villages, the one on the coast displays the least amount of pre-contact types of musical and spiritual activities. It has had the most contact with outsiders, not only expatriates, but outsider Papua New Guineans. These villagers perform fewer *singsings*, own fewer indigenous instruments, and have less knowledge of earlier customs than their more interior neighbours.

The Rai Coast gained fame because of a very big cargo cult there. Some of you may have heard of Yali, who spoke one of the languages adjacent to Neken. He came from a village called Sor, about 25 kilometres from Sorang. Today, Sorang has a big influence from the activities of Yali. They have a separate *haus*, different from their *haus tambaran*, for Yali activities.

Terminology

Of the seven Neken villages, the most interior ones, Sorang and Asang, seem to have the most living culture that dates back to pre-contact times. The terms I present here came from Sorang; other Neken villages use a few different words and/or pronunciations.

Mangamang means "spirit is", i.e., the spirits are here (in Tok Pisin, *tambaran i stap*). It's the opening section of the song performance, where only the instruments are playing. The word for *tambaran* is "*kaapu*". In the neighbouring language which Yali spoke (Ngaing), the term is "*gabu*". The most sacred instrument for many Rai Coast peoples originated in the Ngaing language area, near Gabumi village. In Neken language, *kaapu punging* means the melody (in Tok Pisin, *nek*); one man also called this "*vois bilong tambaran*".

The *wakum pasiri* is the opening section of the *singsing*. *Hoi* is just a shout that men sing during the performance to indicate the end of a section. Usually a performance of a particular song will last about 45 minutes. Within that 45 minutes there might be 10 to 12 sections or verses. At the end of each section, someone shouts "*Hoi!*" to mark the ending. *Kamano* is the term used for the end of the song.

They call the particular headdress decoration (Tok Pisin, *kangal*) that they use "*nung*". *Naring* refers to leaves to hide the spirits (Tok Pisin, *purpur bilong haitim tambaran*). The men put big frames on their backs, which are covered with foliage, and they stand in a circle during the performance. This foliage completely hides the sacred instruments, which are inside the circle formed by the men. Even in fairly bright light, you

still cannot see inside this tight circle of men.

The Tok Pisin term "*singsing*" is an integrated concept that covers not just the singing, or the instruments, or the music, but includes everything that goes with them. When I elicited terms about *singsing*, people gave me not only names of instruments and song components, but also names for the *bilas*. The terms about *bilas* are conceptualised as part of the music.

The Tok Pisin word "*tambaran*" has different meanings to different people. In the region stretching from the Rai Coast to the East Sepik Province, people use it to refer to the essence of traditional religious beliefs. In Rai Coast traditional religion, one manifestation of the *tambaran* is through music. Neken speakers use the word "*kaapu*" (*tambaran*) in everyday language to mean a sacred song, the sacred instruments, and the spirits. Those are the three main uses, but they also use the term in other ways.

The unusual collection of sacred instruments used as part of the traditional religion distinguishes Rai Coast music from any other music in the world. The names used in Sorang for these instruments differ slightly from those used by other villages that speak the same language. *Sapupu* is one of the words used in Sorang for the long bamboo voice-modifier. Some of the other Neken villages don't use this term; they only use "*kaap simang*" (*tambaran pikinini* = *pikinini bilong tambaran* = child of the *tambaran*), which is used in Sorang to refer to a different instrument.

Demandang is the name for paired, transverse flutes that are a little bit less than a metre long. Men make two sizes, tuned about a second apart; they call the longer (and lower pitched one) male, and the shorter female. These paired, transverse flutes are a rarity in this area. They don't exist immediately to the east, immediately to the west, and inland. Only about half a dozen villages use them in the whole Rai Coast region. But further west, in East Sepik Province and inland Madang, they play a very important role in traditional religion. I got conflicting stories as to the origin of the paired flutes. Some people told me they were from Sorang, others told me they were from another village called Masi.

Kaap paring is a banana leaf that's placed to the mouth, and the wind is sucked in to make a high, whistling sound.

Kaap neng is the most important *tambaran* instrument in the region. This instrument is made from gourds that are grown in a special way. Old women plant and look after them, though men can also look after them. Weights are tied to the ends of the gourds to make them grow elongated. The instrument is then made by attaching together two or three pieces of those gourds. Performers sing through the instrument. In Sorang, *neng* is the word for mama; in Serieng village they pronounce it "*naing*". "*Kaap neng*" means "mother of the *tambaran*".

"*Kaap simang*" means "child of the *tambaran*". In Sorang this is used to refer to a small bamboo, about a third of a metre long, that's cracked.

As with *sapupu* and *kaap neng*, the lips are placed around one end and the person sings through it, producing a kazoo-like sound. Other Nekeni villages use this term for the long bamboo modifier. Sorang villagers use two different terms for the small bamboo instrument: *kaap simang* and *terere*.

Karisi is a very small coconut shell ocarina used during times of initiation to warn people away from the initiates. Whenever the young men go out from their enclosure, one man goes first playing the coconut shell ocarina to warn people not to come near.

Sapana looks like a bull-roarer; it is quite large, and made from wood. I was told that, in earlier times, it was actually played as a bull-roarer, but now it's used only for decoration.

Kaap tawing is a very interesting manifestation of *tambaran*. The men stamp on the ground with their feet, as a group, and make the earth tremble; it feels like an earthquake. *Kaap* means *tambaran*; *tawing* is the name of the Rufous Night Heron, which lives near water [Example 2. Rufous Night Heron, from cassette *Papua New Guinea Bird Calls: Non-Passerines*. n.d. H. and A. Crouch. Boroko: Papua New Guinea Bird Society]. I found this *tambaran* only in Sorang village, out of the seven villages that speak Nekeni.

All of these *tambarans*, methods of sound production, are sacred. Women and young children may use the public terminology, but they must not know the details of sound production.

Wiru

Wiru, which is the Golden Myna, is a very special kind of song, because it's the only song that I've been able to discover that combines sacred voice-modifiers (*kaapu neng*) and sacred flutes (*demandang*). *Demandang* are transverse, paired flutes (the Nekeni-speaking village of Seriang calls them *pakung*). To perform "Wiru", men open and close the distal end with their hand, essentially doubling the number of pitches, and adding glissandi to the pitch palette. *Kaapu neng* is the gourd voice-modifier.

The Kikeratang clan of Sorang owns Wiru. That clan also has several other songs: Mukusari and Kakamowang use only *kaapu neng*; "Daura", no longer sung; two songs which use only the flutes; and several other songs using *sapupu* (also called *kaapu simang*), but they said they didn't know the names of those songs. I use the word "song" but these are all *tambaran* songs, so they would call them simply *kaapu* (in Nekeni) or *tambaran* (in Tok Pisin).

Certain rituals have to be followed before *kaapu* sacred music can be performed. As in many areas of New Guinea, the performers will start a regimen of fasting in preparation for a performance. They won't eat any food that has soup with it; only food that's roasted in the fire. They won't

drink any water, which also means no coconut, and no fruit. Once a day they may be given a little coconut milk. Women are not allowed to have anything to do with any food or betel nut consumed by the men. Conversely, betel nut received at a ritual camp may not be given to a female, as it could cause her to become ill.

Instead of the normal, 10-metre stick covered with feathers, some young men may carry a carved tree on their backs during the *singsing*. The ones I saw in Serieng were about two metres long; one was carved as a fish, the other as a snake. The boys must fast properly in order to have the endurance to carry such a heavy weight on their backs for a nine-hour *singsing*.

In the performance I attended one of the boys did fast; nonetheless, during the *singsing* he fell down. It was interpreted as a very serious event, although I got the feeling that it was less serious now than it would have been in earlier times. He fell down because the men did not illuminate the *kangal* before the performance. Normally before a performance begins, men take very long torches with fire at the end and hold them near the tall *kangal* so everybody can see what the *bilas* looks like. Villagers are eager to see the results of the men's and boys' creations, made over several weeks; without artificial light, the tall decorations are invisible in the dark of night. On this particular night, the men did not illuminate the *kangal*, which angered the *tambaran*, causing the boy to fall down. (This experience reminded me of the importance of not falling down in the Zuni "*shalako*" performances.)

The preparations for performing sacred songs include fasting and preparation of the instruments. The instruments are usually kept in storage; in former times in the *haus tambaran*, now in a *haus boi*. In Sorang village they still have a *haus tambaran* that they maintain in addition to the cult house, which is a separate building. Men keep the instruments in the *haus tambaran*, which is off limits to women and young children.

Before the *singsing* the instruments are taken out under cover so that no one can see them. They're washed in a special water, a special place in the local creek. When they're washed some magic words are said over them; a coconut is cut open and the water poured over the instruments; ginger is chewed and spat on the instruments as well as on all the men present; then the instruments are brought back into the village. Before the instruments are brought back into the village, someone goes first and warns people that the women must stay in their houses, they cannot come out while the instruments are being brought back.

This ceremony of washing the instruments also calls out to the spirits to be present in the instruments and in the *singsing*. The entreaty to the spirits consists mainly of two things. First that the performers will be able to perform well, and secondly that the *singsing* as a whole will be a good *singsing*. Men ask those things of the spirits when they invite them to come. The performance starts in the evening, usually around 8 to 10 o'clock

at night, and will continue until about 6 in the morning. During the night they'll probably sing 10 or 15 different songs, which would be referred to as *tambarans*.

The recording I played at the beginning was after they had washed the instruments. They played just the tune of the *singsing* to call out to the spirits, inviting them into the instruments. After those short introductory things, the *singsing* proper starts.

I lived in Serieng village. In 1988 when they performed *singsing* tambaran, they were not as concerned with hiding the *tambaran* (in the form of the secret instruments) as the people in Sorang were. In Serieng village, the instruments were frequently exposed during the performance. Some of the old ladies would jokingly say, "Hey, you men are not doing a good job here; we can see the *tambaran*." But in Sorang they wouldn't allow that; it was still very important to hide it completely.

I'll play an excerpt from the actual performance during the *singsing* at Sorang. [Example 3, "Wiru" performance, circa 1:00 a.m.] After this introductory part, the song starts. It includes *kundu*.

At the end of the *singsing*, after singing for nine hours, the men send the spirits away by moving sideways to the edge of the field while singing that particular spirit/song. For each song that was performed during the night, they start singing it where they're performing, in the middle of the performance space, then shuffle sideways to the edge of the performance space as they continue singing the song. The act of performing the song in that manner sends the spirit back into the bush. Then they edge their way back into the centre, begin the next song, and repeat the process for the next song. They go back and forth about 10 times, sending away each of the songs that was sung during the night. [Example 4, sending away "Wiru."] The other sound that you hear is the *terere*, it's the higher pitched sound.

This is now the part of "Wiru" that includes kundus [Example 5, "Wiru" with *kundus*].

Discussion

Soru Anthony Subam: You mentioned something about god and the *tambaran*. Is there a relationship between the two?

Robert Reigle: I don't know whether there is or not. They have a separate word for "god", which is "*patuki*"; the word for the *tambaran* is "*kaapu*", and I don't know what the relationship is between the two.

SAS: What kind of *kangal* is *nung*, *bilang kakaruk o bilang bird of paradise o*?

RR: Yes, *olgeta samting, kakaruk*, bird of paradise, it can be anything. When I went to a *singsing* in 1988, the *kangal* was very high; it might be as much as ten metres tall. They'll use a very tall stick, completely covered with chicken feathers. In 1989 one young man took a light from a *tos* or flashlight, put it at the top, and

when he was dancing, flashed it on and off [audience laughter]. But bird of paradise feathers are also used. One very important feature of the *kangal* is the movement of it. There are many comments about "It looked good because it was moving with the dancing." It's important that it moves.

Student #1: Is it in an enclosure? Do the women take part, or only the men?

RR: No, it's performed outdoors, right in the centre of the village, in a clear, open space. The reason that the women and children cannot see the instruments is, anytime the instruments move any place, they're surrounded by a circle of men wearing these big leaves on their backs. The frame is about a metre wide, and covers their whole back from above the shoulders down to the ground. It's wider than the person. It's like a big shield that blocks the view of anything in front of it. The men form a tight circle; all the men are wearing these, including relatively small boys. They form a circle. Any time the instruments move, they're surrounded by this circle of men, so the instruments are not visible to anyone outside the circle.

Samuel Pongiura: Do the same participants take part during the whole nine hours, or do other people relieve them?

RR: People do take turns playing the instruments, but most people stay throughout the night. So even though they're not playing the same instrument all night long, they're still participating. But they do switch off playing different instruments. Usually there are some people that are better than others. Especially the *terere*, there are people that either like to play it or are good at playing it, so they tend to play it in every song. But the *kaapu neng* in particular: people trade off because it's very strenuous to sing through.

Luke Balane: You said that they move to the edge then back and forth 10 times. Does that mean that they send 10 different spirits into the bush?

RR: That's right. During the night they perform each song or each spirit for about 45 minutes. During the course of the night they've performed maybe 10 or 15 different spirits, different songs. Each one of those they have to send back into the bush, otherwise if the spirit is still present, it could cause harmful damage to people. They also prepare food. The women lay it before the *tambaran*, and supposedly the *tambaran* eats the food, but it's actually the men that eat the food.

Student #2: You mentioned something about cargo cult. Is this cargo cult traditional religion of some kind? What do you think about this cargo cult? RR: Perhaps we shouldn't use that term at all, because it doesn't necessarily accurately reflect what the events taking place are. Yali was a very strong leader. Even when he wasn't trying, people flocked to follow him. There was a rumour that during World War II he went out into the bush and was killed and died there, then came back to life.

RR: Yali was an unusually charismatic and bright person. He went down to Australia as part of some sort of government training thing, which gave him some worldly experience that most of the other people in his area did not have. Peter Lawrence wrote a book about that situation, called *Road Belong Cargo*, which has been translated into Tok Pisin. I use the term "cargo cult" only because that's what we're stuck with, but it really isn't quite the same thing as that. Yali encouraged traditional practices such as *singsings* and things like that. *01 pasin bilong tumbuna*, he taught people that they must keep it strong and alive. At the same time he mixed it with some kind of new reaction to Christianity, reaction to existing social

structures that he had learned about. The way it's existing today in Sorang village, they had two buildings that are used for this activity. They're sort of sacred buildings. One of them is divided into two rooms, one for the women and one for the men. In the rooms there's a carving of a person, and some of their traditional legends are expressed in these buildings by carved motifs, like a snake. The people still keep their *haus tambaran* and they still keep their *singsings*, but they also have this new thing, which is some sort of mixture of Christianity, traditional religion, and Yali's own ideas.

S2: You said something about washing the instruments with coconut. I think this coconut was introduced to this place. Do you think this is some kind of a change in this traditional way? Do you think that there is a change in this and people are using something introduced, put with their indigenous tradition of some kind?

RR: I don't really know the answer to that question. These things do change; nothing stays the same. Whether the coconut is introduced, a more recent thing, I don't know.

Student #3: How often do they perform the *singsing*!

RR: Different villages, different. The village that's on the coast very rarely has a *singsing*, maybe once in two years. The next village inland similar, and the next village in land, when I got there they hadn't had a *singsing* in two years. I bought a pig and they had a *singsing*; their next *singsing* was a year later. But if you go further inland, the three other villages have more frequent *singsings*, so in the course of a year, there might be two *singsings* instead of one. As it is now, frequency of *singsings* is on the order of one a year.

Student #4: You mentioned something about Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages. What characteristics of the languages are non-Austronesian or, Austronesian?

RR: Austronesian languages are part of that very big group of languages that extends all the way to Madagascar, off the coast of Africa. As far as the specific sounds in the languages, I don't know. In New Guinea the language situation is very complicated, and one of the first ways that they've broken them down is to separate all the Austronesian from all the non-Austronesian. Austronesian is one group of languages, then there's another group that's actually made up of many, many different groups. I don't know what the actual sounds of an Austronesian language are, and how they differ with the non-Austronesian, but there are plenty of books in the library that probably explore that.

SAS: This is just a comment on Yali. Hearing the old people from where I come, which is where my mother comes from, which is close to the Madang side: The power and the aura of Yali during that period of time was very strong. People came [?] talking about it, they walked all the way around that bay to pay homage to him in some form or another. I don't know whether it's because of curiosity. There were people that came from a long, long distance. Now maybe we the young people don't really know about it. Those from Madang and going up Bogia, try and ask your *yung* [*yung* is a Madang word for *mulung* circumcision initiation] people about this, and you'll find that there were people that did come down; some stories that I heard, from a long way down, because of the name of Yali.

MUSIC FROM GHULU ISLAND, WEST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE

LUKE BALANE

[Note: The discussion took place within the paper itself, and is presented as it occurred.]

The Vitu islands stand off the north-west coast of Kimbe. Ghulu island (the /gh/ represents a voiced, velar fricative) is about 16 miles north-west of Bali, or Unea island. Both islands speak an Austronesian language, with two dialects in Vitu (a group of four islands, including Ghulu), and a third one in Bali. Ghulu island, like many other societies, has music which can be both individually and culturally expressed, at different seasons, depending on the occasion. The poetry of songs and the art of singing and dancing, are a major part of Ghulu aesthetic traditions. The science of sound production and the musical sounds that are produced by nature, for example, birds water, animals, etc., have led to the creation of similar musical scales and rhythm patterns in some of our songs and dances. Most of our songs are monophonic, with instrumental accompaniment.

Kakaparagha (Miri)

The first song type that I want to discuss with you is *Kakaparagha*. *Kaka* means "person", *paragha* means "elder" or *bik man* in pidgin. *Kakaparagha* is a dance which involves men and a few women with bundles of bamboo leaves, six kundus, and two intricately carved masks, decoratively painted, each having two sets of long feathers, similar to that of Ghulu, with the canes and pig's teeth on the head.

This ritual takes 11 days. Rehearsals and demonstrations from the first day to the tenth day are confined to the men's enclosure area, which we call *karikari*. The final performance starts with a bullroarer sounded twice, then the *Miri (Kakapar agha)* songs, sung by male dancers, are brought into the open. The *base vairukurukur* "false shield" dancers follow. Later the *Kakaparagha* dancers are led out by two *base matoto*. *Base* is a traditional name for "shield", *matoto* means "real" or "true". The two *base matoto* will dance alongside the two masked dancers for the duration of the *Miri*. Initiated, or "*dili*" in our language, women, will join in the dancing.

The masks are known as *Kive* for the *Ranggalingga Ke Poi* (Seashell for *Poi*) clan, and *Kauho* for the *Bow* (Pig) clan. These songs are learned through dreams by people who possess the magic lime, or *kambang*. At the moment, Leonard Mo of Rangu is the only person who can perform this ritual. He also carves the masks. Only two recognised elders can put

on the masks, with the help of two attendants, who help put the masks on and off their heads.

A typical *Miri* consists of the following: four *Miri* songs, five *Boluluana* songs with *base vairukurukur*, two *base matoto* shield-dance songs, five *Parauna* (that's the real dance with the *Kakaparagh*), two *Pogo* ending songs, with relaxed dance-steps (two concluding songs, wherein everyone dances behind the two masked dancers, who dance back to the men's enclosure to throw away the bamboo leaves).

These *Kakaparagha* songs are learned through dreams, by people who know how to do the magic. Then later on they will sing them, and whoever wants a particular song can buy it from them by killing a pig. Then he will be taught that *Kakaparagha* song, so it can be bought from someone else, actually.

The video that I'm going to show is a demonstration of what the *Kakaparagha* dance is. When we went there they demonstrated the dance for us. Another person who has gone to my place, Marsha Berman, also videotaped this dance. She's now in Kimbe.

[While video is running:] We can see the two men preparing for the *Kakaparagha* dance. They're now lining up for the start of the dance. That's the bullroarer you can hear in the background. You can see them holding bamboo leaves, to shake in time with the music. That's the second time the bullroarer goes, then they will come out to dance. This is the first part of the dance, the *Miri*. Later on you'll see the two dancers coming in. [End of video]

Michael Wild: How come it's only one person who can perform the ritual, and what allows him to do it?

Luke Balane: It's quite [?] to perform this ritual. Now, this dance can be performed if somebody has a pig to sponsor the occasion. It also can be performed during initiation such as circumcision of boys, if the relatives of that boy have enough pigs to sponsor the occasion. Or sometimes it can be performed when an elderly person who has a recognised background in the village dies; the relatives of the maternal uncles can sponsor the occasion for a *Kakaparagha* song to be performed in honour of that person.

Wild: You said here Leonard Mo in Rangu is the only person who can perform this ritual. My question is, what's the selection process that determines he is the one who is able to perform the ritual, and not someone else in the village?

Balane: This ritual I'm talking about is the magic ritual to dream up new songs, *Kakaparagha* songs, or other songs as well. Now that ritual has been passed on to him by his uncle. It's only passed through maternal uncles.

Wild: So it's a family tradition.

Balane: Yes. So, whoever he passes it on to, that's his own business. It's not just anybody.

[Video Example 2, comments during video] That's when the two shield dancers come in. You can see them coming from the beach. Now these are the two real ones. They have the *malanggans* out to dance. The first two that came in were false ones, these are the real ones.[Video ends.]

So, the first thing you see there, two false-shield dancers come in, and the other two real ones, but the two masked dancers, the *Kakaparagha* dancers, are there also.

Audience #1: Why is it that all the rest of the people in the group were holding on to bamboo leaves, and the two masked were holding *tanget* leaves?

Balane: Usually the two masked dancers hold onto these *tanget* leaves. Some sort of magic spell has been cast onto those *tanget* leaves where they can hold and dance. Usually they don't dance with the bamboo leaves, the two masked dancers. They hold on to those *tangets* because, like many other parts of Papua New Guinea, *tangets* are very special in many ways: it's used to make magic, used to settle disputes and all this. I don't know, but, usually they don't hold the bamboo leaves and dance, they hold these *tanget* leaves and dance.

Michael Webb: What do the numbers indicate, down the left hand side? Are they [?] of a section?

Balane: Yes.

Webb: So, you stopped at the *Parauna*?

Balane: Yes. I stopped there, it's the real dance with the *Kakaparagha*.

Pius Wasi: The costumes didn't look like original costumes. How do the original costumes look?

Balane: Yes, I expected someone would ask that question. The original costumes for the two masked dancers are woven nets, that they wear around themselves and dance. But now they've substituted for these shirts and [socks?]. But usually in the olden days they didn't use that, they wore woven nets. But now those who knew how to make those nets have passed away, nobody can make them, so they've substituted for that what you've just seen.

Audience #2: Is there any reason why they come from the beach instead of coming from the village?

Balane: Usually they don't start on the beach, they can start from the bush, coming out to where the enclosure is. But that time we said to have it recorded on the beach, and the older men thought that maybe the two dancers can start from the beach, coming up and into the enclosure. But it can start anywhere. This sacred dance, the women are never allowed to see. But as for the dancers coming in to lure the two masks out, they can either come from, let's say, behind somewhere in the village, where the old people can see them. But for whatever activity is taking place in the enclosure, women are not allowed to see. They will only see the dancers out, two masked men, when two real [still?] dancers take out the masked dancers into the open. That's when everybody sees.

Richard Moyle: If today, this morning, there was a woman from your island who was also a student here, would you have shown that video?

Balane: No. So, like I've said, such activities, starting from the first day to the tenth day, are only confined to the men. On the eleventh day is when the real performance is performed out in the open for everyone to see.

A#3: When, during the year, do they do that dance? Are there certain occasions for that dance? **Balane:** Yes, with this kind of dance it can be performed, like I said, in honour of the person who is highly recognised in the village, who has passed away and the relatives feel that they want to perform this ritual in honour of him. It can be performed any time during the year, if there are no other things happening, and they are prepared to sponsor this occasion, they can perform it.

Leleki

Leleki is a men's ritual. Men impersonate spirits, using bamboo split distorters called *pasese*. On Unea island they are called *patete*. Ocarinas with two holes in the sides, which we call *manukarukaru*, literally means "bird floating;" *kure ke Kono*, which literally means "*kundu* for Kono" (Kono is the name of a spirit); and a single large bamboo with distal end closed; *pilipili* made of small bamboos; and *pio*. It is performed in honour of an elderly person with a highly traditionally recognised background. Performances of instruments occur in intervals of five days, starting with the *sina leleki*, then the *manu karukaru*, followed by a bamboo ensemble of *balu*, also known as *sina makure*, and *kure ke Kono*, usually played in fours. On the final day of the performance, *Kaogho*, which represents the spirit, calls the men together to prepare for the final performance. First, an ensemble of *pilipili*, then an ensemble of *manu karukaru*, followed by an ensemble of *pasese*. After all this, men form two lines, one imitating male and the other female. Before and after each performance the men will shout "a e", and the men imitating females, "a e u". Then an inflated pig's bladder will be burst, which signals the whole orchestra of bamboo instruments to begin playing. In the end, the instruments used in the beginning will perform. Since this is a very sacred ritual, I'm not prepared to show you the video we have of it. But I will play you an example of the instruments used in this ritual, [plays tape with examples of *peo*, *sina makure*, *kure ke Kono*, etc.] If you're listening you'll hear that someone has shouted at the end. That represents the spirit. . . . That's the *pasese*.

A#2: About the spirit shouting: do you think it's a real spirit or just [?]?

Balane: See, men fast before this thing, and it's the man impersonating a spirit. Sometimes when they do it, like they told me, it's no longer the men performing it. Sometimes they feel that spirits come upon them to perform that. And sometimes during the dance they can get very emotional and, you know, at times they cry; from my experience, what I've seen.

Moyle: What is the local word for the kinds of sounds we've heard? Is it similar to the word for singing or for speech, or what?

Balane: Sounds on a particular instrument?

Moyle: Yes.

Balane: Well, we have a name for this sound, which we call, if I'm right, Clement?

Clement Gima: As far as I know there isn't one word that describes sound, no *tok pies* name for sound. We have a number of words together for a word for "sound".

Wild: In my experience, I believe it's the individual sounds of the instruments representing the voices of spirits. So, the bamboo split distorters are actually impersonating the sound of that particular spirit inhabited by the man playing it. That's the way I understand it. Is that correct?

Balane: Yes. We have a word like *alinghana*, it's a general word that refers to sounds. It can be people talking, sounds of instruments, or any other sounds. It's

a general word.

Gima: If you want the sound of *kundu*, you say "*ainghana kure*", so you don't have one word that represents the sound.

Balane: Just a general word, *alinghana*.

Moyle: The sounds by themselves don't necessarily have anything to do with ethnomusicology. But, from the examples you've given us here today, the ones you've played on the Unea tape, what is it about them that you think qualifies them to be included in any ethnomusicological study from Vitu?

Balane: Maybe it's because of its sacredness, and the way it is performed, I believe. Robert, can you help me answer that question?

Robert Reigle: In talking about those things, they're usually referred to as the particular instrument, or the thing that makes the sound.

Gima: I think it's the instrument, for example the *sina makure*, the bamboo that you blow into. I don't think there's anywhere else you can find that. Or using a bamboo pipe blowing into a hole in a tree trunk, that's another instrument you cannot find anywhere else in the country. Maybe I'm wrong.

Reigle: I viewed it in an existential way. It's just something that's done as part of this ritual that includes music, or "music", sort of from a Western viewpoint, that's what we normally would consider music. And these instruments are part of that soundscape, of this ritual that culminates in the public performance of *singsing*.

Ngaveo

Ngaveo is an indigenous ritual here, started from Vitu island, not on Bali or anywhere else in PNG. *Ngaveo* is a men's ritual performed in an enclosure by initiated men only. Songs are sung into *mavola* voice distorters made of special coconut shells. The top third of the shell is cut out and *kerekere* orchid leaves are placed inside, which distorts the sound. The performance is totally believed to be a spirit singing. It is strictly forbidden from women's sight. In this video that I'm going to show you, they're not actually singing into the *mavola*, but they're actually singing the words of the songs and beating on an old, broken-down canoe. [Shows Video Example 3.] They sing in the enclosure. The women dance outside. I've finished with a demonstration of the song. Usually they sing into the *mavola*, and you don't actually hear the words of the song. When you're singing through the *mavola*, the voice sort of comes out distorted, and it's very sacred.

Maghu

The next one is *Maghu*, the women's dance. *Maghu* performances lead up to the main performances, such as *Leleki*, *Ngaveo*, *Kakaparagha*, and all those. Six men with *kundus*, leading the *singsing*, stand in front of 15 to 17 female dancers, who dance in two lines. [Plays example.] Again, these songs are learned through dreams. At the moment, Leonard is the only one who can dream up new songs, which are then sold.

Audience #4: Why would the women be dancing; what is the purpose of the dance?

Balane: The women dance while the men beat the *kundu*. Some of these dances are about certain things like canoes, birds, and babies, the *Maghu* dance is trying to show.

A#4: Is it for a special occasion?

Balane: No, it can be performed anytime, leading up to main events like *Leleki*, *Ngaveo*, *Kakaparagha*, which you have seen. It's a kind of secular dance, not sacred. But you'll never see men dancing this one because it's for females only.

Takulua

Takulua: in Unea language they call it *Takulare*, my place we call it *Takulua*. It's a secular dance involving both men and women, performed for pleasure, and to build up joy, interest, and solidarity, to meet the upcoming events such as *Leleki* and *Kakaparagha*. It's the same as *Maghu*. *Maghu and Takulua* can be performed at the same time.

Kewaia

Kewaia laments are mourning songs sung when a person dies. Relatives of the deceased sometimes arrange for it to be kept for another night where *kewaia* songs are sung in honour of the deceased. These songs are very slow, sustained, and emotional, often using poetic words, moving friends and relatives to tears. Weepers also use poetic words, recalling past experiences with the deceased. This particular song I'm going to play to you was recorded on the seventh of July, during our field trip, upon Mina's death. They were singing in the night, and I was able to record them. [Plays cassette] While one of them was singing, her elder daughter came and she didn't know that her mother passed away. When they were singing laments she came and cried.

Conclusion

If you really want to know something about my place, I think maybe you should come and see me, or go back home and see the others at home. I in fact told the elders, "I'm going to present this thing to foreigners interested in ethnomusicology, and I'll tell them if they're interested they'll come and see you, so you wait and see." So, you really have to go back to the village and dig it up from there.

Postscript - Music and Education

Since childhood, I've always wanted to be a musician. Occasionally I would sit and watch my father sing and dance, and I'd admire him a lot for what he was. Dad had so much respect from the others, for he was such a

good musician himself, until his death this year, 1993. Anyway, I had a different thought, I wanted to be a teacher. So I attended teachers college, and graduated as a community school teacher. I taught in the field for some time, only to find it very boring. Probably it wasn't my vocation. So I quit teaching and I attended the National Arts School, now the Faculty of Creative Arts, under the University umbrella. I must admit that I was influenced, when I was a kid, because we had records of Elvis Presley, and I wanted to be a rock 'n roll superstar. That's the whole idea why I attended National Arts School. Anyway, this idea was later abandoned when Robert Reigle came in as an ethnomusicologist to take us on PNG music. Again, when Robert came in, it sort of gave me a different idea. I thought to myself, "a foreigner teaching PNG music - what's this?" Then I thought about my original intention of being a rock 'n roller. It made me think twice. I began to develop a sense of identity and pride in my own and other PNG cultures, through PNG music lectures that we had. Now with the intrusion of Western civilisation, a lot of people are blindly accepting or adopting foreign ideas, and losing a sense of identity and pride in their own culture. It's hard to retrieve it now, as much has been lost. Such intrusion can affect our memory of the music repertoire, jeopardising its future prosperity, as stated by Dr Vida Chenoweth in her paper. I would like to stress that PNG should use its traditional culture as a base for arts education, as arts play an important role in a child's social and spiritual development. As stated in the Matane report, "The home and the community are the child's first agent of socialisation. It is here that children first learn about their culture and traditions, and should learn about respect, cooperation, and justice. The traditional values and skills have a place in modern PNG, and the best agent for transmission of these is the community itself (Department of Education 1986:16). In a bid to retain our ethnic music, we as music educators must create opportunity for:

1. Exposure, where youngsters listen, reflect, observe, and examine the arts, especially music.
2. Skill development, where development techniques are story telling, in our case, the skill of singing and playing instruments, and
3. Expression, where the skills are used to communicate and express ideas and emotions.

I'm very happy to see the foreign music scholars who are here with us, and I hope that some Papua New Guineans will take the initiative to arrange something like this in the future.

KAMBAI, A DANCE FROM NEW HANOVER

AUGUSTINE ABO

[Note: Augustine Abo illustrated his presentation with video recordings.]

I am from Lavongai village, New Hanover Island, New Ireland Province. The language spoken by my people is Tungak, found only on New Hanover. I am a member of the Kiukiu clan, whose totem is the kingfisher. My uncle, Matthew Pungmat, provided the information for *Kambai* and - and my grandmother Ngurkot Albina taught me about -

The Origin of *Kambai*

Kambai is not a *Malagan* song. *Kambai* is a traditional dance which was owned by the wallabies (*valuka*). My people once believed these marsupials were great magicians who lived together with human beings and did whatever work the human beings normally did. Tungak people always respected these animals and regarded them as very sacred. The *valuka* could talk and communicate well with my people.

The dance originated at a special place called Ao situated on the west coast of the island, near Umbukul village. Ao is a very sacred place renowned for its great power. Many great magicians came from Ao, and spread all over New Hanover. In these early times, many of our people were testing powers of warfare, fishing, hunting, gardening, traditional dance, etc. Some people exchanged traditional dances for wealth. The wallabies were also exchanging traditional dances, bringing them from the west to the south.

The *valuka* arrived at Lavongai village on their exchange-journey. At Lavongai, they went ashore at a special place called Mating. They asked the people if anyone wanted to buy the traditional dance *kambai* from them. William Malakaien's great-grandfather accepted the offer and bought the dance, using traditional money called *inagun*. The *inagun* was in a large container woven from pandanus leaves, called *karunga*. It is usually woven and carried by women. When a *karunga* contains *inagun*, it is called *vavai inagun i karunga*. After the traditional dance was purchased, its power was given to William Malakaien's great-grandfather. The power is always passed from generation to generation, through initiation of adolescents. My clan, Kiukiu, has owned *kambai* since that time.

When all the ceremony of exchanging traditional dance was over, the wallabies returned to their home. On their way two of them stayed in Bangung village. The other 20 continued on to Ao. It was the time of the

full moon; according to the tradition of **Kambai**, it should be performed at night during the full moon. The **valuka** were so happy with their successful trip that they performed the **kambai** for the last time. The tradition of all dances in New Hanover requires dancers to wash, following the singsing, with a special plant called **tanget** in Tok Pisin; in my language it is called **si**, or **erege**, or even **vang**. This is to cleanse the body and wash away the power of that particular singsing. Unfortunately, dawn came and the wallabies were rushing out to the sea to wash away the power of **kambai**. The sun was up already, and they were still in their **singsing** decorations. It was very sad - all of them turned into stone, because people are not allowed to see **valuka** washing with the sacred **tanget**. They all stood in line facing out to the ocean, and are still there today.

Preparation

In preparation for the **kambai** dance which we documented last month, Matthew Pungmat fasted for two days, enabling him to recite the magic spell for the ginger which will be spat on the ceremonial tree; in Tungak language ginger is called **mai**. When the ginger is given power, it is called **um lakan**. Its power is to make heavy objects lighter when carried; or to lighten one's body. After fasting, Matthew could drink and eat cooked food for one day. The next day he started fasting again, for the actual preparation for the **singsing**.

On the morning of the following Monday, men chopped down a tree to use in the ceremony. They chose a smaller tree than normal, because we had only two weeks for the preparation and performance. They spat ginger onto the tree to make it lighter for carrying and for catching it as it falls down. It must be caught in the air; if it falls on the ground, they must leave it and come back the next day to cut a different tree.

Men carry the tree to the enclosure so that the leaves and the bark may be taken off. When the leaves and bark are off, the tree is called **vakal**. It is painted with a special paint called **kup**, taken from a particular soil in the river or creek. **Kup** is white, and I believe it is made from limestone. During this period of decorating and painting the **vakal**, people who are helping Matthew must also fast. The men carve wallabies, fish, birds, snakes, lizards, canoes, paddles, human faces, knives, axes, and spears. They also make their costumes. Men use red, white, black, and yellow paints in this **singsing**. The red paint is taken from a special clay called **kanil**; white is lime made from coral; black comes from charcoal; and yellow paint comes from a special plant called **iyang**.

The day before the main celebration, there is a ceremony for chopping down the tree. The boy who is going to stand on the tree will fast for at least two weeks. John Pukina, who stood on the tree in last month's performance, fasted for one and a half weeks. He stands on the **vakal** using only one leg while the dancers carry it from the enclosure to the main

dancing ground. This shows how honest he was during his fast. When they are close to the main area, he will race down the tree and run towards the nearest pawpaw or banana tree, and chop it off. If persons gets in his way, he will chop off their head (with no recrimination). If he chops a banana tree and the new shoot doesn't pop out, or if he half-chops it, he will die.

He enters the enclosure first, after chopping the tree. The *vakal* is then stood in the ground, and left to be decorated during the night. During the night, all the dancers go from house to house singing and begging for wealth in all the villages in the area. If they come and sing in front of your house, you should give them food, fruit, or anything they can take with them to the enclosure. After that, they return to their enclosure.

Around 3:30 a.m., all the dancers gather beneath the *vakal*. The designer (Matas Pukina in the recent performance) draws a star around it. The men paint the star with black and white sand. It represents the Southern Cross constellation, which plays an important role in my people's lives, guiding them during the night when travelling out in the sea. The men also hang the carvings, fruits, and food on the tree at this time. They sing songs during the decoration of the *vakal*: "*Menkap*" and "*Sok Mai*". They build a small enclosure around the *vakal* (Plate 1) to hide the decorations from the audience. After that, all the dancers will return to the enclosure to rest before the day's upcoming performance.

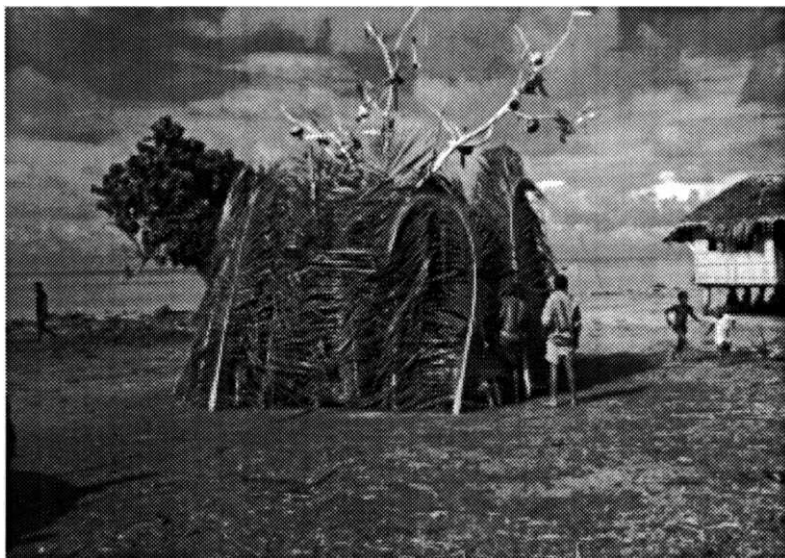


Plate 1. The enclosure around the *vakal*.

Performance Day

The wallabies performed *kambai* during the night of the full moon. When my people got the *kambai*, they changed the time, performing it during daylight, so that people may watch them. Their costumes are from *tanget* and other plants. There are two groups in the *kambai* itself. The first line of dancers are called *gaugaus*. They dance in pairs, imitating a particular fish which always swims in schools or in pairs, and is very common near mangroves. They have their faces painted white and black. The second group imitates *valuka*, walking in pairs. They have their faces painted red and black. After the dancers have dressed themselves in their costumes, they drink sacred water, in turns. This special water is made from various plants and herbs, producing a juicy liquid called *ka*.

After the magic-man (Matthew Pungmat) pours the power of *kambai* on each dancer, they start singing "*Tamberon*", sung during the dismantling of the enclosure. Then four dancers go out first and dance towards the *vakal*, recite a magic spell around the tree, and return to the main dancing group. The main dancing group begins to dance towards the *vakal*. Then they form four circles around the *vakal* and start performing. There are seven songs for the *kambai* itself; during the last section, they dance in different directions.

When the performance is over, they place all their costumes beneath the *vakal*. Then they go to a hidden place where there is no place for the audience to watch them washing. The magic-man washes away the power of the *kambai* using *tanget* leaves. Without this ritual cleansing, the dancers' children might get sick because the power of the song would still be there.

After that, the men return to the village and eat with their families again. The tree remains where it was raised until it rots, three to four years. Then the men burn it and the village has a feast. They will not perform *kambai* again until there is another special event. Matthew Pungmat organised a performance of *kambai* in 1980. After that, it was not performed until 1993, when the Performing Arts Department of the University of Papua New Guinea sponsored a field trip to my village.

Maras and Sokombual

I'll briefly mention two more important dances performed in Lavongai. *Maras* is a very sacred traditional dance, performed without singing. People dance to the rhythm of the *garamut*. *Sokombual* is a *Malagan* traditional dance. Men play *tulu* panpipe pieces to signal that the dance will be performed again, following a death. They play *tulu* while preparing the decorations and magic spells for the dance, usually done during consecutive nights. During the dance performance, men play *rangamutXog* drums.

Sokombual originated from Ao of a sacred place called Maratitib, then moved to the south coast of New Hanover. The *tivingalito* (*bikman*)

of the *Vengevenge* (Hornbill) clan bought it. If somebody from a different clan wants the dance, he must buy it in a traditional way; if he steals it he will be killed.

Discussion

Student #1: Can you explain to us about this *Malanggan*?

Augustine Abo: *Malanggan* is a type of a very ritual ceremony. It's practised around the east and west coasts of New Ireland. The place where the *Malanggan* originates from is an island off the east coast of New Ireland, called Tabar Island. That place is where the expert *Malanggan* carvers are still living today. From there the *Malanggan* was introduced to the mainland of New Ireland and to our people, to the New Hanover people. The original *Malanggan* is sometimes performed when they want to put a cement in the cemetery, they decorate, like a cross, made out of concrete. It's like initiation for the dead, that *Malanggan*. There's a special house in that enclosure where they put the *Malanggan* carvings. The people go inside and just look at the *Malanggan*, only initiated people. But today, anybody can go in the enclosure, because it's allowed now.

Stella Inimgba: Do you mean it is like a funeral ritual to send the dead across to the ancestral world?

AA: Yes, it's similar to that, but it's a very different ritual. The place where it's usually performed is inside the cemetery, but it's very different from sending dead people to . . .

SI: Does it invoke the dead?

AA: Yes.

Student #2: Does the word "*Malanggan*" come from your language?

AA: Yes. *Malanggan* in Tungak language, it's very hard to explain. But it's like moulding something into reality. I was trying to give a seminar on that type of moulding a person, who got it from the grave and come and mould it into a real person. I was trying to give a talk on it, but the time is limited. There's a special dance called *maras*, that's when the moulders and the *Malanggan* comes in. They get the dead person and come and mould it again. He will sit inside a very special enclosure. The person is very real, but he's dead, but all his body is real, the body of a live person. It's a very sacred dance, but I haven't got enough time to talk about that.

Clement Gima: I noticed in the video that some of the men were wearing shorts and leotards, it's [?] men and some women wearing modern clothing during traditional *singsings*. Are they doing anything about it, trying to forbid people wearing that modern clothing?

AA: Yes. In my island, when we went back, it was a very short time for us, so I told them, "Anyway, you just put the trousers on and put some *tanget* around and you go and perform it for us." But actually the dancers shouldn't be wearing anything, just *tanget* around only, and just perform without any pants or trousers or anything.

SI: During the First part of your presentation, you said that the performer who runs to chop off the banana, if he succeeds in chopping it the banana shoots up and he leaves. If it doesn't shoot out he dies. If the banana doesn't shoot up and he has to die, is there any kind of ritual that could be performed to prevent him from dying, or does he have to die? Has there been any incident where somebody died?

AA: Yes, it was the last performance of that in 1980. A person died. He died on the spot because it's a very sacred thing.

SI: When he died, did the ceremony continue on?

AA: Yes, it continues. The dead person will be carried into the enclosure and the dance still continues. After that there will be a ceremony for the dead, and that person will be buried in the enclosure.

SI: Does the death signify any kind of cleansing?

AA: The dead person: it signifies that he was dishonest with his fasting. If you fast, be honest to yourself and fast. Because fasting is part of our ceremony's purification.

Student #3: What if a person gets in the way of the person with the knife and he chops that person, what would happen?

AA: Nothing would happen because that's the tradition that follows. He has to chop him or they're out.

S#3: So they don't do anything about it if someone [?]?

AA: It's part of the ceremony.

S#3: The tree is decorated during the night. Do they dig up the tree again and lay it down and decorate it?

AA: No. Actually, because I was an initiated person, I attended the ceremony during the night only. That tree, only the initiated people will plant onto the tree. Those small boys, those people will go up and sit on the small branch and start aiming those things, very small branch.

SI: You said that when the tradition was imported, the performing time was changed, because it used to be performed in the night in the area it was imported from, and when it came to your area the time changed. Does the change in time affect the content, the essence of the performance, or is it just a change of time so that everybody could witness it?

AA: Because my people in the past believed that animals can talk, and those wallabies, because they are animals, performed it during the night where nobody could see them performing it, the traditional dance. Then when it was passed to human beings, the traditional dance should be performed in a time when people are watching. So it was performed during the day.

SI: Is there any relationship that speech developed from the wallabies? Is there any significance that your language developed from the language of the wallabies?

AA: I hope so, because there is some language that is being used in this traditional dance. We were trying to translate it or transliterate it with Robert [Reigle], but it's very hard, it's very complicated because that language is from those animals, it is a very old language. If we've got enough time we should spend about six months or one year to stay with my people and do this research. The first time the researchers went there was in 1905, a German sailor who sailed around New Hanover island. He didn't go into the island, he just sailed around and got photographs. That's the first time and the last time, and we are the second people to go to my island and do research there. My island is a very remote island, nothing is being exploited.

SANDALU OF THE WAWUNI PEOPLE OF WAPENAMANDA: A STUDY OF ITS EVOLUTION, PERFORMANCE, AND CULTURAL RELEVANCE

STELLA OGUOMA NMGBA

This is a result of a paper from field research in 1992 on *Sandalu* of the Wawuni people of Yaramanda. It is going to be a little bit different from the ethnomusicology papers presented at this conference because it is seen from the perspective of theatre.

There are different types of *Sandalu* in Enga Province. I am going to talk about *Sandalu* of the Wawuni, a group of about 1,000 people in Yaramanda village, Wapenamanda District. The Wawuni are bounded on the north by Yarakapi and Yakumani, on the west by Kupakina, and Maini people on the south. Most of the inhabitants are subsistence farmers. Their main foods are sweet potatoes, taro, and banana, but they have a variety of vegetables. They live in traditional thatched houses. The round house is for the men, and the rectangular shaped house is for the women, children, and pigs. The women take care of the children and pigs, that is why they live in the same house. The man is regarded as the head of the family and the defender of the people.

According to oral traditions, the founding father of the Wawuni is Mendi, or Mandi. He hailed from the Southern Highlands Province. That is why the people are sometimes referred to as Wawumandi, Mandiwawuni, or Mendiwawuni. In Enga, women and children are not counted. So when you're talking about the census, you're talking about the population of the men. The male children are counted. Mendi had three sons, namely Wawuni, Yakumani, and Kiyankim. Yakumani moved up to the present Wapenamanda central district, and settled, Kiyankim settled towards Yaibos and Wabag, and Wawuni settled in Yaramanda village, which is the focus of my study. These three people, like you have seen, regard themselves as brothers, and they maintain that relationship.

In Wawuni, dance is called *yanda*. The concept of dance or theatre is different from the European point of view: it is not only as a cultural heritage, it is also a formal blending of theatrical forms - songs, music, mime,

drama, poetry, movement, and instrumental music. These elements also form the dramatic content of Papua New Guinea indigenous theatre.

Before my research the people had stopped staging *Sandalu*. The previous 19 years was a dark age for *Sandalu*, because the missionaries that arrived there first told them that it was a devilish practice and shouldn't be practiced by Christian converts. Because of that, they relegated *Sandalu* to the background. But when I found it worthy of study, having been told about it, the people revived it, and they are happy that they did so. Later on I am going to look at their songs; you will see how they composed a song instantly, to reflect their appreciation of the fact that we found *Sandalu* worthy of study, and they revived it.

In the course of the research, *Sandalu* is considered as a ritual theatre dance. The concept of theatre is different from the Western concept of theatre. I defined the theatre as an activity having actions, people to enact the actions, a place where the actions are enacted, and people as spectators. Once the performance had these four elements, I considered it as theatre. This is from the point of view of the cultural/theatrical activities of areas like Africa, Oceania, and Asia. When I am talking about theatre, in this paper I want you to understand it from the point of view I have defined.

In the course of the research, one of the answers that I looked forward to obtaining from the Wawuni was their reason for staging *Sandalu*, since it means so much to them, even though it declined at a certain point in time. "Of course there are many reasons why we do *Sandalu*," they told me. It became a very difficult question for the elders. They looked at one another and couldn't give me an answer, but I was determined to receive an answer or at least an explanation. Eventually the question developed into a series of arguments among the elders. The arguments generated a lot of curiosity in me and my colleagues and challenged me in particular to study the origin and development of *Sandalu* among the Wawuni people.

The findings in the search for the origin and development of *Sandalu* are classified into three studies based on oral traditions. In study one, some Wawuni argued that *Sandalu* is a festival theatre that is contained in *Tee*. *Tee* is a ceremonial way of exchanging relationship and business transactions; it is also a big festival. The ceremony of *Tee* brings a lot of people together and creates the opportunity for the rich men to show off their wealth. *Tee* seems to distinguish the rich from the poor. For instance, the man with many or huge pigs is considered a very rich man and is not likely to develop a relationship or a business transaction with a man with lean pigs, because wealth is measured on the number of wives and pigs that a man has.

Having learned this, I took a careful look at the *Tee* ceremony, which tends to highlight some sort of class distinction, which most societies are likely to frown at because of the problems associated with it, like some

people feeling dissatisfied, jealous, or frustrated; and crime sometimes among the less privileged, who are likely to agitate against the system. Class distinction is absolutely against the Melanesian system of brotherhood and the *wantok* practice among the people, irrespective of social, political, or economic status, or age. *Wantok* system refers to people who hail from the same area or relatives, or speak the same ethnic language. It becomes questionable for a community to put their young unmarried men through this strenuous process of the initiation, in *Sandalu*, if it is just going to create some class distinction. Although *tee* is a subsequent event that takes place after the ceremony of *Sandalu*, it becomes difficult for me to conclude that *Sandalu* is derived from *Tee*. It could rather be the opposite, or a case of the association of two ceremonies that complement one another.

Study two consists of the collection of opinions that say that *Sandalu* is an indigenous theatre to the Wawuni, since it has been in practice for a long period of time. According to the practice of oral tradition, it also makes some sense to say that the rite of passage from adolescence to adulthood, which *Sandalu* identifies with, is a popular ritual in most communities of Papua New Guinea. In the light of this argument, one is likely to conclude that *Sandalu* is indigenous theatre to the Wawuni people. But another study of this indigenous theory from a different perspective may state the contrary. There are always the primary and the secondary reasons or objectives for the practice of a particular tradition. The primary objective is the substance, which carries some aura of bizarreness at its crucial moment of introduction into the particular society. When the crucial moment is over, the activity and its bizarreness may be relegated to the background, or decline. But it is important that the decline in practice does not detract from the primary objective of the activity at any time. As the event declines, some other activities may be incorporated to either enhance or replace it. The incorporated activities are arranged in an orderly pattern to form the secondary characteristics or substances of the declining event. It is also possible that the secondary part of the activities may become very elaborate, that they can in fact help to relegate the primary objective to the background. It seems that is the case with the primary objective of *Sandalu*. There is still room for more research.

There is also study three, which I called the "imported theory". This study reveals that *Sandalu* is an imported, or borrowed, culture to meet crucial needs, to restore the Wawuni kingdom to normalcy after suffering from a terrible defeat in an inter-tribal war. One of the elders of Wawuni, Mr Wa'inki, who is about 60 years of age, narrated this:

I am the son of Pupu and Latu. Pupu and Latu are cousin-brothers. They are the sons of Wayinggi and Kiyapan, who are in turn the sons of Alau. Alau is the son of Zita, who is the son of Kepiyalin

junior, Kepiyalin senior is the son of Wawuni, the founding father of Wawuni tribe, whose father, Mendi, hailed from Southern Highlands. Sometimes the tribe is referred to as Mendi-Wawuni, or Mandi-Wawuni. I have participated in *Sandalu* on three occasions: when I was a boy, when I grew a beard, and when I became a man with a woman. *Sandalu* is not a *singsing*. Our ancestors did not practice *Sandalu* until there was need for it. It is not also correct that *Sandalu* is an aspect of *Tee*. The association of *Sandalu* to *Tee* is a later phenomenon. During the time of my ancestors Pupu and Latu, my tribe suffered a terrible war defeat, from Piyapinu Kimbaikini tribe. They killed every able-bodied man, and the children and the mothers were chased out of the village. As the surviving people sought refuge in the neighbouring communities, the victors occupied Wawuni kingdom. Pupu and Latu were among the children who lost both of their parents. So they fled to Kiyaki, where one of their aunts was married. They lived in Kiyaki for six years, growing up into men, and wondering how to go back home. The practice of *Sandalu* in Kiyaki aroused their curiosity, and they sought for counselling about it. To this effect, they were introduced into the initiation of *Sandalu*, for the main purpose of coming in contact with *Akaipui-wai*, the magic mercury liquid which gives power and wisdom to the young man who grows into a responsible citizen.

Akaipui-wai is the spirit of restoration. The magic mercury liquid doesn't dry, but it multiplies, and it is symbolic:

The power in *Akaipui-wai* is enormous, to lead Latu and Pupu to war to liberate their kingdom. They learned the instructions of the process of the initiation carefully, to avoid making mistakes. At the completion of the initiation, they moved with confidence, attacked the Piyapinu-Kimbankini tribe, and chased them out of Wawuni. Words of the victory and restoration went around, and all the indigenes of Wawuni, who had been in exile, returned to acknowledge the story of *Akaipui-wai*, that generated the power that restored their kingdom.

Every year, young men were selected according to the practice of *Sandalu*, to undergo the initiation in honour of *Akaipui-wai*. Even though the individual participant benefits from the *Sandalu*, the essence is to commemorate the restoration of Wawuni tribe.

In consideration of Mr Wa'inki's view and the imported theory of origin and development, it seems that *Sandalu* is a borrowed practice, from Kiyakin. Most Wawuni people agreed about the war that destroyed their village. They also testified that the restoration of the kingdom by Pupu and Latu was believed to be miraculous and was celebrated by the members of the tribe.

Although *Sandalu* is a celebration that is related to *Tee* in Kiyakin, that is not to say that it is the case in Yaramanda. When a certain tradition

is borrowed, it is put into use to meet the needs of the borrowing community, and not the needs of the lending community. The borrowing community also reserves the right to either discard all the original traditional contents or retain some or all of them. Among the Wawuni, the crucial image for the practice of *Sandalu* is to gain the power from *Akaipui-wai* that helped Pupu and Latu to rebuild their tribe.

The ability of Mr Wa'inki to trace the family tree to the origin of *Sandalu* is remarkable. *Sandalu* is imported because I can identify where, when, and how it came to be in Wawuni. From the secondary point of view, *Sandalu* has grown to become a festival theatre. It is a yearly practice, and each year the community spends time, energy, and resources to ensure that it is successfully staged. The celebration of *Sandalu* and *Tee* together shows two important events that complement one another and also portray the cultural life of a people.

From another perspective, *Sandalu* could also be regarded as indigenous to the people, because after its acquisition from Kiyakin, the people found it necessary to continue to practice it. They have also incorporated other important features of their own culture in *Sandalu*, like bilas (costume), feasting, dances, songs, etc. All these efforts demonstrate the fact that *Sandalu* is desirable, cherishable, and being preserved by the people of Wawuni, even though it is borrowed. To this consideration, I would say that *Sandalu* is a festival theatre. It is also an imported cultural theatre, and has become indigenous to the people of Wawuni who practice it now as theirs.

The Performance Stages of *Sandalu*

The performance stages are very elaborate, demanding everybody's attention. There are series of serious rehearsals and learning processes involved. To this effect, *Sandalu* is divided into five main stages. The first stage is the blessing of the elders and the leaders. The second is the movement to the sacred plateau. The third is seclusion in *Sandalu Anda*. The costuming is the fourth, and the last is the procession.

First Stage: The Blessing of the Elders and Leaders

Sandalu is the acquisition of profound power and pride of new social status for the young man who desires to undergo the transition from adolescence to responsible adulthood. The blessing of the elders and leaders of the community come in different ways, as follows. It is the responsibility of the elders to screen all applicants for the initiation. They select and recommend applicants based on age and good behaviour. They also approve the recommended candidates for the initiation. One may wonder how they get the applicants. It is usually well-known in advance by the community that the season of *Sandalu* is at hand. To this effect, the young people aged between 18 and 25, and who look forward to *Sandalu*, indi-

cate their interest by gathering costumes from relatives and friends.

Finding the costume is the most difficult aspect of *Sandalu* now. In the past, families owned their costumes, and any hard-working individual could easily make one by gathering the materials from the forest. Nowadays it is difficult to get the costumes because most of the forest areas have been destroyed and converted into farmlands and residential areas, as the population grows. The movement from the rural area to the cities has also reduced the number of able men in the village who could have been making the costumes. The enthusiasm in the art of costume-making has also declined since *Sandalu* had been condemned for 19 years. Most young people do not even know how to make the costumes. Costumes can either be borrowed, hired, or owned now.

When the costume is borrowed, it is very expensive, because payment is in terms of pigs, *kaukau*, kina shell, and betel nuts. The people do not grow betel nut, but buy it from other places, so it is expensive to make payment in this medium. Borrowing from a *wantok* also attracts some sort of reward. Sometimes the young man can borrow from the family of a girl-friend. Borrowing from the family of a girl-friend is an indirect way of indicating your interest or intention to engage her, so a man is very careful before borrowing from the family of a girl he may be interested in. It also serves as an open invitation to the family of the girl to the guests of the candidate, during the initiation. Costume generally is a way of advertising *Sandalu* to the neighbouring communities.

It is also important to note that *Sandalu* is restricted to the young, unmarried men in Enga Province, generally, because of the different concepts attributed to a man and a woman. Man, for instance, is honoured as the conglomeration of everything God created. He is the head of his family and tribe, he accumulates wealth and provides for the family. The woman is also part of his belongings. He is *Tee* organiser, he is a warrior, and a tribe-protector. He is created stronger than the woman, physically and spiritually. Psychologically he moves with a very high esteem. He can marry many wives. The hard work of the wives is considered to be the result of his own hard work, for being able to manage them. The woman is vulnerable. She depends on the man for direction, protection, and survival. Her identity is subject to that of her husband. She is seen as a symbol of sex, to fulfil man's pleasurable desires for orgasm. Women are for making babies, gardens, and rearing pigs for the husband.

At an appointed time, all the young men wanting an initiation will gather before the elders in the arena for examination. Any young man who falls within the correct ages of 18 to 25, and who has not had any sexual relationship with a girl, qualifies automatically for the initiation. It is believed that chastity keeps the body fresh. A certain degree of freshness signifies that the man is intact and has not lost any important fluid, as they would describe it.

Apart from chastity, obedience, and good behaviour, are other forms of qualification. An arrogant and disobedient young man is not suitable for *Sandalu* because he is a disgrace to his family and may not in fact qualify until he has changed in attitude. It is also the responsibility of the elders to appoint the instructors, based on good behaviour. Instructors are considered to be men of intelligence and wisdom, who must have excelled in knowledge at the initiation of *Sandalu* in their own time. The instructors are to educate the initiates on the significance of *Sandalu*, and also take them through the stages involved.

When the elders complete the assessment, they pledge their support, approval, and ancestral guidance to the initiation team, through the course of *Sandalu*. Successful applicants go home to prepare for the journey to the sacred plateau the following day, or on an agreed day.

Second Stage: Movement to the Sacred Plateau

The sacred plateau is located far in the forest, away from the residential areas. It is where the *Sandalu Anda* is erected, and where the initiates spend five days in seclusion in order to become men. *Sandalu Anda* is the shrine; it is also the enclosure. See Plate 1, which illustrates the shrine and the shrine enclosure.



Plate 1. The *Sandalu Anda* shrine enclosure.

There are two categories of people who go for the initiation. One is those that are qualified for the initiation, the other is made up of people between the ages of 10 and 17 who are not going to be initiated, but to serve as messengers for the initiates. They run errands for the initiates from the sacred plateau to the village, or from the village to the sacred plateau. It is also a good way of exposing them to *Sandalu* and getting them psychologically prepared, so that they can do well when their turn comes. They are also needed because they are the symbolic bow-bearers, called *Linu Yanda*. They are known as the *Katal*, who wear tapa cloth on their heads, as distinct from the *Soa*. The *Soa* are the young unmarried men who are qualified to be initiated. They are identified as *Soa* because they wear the human-hair wig.

The day that the *Sandalu* team leaves the village to go to the sacred place, usually produces moments of sorrow in the hearts of the mothers in particular. One of the mothers who obviously looked depressed was asked, "Why are you almost in tears?" She replied,

This moment is very painful to the mothers. It is a period of separation and detachment. You almost lose the bond of son and mother relationship. When he graduates from *Sandalu*, he becomes a man, ready to be taken over by another woman - you know what I mean? Even though getting married increases the population, it still curtails your relationship with your son and you lose closeness. You only watch and observe. I observe *Sandalu* with mixed feelings.

The mothers really feel bad because, when the son graduates from *Sandalu*, he becomes a man. He takes a wife, and his relationship with his mother is curtailed. It's not that they don't like *Sandalu*, but it's just that aspect of the love between mother and son.

There are two paths leading to the sacred plateau. The *Sandalu* team travels via one and returns via the other. The paths are significant because Pupu and Latu travelled to the sacred plateau through one to prepare for the liberation of their community, and returned through the other.

Third Stage: Seclusion in *Sandalu Anda*

The most significant activities of *Sandalu* take place in seclusion in *Sandalu Anda*, a term denoting the shrine as well as its enclosure. It is a period of five days, each day stipulating certain responsibilities and significances. The fifth day coincides with Stages Four and Five, costuming and performance. I am going to discuss them day-by-day.

The first day is for the construction of *Sandalu Anda*. As soon as the team arrives, they start the clearing of the bush. It takes some time to clear the bush and gather the building materials to erect *Sandalu Anda*. There are three fences with gates called *iyamba*, constructed in front of *Sandalu*

Anda. The first and outermost gate is called *Timongs Iyamba*. It protects *Sandalu Anda* against any evil spirit that wants to contaminate it or the initiates. While this gate is being built, certain incantations are chanted. The second gate is also a protective measure, to block out any evil spirit that may have penetrated through the first gate. This second gate is called just *Iyamba*. The third gate is called *Enda Iyamba*, and is built in front of *Sandalu Anda*. It is also referred to as "the maiden's gate", because the maidens who travel from the village to *Sandalu Anda* to collect bonfire from their lovers as an indication of an engagement, stop at it.

The *Sandalu Anda* is made of local material: logs, leaves, and grasses. It is a rectangular-shaped hut big enough to take everybody that is participating in *Sandalu*. The centre houses a fireplace. The initiates sit in two rows facing each other, with legs bent from the knees and the feet stretched to the fire to get warmth. The initiates are not supposed to sleep throughout the five days. The nights are reserved for important activities. The positioning of the initiates in *Sandalu Anda* is most significant. At the entrance and the rear sit the instructors who protect the initiates against any danger. In between the initiates sits the *katali* who runs errands for the initiates. The fire is built with wet logs rather than wood. The wet logs take time to dry and burn, and in the process produce huge quantities of black smoke that gets into the eyes of the initiates and helps them stay awake throughout the night. The logs are chosen for this very reason.

In *Sandalu Anda* there are strict rules. For instance, it is forbidden for the initiates to call household utensils like pot, spoon, plate, axe, knife, fork, by their correct names; they either use mime or describe it. Quarrelling, fighting, argument, abuse, grumbling, and disobedience are not tolerated. The initiates are also prohibited to leave *Sandalu Anda* at all costs to avoid being sighted by a woman in menses, as this would nullify their state of purity.

Everybody stays awake in *Sandalu Anda* by chanting, singing, choring, dreaming, and interpreting dreams. Receiving a vision in *Sandalu-Anda* is very important because it is usually a revelation about the individual or the community, and they take proper note of it. It is compulsory for the initiates who receive a dream, vision, or revelation from the ancestors to tell it before everyone in *Sandalu Anda*, and it is quickly composed into songs. The songs composed are to be sung during the procession, and they later form the music repertoire of the tribe.

Most of the songs are composed to edify *Akaipui-wai*. Women are not allowed to enter into *Sandalu Anda*. The closest they can come to the shrine is the third gate, *Anda Iyamba*, where they come to collect the bonfire. If any initiate wants to relieve himself at night, he will do so just at the surroundings. While leaving, he is expected to pluck a fresh leaf and leave it in front of *Sandalu Anda*. In the morning, the leaves are collected and counted, to know the number of bowel movements that took place in



Plate 2. The sitting position of initiates at night inside *Sandalu Anda*.

the night. The leaves are later burnt and disposed. Every initiate pays attention to learn from the wisdom of the instructors.

Every morning, the initiates rush out of *Sandalu Anda* and hold onto the trunk of a very tender tree called *Kum Plata*. While they are rubbing the trunk they are also chanting, meditating, confessing, and wishing for their ancestors to send the parrot called *Rea* to come and fly over them. They believe that *Rea* is a messenger of goodwill from the ancestors to the people, and flying over the initiates means blessings of renewed strength to deal with the activities of the day. That is the routine in *Sandalu Anda*, every morning and every night.

In *Sandalu Anda*, food is not cooked; everything is *mumu* (a traditional system of baking food under hot stones buried in the ground). Food is eaten at the same time, and no eating is done at irregular intervals. Greediness is also avoided, so each person waits to receive the quantity of food given to him. Grumbling is banned because it will attract the wrath of the spirit of *Akaipui-wai*.

The lyrics of the songs composed from the dreams consist of idiomatic expressions, proverbs, and poems that manifest the philosophy, social, political, and economic lifestyle of the people. To this effect, it takes the instructors or the initiates with wisdom, intelligence, and command of the language to extract the correct interpretations. Some of the songs are popular because they are passed down from generation to generation, but the new ones must be carefully interpreted.

Let us examine some of the songs associated with *Sandalu*. I am going to give the literal translation and the symbolic meaning, because they are made up of idioms and proverbs; what is said is not what is meant. For instance, song 1 is translated as: "Long ago I had forgotten about the *Sandalu*, but I have found out that the liquid is saved in good form. I decided to transfer the liquid into a new bamboo container." Significantly, this song is reflecting the people's anger on how Christianity condemned and stopped *Sandalu*. They are actually happy to revive it because the research team came. This song was spontaneously composed to acknowledge the presence of the research team. When you look at it, it doesn't really tell what it means, but when explained, you can see that they used some idioms to express themselves. Their language is rich with idioms.

Song 2 says: "Why did you build your apron longer? Because you said the road to heaven is far." Significantly, they are expressing their cycle of life after death. The people believe that life continues after death, in the ancestral world. The ancestors live there and watch over them and protect them.

Song 3 says: "Why is this tree created longer? Why did you make your apron longer? We have decided to celebrate this *Sandalu* in order to express our dissatisfaction on your decision to go ahead with *Tee* instead of negotiating with us." Apparently a neighbouring tribe had ignored the Wawuni tribe and had gone ahead to negotiate a business transaction with another tribe. Instead of talking to them, or discussing it with them, they find it convenient to express their anger in songs during *Sandalu*. This also implies that, in singing, for instance, one can castigate someone or pass judgment on a topical issue in the society and go Scot-free. The singer uses the opportunity of the event to sing what otherwise wouldn't have been possible to say in ordinary speech.

Song 4 says: "I came to get you because you invited me, when you were calling me from your home." This song is saying that, because of the power and wisdom associated with *Akaipui-wai*, people are enthusiastic to have the opportunity to come in contact with it, which is only possible during the initiation of *Sandalu*.

Sometimes they do not receive dreams, and feel very bad about it. To that, they would also compose songs, to express their dissatisfaction and disappointment, as in song 5: "I have travelled miles looking for you, the young plant, and why haven't you given me a dream? Which dream have you given me?" These are just a few of the numerous songs associated with *Sandalu*.

Day two of the seclusion centres on the purification rite activities known as *kale lyinge*. After observing the daily routine on the second day, the initiates rush to the creek. The creek is already prepared by the instructors. They use a large bamboo container, fixed so the water can run fast. As soon as the initiates get there, they line up and are attended one after

the other. They face the initiate's head up so that the running water from the bamboo container splashes into his eyes and through his whole body. The next instructor uses the seashell to clean his eyes. It is a purification bath that cleanses the initiate of all sins that he has committed, and then clears his eyes so that he can see very well and commune with the ancestors. This purification is performed with chants and confession of past sins by the instructor on behalf of the initiates as follows:

This lad, confess and say, I stand on Noko ridge. I saw the object rigid. I witnessed the spreading of the thighs. I heard the sound of pressure and thrust. Oh, my poor eyes. Splashes of the evil, go. And who are you? Go. Strain it out of my eyes. Cast it away from my eyes. Get ready, poor eyes. Move around, my poor eyes, move around. Hold on to your position, and chant from here.

The purification symbolically transforms the initiate from adolescence to adulthood. They can see properly and commune with the ancestors. They are edified to search for and handle *Akaipui Wai*. They are also prepared and qualified to receive the strength and wisdom associated with *Akaipui wai*.

The initiates are also washed of any pollution associated with women and menses that are believed to cause weakness in men physically and spiritually. At the end the initiates return to *Sandalu Anda* with a feeling of being born again. They feed on *mumu* and retire into *Sandalu Anda* to reflect, meditate, sing, chant, receive visions, interpret the visions, and compose the words into songs.

On day three of the seclusion, the men come in contact with *Akaipui wai*. One of the two important activities on day three is the cleansing of the environment of *Sandalu Anda* by group sweeping. Everybody joins hands and sweeps the place. It signifies that they are cleansing the environment so that they can receive the *Akaipui wai*. It also means together we are purified and in unity we shall uphold the pride of *Sandalu*.

The next exercise of the day is the search for *Akaipui wai*. At the end of each year's initiation, *Akaipui wai* is buried on a special spot that will be unknown to the next set of initiates. The search is therefore a great responsibility for the initiates, to locate the spot under the guidance of the ancestors. Once the *Akaipui wai* is located, it arouses great shouts of joy among the initiates. *Akaipui wai* is then summoned by one of the instructors who leads the procession to exhume it. The process of exhumation is by the blowing of *pope*, a magic flute that chants the praise of *Akaipui wai*. While the procession is arriving, the initiates will line up in front of *Sandalu Anda*, and they will be very anxious to get in contact with *Akaipui wai*. *Akaipui wai* is then distributed in smaller pipes, so that each of the initiates carries one.

During the distribution, it is the responsibility of two members of the *Katali* present to run from one end of the *Sandalu Anda* to the other, whooping: *Oh kan deliyo konde. Oh kan deliyo konde.* "Oh, I can see you. Oh, I can see you." The significance of this whoop is to intimidate any evil spirit attempting to contaminate the mercury liquid. It is also to remind the initiates to remain holy, calm, and not to swallow any saliva. There is a reported case of a man who swallowed saliva during his term of initiation and lost his potency and virility and couldn't make a family. Every woman he married abandoned him for another man. Such is the intensity of seriousness of discipline in the swallowing of saliva. At the end of the distribution exercise, the bamboo pipes are collected from the initiates, tied together, and buried at another spot for future use.

Coming in contact with *Akaipui wai* is a magnificent moment for the initiates. It is the symbolic receiving of new life, strength, wisdom, and intelligence to deal with situations as a man in the society. Every other ceremony alone is a process for the preparation to receive this symbolic gesture of *Akaipui wai*.

At the end of this event *mumu* is served and the night is reserved for dreams, and observing the routine code of conduct. In the dreaming session some of them may even receive the revelation of their brides to be and this will guide them toward the next event of giving away bonfire to the would-be bride.

There are two important activities on the fourth day of the seclusion: the *Enda Ita Tetepa* and *Tuli Singi*. The former is the giving away of bonfire to the maidens and the declaration of the engagement to the public. It is also a period of anxiety for any initiate who must have developed an affection for more than one maiden. The maidens arrive in a group singing, chanting, and dancing in praise of their lover or boyfriend. They stop at the third gate because it is forbidden for them to enter into the shrine. If the initiates hesitate in responding, they are likely to pull down the fence. So the response of the initiates is almost spontaneous; but critical. The initiate must ensure that he gives away his only bonfire to the right maiden he is to marry later. The maidens who have been disappointed by their lovers will carry out their revenge on day five when the procession of the initiates arrives at the arena. The rejected maiden can also attack the lucky maiden who is chosen by the initiate. It is therefore necessary for the relatives of the maidens to accompany them to the sacred ground to protect the lucky ones or to console the unlucky ones. A maiden who is favoured by the lover dances home with honour and pride and in anticipation that she will be married soon. The parents of the initiate will automatically accord her recognition as the prospective daughter-in-law.

Tuli Singi is the publication of the outing day or procession day. Messages of goodwill about the *Sandalu* procession are sent far and wide to the neighbouring communities. This is most evident in the *Tuli Singi*,

which is a form of communication medium. The symbol is white glittering clay, that is built on the trunk of a special tree and placed on the peak of a plateau where every passer-by can see and identify it. This day is also spent to prepare the costumes, especially the wig that needs to be set and oiled with pig fat. Any initiate who did not come with his costumes will collect them from his relatives on the following day. The initiates' performance in the entire exercises in *Sandalu Anda* is accessed by their responses. It is, however, believed that any of the initiates who concentrates well must have learned so well and so much.

Fourth and Fifth Stages: Costuming and Performance

The last day is the costuming and performance day. It is the day of procession from *Sandalu Anda* to the tribes arena. The arena for the performance had already been prepared, purified and kept free from other activities. Spectators have already arrived and taken their positions. Some of the spectators even stand along the path arguing on who will see the procession first. Meanwhile the relatives of the initiates are waiting at a particular spot with bags of the remaining costumes to further help the initiates to dress up. Costumes are worn in bits and at different stages of the procession. It is the responsibility of the relatives of the initiates to direct them on how to dress up properly. As the initiates leave the Sacred Plateau, they ensure that none of their belongings are left behind.

The first set of the costumes to be worn are the bark belt and the first fold of the apron called *Yambali*. The *Yambali* hangs on the bark belt. As the procession moves on, the second batch of the costume is added. This time it is *Sao*, the human wig which takes time to set. The wig is set on a chicken wire, with a loop to fasten it around the head. Any rough strand of hair is tucked into the base with a large needle. This exercise is dangerous because the needle sometimes pierces the scalp of the wearer when the setting is miscalculated. The wig is then dyed with charcoal and oiled with melted pig fat to make it shine. The other sets of apron are added and they are folded almost to the ankle. Sometimes there are as many as 5 - 20 aprons, but the most fanciful one is worn on top of the others to camouflage the torn and the old one. What is important is to put on enough heaps of the apron to enhance the movement of the waist in the *Pawai* dance. *Tanget* leaves are later tucked under the bark belt to cover the buttocks. The necks are adorned with necklaces of sea shells, bird feathers, and pig teeth. The decoration of the wig is the last aspect of the costume. The wig is decorated with *kaka* eagle plume, and cassowary feathers. Two *pandala* sharpened cassowary thigh bones are stuck into the wig on both sides of the ears. The wig is finally adorned with *mata*, a special bold and fresh leaf of clay colour, on the forehead. The stone axe is thrust into the dark



Plate 3. An initiate's hair wig on a wire frame, set in place with a large needle.

belt and *kale*, the special leaf that decorates the arm-band, is added. *Kale* is also the symbol of the initiation. At the end of all this, the initiates become fully initiated and become the dancers/performers of the event.

The dancers are placed in their order of movement in the performance. The *katale* carries the *linu yanda* (magic and symbolic bow), and leads in the procession. He is followed by a group of married men who execute the *Pawai* dance. *Pawai* is a match dance. It is vigorous and associated with the *Mali* dance. But it is incorporated into *Sandalu* because it has some characteristics of dynamic movement, and low jumps that involve the raising of the hills. The basic movements affect the upper part of the body and engage the neck to nod up and down in a constant rhythm. It is the match of the warriors. The *Pawai* dancers are arranged in three rows. The movements are so fierce and aggressive that the dance can be felt from a distance. These *Pawai* dancers clear the way for the initiates who move majestically like a horse on parade. The match is accompanied by a song that edifies and enhances the integrity of the tribe. One of such *Pawai wee* (*Pawai* songs) is sung thus:

***Kaku pigamo tenge doko dake lao* As the host of the ceremony
Eliyo piao kandelano lanio. You are watching with great attention.**

This song refers to the elders of the community who are the custodians of culture. They are expected to watch the performance and assess it

according to the culturally acceptable standards and to ensure that it fulfils the significance for which it is set. This is why the initiated are very meticulous in every movement they make.

The initiated are in a different line of choreography from the *Pawai* dancers. They are rather in a file. The most colourfully dressed initiated dancers are arranged in the middle. The rituals have transformed them and as such their countenance is very serious. Another member of the *Katale* maintains the rear to hold the overall choreography. The *Katale's* costume is distinguished from that of the *Soa* by the headdress which is designed with tapa cloth.

The make up is applied a few meters before the arena. The faces are painted with *simu* charcoal, while the lips are oiled and enhanced with *mamba* pig fat. The entire body is adorned with the application of *mamba* to enhance the complexion. At the end of the make-up, the procession carries the bows and arrows in position and makes a royal entry into the arena, where the spectators cheer with excitement and ovation.

The maidens who struggled for the bonfire have dressed up in their colourful costumes of *cuscus* fur, *bilum*, and necklaces. Their dance is a side attraction. Some of them are waiting to challenge the initiated who jilted them. The movement of their dance is like a chain movement. They lock up their hands in one another's and roll the whole body in a gentle movement like that of a maggot.

The initiated reserves the right to give some explanations to the rejected lover whose ambition is to beat him, or destroy his *bilas*. As soon as the initiated escapes from the attack of the girls, he joins the procession. The floor pattern of the dance is a match around the arena, sometimes the dancers stand in a line. There are not many varieties in the dance movements, but the few ones are skilfully executed to win the admiration of the spectators.

At the end of the dance performance, the performers and spectators are served with some food. The announcer calls each dancer and he moves out to collect his own share of the food: the feast introduces the graduands to the eating of cooked food once again.

As soon as the performance is over, everybody focuses his attention to *Tee*. *Tee* is not going to be discussed in this paper. I have also discussed it briefly in the early part of this paper. The courtship is another activity that comes up in the evening and it drags far into the night. However, the scope of this paper does not include it.

Summary

In PNG, traditional theatres are organised in communities where they form the bulk of the cultural heritage of the people. The people are also motivated to identify with it because everybody is an active participant. They are either performing or contributing in one way or another to the

success of the dance.

Sandalu is the traditional institution that admits, instructs, educates, and develops the graduates into responsible citizens. The standard of education in *Sandalu Anda* is considered remarkably high in Yaramanda because it is believed that anybody who graduates from *Sandalu* is vested with wisdom, knowledge, and authority to deal with situations, as well as represent the community.

The association of *Sandalu* and *Tee* is a manifestation of an additional faculty to promote the practice of the knowledge that has been taught in *Sandalu Anda* during the business transaction. *Sandalu* promotes good relationships among the people. The success of *Sandalu* is the success of everybody who contributed to it. People exchange views and develop relationships for better understanding, caring, and loving one another.

The courtship session that takes place in the night encourages young men and women to interact sociably with one another, and to express their affection to one another, which may eventually lead to marriage. People are also encouraged to be of good behaviour, because, to qualify as a candidate for *Sandalu*, you must show exemplary behaviour.

The composition and arrangement of dreams into songs offer the initiates the opportunity to develop their linguistic power. This system of education may be demanding, but it is rewarding, because in no time, the initiated is expected to participate actively in decision-making, politics, or expressing himself in one way or the other, on behalf of the community.

Singing their dream, or composing their dreams into songs, is also a special method of preserving the message that can be transmitted from generation to generation.

Sandalu is like a research institute, where the young people of Wawuni get educated according to the culturally acceptable standards of the people. It is believed that anybody who passes through *Sandalu* cannot be culturally bankrupt.

Traditional institutions like this should be encouraged, and more research should be carried out to document them and preserve them before they decline.

Discussion

Richard Moyle: I was very impressed by several of the things you touched upon. I'm thinking about just one: your translations of the songs, where you gave first a literal translation and then you gave what I think you called a symbolic translation. It's my experience that people who are themselves involved in ritual

may very readily give you a literal translation, but it's rare in the extreme for the same people to be able to tell you what the underlying meanings are and the cultural significances are. My question is, how did you come to get your symbolic meanings; who gave them to you?

Stella Iningba: It's the elders, because the new songs that are composed are supposed to be sung during the performance, and as they sing them over and over again, people get used to them, and later on the elders would sit down to give the real meaning, depending on the lyrics used, and they start analysing each word. That is how I came about the symbolic interpretations. First we wrote down the songs in Enga language, but in Yaramanda dialect. Then the literal translation was given, then the explanation of what the song is actually saying was also given.

RM: So these elders were able to talk in abstract terms?

SI: Yes.

RM: It's quite remarkable.

SI: It was well-organised, because we had the custodians of culture there, we held interviews with them, and they also sent some of them to go with the research team, because we had to spend five days in the bush with them, and we went through the sessions with them. For every little thing they did, they had to explain to us what it means. We didn't only ask them what it means literally, but "Why do you do this; what is the use?" Very often they will reply that, "In the olden days, their ancestors did this and did that, and that is why we do this. Even as time is changing, things are coming up, this is how we are also seeing them in the present situation."

Michael Webb: I have a question about the extent to which you as a researcher, and your team, differentiated between daily activities and theatre, and the extent to which you could say, "Well, that doesn't concern you because that's not actual theatre, that's just daily activity." Was there any difficulty in differentiating what's performance and what isn't?

SI: We did ask them about this. What they said is that whatever we do, or what we classify as theatre for them, it is real life, it is their culture. They don't really differentiate as such. They have a name for dance, *yanda*, and it seems that it describes most activities that involve dance because when they are singing they are also dancing, and when they are expressing their philosophical views or religious practice, they still move. Since they believe in the ancestors, it seems that everything is being controlled by the ancestors, and anything they do they have to refer to their ancestors.

MW: You can easily identify song and dance, and other dramatic elements, but you've also documented other practical aspects like stripping bark from trees, building gates, and all of those things which are necessary - I don't know if you want to call them props, maybe that's too simplistic, they're very much a part of that. The actual creation of those scenes, there are processes that you go through in creating them and erecting them. Did you consider those aspects as part of the performance of the whole ceremony?

SI: Yes they are. Everything is, because everything is directed toward the performance of *Sandalu*. Everything contributes. Every bit of it is part of it, the way they go about it. The way they sit down to make the wig is still part of it. They cut the hair and use it to build the wig, and for the aprons that they use, they use the strips from the bark of the tree, and they identified the particular tree that you can

cut and bring out the bark and the process of preparing it. Sometimes they beat it to soften it and be able to disintegrate it and break it into strips.

MW: What that brings into view is the extent to which life is performance, and to which performance is theatre. I'm curious about what you derive - in terms of your teaching and your understanding, and also culture as a process rather than as a study or as an artefact or something like that - which elements you draw from that when you bring it back into the formal education system.

SI: Okay. When I started, I said that the concept of theatre is different for people whose theatre is also part of their culture. There is no way you can remove them from that. For them it is life, but for us we can say it is theatre. But for them it is what has to be done to become this or to become that, or to be able to do this or to be able to do that. They didn't distinguish them. That is why when I started I said that the concept of theatre is different from what you may call theatre, in the Western sense of it. Because for them it is life. In the teaching, we have also tried to distinguish what the Western concept of theatre is from that of the primitive cultures. If you want to, now, shift to the Western concept of theatre, you can borrow traditional forms. For instance, part of my research will include adapting *Sandalu* on stage as a dance drama. I am now going to take the central theme from *Sandalu* and recreate it on stage. Of course, many things are going to be added, but it is just part of the process of adaptation, adapting tradition on stage.

MW: It's extremely interesting. It reminds me of the work of Victor Turner, in his research into performance. Then it becomes difficult to distinguish, which actually is what I like about this, between theatre and anthropology, in some sense, or ethnography or whatever you want to call it. It's already been performed, you observed it being performed, then you re-perform it. Then in some sense, depending on what you select and how you perform it, you're giving people the chance to observe what you learned through it being re-performed. It's another medium of presentation rather than the one you've just given us now, or rather than publishing it in a book or showing people a video, or whatever you're going to do with it.

SI: It's definitely going to be different. Because when you adapt, it is maybe an aspect of the whole thing which must have attracted you most, because as an individual, you are also influenced by your own constitution as an artist, sort of; an aspect that you feel that you want to emphasise. When you select and adapt it on stage, you are talking about something different, but the fact remains that the source of the material is still the tradition. It's also one of the ways an artist can gather his primary information before he can develop it.

RM: What was the people's reaction when you told them that you were going to adapt it for stage use?

SI: I didn't tell them that it is going to be adapted on stage. There is a basic course of adaptation we teach, where you find your materials from elsewhere and then adapt it on stage; how a traditional material can be used as a material for script, or for writing plays, or a dance-drama, and so on. It is that kind of experiment that we want to use *Sandalu* for.

RM: What are your views, in that case, about ownership of traditional ritual?

SI: Well, ritual is very, very serious in content, and in most cases the substance of ritual doesn't change. Certain things about the ritual may change, but that particular substance that constitutes the ritual may not change, because of the essence or the attachment the people have for it. They believe that it should be

done in this way or that way. They believe that there are some consequences if you go contrary to it, and they guard it jealously. It is also part of them, and in their way of thinking; you see the manifestation of that ritual. For instance, in the case of *Sandalu*, the main ritual there is coming in contact with the *Akaipui wai*; but then, coming in contact with *Akaipui wai* is a very short aspect of it, but every other thing is prepared towards coming in contact with it. That which is ritual must be performed by the people who believe in it, and that is when the real result can be felt. If somebody from another part of the world participates in that ritual, I don't think that the person may get the same effect because you don't entirely believe in it, it's not part of you.

RM: Are you saying then, that for you, that was not a ritual?

SI: Well, I don't think that I felt the same way that the people felt, but I felt the way I felt because I wanted to be part of it. I don't think that the result or the effect is the same for them. Before a young man gets married he has to go through *Sandalu*. If not, he can't be considered as a man. Since it doesn't apply to me, I don't think that the result will be the same. I think that the owners of the activities feel it better, and they know what it is. They can touch it, they can perceive it, they can wear it, much more than any outsider. So, it has to be ritual for the people.

Yoichi Yamada: I'm very interested in the process of how they compose the songs from their dreams.

SI: Well, like I said before, the person that composes must have wisdom, intelligence, and command of the language. There is always someone who will have that kind of gift or talent, and they also believe that even the composition is being inspired by their ancestors and by the spirit of *Akaipui wai*. It is not the person that receives the dream or the revelation that composes it. What he does is that, if he receives the revelation he just tells it. All of a sudden someone starts putting them in songs, just like that. Sometimes it is not one person that does the composition. One person can start it halfway and another person continues. Later on they put them together and sing them over and over and over again, and probably start adding other things they considered relevant. Many factors influence the composition. Even your emotional state can also affect the tone of the songs. When they sing it over and over it becomes part of them, and they're also expected to sing it during the procession. Everybody is looking forward to hearing or learning about the new songs, after which the elders will then analyse them. Sometimes they are also analysed in *Sandalu Anda*, for those who received that kind of gift to analyse.

YY: How do they explain about the origin or the source of the songs?

SI: It's been given to them by their ancestors and by the spirit of *Akaipui wai*. They will just sit down there, of course they are all awake, but sometimes someone will fall into trance. There is a very thin line there that they have to cross over, which as an ordinary person you will not feel. That thin line is very, very important because you need to step over that thin line before you can commune with the ancestors, and before you can receive the messages. You have to be in a state of mind that is considered pure enough to meet with the state of the ancestors. There is a kind of transformation, and you really, really have to cross that thin line. This thin line is what Wole Soyinka of Nigeria calls the fourth stage. Soyinka believes that there are four worlds, the world of the living, here we are; the world of the dead, the ancestral world; the world of the unborn, which is when a child is in the

making and is about to be born; and the fourth stage. The fourth stage is referring to that particular stage that you have to jump over to go to the other stage. If you're living, before you die you have to cross a particular line. That particular passage that you go through is very tiny, is very short, but it is the most crucial moment for you to move from one stage of life to another. That thin line that you pass through from life to death, or from death to be born again, for reincarnation - that thin line is very, very important, and you can only commune with the ancestors if you can cross that thin line. Traditioned artists usually cross it to receive important messages, and that is what has guided the people all along in the indigenous sector. Even modern artists cross the line unconsciously, especially when they want to go into seclusion in order to come up with something definite about what they are creating.

Clement Gima: The initiates don't sleep for five days. Are the songs dreamt by the initiates or by others?

SI: By the initiates and by the instructors. The *katali* group do not receive any dreams because they are yet to go through the initiation. But most of the dreams are received from the initiates, because at that particular time it is believed that the ancestors are focussing their attention on them, so they are dealing with them.

Robert Reigle: The songs that are received in dreams - are they complete with words and melodies, or is it just the words, and then they put them to existing melodies?

SI: They put them in melody, because sometimes the composition is not done by one person. They receive the message; it comes in words and they compose the words into songs. When the recipient tells what he received, somebody among them will just start up a song. I believe he must have been guided by the ancestors, who control most of the activities that take place in *Sandalu Anda*.

RR: So the melody . . .

SI: The melody comes later on. Sometimes the message that they receive may be a bad one for the community or for the individual, and the individual will be advised to perform some kind of sacrifice to appease the ancestors, to counter whatever doom that has been spelled out for him. When they are composing that kind of song, they are not likely to sing about the doom; they are likely to sing about what you can do to counter it. You see how it changes. They will sing what you can do, what should be done to change the situation. That forms the song. Which means that for a dream received, the composition may come in the form of a message or in the form of a solution to the problem associated with the message.

Student: How can these people dream or see visions when they don't sleep for four days. Is there any deep concentration?

SI: Yes, there is deep concentration, and that is why I mentioned something about going into trance, passing from one stage of life to another. But that is not sleeping. They don't consider that as sleep, because you've only travelled to receive messages, so it is not sleep.

Student: Is there any singing?

SI: Yes. Singing, chanting, and when they are singing and chanting all of a sudden someone is in his own world, just like that, and starts dreaming. They are not going to disturb that person, they will just carry on with what they are doing, to enable that person to concentrate and come up with a message. In time he comes

up with a message. They don't actually sleep. That is why it is very, very tedious, and that is also why they need the younger people to carry on certain responsibilities, like running errands for them. There is a reported case of some group of people that deserted the *Sandalu Anda* and didn't complete the initiation because it was so difficult for them, and the discipline was very hard. Because of that, they decided to descend in the *Katali* group to help them do certain things, and they only concentrated on the processes of initiation. Something like preparing the food, doing the *mumu*, the younger people do that.

CG: Why I asked the question that I'm asking you is, if people sit up over five days and someone can dream of a song while he's awake, daydreaming, it supported the point that I had in mind that many people that dream of songs create some kind of [?]. I believe that the people who dream of the songs just create them in their minds. Most of the songs sound similar to the existing songs that we have. Is it something totally new?

SI: It's not something totally new.

CG: I'm just making a point.

SI: Okay. I know that they also select songs. Like I said, that they sing songs and chants. The ones that are popular are those that they already have, that are passed down from generation to generation. They also compose new works, which everybody is looking forward to receiving. Like I said, they don't call it sleep, actually. If you have seen the pictures of how they sit - there is a particular sitting position. They don't just sit anyhow, they don't relax, and there is no relaxation. There is a lot of heavy smoke coming from the wet log, and you see tears coming out from their eyes. I think that it takes the people who are trying to get into trance to really explain it. Like I said, it is something that is very difficult, because sometimes it is unconsciously done and you can't actually tell what you've come out with, in the end. It is also explained further with Soyinka's view about the fourth stage. It takes someone that has passed through that thin line to explain their experience to you. Sometimes in dance, people who passed through that thin line get possessed, by the spirits that get in with them. You will see them moving from one place to another, totally out of control about what happens to them. It takes people that really get into trance, and the ritual used to get to that stage. This goes to explain more what you asked about how I define ritual.

MW: I was just going to comment on what Clement was saying. This is a pretty tricky area, about composition and the state that you're in when you compose, and when the exact moment of composition occurs, and so on and so forth. What Stella's explained is that, unless you've actually been there and you're the one that's doing the explaining, then it's very difficult to conceive of what's happening. It's both difficult for an outside observer to explain on the basis of the information that they're given by the person going into the trance, and I think it's also difficult for the person who's in the trance to explain what happened and what actually came through him, or whatever the process was at that particular point in time. One example that I keep hearing about in the Rabaul area and Tolai area is of a particular performance. Two performing groups within the same song lineage tradition, on the same day, perform at the same time, an identical song and dance - identical in every respect, the *bilas* (the decoration), the song, the complete text, and so forth. That's often given to me by people from a certain area, the area in which it occurred, to explain to me that the songs are supernatural in origin. Also,

the people that were learning the dance, or the songs, had absolutely no contact with each other, during the process of learning, for the couple of months beforehand. It was a revelation for people to understand that the complete composition, the choreography and everything - it was a whole package - came from another dimension. I've also had people say to me, when they talk about dreams they also talk about "it's in the mind". I think some people use the term "dream" as sort of an imprecise term because they can't exactly explain where the song originates, and then how it all came together, how it became expressed through a performance. Some people say "it was in my mind", other people use the term "dream", but "it was going around in my mind, then I formalised it, I codified it in a performance".

Student: Do you think the word "dream" is the right word in this situation?

SI: Yes, that is what he has just said. It depends, because they kept on calling it "dream". But I think that they go into trance. But that is the word that they usually use, "dream dreams". Sometimes it is better to use the word of the people so that you can understand it very well. If you go and ask them about your dreams, they will tell you something; if you ask them about trance, they are not likely to come up with the same explanation. So I find it safer to use their own language, the one they are familiar with. That's why I used the word "dream", but I believe that they go into trance.

Audience: During the time that they go into trance, how many songs do you think there are?

SI: It depends on how the composition is carried out, because one dream is capable of generating more than one song. If there is a particular message that says that the community should do certain things, sometimes two songs can come out of it, but the first one becomes the primary, and the second one may be just what is derived from the primary.

There was an incident where someone received a dream that someone was supposed to be killed. They didn't want to compose the song directly, I mean, mentioning the name of the person that should be killed, and that person is from another tribe, and they identified that person as somebody that has been making trouble with the tribe as a whole. They didn't want to come out with it directly, so they didn't mention names, but used certain words. Like I said, their songs are full of idiomatic expressions, so when they use that kind of idiom, it takes someone who goes behind closed doors to get the explanation. They will just tell you literally, but behind closed doors, they will tell you exactly what the song is saying. I don't know whether this also has to do with the composition like—if they don't find the word convenient somehow, they will substitute it. But I think that the main reason is to avoid being accused. They don't want another tribe to know exactly the meaning of the dreams that they received.

HONTO, JAWS HARP FROM THE KAMANO AREA OF KAINANTU DISTRICT

ROCKLAND KAMAREFA

This paper is about the jaw's harp or *honto*, as it is called in the Kamano language of Kainantu, Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea. In Tok Pisin, the jaw's harp is called *susap*. The instrument is made out of bamboo and is played by both young and old people. The *honto* is also common to almost all ethnic groups in Papua New Guinea, with some slight changes in the way it is played, who plays it, and the meaning of the pieces played. How it is made, and the designs imprinted or burned onto the *honto* changes slightly from one cultural group to another.

The Kamano people live in Kainantu, spread along the Okuk Highway starting from Kainantu town to Barora and Kompri valley, and up towards the Okapa road to Onamuga. They make up half the population of Kainantu District. Touching into Henganofi District, they call their language Kamano-Kafe. Kafe is the same Kamano language, but spoken by people living in the Henganofi District. Almost all of the Henganofi District speak this language, Kamano-Kafe. Kafe refers to those people living in Henganofi district, but speaking the same language as Kamano. Binumarien, Agarabi, and Tairora people also live in Kainantu District.

These groups of people share common traditional beliefs in gardening, hunting, marriage, magic, and sorcery practices. For example, in the highlands, they will not want women to jump over food. They say that if a young boy eats that food, he will become retarded and stunted - he won't grow very healthily as expected. If you put salt onto a winged bean plant (*ipsophocarpus tetragonolobus*) when cooked (all of its parts are eaten), the old man or woman will say, "Don't do this, you're spoiling my plants out in the garden." They believe there's a relationship between the live plant in the garden and parts of it cooked and ready on the plate just about to be eaten. If you put salt on the food in the house, the crop in the garden will be affected, and won't grow properly. Very interesting beliefs.

Before you bring a dog out to the bush, you must feed him properly and make friends with him. If you are a young man and your parents are going to get you a wife through a wedding ceremony from the other village, you cannot follow them; you have to go somewhere else and they'll bring the lady for you in the afternoon. When they make a fence, some people have small magic words; the fence may not be long, but when pigs go and smell these small knots, the knots will communicate to them and

say, "Go away, don't come in," so they won't jump into your garden and spoil it. If they are tying a sugarcane on the post to grow up, they tie the knots with very special words; if you want to loosen the knots, you'll find it hard to locate the ends of the knot. They will come and speak another magic word to reveal the knot end, then they'll untie it. These beliefs are common among the groups I've mentioned.

Musical instruments and song styles are also about the same, except that language dialects create barriers for understanding them. Only elderly people can understand, sing, and dance to the rhythms of neighbouring groups who share a common border with the Kamanos. Elderly Kamano people can understand the language and the music of other language groups like the Tairora, Gadsup, and Agarabi; but the younger generation can't really understand them.

Determining suitable bamboo is the initial process involved in making the *honto*. The *honto* maker initially goes to the nearest cluster of bamboos to determine the one with the best diameter. Normally he selects strong and hard-looking bamboo with reasonably long nodes. He won't get a young shoot to make a jaw's harp; he will have to get a mature, strong one. There are more than five varieties of bamboo, ranging from hard to soft. Of these, only one variety which is thin and hollow inside is used. This variety is determined by certain features like the edible shoots, which men eat either steamed or raw. Pigs often eat the shoots that sprout out of the soil. The mature bamboos are woven into walls and floors, used for cooking and fetching water, or used for many other purposes.

The diameter of this bamboo ranges from about two to four centimeters. *Honto* makers cut the bamboo so that the node closing off the top end is left intact (Figure 1). The Kamano *honto* is made from a completely full, round section of the bamboo. In other areas of Papua New Guinea, people also make the instrument out of a half round section. The inclusion of the node gives greater strength and rigidity to the body and the tongue, and is common all across PNG and West Irian.



Figure 1. Round section and closed end.

The bamboo is left to dry in the sun, or most often, smoke-dried by leaving it in the ceiling right above the fire place. Two fine incisions are made about half a centimeter apart, right below the joint, 1-2 cms down from the node. The incisions are usually parallel from the top and gradually widen to the width of the diameter and then taper towards the end (Figure 2). Metal blades are used nowadays; stone blades were used before the arrival of metal tools.

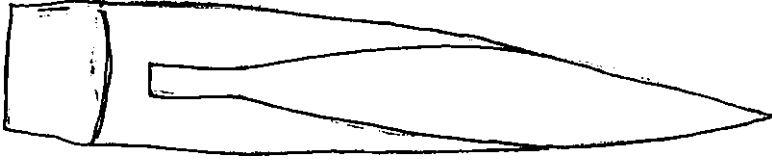


Figure 2. Back view of *honto*.

After the back part is done, two similar incisions are made on the opposite sides of the bamboo. The incisions begin parallel and gradually taper to a sharp point, thus putting the tongue in the middle. The tongue is called *agoza* in Kamano, which means "penis". This very part is made with extra care as it is the part that vibrates to produce sound (Figure 3). The Kamanos often scratch or carve designs onto the instrument. Other ethnic groups prefer to burn designs onto the jaw's harp.

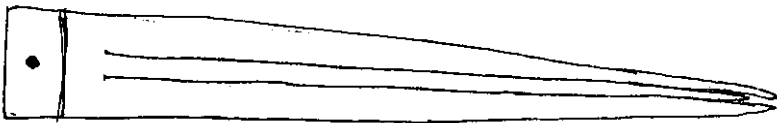


Figure 3. Front view of *honto*.

The *honto* is a struck idiophone. In her book, *The Usarufas and Their Music*, Dr Chenoweth says that the jaw's harp is an idiophone that is plucked, but I feel that "struck" more accurately describes the playing technique. A string passes through the hole in the end of the instrument (Figure 4), secured by a knot which prevents it from coming out. The player holds the string around his thumb and slightly hits it against the base of the tongue, which puts its sharp pointed end in motion (Plate 1). Sound variation is obtained by the movement of the tongue and lip muscles, together with the air breathed in and out through the mouth. The player holds the tapered end of the *honto* so that he is not squeezing the two sides in too close to the tongue. If the tapered ends are held in too close to the tongue, they hit against the tongue and create a distorted sound. This sound is said to be poor in quality, so, the tongue is left to vibrate freely, producing the characteristic sound of a jaw's harp.

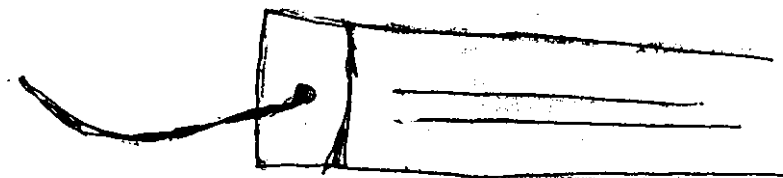


Figure 4. The means of attaching the string.

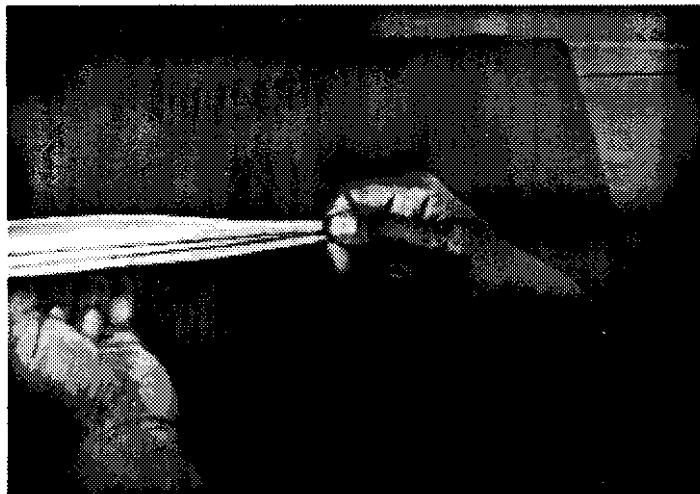


Plate 1. Holding position.

People evaluate the sound quality, judging loud or sharp high-pitched sounds as better quality sound. Boys from age 5-15 practise making *honto* until they succeed in making good ones. This is part of growing up in the village.

The jaw's harp is usually played by young men and women, though some old men play it at times. The old men usually play it to teach the younger ones. Most often they learn by listening and seeing how the elders and experienced people play. It is played to imitate birds and animals, or tell a certain story, or in partially disguising intimate talk while courting. Sometimes girls court boys with it (Drew-Payne, in Chenoweth, 1976). There is always a characteristic style of playing which is standard and can be identified by another person from another village within the Kamano area. The player talks through the *honto* and is very conscious of the words while playing. Some of this music imitates birds bringing insects to their nest, small girls fetching water, calling people for a gathering to be held, or a hunting dog.

The sound quality is improved by tying string at the pointed end of the tongue. This tying does not trap the tongue. It is further strengthened with the addition of wood resin on the tongue, one to two centimeters up from the pointed end. The rough, rattling sound that is heard is simply from not holding the tapered end properly, or squeezing in too tightly. The tongue vibrates against the body to give such a poor sound. Correct holding position and wood resin corrects this poor sound. Sometimes the tongue is bent in, out, or sideways to get a better sound.

The jaw's harp is not an instrument which people play for certain ceremonies. It is played at any time, as one pleases, to please himself and enjoy. It can be played by two or three people together using the same style (in unison). Young men and women hang it around their neck, stick it in their hair, or sometimes tie it to some loose strings on their string bags (*bilums*). People may carry two or three around, usually different pitched.

The instrument was said to have been a women's instrument and was their secret until men found out and took it away from them. Now it is said to be a men's instrument, although a very few women insist on playing it - not as an idea of protest against men, but just for the enjoyment of it. There is a legend about this change from a women's to a men's instrument. Briefly, the legend goes like this: There was a cave where all the women were hiding and playing these instruments. They had been tricking men for some time. The village men really liked the sound. They had been searching for its source in vain. One day, a man was going out drinking water and heard the sound coming from a cave. He went in; the women left the instruments under a stone and left. The man went into the cave, got all the instruments and ran away. He taught himself how to play them, then came back to the village with the *hontos*. He made it public that women were using this instrument to make that particular sound they were look-

ing for. They started telling the women "You can't handle this any more, it's ours." So men took it away from women. Nowadays, men make *hontos*, and both sexes play them for pleasure, enjoyment, and courting each other.

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Discussion

Student #1: You said that it is an idiophone because it's struck, but isn't the tongue vibrating to produce a sound. Can it also be called an aerophone?

Rockland Kamarefa: Yes, there's a term I was looking for, idioglottic or something, that's the term, which referred to this instrument as well. But I couldn't really get that word. It's not an aerophone, because you're not using air. You're striking it. It's the vibrating thing that produces the sound. But in the aerophone you blow it.

S1: Could we use our own, let's say Pacific Asian for it, rather than the Western Pacific?

RK: We might. Because it's a combination of air that is blown in and out that's producing the sound, and at the same time you're striking it. I don't know what I would say. I might agree on both. If I look at it from the air that is blown in and out, that's an aerophone. But the structure of instruments like aerophones, you have an end where it's blown out, like a bell or something. If you look at it from that point, you will still have different meanings, [demonstrates jaw's harp]

Student #2: The string or rope that's used, is there any particular rope that's used?

RK: Yes, before the arrival of white men, they used twine like this one here. This is a traditional rope; bark of a tree. They twist it and pass it through the hole, to make the rope. But these you can see are manufactured ropes. People are beginning to use these instead of the traditional rope.

S2: Does it make any difference on the different types of ropes we use?

RK: Not really, but the thing is you have to have a rope that is thick, so that it really hits. When you are tying it around the thumb, that's like a hump or something, so when you hit, it hits; but if you use a soft rope on the tongue, it won't hit, it's just straight, so it won't produce a sound. That's the difference. It can be traditional rope, but it has to be thick.

BINANDERE ARIO DANCE AND MUSIC

JOHN WAKO

Descriptive linguistics offers useful tools for music analysis, because the vocabulary of our traditional Western music theory is directed chiefly at teaching or analysing and composing in one particular music, the European system. Western music theory provides little in the way of either terms or procedures for entering another music system, especially one which as unwritten languages has developed both methodology and terminology for the analysis and description of a diverse system. This may be appropriate and is to be used in the analysis of description of diverse musical systems (Chenoweth 1968-69:218).

Methods devised, developed, and evolved, to describe, explain, and analyse Western music may be inadequate when applied to describe and analyse music from another culture, particularly Papua New Guinean. Binandere culture, including music, has been oral or displayed: it has been spoken or acted. This article provides insights into Binandere oral art forms that deal with music. The first part describes a particular aesthetic performance of *ario* dance or ballet. The second section concentrates on a particular source and the process through which the Binandere derive songs.

The Binandere people live within Ioma Census Division, Northern Province, Papua New Guinea; they number 5,000. Binandere occupy the lower reaches of Mamba, Gira, and Eia rivers, and they live on subsistence gardening - growing root vegetable such as taro, sweet potatoes, tapioca, banana - and fish from the water as well as wild animals, including feral pigs, cuscus and lizards.

Ario Ballet

Ario is an aesthetic dance that has complex body movements which are meaningful and intelligible in their own right. The *ario* is the artistic way of presenting in a dramatic form a story, a legend, or a life experience; for *ario* is a kind of a ballet, an abstracted art.

The *ario* has a convention of formal sequences for performance. Simple actions of human beings, animals, birds, and insects are observed and abstracted by the Binandere, who devise a way for the dancers to express their observations. Each sequence has a standard term that describes how it has derived its name from the movement of a particular bird or insect; the art itself has its origins in how the Binandere perceive and observe the

dance of a bird of paradise or hornbill, or even motions of logs in water. One example illustrates this point.

Alongside a river in . . . [Papua] an old man sits and stares at the water. A tree trunk drifts past: at certain intervals it rises to the surface and then sinks again, always with the same motion. The old man reaches for his drum and softly takes up the rhythm that he has discovered. While he beats the drum, the image of a dance takes form in his mind. So the Orokaiva . . . express the process among themselves, the rhythm must be discovered; then the dance arises, which imposes it on the environment, thereby drawing the environment into the movement as well [cited in J. Winslow 1977:499].

The elements consist of the art, style, and sequence which the choreographer teaches the dancers during rehearsals before it is put on in the village for public view. The first pair of dancers is the "head"; then there is the "neck", at whose back stands the middle pair. There could be any number of middle pairs, from one to six, depending on the length of the column. After it, there is the "tail's neck", and the last is the "tail". The five pairs of dancers are the minimum number with which the *ario* can be performed in public.

There are 12 components of the abstract art in their sequences from beginning to end. I give each element its terms in the vernacular in order to define and explain the meaning of the actions.

1. *Gugu*, "the noise" that is produced when water reaches boiling point and bubbles from a clay pot on to the fire. *Gaiari* is "to pierce". Thus *gugu gaiari* is the sound of the *tataun*, "the special small drums" like *gugu*, making the noise of the froth as it rises to flow over the edge of the clay pot. In *ario*, *gugu gaiari* is the stage when the dancers first emerge from an enclosure in the centre of the village or the bush. The "head" pair is the most spectacular and graceful to watch. This couple acts like a butterfly just about to sit on a flower. But the other pairs, while beating their drums move forward turning about to face each other, again turning to put their backs against one another, and alternately bending their knees. They emerge in such a manner until they reach the centre for the performance. They pause for several minutes.

2. *Bebeku Yaungari*. The meaning of "*bebeku*" is not clear, but "*yaungari*" is "to split in the middle". The pairs in the column of dancers beat their drums in consonance with the rhythm in the *gugu gaiari*, and remain in their positions while the head pair dance to the rear outside the dancers; then they return to the "head" moving in between the pairs.

3. *Deoga* is an archaic word whose meaning is not clear, but the actions are derived from observing hawks in flight, they fly crossing each other's paths and clashing their wings. The dancers swoop as hawks do

when they catch a rat. The head pair move towards the tail end, crossing every pair it passes, and it returns to its position for another sequence.

4. **Biana Giri**, "hornbill's noise," the bird makes when it hops from branch to branch. The sound of the drum is tapped only with the tips of the fingers, which is an exact imitation of the bird's call. The dancers either hop to and fro or move forward in tune to the sound.

5. **Batari** refers to the sound of the drum of one member of the head pair. All the dancers beat their drums with one rhythm, and one of the head pair "cuts" the rhythm: everyone beats their drums with the *purou* beat. But the "cutter" beats *purotou purou*, or often *purototou purotou purou*. The head and the tail pairs carry out much more complex actions than described here.

6. **Dabibiro**, which means "to slip," and the head pair do just do that. Both slip and dance backwards; again outside until they reach the tail; they dance with varying actions back to their position inside, or in between the pairs.

7. **Warawa Gatari** or **Ambe Atoro**. **Warawa**, "a tree," and **gatari**, "to crack," in order to collect grubs. **Ambe** means "sago tree," and **atoro**, "the hard layer" which protects the pith which is scraped to extract the sago, the movements refer to actions to crack open pieces of wood for grubs, or to beat sago.

8. **Otara**, a particular orange ant, builds its nest with the leaves of trees. **Doratugari** describes what a person does when the ants crawl on his body and hands: he rubs the ants off his limbs. **Otara Doratugari** is precisely what the dancers do. they dance towards each other, bend down to place their drums on the ground, and move backwards, rubbing their hands as if to knock ants off, then they go back to pick up the drums.

9. **Woiwa Tembari**. **Woiwa** are red parrots normally attracted to the sago and coconut when they flower. **Tembari**, "crossing," as two birds sometimes cross their legs and hop on the palms - so each dancer holds one leg up, which crosses his partner, and dances over, so swapping places.

10. **Gagi Dari**. **Gagi**, a type of pandanus propagated by hand, and whose fruit turns yellow when ripe. The fruit is picked and boiled before the hard core is cracked in a wooden bowl. After it is crushed, coconut milk is poured over it and the juice sucked and the waste thrown to the pigs. In the context of the drama, the actions follow what happens when a man or woman beats the **gagi**, he drives the nuts from one end of the wooden bowl towards the other. Thus the head pair "push" the rest backwards, and then the neck pair "chase" the head back, so the column moves to and fro.

11. **Woduwa** means "side." One of the "head pair" takes the lead to be followed by his partner, and the rest follow in single file, the leader then rejoins one of the "tail pair," thus forming a circle. They move at random towards the centre, beating their drums to announce the source of the **ario**.

12. The last sequence is called *Tugata*, a standard form of address delivered at the end of every ballet. From the centre, one dancer leads in a song which tells the public the source of the story forming the basis of the performance; as the song fades away, the dancers disperse, and the *ario* ballet is over.

There are more actions in each sequence by each pair than I presented here. However, *ario* has two parts: the plot of each dance-drama is based on a legend or real-life experience observed and choreographed into a standard abstract art form; the theme is transmitted through the re-enactment, giving a concentrated impression. Secondly, there is the standard set of artistic expression which derive from nature: movements of birds, insects, and animals are observed, and the Binandere abstract those concrete actions. The dancers express them through the art of the drama.

Artistic Art Forms in Songs

Another type of Binandere art form is the technique of the creation of these artistic skills, the forms by which they are retained, and the manner in which they are transmitted from one generation to another (Waiko 1982, 1986, 1990, 1991).

This section concentrates on the terms, structure, and analysis of the musical art form of one type of oral tradition. The *ji tari*, "a primary art form," starts with an individual person expressing his emotion in poetic song.

Death, for instance, brings relatives together to mourn for the loss of the loved one. The relatives cry over the corpse while other adults, especially the gifted poets, listen attentively and mentally record the *ji tari* of the individuals. Later, these oral artists or poets recall the exact words of *ji tari* and turn this primary, original cry or chant into two other kinds of art forms. If the *ji tari* has metre and rhythm, the listener adjusts it to *guru* group chorus, whose structure reveals three features: images, metre, and repetition. Each has a unique role - for evocation, repeating patterns of syllables, and recurring themes. Secondly, if the *ji tari* does not contain repeating patterns of syllables, it is adapted into a form called *yovero*, which is sung by an individual when he performs a manual task, such as cutting down a tree to make a garden.

The *ji tari* is converted into *guru*, usually by a gifted poet and singer. A man or a woman takes the intensely felt emotion of a particular moment and makes it into art. Warari, a gifted poet, dancer, and singer, explains in this way:

In my mind there is a standard abstract art which sorts out the different art forms between the *ji tari* with the three characteristics and that without them. As you listen to the cry, the mental pitch does all the work, and the vocal cord just sings according to that abstract art form: either *guru* or *yovero* (personal communication, 1979).

The art form is changed from *ji tari* into *guru*, a new formal structure that has verses and stanzas. This structure is standardised in such a fashion that facilitates memorising and reciting on public occasions. Thus the gifted artist converts the *ji tari* into *guru*, whose form assists others to repeat those songs.

The *ya jiwari* involves singing songs derived from *ji tari* to the rhythm of drum beats. Rules that govern the adaptation between *ji tari* and *guru* have strict social sanction of remembering the members of a clam from senior to junior because *guru* demands accuracy. Secondly, *ya jiwari* requires the control of metre, image, association, cue, and most important of all, the repetition of the *jiwari* or unison in chorus in songs. The third convention is the strict order of sequence in which the *guru* is sung among men in a public gathering.

There is the first *kumbari*, or presenter, termed *maemo*, "cue," by the male lead, which may be equivalent to the presenter in Western music. This is immediately followed by the second *kumbari*, often called the *be*, or "real." The man who follows the *maemo* must take his cue from his presenter, so the items in both *kumbari* match or come from related categories of animals and plants. Fourth, the *jiwari*, or the rest of the men in the group, must repeat the *be*, or the chorus, when they join in the singing.

Often the *guru* is sung at public gatherings, such as feasts in honour of the dead. On such occasions, the young men beat the drums to the appropriate pitch of the *guru*, and blow the conch that synchronises the drumming. The sophisticated nature and the allusions contained in the vernacular terms makes this type of oral art almost impenetrable to the outsider. This is why some examples will illustrate the complexity of the composition of the songs.

I have translated a song entitled "Waewo E'nano Teure" elsewhere (Waiko 1982). In one verse, the following appears: First *kumbari*: *kendere ano teure* Second *kumbari*: *pugeo ano teure* *Jiwari*: *pugeo ano teure*.

According to the three sequential rules described above, when the first *kumbari* sings *kendere*, a yellowish colour taken by a leaf just before it falls to the ground, the second *kumbari* follows immediately with *pugeo*, the grey brownish tint of a leaf after it has fallen and just before it turns to soil. And the *jiwari*, or chorus, repeats the second *kumbari* according to the rules. There are less than 20 stanzas in the "Waewo E'nano Teure", all of which are sung in order to complete one *ya be*. A *ya be* formal *guru* must be performed twice before another *guru* starts. The repeat is followed by *kewoia*, a kind of buffer or a break that give an opportunity for the other men to recall more *guru*. *Kewoia* is again sung twice before another *ya be* is taken, and this kind of singing goes on all night.

In another example I have translated "Yavita Mamo Erae" ("Yavita's Father Motionless"), which has this stanza: First *kumbari*: *raga da rare, erae*, Second *kumbari*: *dude da rare, erae*. *Jiwari*: *dude da rare, erae*.

My grandmother, Dauda, expressed in her cry how she saw her husband passing from life to death. She sat beside the bed feeling the pulse of the blood throbbing in his body before it stopped. His passage to death was like a canoe going towards a muddy bank from clear water into *raga* muddy silt. Then the canoe reached *dude* sticky mud, and it stopped, it was stuck. The *jiwari* is *erae*, "motionless," which is death itself. Dauda's position is that of a person on the canoe when it is stranded; she sees herself as the punter of the canoe in another stanza: First *kumbari: Bogo piena, erae*, Second *kumbari: Demo plena, erae* *Jiwari: Demo plena, erae*.

As soon as she realised the danger point, she used the poles to steer and punt away in order to change the direction of the canoe, but it was impossible, the canoe was *erae* (remained still). Or, when she realised the moment of death was close, Dauda desperately tried to persuade her husband to stay alive for a few moments longer but it was futile, as dying was inevitable.

Conclusion

"Etic" and "emic" are descriptive terms employed by social scientists who study societies other than their own. In this article, Binandere music has provided an emic viewpoint which has been deciphered by a Binandere. The analysis shows that many *ji tari* and *guru* are creative as well as conforming relationship with the natural surroundings. The Binandere art forms that convey music highlight the difficulties that one encounters in the etic viewpoint in the analysis of the methods used to decode Western music.

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Discussion

John Waiko: Just before you fire me with questions, some of you may have seen a film that was released in 1990 called *Man Without Pigs*. If you've seen that film, you could actually see the drama, the *ario* that I tried to describe in this paper. It also gives some indication of the sequences, which are very complex, that I also tried to highlight in the paper. If you have the opportunity later on to see the film, it might put in context the paper I presented this afternoon.

Robert Reigle: You talked about the repetition of syllables, and the importance of that. Two questions: first, are these syllables with no semantic meaning; and if so, could you comment on the meaning that is some other kind, other than semantic?

JW: We really have to go into the language. Let me give you a bit of background of myself, then come back to that question. Learning of one's language is one, if not the only, way of having access into the past or the receding generation, or the receding tradition. I found that some of the terms and some of the concepts used by the Binanderes are not learnt by the younger generation. Because, once you try to translate these concepts and these terms, the meaning invariably remains with the language itself. So that when you're trying to translate, you only translate the artificialities, if you like; it doesn't make sense, in the literal sense.

I nearly had a hard time when I proposed to do a Ph.D. thesis in my mother tongue, and then translate it into English. The thesis that Robert referred to while introducing my talk, is actually an attempt to delve into that complex area. I found that some of these semantic meanings are very, very difficult because these meanings belong to the older generation, the members of the bygone generations, and are no longer being used by either the immediately preceding generation, or picked up by the younger generations. So I found it very, very difficult to get the elders to explain to me what are some of these meanings, particularly if you are dealing with philosophical issues, underpinnings, and insights. What I've done really is to try and write in the vernacular, and then try to translate word for word these poems, or these songs, and then try to juggle with the concepts, and try to translate them to English for others to appreciate the complexity of these terms.

RR: Does that mean that many of these songs, at one time were known by the performers but now most people wouldn't know how to translate them?

JW: That's right. I didn't have time to go into my paper, but if you look at what I wrote about the Binandere people [1991], basically what has happened is this. When people cry, both men and women cry about anything that moves them, either the arrival of their sons and daughters from school, or at their departure, when they leave to go back to the town, or when people die - each person cries, and in that cry, that person actually describes vividly about that person's own emotions concerning that departure, or arrival.

But in terms of death, I found that when people cry, they actually describe the life history of the deceased in a very brief manner. In that cry they indicate whether that person was a hunter, lover, magician, or whatever. Somebody mentally records the cry, and waits until all the emotions and all the ceremonies die out, and that cry has been adjusted, as I was trying to indicate in the paper. When they adjust it, it comes out in two forms: one that can be put in a form to be repeated when people beat the drums, blow the conch shells, and dance; or, if that particular cry has no rhythm it is put in a form that is sung by an individual as a solo when you actually

carry out some physical labour.

But, coming back to your question, I find that guitar had been introduced among the Binandere in 1956, now that makes me one of the youngest people in this seminar room [laughter]. That was the first time ukulele, playing guitar had been introduced, by an evangelist from outside the Binandere. I find it extremely interesting that the method used by the Binanderes to sing about their own songs, and how they adjust that in the meter and the rhythm of their cry, and the change from that into singing of the similar chants in a different tune with the guitar, which is very interesting in terms of the change from the old to the new instrument. The change is really drastic, so that if you go to Oro province, and go to the Binanderes, if they hold a really big feast that involves the killing of many pigs, you'll find that the real dance-drama, with people who know the drama, people who know the songs, they are the ones who actually encourage the youngsters to learn the art. After the actual, formal feasting is over, people invite the youngsters to put on the modern style of guitar music.

I find it very interesting because the younger generation are not crying any more. The characteristic pieces that I described in my paper are not being cried, if you like, by the younger generation. In other words, we have not kept the art of the cry. This means that the kind of songs that are derived from songs are going to fade away. It basically stems from the fact that the more you cry, the more of your songs have been adjusted to singing in the *guru* with the drums. The more you don't cry, that means that you're only going to repeat the cries that have been presented to us by the previous generations. Ultimately, in the year 2000, we may either lose the meaning of the concepts of the terms, and just repeat for its own sake, or we might opt out for the ukuleles and the guitars, which is of course happening. I think that would take dominance.

Stella Inimgba: I want to commend your paper, the way you distinctively distinguished sequence from scenes. But my question is this: you described 12 sequences and you compared the dance with that of ballet. Are those sequences made up of movements or are they single movements in a sequence? If so, are they presented sequentially or are they all put on stage, on the arena, at the same time, and each one emphasised in turn?

JW: Let me say first of all that I hope that I did not give the impression that I was comparing Binandere *ario* with that of the Western ballet. I was actually trying to find the closest definition of the *ario* to try and present the paper. I was especially not trying to compare the performance of a ballet in the Western sense and the *ario*. Having said that, however, let me again refer to a personal experience. In 1969 I wrote a play, *The Unexpected Hawk*, in my language, based on the Binandere *ario* and the drama. It's the only play I've ever written, because I have become an extinct playwright and extinct writer since then. I produced it on stage here at the University in 1970. I found it extremely difficult to present it on stylised Western stage. This goes back to the question of the sequence of movements. There are set sequences of movements, some of which I tried to describe in the paper. Each one has a sequence in its own right, so that when you complete all those series of sequences, then the entire performance is over. Once you declare to the public the source of the theme on which you based that *ario*, then the performance has come to a formal end.

In the actual rehearsal stage (which is of course, away from the village, and taboo from women), the elders have in their minds a very, very sophisticated, ab-

stracted art form. They really make sure that the young dancers learn the art of the dance. They are there making sure that the youngsters are dancing according to that sequence, according to the rhythm. Indeed, this is a very sophisticated choreography.

I'll give you an example. In the traditional sense, the *ario* that was performed was in 1929. I actually, against all the advice, tried to make that dance be performed in 1983, which came out in the film *Man Without Pigs*. It was done, mainly because I wanted to record it. The old people have gone now. The younger people can look at this standard of the *ario* dance. Nowadays, those of the younger generation, who are into rock'n'roll and into guitar and so on, when they come in to perform the *ario* dance, the elders actually take up sticks and they go around beating them on the legs and say, "Look, this is not *ario*, this is a guitar. This is this, this is that." At least you have a very sophisticated set of standards.

The elders make sure you perform according to that standard, and nothing else. So before the performance is allowed to be brought to the public, the elders make absolutely certain that the youngsters actually learnt the art of that dance.

SI: What you have talked about today, I saw some of that, like the welcome dance, which they presented and they titled it "Oro Oro Oro". It's a combination of drama movements. I was able to identify these things you were talking about. I was able to identify [?], but they were all on stage, and each sequence is busy doing its own, just like that, and it was beautiful.

JW: Which village?

Student #1: Wagadari.

JW: Wagadari, on the Gira River?

SI: Yes.

JW: When was that?

SI: That was two weeks ago. It was so beautiful that the observer had the task to make sure that you identify each one of them and actually find out what they are doing. From my own point of view, each of them could actually be developed in an artistic way to stand on its own. But they are putting everything on stage at the same time. I think it is tremendous and special.

JW: There are different kinds of dances and different kinds of songs. We've got to distinguish the *ario* dance from others. The welcome dance is slightly different in the sense that *ario* involves the killing of many pigs, a bit of ritual, fasting if you like. Did they use a big drum or the small drum? Because the *ario* specialises in the small drum. So they are slightly different...

SI: Yes, probably, because it was quite elaborate. Pigs were killed.

JW: How many pigs?

SI: About, three.

Clement Gima: The songs that you talk about, they come from women or people crying, based on that. Do you use the songs to celebrate some kind of set occasion when they're performed?

JW: Yes. Among the Binandere, which I have been recording since 1968, I think there are roughly about 2,000 extant cries. These cries, when the feast is held, roughly about 1,000 of these are repeated in one feast.

The other kind of song that is sung individually, basically sung at random, people just sing over it, maybe when they're having a wash in the river, or when they're cutting trees, or maybe when they're walking from one village to the other.

The actual chants, the actual cries, I didn't go into detail. There are particular sequences that are followed all through during the night. One of the rules is that you're not allowed to repeat the same cry over one night for three times. That's the rule. You're not allowed to repeat because if you repeat, you end up making up jokes, and then say that you are ignorant, or pass over it with numerous jokes. But you are not allowed to repeat that particular cry when you are putting on a performance in the night, you're not allowed to repeat three times. If you can repeat two times, that's excusable, over the same night.

Let's say that you are holding a feast for two weeks. Imagine how many of these cries are being sung with the drum beat, over these 14 days, in a village. I didn't have time to go into it, but each cry can be traced through your own genealogy, through your own clan. There are rights related to these cries. When you are dancing, when you are repeating on public occasions, on the feasts, and so on, you are required to follow as much as possible how the original chanter has cried over the dead body. For instance, when the clan members are mentioned from the most senior to the most junior, when you repeat it over the next generation, you must keep that, because in a way it helps you to memorise also the members of a family, the members of a clan. Among the Binandere, we have a depth of say, you're lucky if you go beyond six, but the most, I think, have got 10. When I look at my own group of people, I try to identify the chants and then go down to who cried what, when, and how. That's what I tried to do in the thesis. As I said, the older generation continue to sing in that characteristic style, but the younger generation have not picked it up. If you see that film, actually it begins with my own attempt to try and sing one of these cries that I've indicated in the paper.

RR: I'm interested in the process of composition. Could you comment on how songs are composed and what the source of inspiration is?

JW: I'm not interested in composing a song myself. My interest really is to try and look at the way in which a cry has been composed, and why and how. When I try to look at the modern, if you like - the way in which the youngsters compose their guitar songs - I'm more interested in a cry of an individual person, be it male or female, over, let's say, somebody died here at Port Moresby and the body was sent over to Popondetta, and the mother or father cried. How the youngsters have listened to that cry, and how they also tried to put it into the guitar music, and thus adjusting from the traditional into the modern. This is an important change which requires further research.

I had a side interest in the notation of music, which I find interesting, but I never had time to go into. If you are interested in finding a bit more of the drama and the songs that I've indicated in the paper, I suggest that you read F.E. Williams who, in the 1920s, did carry out very extensive anthropological studies, not right at the Binandere but among the neighbouring Aega; he actually did make inroads into the Binandere drama. He describes absolutely vividly the *ario* sequence that I tried to indicate. As I said, as an outsider he was just trying to describe what was displayed before him, in the sense that he couldn't be able to penetrate into the meanings of the philosophical, or if you like, the traditional concept behind the meanings with these terms.

SI: You talked about the choreographer. Is the choreographer an individual or a group of people? If he is an individual, how does he create his movement, and in the process of creating movement for the community, is he allowed to influence

the movement by his own artistic emotions, or is he going to create according to the culturally acceptable standard?

JW: There is a standard set, if you like, of how much leg, for instance, you're going to raise in performing a particular *ario*. For instance, if your theme is to put on a drama based on how the bird of paradise dances on the grounds of the trees. I call it *ario*, but there are different variations. Some groups have of course their way of presenting an *ario*. It's difficult, but what I call the "neck," the "first pair" after the "head", when you come out of the bush. In some cases, the "neck pair", sometimes they dance like a hornbill, hop, but others don't, others stand, although they beat the similar kind of tapping of the drum rhythm.

Student #2: I'd like to ask you a question about the interference of modern music into traditional music, or traditional culture, where you come from. When it interferes, did it stop the evolution of culture? When you mentioned the year 2000 I took it this way: You said that because modern music came and interfered with the evolution of your culture and your music, it put a stop to your culture. So in the year 2000 you still have that type of music, it didn't evolve; another type of music came in. You say that it's probably a better way of preserving it. It will still live, the original way of dancing there. Sorry.

JW: No, no, don't apologise, you're raising a fundamental question. There is a cultural change that is taking place throughout Papua New Guinea. Some of you may have gone to the Port Moresby Show. When the show started, you could see the leaves of certain plants that had been used for decorations, or you could see some of the birds whose feathers were used for decorations.

The change is this. You have seen, let's say, the grass skirts. Most of the grass skirts are made out of sago leaves. Nowadays, you have the rice bags, am I right? You've seen the rice bags? You've seen the tinned fish, that really nice tinned fish with the fish on it, red, nice colour, you've seen people incorporating that into the whole modern art. Of course, you've seen the [*bilas*] paintings. If you look at the paintings closely, some of those things were actually mixed, I mean some of the modern paint, and they just put that on. That is a real change, you can't deny that it isn't change. In other words, the authentic, genuine materials with which people performed traditional dancing in the previous generation is no longer here.

In fact, if you look at the performance and the audience in the show ground, all of us came from different parts of Papua New Guinea. The Tufi people from Oro Province and the song they sang was not meaningful to any of us from outside that area, and yet you could see their emotions, with vibrancy, they could dance, they could drum the drumbeat, and they interact with their audience. People say, "Oh, it's *samting bilong Tufi* or *samting bilong Hagen*." You know the beautiful Hulis from the Southern Highlands Province. You see them holding hands and really beating the drum and dancing with the whole of their heart and soul and body. The younger generation have not picked that up. That means that when you go back and analyse the songs, the songs are only meaningful to those people who are singing. Or if not, they actually learned that song from the previous generation, but it is no longer meaningful to those who are singing now.

Let's reverse the scene. If you have a mother or father like me, and all of us have, you go back and sing in English or in pidgin a song that you have created in Port Moresby, and try to explain what the meaning of this song is to your mother and father, then you feel the difference. It's really very difficult to communicate,

because the context in which you have created the meaning is beyond your father's and mother's consciousness at that village level. They couldn't understand.

Coming back to your question, there is a change. When you talk about evolution, our society is structured in such a way that we did not have kings and queens at the top and ordinary folks at the bottom. We are more or less, if you like, egalitarian. Unless you talk about the Mekeos or the chiefs of the Trobriand Islands. Our society is such that when you talk about songs, there's no one person who is expert in knowing all the songs, so that you go around to him or her to get that knowledge. In other words, the knowledge is more or less across the clan. Of course, there is special knowledge that is passed expressly down to a particular person in the clan, like magic or sorcery, or whatever, which is specially preserved and kept for a particular person.

There are two points I want to make in response to your question. One is that you and I have not only got the responsibility, but moral obligation to blend the two. We must, because we have some idea about our traditional songs and music, our language, and so on, and we have some fair idea of the impact that is being put on us. I think we need to really try and do something about it before the cultures change or die.

The second thing is this: we in this country - I'm talking about all of us, including the government, the missionaries, everybody - we talk about the development. We talk about the oil in the Southern Highlands. We talk about the gold in Lihir in New Ireland Province. We talk about gold in Ok Tedi. We talk about oil palm in Oro. Development, development, development. Are we doing anything about these so important pieces of culture that build the nerve structure of our identity? Are we?

Audience: No.

JW: This is precisely the point. We may have the money, and we will have the money, given the way our natural resources are exploited. But once we have that money, when we stoop into our own cultures, we realise, before very long, that our soul is not there. Development, of course we have to go with, change we have to accept, but at the same time we must have some feel for our people. Every day those people who knew about that song, those people who knew about that medicine, those people who knew something about the past, are dying. Their memories and their knowledge is buried beyond recovery. This is why your faculty at this University has a moral obligation to put, in no ambiguous terms, to those of us in power, to make sure that in terms of allocation of resources, particularly money and other things, I think we should take culture into account.

PART FOUR: NEWER TRADITIONS

SONGS OF THE MAU

RICHARD MOYLE

I recently saw a cartoon in which a university professor was scolding his wife for spending so much time on the telephone at home. "All you do is gossip!" he cried, to which his wife sweetly replied, "It's not gossip — it's oral history!" Among the people most interested in what happens today will surely be the historians of tomorrow and, like gossip, today's songs will become tomorrow's oral history.

The several forms of oral tradition in Polynesia have received widespread recognition within the academic literature. Studies of local histories, folklore, genealogies, songs and chants, and more recently oratory and drama, have combined to produce an overall picture both rich in its scope and availability and also somewhat bewildering in its complexity and apparent contradictions. And nowhere are these qualities more evident than in Samoa. The imprint of local politics, of the desire for personal advancement and an overarching spirit of competitiveness are found in virtually every activity. Even the meanings of individual words are not exempt. In the preface to his 1966 *Samoa Dictionary*, George Milner noted:

It is rare for information to be given, even from a reputedly sound and authentic source, without its being soon contradicted from another equally reputable and reliable source. This applies not only to such things as the origin and meaning of proverbs, where the legendary and indeed the secret elements has led to the development of different versions and multiple interpretations. It also applies to apparently non-controversial matters, such as the meaning of ordinary words and details of pronunciation (1966:xii-xiii).

As one category of orally transmitted information, songs are not entirely exempt from manipulation for personal ends. There is, indeed, a whole subset of secular songs which, for example, women will sing informally while they weave mats and basketware. One singer will change a word or even a whole line of a well-known song so that it becomes humorous nonsense or obscene or libellous.

But there are other categories of songs which are less well-known — at least on a national level — songs which are either composed in advance of an important local event, or are composed *after* a specific occasion by way of commemoration. Such songs may be rehearsed for several weeks by large groups of people, but have only one public performance. And, given the possibility of other subsequent major events also requiring a special song, individual specimens may be remembered for only a relatively short time.

There are, however, some exceptions, such as memorial songs for dead and much-loved family members, where the singers have a close personal association with the subject matter of the song. And, similarly, groups of people larger than individual families — perhaps representing an entire village or a confederation of villages — tend to remember well the items of oral tradition which place themselves in a favourable political light, such as a Lands and Titles Court decision in their favour (or, last century, victory in battle).

My research in Samoa lasted two and half years between 1966 and 1969, and included recordings made in more than 50 villages. I also copied out song texts from collections which had been written in school exercise books and kept locked up in wooden or metal trunks, which were then an item of furniture in most Samoan houses. And the radio stations in both American and Western Samoa were cooperative in supplying copies of songs from their own libraries. And from these sources it was possible to estimate how widely particular types of songs were known, and to discover how long individual songs were remembered.

The results of this survey identified as the oldest songs a small group known over one or more districts of Western Samoa, and relating to a related series of events occurring in Western Samoa between 1914 and 1929, that is, occurring in the lifetime of people then in the 50s or older. It is these events and these songs which form the focus of this paper. In particular, the songs relate to a period of local opposition to the manner in which Western Samoa was administered by New Zealand officials. In one of their history's rare occasions when most of the population united against a foreign power, the movement known as the Mau was born.

Adopting a distinct dress colour — purple and white — creating an appealing motto — *Samoa mo Samoa* (Samoa for Samoans) — and declaring a policy of peaceful non-cooperation and civil disobedience, the Mau sowed the seeds of independent thought and policy which were eventually to bear fruit in 1962 with the granting of Independence (Davidson 1967: 118-46; Meleisea 1987: 132-38).

The events of the Mau movement have received much publicity, both at the time and more recently with the creation of the play *Think of a Garden* by the late John Kneubuhl, which premiered in New Zealand earlier this year. The several published histories of Western Samoa all in-

elude references to the movement, whose chief historical importance was that it generated a nationwide desire for self-government and an end to colonial domination, a groundswell of popular opinion which culminated in the granting of independence to the country in 1962. The Mau has been the subject of a book by Michael Field, in which are plotted in detail the sorry series of administrative blunders, cultural insensitivities and colonial arrogance of a series of New Zealand Administrators. These can be summarised as follows:

- 1914** New Zealand assumed administrative control of Western Samoa
- 1918** Spanish influenza epidemic reached Samoa: 22% of population died, after NZ Administrator refused overseas offers of medical help
- 1926** Mau movement began
- 1927** Two Mau leaders exiled to NZ for five years for opposing regulations
- 1928** Contingent of 74 marines and military police landed; additional restrictive laws passed
- 1929** Tupua Tasmasese Lealofi III killed
- 1930** Mau declared a seditious organisation
- 1936** Declaration of sedition revoked

Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III was a high chief, and the first leader of the Mau. His son went on to inherit his father's titles and to become Prime Minister of an Independent Western Samoa.

Two kinds of songs were associated with the Mau. The first were sung in public, often within hearing of New Zealand officials, and contained brave statements of defiance and insult. In 1928 the Administrator wrote to New Zealand that a group of Mau from the island of Savai'i had marched through the streets of the capital, Apia, singing what he called "defiant and obscene songs" (Field 1984:110). The Administrator said that he had identified the responsible chiefs and had ordered them to appear before a parliamentary committee to explain themselves, but, predictably, they had refused. Later in 1928, some 300 Mau supporters, again from Savai'i, were reported to have arrived in Apia singing anti-Government songs and making threatening speeches (Field p. 122). Field offers only a translation in English of one song:

**Samoa! Samoa! the military police are coming
The military police are coming to have a war with us,
We are frightened, we are frightened,
O Samoa, O Samoa! (Field p. 123).**

I myself recorded another song:

Muliaga e, sola'i lalo O Muliaga, flee
Pisa pea o le Malo. The Administration continues merely to agitate.

Songs with this structure — one or two couplets — are typical of Samoan songs sung to accompany physical movement, e.g., paddling, hauling a canoe, or moving in procession to battle. And Field's book lists several other occasions when provocative songs of this nature sufficiently disturbed the Administrator that he noted them in his official communications with the Government in New Zealand.

But what Field does not note, and presumably what the Administrator also did not know, was that Samoans in one part of Savai'i were invoking supernatural forces against the New Zealand occupying force. Arguably the most feared spirit in traditional Samoan belief is — and I use the present tense advisedly — Nifoloo, the so-called Long-Tooth demon. When invoked by the people of Falelima village in a short but powerful song, Nifoloo will come and attack his victim, either by inserting a lethal tooth-like object inside their body or by causing a natural calamity, e.g., by causing a coconut palm to fall on them. When, in 1928, one of the Mau leaders was deported, the Falelima people expressed their opposition in the most potent form available to them: they invoked Nifoloo's power in a revised version of their song:

Nifoloo e	O Nifoloo
Fa'atu lou i'u	Raise your tail [i.e., prepare to attack]
Nifoloo, le fili o aitu	Nifoloo, the enemy of spirits
O le ali'i fa'asaua	You, who are a tyrant,
le e talia mai lo'u puapuaga.	Help me in my distress.
'Ia 'e alofa	Take pity
'Ia Samoa	On Samoa
I lenei fa'apologa	In this time of bondage
'Ia 'ave uma si ou nifo	Take all of your teeth
'i papalagi mai Niu Sila	to the Europeans from New Zealand
'Ave ai ma le Kovana	Take some to the Administrator
Ma le matua fa'asoosa.	And really annoy them.

As far as I am aware, this is the only occasion on which this curse has been directed against non-Samoans.

Quite distinct from these "scene of the action" songs, there exists another category of Samoan song concerning the Mau. On the evidence of their texts, these longer, more reflective compositions were composed after particular events in the history of the Mau. Their duration and polyphonic construction suggest that they required extensive rehearsal and that they were intended to be sung seated, at a formal occasion, most likely a gathering of pro-Mau villages.

This song was frequently broadcast in Western Samoa in the 1960s, and was put on to a 7-inch disc in the 1970s. Why all this popularity? I think there are two factors, one historical and the other cultural.

Historically, the song commemorates the shooting of Tupua Tamasese Lealofi III by New Zealand soldiers. Tamasese held one of the highest titles in all of Samoa, and so commanded enormous respect, not just from his own village, but from whole districts. And his already high standing was inadvertently increased firstly when he suffered a series of insults by the Administration, including banishment from his home village and temporary removal of his title, and secondly when he declared himself among the Mau supporters and later became their leader. The death of such a public figure, one who personified the political aspirations of much of the country, was an event of truly great national importance, and eminently worthy of commemoration in song. Indeed, in death he became a martyr, an almost automatic point of focus and a most valuable single asset for any political movement. And it's one of Samoan history's imponderables whether the Mau movement would have achieved its eventual success had Tamasese not died.

The second reason for the song's durability is closely linked to the first. As with all Samoan vocal music, audience attention focuses primarily on the text, the sung poetry. Poetry is but one form of elevated speech and will normally be distinguished from spoken speech by the use of assonance: the repetition of the last two vowels in each line regardless of any consonants occurring between them. This song contains such assonance, but it goes one step further and in its structure comes close to that of a speech. And, just as a speech can be analysed and broken down into distinct, named sections each with its own format and style, so too this song draws on elements and features commonly found in Samoan oratory. A feature of formal speech events throughout Polynesia is the fondness for an utterance — let's call it a sentence — to be divided into two halves of contrasting content, and in Samoa this device is seen most clearly in proverbial sayings. The reference in verse 10 to the chicken enclosed in a food-bowl but still able to chirp is one such example, but there are several other lines and even whole verses in this song which draw their impact from sudden contrasts — between the old and the contemporary, between Samoan and New Zealand actions, between indirect and the direct forms of reference, between peaceful intentions and violent repercussions. The poet has made this one feature — contrast — the primary literary device for attracting and sustaining audience attention.

1.

'O le aso lua fulu valu o Tesema

The 25th of December

'O le aso fa'anoanoa i le Mau a Samoa. Was a sad day for the Samoan Mau.

Sa solo ma le fiafia
 I le taulaga e i Apia
 Fia feiloa'i fo'i ma le malaga
 A Simaika ma Lilomaiaava.

In high spirits they had processed
 Into the port at Apia
 Wanting also to greet the travel-party
 Of Smyth and Lilomaiaava.

'O le aso nei 'ua tutu mai ai
 'O uso e fa fa'amaoni
 I le su'ega o lo tatou tofi
 'O lalelei tofa i malae
 I Vaitagutu ma Lepea e
 'O le Samoa mo Samoa e.

On this day they stood
 Four trustworthy brothers indeed
 In the search for our privileges
 Everyone is aware of what is happening
 At Vaitagutu and Lepea
 "Samoa for Samoans"

4.
 Oi paga
 Oi, se mea a faigata
 'Ua peia le taualuga o Manu'a
 Se'i fai ni 'ai o Malietoa Mata'afa.

Oh, alas
 Oh, what a calamity
 The roof of Manu'a is pierced
 Let's count the points of Malietoa and
 Mata'afa.

5.
 'Ina tafa'ifa Salamasina —
 'O le Gatoaitete ma le Tamasoali'i
 'O le Tui'a'ana ma le Tuiatua
 'Ua soso'o le toto o 'Aigaelua

Salamasina was installed as supreme ruler
 —[incorporating the titles of]
 Gatoaitete and Tamasoali'i,
 Tui'a'ana and Tuiatua.
 The blood of the Two Families was thus
 linked
 The descendants of Malietoa and Tupua
 Which had been cared for by Pule and
 Tumua.

'6.
 Ua gasolo ao, 'ua ta'ape papa
 'Ua to 'o le timu, gau 'o le sa'a
 'Ua tafea le tau'ofe, gasetoto le la
 'Ua gase 'ele'ele ma le masina
 Talofa Samoa i le aso pogisa
 E tu'u pea i luga ta puapuaga
 Talosia Ta'isi 'o lela le o lagia.

The clouds gather, the paramount titles are
 scattered
 Rain falls, the container is broken
 The boat drifts away, the sun is eclipsed
 The land and the moon are numbed
 Alas for Samoa in the day of darkness
 Our calamity is constantly above us
 Let us hope and pray that Ta'isi will not
 meet with misfortune.

E, sa fono ma filifili
 Ma su'esu'e se togafiti
 'Ia lavea le aloali'i
 E ta'ape ai le Komiti

Oh, they meet and made their choice
 And sought some subterfuge
 To injure the high chief,
 And disband the Committee

'Ua lalago ai fana ta'avili
Talofa i le Mau 'ua o'o 'i loimata
Tali i lima pulu a fana

'O le sau o le Kovana
Fa'afeagaiga 'o malo o malamalama.
E.

They had their machine guns steadied
Alas for the Mau, now at the point of tears
They received with their hands the rifle
bullets
The Governor's cruelty
In the face of civilised governments
Eh.

8.
'Ua papa fana
O le Malo ma le Kovana

'Ua fola i le ala
Sui o nofoaga
'O le toto 'ua masa'a
Tamasese 'ua alaga
E leai se peau e laga
'Ae te'i 'ua fana
'Ua masoe i le ala
Le alofi o 'A'ana.

The guns fired —
[Those of] the Government and the
Governor
In the road were strewn
The representatives of settlements
Blood was spilt
Tamasese called in a loud voice
While all was calm
But then suddenly he was shot
Wounded in the road
In the assembly of 'A'ana.

9.
Ona ou tagi ai ma le fa'anoanoa
'Ua ala 'aisea le tutu noa?
E ui ina ufiufi i le tanoa

'Ae 'io'io le tama'i moa
Talofa i le toto, Apelu le tagi
E lelei lava pe 'afai 'o papalagi
Europeans
Ina ne'i su'esu'e fo'i aliali
'O Kaina lava fo'i 'ua na fasi.

Then I wept in sorrow
Why did they just stand there innocently?
"But, despite being enclosed in the food-
bowl,
The young chicken still chirps"
Alas for the blood, it was Abel who wept
It would have been good had the
Investigated and showed that
It had been Cain himself who killed him.

10.
Se'i faitau maia pe fia
O le Komiti 'ua aulia
'O le sauaga na fai i Apia
'O suafa ia 'ua tusia

'Ua sau fo'i ma manuao
'Ua se'ia vao a le Mau
'O le pule fa'a-vaega'au
E to'alua 'ua ta fana o le Mau
Talofa i le tagi mai ala
'Ua malepe le fale o le agaga
'O le Kovana fo'i 'ua na fanafana

Please count for me how many
Of the Committee are present
After the cruelty perpetuated in Apia
Their names have indeed been
recorded.
And warships came
The Mau's foprests were uprooted
During military rule
And two of the Mau were shot..
Alas for the weeping on the road
The heart of the matter has been wrecked
The Governor also was shooting

Pei la 'o se Mau fo'i 'ua agasala. Just as if it had been a member of the
Mau who was at fault.

11.

Samoa e, se'i silasila maia	Oh Samoa, do look —
Po'o Tamasese 'ea e savalivali maina?	Is that Tamasese walking this way?
'O le aloali'i lea fa'amaoni	That loyal high chief
'Ua tu'umalo i le alofa 'i lona atunu'u moni	Who died out of love for his native country.

12.

Talofa i lana mavaega:	Alas for his farewell words:
Samoa, lo'u toto lena	"Samoa, there is my blood,
'O lo'u toto lava 'ia mama	Let my very blood cleanse
'Ia aoga mo Samoa.	And be useful for Samoa"

Verses 1 and 2 set the scene in everyday language, contextualising the major theme of song in terms of a familiar geographical landscape. Smyth is Alfred Smyth, a local trader who had been exiled for two years for his pro-Mau activities; the precise identity of Lilomaiava is unclear.

Verse 3 add further local references: referring to four prominent, but unnamed, Mau supporters (probably including Smyth and Lilomaiava). The New Zealand Administrator's early actions struck at the very heart of Samoan culture by removing the titles of opponents to his laws, and taking upon himself the wideranging powers which traditionally were the prerogative of family heads (*matai*). And then, in immediate contrast to this negative image, the poet juxtaposes a positive image of traditional Samoan authority, as embodied in the organisation, and indeed the origin, of the Mau. Literally, line 4 translates as "Like a beautiful woman asleep on the public arena" with connotations of a phenomenon incapable of being kept hidden. Lepe'a village, initially an Administration showpiece, became the focal point for anti-Administrative action, as also did Vaitagutu, resulting in the formation of the Mau. It was here also that the Mau motto, contained in the last line of the verse, was coined. Effectively, this verse adds the crucial element to the introduction of the main subject matter: the confrontation which the Mau movement embodied.

Verse 4 introduces a device common in oratory: drawing on the past — in this case, mythology — to present a parallel situation: here, great sorrow and loss. By means of this device, the death of Tamasese is elevated from a purely human level and assumes mythological significance. And the last line, a count of the adherants of the joint Malietoa-Mata'afa political faction, is a further, indirect reference to the loss suffered by Tamasese's death.

Verse 5 extends the historical link by stating the impeccable quality of Tamasese lineage, who was in direct line of descent from the first person

in Samoan history ever to hold all four paramount titles. In the last line, Pule are six villages on Savai'i island holding the traditional privilege of being able to speak for the whole island, and Tumua refers to two villages on 'Upolu island whose orators have the traditional right to speak first at any national gathering. This line means that Tamasese had enjoyed the support of both islands making up Western Samoa; effectively, all of Samoa was pro-Mau.

Verse 6 repeats the format of 3 and 4, setting the events of the day within the context of history and tradition. The verse begins with a recitation of phrases of grief, each one traditionally associated with the holder of a particular high title (Tu'i 1986: 188-9). These phrases are normally uttered in rituals associated with funerals. But this phrases also introduces a note of hope for the future when it mentions the name Taisi. Taisi was the Samoan title conferred upon Olaf Frederick Nelson, a successful part-Samoan trader, who campaigned tirelessly on behalf of the Mau, even to the point of bringing the case before the then League of Nations. Almost predictably, he was arrested, and exiled to New Zealand for 10 years, and was still there when this song was composed, but he continued to criticise the Administration and give wide publicity to the Mau cause, and many Samoans placed a lot of faith in him.

Verse 7 introduces the first direct accusation of responsibility for the killing, but in typical Samoan manner it is only an introduction because it names no names. And this is done delicately, using only the higher voices in the choir singing quietly. Having set the scene, however, the second part of this verse — the last 4 lines — uses the full choir as it comes out and directly implicates Colonel Stephen Allen, the Administrator (here called the "Governor") in a way which is firm both in language and music. As a piece of poetry, this juxtaposition of traditional, nondirectional phrases with contemporary and highly directional material marks one of the major divisions of the song, analogous to the movement from one section of an orator's speech to the next.

Verse 8 continues the use of secular speech, and continues also the use of contrast, i.e., although innocent of any crime, Tamasese was shot without warning. Tenors and basses separate here in antiphonal style, so that each line — each statement — is repeated, giving greater impact to their content. This phenomenon has parallels outside the context of song: a common form of agreement in Samoan conversation is to repeat immediately a speaker's key word or phrase, and essentially that's what this poetic device does in this song. The device of dramatic contrast is again repeated here, juxtaposing the calmness of the gathering of Mau supporters with the sudden and unexpected attack by the soldiers. Line 7 is, in fact, a proverbial expression translating literally as "Not a single wave reared up".

Verse 9 introduces two devices common to secular songs. The first is the personalising of the sentiment by use of the first person singular pro-

noun "I". By using this device, the choir ceases to be a large, anonymous group of people and becomes a collective of individuals each stating his/her own personal feelings; in both a literal and figurative sense, they are "speaking as one", heightening audience impact. The second device here is the use of Biblical references, in particular to the first recorded murder, when Cain murdered his brother Abel then denied any knowledge of it. The reference in this song verse is to Genesis 4:10 — "the voice of your brother's blood cries out to me from the ground" — which precedes God's curse on Cain. That same curse, it is now strongly suggested, is directed at the Administrator who, according to the Genesis account, is cursed from the earth, and destined to be a fugitive and a vagabond. Colonel Allen is personally implicated as the man who carried out the killings. Additionally, from this time forth, Allen was, in biblical terms, a "marked man" whose credibility and authority thenceforth steadily declined in the face of a campaign of well-organised and widespread civil disobedience. Familiarity with the Bible has provided Samoans with two distinct types of resource material. The first, obviously, is the context of religious teaching and practice, and the second relates to secular speech-events such as oratory and song. In these secular contexts, the Bible provides additional reference material, to be incorporated either directly (as in the form of quotations) or indirectly (through passing mention, as in this present case). Both traditional mythology and the Bible contain a wealth of proverbial sayings, and details of a wide variety of public and private situations (see Duranti 1981:109-11), and it would probably be possible to argue the case that the arrival of Christianity did not provide any essentially new categories of oratorical repertoire, but merely extended existing categories, and for this reason Biblical references were quickly and easily incorporated into secular oratory.

Verse 10 combines further the personalised expressions of grief with an acknowledgement of the wider Mau movement, in particular, the central Committee responsible for national policy and organisation.

Verse 11 again juxtaposes the traditional and contemporary, combining formulaic expressions of grief with direct accusations of complicity and a final gesture of sarcasm.

In Verse 12, perhaps the most forceful statement of all is made, although this may not be apparent to a non-Samoan reader. And its forcefulness derives from its power to influence the future. The first two lines express disbelief that Tamasese was indeed dead, then immediately admit the reality of the situation. The last two lines refer to Tamasese's dying words. It's important to realise that Samoans attach great value and authority to a person's last requests. In a country where written wills are still a rarity, the contents of a deathbed pronouncement carry some almost legal weight, insofar as they are usually uttered in the presence of as many members of the extended family as possible. This song verse paraphrases

Tamasese's words as he lay dying and ironically represents perhaps the finest moment in the history of the Mau. He said (translated) "My blood has been spilt for Samoa. I am proud to give it. Do not dream of avenging it, as it was spilt in maintaining peace. If I die, peace must be maintained at any price" (Field 1984:157). Thus was set in motion the national campaign of civil disobedience and peaceful non-cooperation that was to continually confound, embarrass and frustrate the Administration. Achieving in death what he did not — and perhaps could not — do in his lifetime, Tamasese's martyrdom was the inspiration for a further five years of unrelenting pressure on New Zealand, who progressively acceded to Mau demands for consultation and a voice in the governing of their own country, and so prepared the way for eventual independence. The final lines of the song — the farewell — parallel the final statements in a speech. In the last section of a typical speech, an orator will identify by name the senior chiefs present and, using the language of metaphor, express the hope that each one will enjoy good health. A parallel construction appears in this song in the form of Tamasese's dying words, but here, Tamasese's words are addressed not just to those present by his bed, but to ah Samoa: his death was an event of national significance.

The musical content of this song is typical of secular songs of the period: a large 3- or 4-part male choir accompanied by one person beating on a mat.

This is only one of the handful of pro-Mau songs whose poetry has survived, but it contains the most detail of what was arguably the pivotal event of the whole resistance movement. It can hardly be said to be an independent preserver of history, because it contains obvious exaggerations, and overall presents a political view which was widely, but not universally, shared by the whole country. Nonetheless, it is a marker in the recent history of Western Samoa, encapsulating one perspective of events then very fresh in the minds of singers and audiences alike. Although there were some villages which did not support the Mau movement, history — at least among Samoans born after the event — has relegated them to oblivion. The reference in verse 5 that all of Samoa was pro-Mau amounts to a statement that whatever opposition existed, was of no significance. Certainly among younger Samoans today, particularly those educated in Samoa, the Mau tends to be viewed (1) as a completely national movement, and (2) not as a movement which lasted only a decade and then progressively dwindled in size and importance, but one which set in motion, one which represented in dramatic manner the first publicly stated desire for full political independence. Eventual independence is now seen as the direct, if rather distant, culmination of that desire.

The song externalises local politics in a way which was doubly memorable both because of its subject matter and because of its poetic format (which cannot be easily be changed, knowingly or otherwise). And, inso-

far as the sentiment it expresses could conceivably have provoked the arrest of the singers on grounds of sedition, had the Administration known of its content — and many arrests on such a charge were made — the song represents the art of speaking dangerously. But the overarching poetic impact derives from an ability integral to any song — the power to evoke. Allusions made in passing, indirect references, nondirectional accusations — all these require an audience which is listening actively, filling in the gaps, identifying the connections, understanding the parallels and perceiving the patterns. In this manner, singers and audience essentially become one, in an artistic sense, just as both groups were united in their political beliefs.

Although ethnomusicology is frequently concerned with broad issues such as identifying music systems and examining the repertoires of whole communities or of particular genres, it can also usefully have a smaller focus. And sometimes, just occasionally, a single song stands like a rock in the current, enduring changes in style and content elsewhere in the national repertoire, nurtured for its perceived symbolic value as much as for its musical content.

The Mau movement stimulated expressions of support on several artistic levels — from spontaneous songs of defiance and insult against the Administration, to invocations of supernatural intervention, to formal statements of grief, anger and solidarity. The fact that such songs were composed and sung is an indication of the depth of feeling and the gravity of impact engendered at that time. And the fact that such songs were remembered and could be sung 40 years later is testimony to the value of song as a medium for encapsulating and preserving social comment. Without exception, every Samoan in Auckland who heard this song requested a copy, including the Head of State after he attended John Kneubuhl's play in Auckland and heard the song playing in the background. And if there's a single supreme element of Samoan culture which is illustrated by this song, it is that people die but history lives.

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Discussion

Michael Webb: (question not recorded)

RM: It was recorded in the 1940's, by the then New Zealand Broadcasting Service. Beyond that, we don't know the identity of the particular lead singers, or the occasion, or the composer.

MW: Is it in the repertoire of [?]? That piece — would you hear it performed today?

RM: No, you'll hear recordings of this particular song still performed. I've lost count of the number of copies I have made from this recording, in response to Samoans in Auckland.

MW: Requests.

RM: Yes. It's well known, so people can sing along with it, but I don't know of anyone who, any contemporary group who has actually performed it.

MW: Now why, in what context would they play recordings, apart from something like this [?], say.

RM: In private homes.

MW: So it's like a history, in the history book, or something like that, is it?

RM: The most common comment made is, it sounds corny, "they don't write songs like that any more." It's the poetic content, as I mentioned in my paper. The single element which a Samoan audience will concentrate on and listen in particular for, in any song, is its poetic content, the song poetry. And it seems that this one has an outstandingly high quality of content, and it probably was composed by an orator, because of the use of speech-making devices, but beyond that we don't know who the composer is?

Audience: it seemed to be a male chorus. Were there just men singing in this?

RM: There are a couple of high voices there, some of you may have picked it. I can't tell the gender of those people, it's difficult. There may be women. If so, there's only one or two, or they may be younger male singers whose voices are naturally high.

A: I was wondering if there's a reason for that, if women are not allowed to sing because of the political nature of the song, or if there's something to do...

RM: It's interesting, we've got very good time depth information on Samoan song, dating from 1830, and it seems that in everything that I've read and discovered, there is no reference in the 19th century to any choir of women. There are some references to men and women singing together, there are many references to male choirs, and in fact, it was not until the early 1960's that all-women's choirs were formed. That was an organisation called [Komiti tu mama?] or village hy-

giene committees, and they for some unknown reason, were made up entirely of women. And they, to promote their own separate identity, formed choirs, and sang songs in promotion of the purity of drinking water and things like that. But before the 1960's, there's very little evidence at all of all-women choirs.

MW: I was curious about your concluding comment that said that people die but history lives, and it would seem to me that, if people are requesting copies of a piece like this, that the different contexts in which its being played, either at home or in public and so forth, communicates a different understanding of the time as, of the time in which it was written and actually performed than people would be understanding it now, surely, just because of the time removal.

RM: Yes. Originally it would have been performed to a pro-Mau audience, who knew all the events that were being described. Now it's taken on a different significance, the people who find it popular may not have been born when these events took place. The impact has widened — it's not a song about a particular event or a particular political movement; it's now a song that identifies national image. There've been only two events in Samoa's entire history, I think, where the entire country has united, or almost entire. The first was when it was invaded by Tonga, in the 15th century, and the second was when it, as it were, completely united again, to drive out a different perceived foe, this time the New Zealanders. So it's broadened its audience, it's broadened its impact, and it's now a matter of a more or less accepted national identity. If you call yourself a Samoan then you ought to know about the events of the Mau. I think that's where its continued appeal stems from.

Student: I just want to ask a question. Is most of the traditional music influenced by Western music?

RM: If you talk about music, music that is being composed and widely performed today as representing music of a new tradition, then yes. I have a definition of tradition which doesn't limit itself to the distant past. There are some song styles which seem to have little, if any, European features at all, in their music, and you can talk about them as belonging to the old tradition. But there are also songs which incorporate a lot of European elements, but which Samoans consider to be their own national style, and there seems to me no reason why you can't talk about them as representing tradition. Traditions have to start somewhere, don't they.

MW: I was just interested in the match between the expressive aspects of the music and the text, and how they were, what seemed to me mood shifts. You know, I don't know the systems, either the language or the music system, but there seem to be very powerful mood shifts. Not just in terms of metrical structure or whatever you want to call it, but also in intensity of the singing and even in vocal style, particularly, say, in verse eleven, where this sort of, almost plaintive high voice, with a sort of a vibrato, an accentuated vibrato. I was wondering if you could just spend a couple of minutes talking about the end relationship between performance style and the text. Is this a convention?

RM: The songs that were recorded at around this time, have a number of shared stylistic features, and, I think, there's nothing unique in this particular song. Starting with the broad ones, like an all-male choir; the use of three, sometimes four voice parts, where the upper ones tend to be fewer, and most of your singers are singing basses. Songs of this period also, are through-composed, usually every

verse uses new material, new musical material. And I think what makes this particular song outstanding, is the skill with which the composer has used these various devices and matched them, to the perceived mood of each verse.

MW: So, you'd be prepared to say that part of the power and durability of the song is as much musical as poetic, textual.

RM: I would think so, but then I can't prove it.

S: In the tape there, while listening to [?] the songs, they sound similar to the way Papuans are singing. The [basses?] sound, because like the way they sing, the sound of the song the same. Either fast or slow, like high voices and low voices, men's voices, and females voices.

RM: Well, Samoan missionaries were active, and I understand are still active, in PNG. And it's been noted that wherever "Samoan teachers", as they call them ("native teachers" in those days) went, they introduced, among other things, their own singing style and along some parts of north Australia, you can still find people singing in a style which is similar to Samoa. So perhaps what you're describing has a similar origin, I don't know.

CHANGES IN MUSIC ON UNEA ISLAND

CLEMENT GIMA

In this paper I will be talking about what has been done, what is happening, and what needs to be done with the rapidly changing musics of the inhabitants of Unea Island. Unea is the largest in the Bali-Vitu group of islands located north-west of Kimbe, the main town of West New Britain Province. The contents of this paper are based on pure facts, my own personal opinions, and those of other Uneans who have discussed with me the changing traditions of Unea Island.

There are three major events that different *singsings* are to be associated with. The building of a *Roghamo* (in terms from the Uniapa language, the \gh\ represents a voiced, velar fricative) spirit house and the activities that are involved; the making of *Vogana Varularulanga* racing canoes; and the commemoration of the death of a clan member. Don't expect to witness what you have just heard. They are all non-existing, almost gone, even the songs and dances, not just the activities.

What happened? Who is responsible?

In 1936 Father Bernard, a Catholic priest, stepped on the island. He was not the first European to do so. A German trader, whose name is still unknown, landed there sometime around the early 1890s. He was only interested in planting coconuts and cocoa, and making sure, with his whip, that labourers turned up for their duties and that landowners did not refuse to give away their land. The priest even went further by disallowing public performances of what he and many others (priests and church workers) reckoned "devilish". That may be so but, at least it did not and is not too much a confusing agenda item for those who live with it, by it, and around it.

Because of this basic fact, the locals would not easily bow into the stream of Christianity. The alternative the missionaries had was to involve something that truly belonged to the people, with what they were teaching. Father Schwaiga (spelt the way my informant said it, so this may not be the right spelling of the name) started translating European church hymns into Uniapa, the local language. Those hymns were sung without difficulty. The people learnt the melodies and easily remembered the songs. The tempo and timing is questionable, but I would rather leave the answer for discussion later, as it fits in with several other points.

Father Carl Ross and a local catechist, Andreas Devoku, found their own way to solve the problem of timing and tempo by translating texts from the Psalms into Uniapa and fitting those texts to melodies of indigenous songs. The duo was challenged by those people who have been converted who said that the sacredness of the Liturgy was being put to test. However, nothing was done apart from verbal complaints, so the songs continued to be performed then and today.

Further to this exercise, many talented, elderly composers and musicians, today write lyrics to either fit to existing traditional melodies or to new ones composed with traditional elements. Some people might agree with me in saying such an exercise is not right simply because the songs lost their real traditional values. But the proud speakers of the language, especially Catholic followers have enjoyed the performances of such songs.

The first music example we are about to listen to is a *Voreanga* song. The songs of this type are sung when men are confronted by rough weather during sea expeditions. The song is sung in its original traditional text which cannot be translated as it is in an ancient language, like the texts in many other singsings. **[played Example 1]**

The next example is in the Uniapa language; it's the same song, sung in the local language. It's preaching the resurrection of Christ. The text with its English translation is as follows ("Deo", "*Angelo*", and "*Yesus*" are Tok Pisin terms):

Deo a lumba. Ia ti bele na babana.
God is strong. He appeared from his tomb.

Oghamu ma varuni a lumbana.
Oh you see his strength.

Angelo ke Deo ki rio ariri na dama.
Angel of God came down in the morning.

la ti paghi a vatuni n babane e Yesus.
He removed the stone cover off Jesus' tomb.

[Example 2 played.]

Respect for sacred instruments in the Unea society is no longer practised. This is clearly illustrated by the public display of what used to be kept out of sight of the women and uninitiated young men. The instrument is sung into, producing a sound that is believed to be of the deceased spirit. The performance, which usually marks the end of a mourning period after a chief or a recognised leader has died, took place in a well barricaded area at the end of the village arena. The *singsing* we are discussing is *Leleki*, and this instrument, which is no longer sacred because

of the ignorance of the taboos, is locally known as *Patete*. [played Example 3.] The song that we have just finished listening to is also a Christian religious song.

I was privileged to have the chance to record nine of the songs of this *singsing* group. The old man who sang the songs for me believes he is the only man who knows these songs. I'm talking about the original songs, not these Christian songs.

Before someone comes up with an early conclusion that I am laying all the blame on Christianity, let me just pick out another group of people which has also contributed greatly to the changing of ethnic music on the island. The introduction of acoustic guitars not so long ago was the start of what I want to call a disastrous move into the society. Take a tour through the villages on the island and listen to the songs the kids sing. No one will translate certain songs for you because they would not know the meaning of the text. So you ask them, "*Em singsing tumbuna?*" "Yes," will be the reply, but it sounded like a *six-to-six* tune to you and me.

It definitely is. What is happening here? Don't ask me, ask them.

"Orait, wantok yu tokim mi long stori bilong singsing bilong yupela."

"Ah. Em singsing tumbuna - singsing sore. Na lit singa bilong grup i tanim nek Ilklik bai karai gut wantaim gita. Em nau, mipela iplaim long stringben resis long olgeta hap long Ball, Vitu, na long Kimbe tu."

"Ai yupela olfit lain tru, ia."

"Eh nogat tru, ia."

[played Example 4.]

That was the lament. Who among us felt some kind of feeling of sadness when the song was on? It did not make me think of my father who has died and whom I very much needed since 1977.

Let's try this experiment. Sit still and focus your mind on someone you really loved. He/she is not here with you now, when you are really in need of his/her presence, [played Example 5.] I bet someone realised the difference between the two laments. Yes? No? If yes, that is what I mean by the real value of a traditional song. "Live bands' or "Power bands' are no different from "String bands".

So much on ethnic songs in church music, string bands, and live bands. There should be some mention about traditional music style and how it is dragged in to be fitted in the Western style music. Let us bring the point on tempo and timing back in line. The middle-aged European nuns are in church with the whole congregation. The choir master calls out the hymn number - 146 in the hymn book, gives the starting note, counts aloud, and off they go! [played Example 6. "*God strongim Sios blong yu*".]

The nuns following the notated music in time with the tempo given and the rest of the congregation are still dragging on. The harmonies you are hearing are not what's written, but sounds good. End of the first stanza. The nuns finished first. O God, we've got to sing the next stanza a little

faster with the nuns. The poor bloke went beyond the given speed limit. The nuns were right behind him and the rest are still further down the line. All reached the finishing line in their own lines. The harmony was great on the last chord; not written, though. "*Ai, olsem wanem, na?*"

"Ah. Maski ia . . . em i oraitasol." (This is exaggerated.)

It is not all right. The poor nuns wanted to sing the hymn the way their parents sang it. And we wanted to sing the hymn the way we sing our songs. Free timing - build up the tempo in the middle of the song - add a little bit of harmony anywhere desired - slow down on the next beat. Is this fair to the minority? What are we going to do? Get on our knees and beg for mercy. We've lost what's gone. Get on our feet and reach for blessing, Grab what's almost gone.

Be creative with our God-given brains, Leave the created and create. Be respectful to others and you won't fail, Your failures are nobody's gains.

Discussion

Audience #1: Does that mean to perform these songs now, to perform them as serious musicians perform the songs in the original way? Is that what you mean by "Grab what's almost gone"?

Clement Gima: Yes. Yes, I spent a couple of weeks in the village during the Easter break and I spent most of the time talking to the young blokes, to go back to the elders, sit with them when they have time, instead of running around, sit and listen to them, and learn the songs. And this is the start of, for your information, a project that I'm going to work on - go back to the village and work with the people, to revive what we are about to lose forever. Did I answer the question?

A#1: Yes.

Audience #2: Is that the same song there, Example 4 and 5?

CG: Example 4 and 5? No. But, they are laments. Yes, if Example 4 was sung the traditional way, it would have sounded like Example 5.

A#2: Example 5 is a different song.

CG: Yes, it's a different song, but it's a lament. They should be sung the same way, not melodically, but with the same feeling, if it's performed the traditional way.

Michael Webb: See - that's exactly the question. You asked us to do something impossible, and that is, you asked us to be moved emotionally, by two completely different performances that are performed in completely different contexts. Like the string band version of the lament is not performed as a lament, it's performed as a competition piece, therefore you shouldn't interpret it as a lament.

CG: What I meant by this, they are originally laments, and the young blokes in the village try to create something new out of it, but they will still say it's a *singsing sori*, a lament. And the second piece is why I asked all of us here to try to feel something out of it, this feeling of sadness. I believe that's the way it's supposed to be sung.

MW: Yes. What I'm saying is that surely we as listeners should take into consideration the intention of the performers when we respond to a piece of music. So that if we were involved in a mourning ceremony, we would hear the second

performance, most likely. If we were in a string band competition we would hear the first performance. I might be wrong here, but I'm sort of asking the question, would we attend a mourning ceremony in the village and hear the string band guys performing?

CG: Definitely no.

MW: So therefore what I'm saying is, in order to interpret the meaning of a performance, we have to take into consideration the intention of the performers. And what you're saying is, I understand, that they destroyed the meaning of a song by putting it into a new context. What I'm saying is, perhaps they haven't destroyed it, perhaps they've given it new meaning, or a different meaning. Maybe the meaning isn't destroyed.

CG: What I'm scared about is, the young blokes that come up, the kids in schools. They will sing the way it's sung with a string band. They wouldn't know the traditional way of singing it. So, when they grow up and these old men die, they will sing the songs as they're sung with the string band, and they said the traditional value of the song is gone, finished.

MW: I find your interpretation problematic. I mean, I just disagree with it. But I'm not coming from your position, I'm coming from an outside position that's going to be totally different. But, you said a couple of things, you said that one of the songs, I can't remember which example, was in an archaic form of the language, okay? And so we can't translate it, we don't know what it means, but you're also criticising the young guys that were playing the string band version because they don't know what they're singing about. But the fact is that songs have migrated for so long, over such a long period of time, that perhaps even the oldest men that are singing laments don't know the actual literal meaning or the semantic meaning of the words. But, one thing I'm saying is you can't just derive meaning from the semantic meaning of the text. The performance itself, and the context in which it's performed, and a whole lot of other factors, contribute to what the song actually means to you when you're there and you hear a performance, not just a text for one thing.

CG: Well the meanings of songs, as far as I'm concerned, come from the way it's performed, and if it's a lament and you don't know what the text means, you get the meaning of the song through the feeling, of how the performer performed it. And if somebody's going to sing it with a string band and say it's a lament, I would say he's lying.

MW: Well perhaps it's just a question of terms, then. Perhaps I should be saying it's derived from a traditional song that was a lament.

CG: Yes.

MW: I mean, you're saying that the community school kids that are going to hear this and learn it as a lament and then perform it back in the village, in the context of a lament, then, I think what are they going to do, they're just going to take the song, lift the song and leave the guitars, or are they going to take the guitars and perform it as a lament with the guitars? A few minutes ago you said that you're worried about community school kids, young kids that are coming up, they're going to get the string band performance, learn it from the string band cassette, or whatever, and then, when they sing it at an actual mourning situation in the village, they're going to think they're singing a lament. But my response to that is, that if people laugh at it and say this is nonsense, this is not a lament, then

they'll have to stop, because nobody will accept the fact that it fits. But if people accept the fact that it fits in that new context, in a few years from now, then you have to say that it's functioning as a lament, regardless of whether you think it's authentic or not. But, as I said, it's an outside perspective.

CG: *Em tru, ya.*

MW: People will attach new meaning to it. If there's a consensus, if the rest of the group say, "Okay, we accept that now as a new form of lament, we're upset that the old form is no longer around or applicable." If people accept it, then it functions as a lament.

A#1: But isn't that the exact problem, the fact that this new song with the bands is replacing the old, this is the problem.

CG: Yes.

A#1: That the old song, which has the true feeling, is gone.

MW: What I'm saying is that the new song will only accumulate true feeling if people accept that it actually communicates true feeling, in a lament.

A#1: That's the problem that we're talking about, that the new song is allowed to take over the old song. Isn't that the problem they face?

CG: Yes.

MW: I don't see it as a problem, because, new songs always take over old songs. Richard [Moyle] gave us some examples this morning, where songs serve their purpose, and then they drop out of the repertoire, and new ones are created to replace them. Sometimes some songs remain, and sometimes they don't.

A#1: But, I think that is exactly the problem that we're talking about, that that should not be allowed to happen, that the new should not be allowed to replace the old. They can exist side by side.

MW: So then you need cultural policemen to tell people what should be done.

Audience: [laughter]

CG: Me a policeman?

A#1: Me.

CG: Oh, okay, I'll let you. [more laughter]

Student #1: From the discussions, can I just throw one of my ideas out? Is there a universal taste of sadness or happiness in music? What melody would we classify as bringing sadness, happiness. Is there universal taste? Because what we're classifying now is according to society. Is there any universal?

Richard Moyle: If I can offer the suggestion that music-making is not just one activity. It's a type of learned activity; you learn how to make music. And when you're learning how to make music, you learn also what to expect from the music, what emotional responses you make, and what you think that music has in it. And one generation may get a particular response from one style, another generation may get exactly the same response from another style because they have learned it differently. I don't see a problem about losing. I think perhaps it's replacement, not losing. I don't know of any culture at all which is static, which has somehow frozen its entire repertoire. You've got to move with the times. That's again my outsider opinion.

Pius Wasi: About the discussion we had about the song: we're talking about losing or replacing, whatever it is. The only thing I can see is the meaning of the actual song. There is a love song that has a lot of emotion in it, so that particular song is something [?] the interpretation of it, the interpretation of the emotion. So,

for privacy sake, to stop that, whatever [?] the young people from learning the wrong approach to the right music, to teach the real meaning of the traditional music. Or maybe just stop the idea of adapting the traditional music in the string-band. Just having the school children not to learn traditional things that way, just learn it directly as they grow up, from their parents.

CG: Yes. I don't know if the last lines of my paper meant any thing. I said, third line, supposed to be, "Be creative with your God-given brains and, leave the created and create." What's been created, leave it as it is. Be proud of it, keep it there. If you have to make something new, use your brains and create something new. That's what I mean.

Robert Reigle: I think that most people feel some sort of connection with the music that they like, that is important to them. And a lot of times that connection is kind of like a feeling of ownership, or something like that. So that, usually people talk about, "Oh, that's my music," or "that's my song," or something. And I think a lot of times we value the music that we think of as our own music in certain ways, and in some ways that kind of value can take on a sacred or spiritual quality, or a heightened level of importance. And so I think when we have some music that we assign a special value to and we see it being used in a way that's different than we ourselves might expect it to be used, then I think that would create a feeling of loss or regret. And I think I probably disagree with some of the things Michael Webb was saying. If I interpret Clement's paper right, what I see you saying is that this is your own music that belongs to you, and it's being used in a way that maybe is not the correct way. And, it looks to me like you feel that that's not really a good thing.

CG: Yes, exactly.

RR: In a way it's doing something that's taboo, it's wrong, it's incorrect. That's my interpretation.

CG: Yes.

MW: Just another point, then. Clement said that he was disappointed with the fact that people weren't going to be singing the mourning songs in the village the way that they used to be sung, the laments. But then he also said that he disagreed with the practice of singing to beg for food, and so he was trying to stop that. So, that if you stop the practice of singing, with the implication that people will give you food, then you're going to stop singing, surely.

CG: Michael, it's not the case. I mean, the laments, it used to be, traditionally you come with the food to feed . . .

MW: Relatives of the deceased . . .

CG: Yes, but nowadays people come and sit down, sing, and you have to get up, feed them, grab the food from underneath your house, feed these people who come to sing for you. That's what I want stop.

MW: So what practice do you want to stop? You want to stop the practice of people expecting to be paid for their singing . . .

CG: That's right.

MW: . . . rather than singing with true feeling and meaning for the people.

CG: People should come and sing, share with me the [?] and not expecting me to feed them, that's what I don't want to see happen.

A#1: You were talking about the laws that there are, are there not laws about the feelings of songs? Couldn't we go back here to the Greek scales, the early Greek scales which were supposed to have meaning, definite feeling for a scale of

a song. Now, we have lost the meaning of that, but we know that there were feelings for the Greek scales. But in Western music we don't know quite what they're talking about. But, we do know that there were feelings for scales, and they were supposed to be divine laws. So if you had a scale that was supposed to be for sadness, it was a law, it was a divine law that that scale was supposed to be sung for a sad time. If you break that law, and use a different scale for something that is supposed to be sad, then I think you are talking about the same thing, something that has been lost to Western musicians, or Western musicology, because they haven't really delved into this fact that a natural law has been broken because you're not using a particular scale for the particular feeling.

MW: It becomes an academic argument, we can't actually feel the loss by reading the early manuscripts. I guess we can feel an absence of richness, maybe, but does it actually pierce us to our inner being, you know, when we read about that happening. As Richard was saying, we haven't been immersed in that association, and so it means nothing to us, except...

A#1: I think it did mean something today when you heard the same, am I right, it was the same subject treated one way and then another way. We had the demonstration here, that one way showed the true feeling, the other way seemed to be like a mimicking. It wasn't the feeling. Feeling was broken, in other words, the law was broken.

MW: My argument was: the first one wasn't the same thing as the second one. It was a completely different context, so you really can't compare them, it's like apples and oranges.

A#1: Well, right, because, like he said, the law was broken, the law of feeling was broken. And that goes back to the early Greek scale system where apparently they were very strong on that very point, if I remember my early Greek history.

RR: I'd like to go back to a point that Michael Webb made, that he is an outsider and we are outsiders. But we have one other person from the same language in the room and so could we get an opinion from Mr. Balane?

Luke Balane: Yes, we in the Vitu islands also have the same style of singing. And this kind of song is actually very emotional; they're meant to be emotional songs. And during the singing, people usually cry when they hear it. But the way I listen to it on the string band type, looks like it has taken a new approach. It doesn't have the emotional feeling, and I think it has lost its taste, traditionally. But it's still a lament, but performed in a different context or something like that. But I still think it's a lament.

RM: I think it's a lament in name.

LB: Yes, in name. I agree.

CG: Why I put these two together is to point out what our young people, or the guys in the village, are doing to the traditional *singsings* in the village. It's not just laments. The *Sia singsing* that we borrow from the Siassi people in Morobe. They do the same thing to this. They change the whole thing into a string band. And I see that as a sin.

PW: Well, is it a fact that we want to educate the kids, but it has to start from the parents, to tell them to do the right thing and sing the song the right way. Music is taking influence from many different people. There are actually string bands, and where the idea is coming from, that's a question, and they are using traditional songs fitting with that idea that's coming in with the string bands. So we, just stop that idea from young people learning, using the traditional songs in the string bands,

I would rather compose folk songs in the string bands.

LB: I think we can't stop them from accepting new ideas and you know, try and create something. But you should stress the importance of traditional music in the community, that's what you should express. But from stopping them to accept new ideas, and all these things, you really can't stop it.

MW: I think the term "traditional" is problematic. What's being played today will be traditional tomorrow. We keep going back to a base-line, back 30, 40 or 50 years, we're referring to music recorded in 1970 as ancient. There were generations before that when they were probably doing something else. Perhaps those items weren't in the repertoire back then. Maybe someone creative came along and just invented them, and everybody liked them, so they stayed in the repertoire. But before that they were singing something else. I've seen people on the Gazelle Peninsula be moved to tears by string band songs recorded in the '60s, because of all the associations that it suddenly brings back, collective associations. Who they were with at that time, a particular person that might be named in the song; or, when they were living in a certain area, they think of all of those things, those memories and meanings accrue, and they suddenly associate it with that song that they maybe haven't heard for 30 years.

RR: I think that the two main arguments might be sort of missing each other here. I don't think that this paper's saying that there should be no change, and I don't think this paper's saying that people should not do something new, or that when they do something new that that is replacing the old, or a complete substitute for it. I take your point that whatever culture does, that's the real existing thing that cannot be denied and refused for a certain thing, hence we have to say that that's what it is. But, I don't think that's Clement's point. I think Clement is saying that, as a member of this society, he has seen one thing that he used in a certain way, and it's being used in a way that is contrary to the way that it was used in the past. I think he's saying that as a member of that society, in this particular example, it wasn't right for them to do that because it's kind of like betraying a trust or breaking the rule, or something like that. I think this is a lament about the use of a lament. I know Clement, and I know that he is an excellent composer of new music, and I know that he has the ability to use traditional materials in ways that he feels are appropriate. And in this particular case, something that was in a sense sacred, was misused. I think he's saying that they broke the law. I think your argument doesn't contradict his argument.

MW: Well, another point, then, if we have any more time - I'm not sure. Another point would be Clement's asking the composers on the island to be creative. But you have to consider what is their resource pool of material to create new music with, if they've been immersed in a particular music culture and that is all they have at their disposal, apart, of course, from the God-given creativity you spoke about, okay? If people recognise that their creativity comes from a supernatural source, then there is possibility for a person who is creative to do something new with some creative material, it just doesn't come from nowhere, the material that they use as a base, so that they have to derive their creativity from the elements of the musical culture that they're immersed in. So it seems to me that it's perfectly natural that a composer that's only ever been exposed to "*ol singsing pies*", that they'll use that as a basis for something new, but probably what you're saying is that there's a disjuncture in the lack of fit between the lament and the guitars.

RR: I think in Unean culture there are many different kinds of songs; some are used for happy occasions, some for sad, some for sacred, some for secular. And to use one that's designed for a certain occasion and then when you translate it into a different language, or whatever, and use it for a different reason, then that's a problem. That exists not just in music, but in other kinds of endeavours. In the church today, if you took a song from the mass and used it to do something immoral, then that would be contrary to the intent of the song, and whoever owned that song would probably object to that kind of use. For example, Madonna using nudist icons in her movie; it's objectionable because they're used in a different way than they were intended. Anyway, can I make one suggestion, I'd like to still get just one or two more comments from the students rather than all us foreigners talking.

Student #2: Do you think that traditional songs and traditional pieces should be fully performed traditionally and these popular musicians should not arrange these traditional songs which have been sung by past people? Or, do you mean that these popular musicians if they want to perform songs, or write songs, that they should not arrange these traditional pieces or songs which have been used, sung by past people? That if they want to sing songs, they should relate them to their traditional beats, as you can hear in a certain part of an area, a certain beat of a drum? So, do you mean that these popular musicians should just get the idea which these past people used to compose their songs, or they should not get the songs which have been used in the past, to change it to another thing? Do you mean that these people should not get the traditional songs and rearrange them to fit into Western music?

CG: Let me ask you a question. Is it right to go up on the street, steal a Toyota car and change certain parts of it with Datsun parts and say this is a new car, and go up there and you think it's not a sin?

S2: It's a sin.

CG: Okay, changing traditional music to fit the way it's on the guitar is — I - don't like it. And definitely not the elder people, the elderly men in the village. That's the point behind this paper.

S2: So, my question is, do you think that these popular musicians shouldn't rearrange traditional songs, they should be creative and get something from their own heads?

CG: Yes. Leave the created be as it is, and use their heads, get something maybe related to it but not using the one that's already been there. Maybe some ideas: ideas from this *singsing*, ideas from that one, get them together, get a new one. Not totally new, but, *olsem mama papa oli wokim nupela samting, ya*, he's different, he's not the father, he's not the mother, he's a different person. But he's built up of components, *ol spea pats bilong mama na spea pats bilong papa* come together to make this kid.

S1: You're subject to your society, and what do you mean [?]. But how I look at it is a simple way, is this way. When somebody dies, you can't go to the village and start singing very happily; people will kill you. The lament stays there. Like, if somebody dies, it is natural [?]. So, we cannot expect somebody to just come in and play his guitar and sing and smile. Nobody will stop me. You cannot stop me from thinking. You might stop me from saying, but you can't stop me from thinking. I think it's [?]. It's free, so long as the product [?] and it's all right for society. And I see that [?] today the sunset, and I am part of this culture. Tomorrow ...

who's born tomorrow, that's his own culture. Why are we studying back Greek. We're just learning these things, but they're past. We can't stop. It's something like, it's evolution.

Student #3: I find that there is no difference between the two songs, singing the song and [?] but the thing is that the children or whatever, they're just ignoring what they're using the song for their own pleasure. Rather they should be using the song, say like, saving the song for a funeral, should be sung in a funeral.

A#3: I'm from the western part of Gulf Province. In my society we have different communications songs. There are songs for house and gardens, you go fishing and you come with a catch, when someone dies, special songs then. Whenever there was a celebration we had to celebrate, with different songs. When someone dies we have the lament. [?] and if that song is taken and used in a different context, the elders [?]. For example, if there is a death in the village, you cannot play guitar, or string-band, or whatever. That song is for [?] you cannot play string-band with that song, it's sacred. It's meant for that purpose. We have songs for celebrations [?], and if I am from that particular tribe and there's a string-band from my tribe, I allow them, okay, I tell them the meaning of the song: "This song is meant for this purpose," and they put it in modern music and they play it. But if the song is sacred it is not allowed. It's meant for that purpose only. If that one belongs to my tribe, the sacred song, another tribe comes and sings, and I come from this tribe and I hear my song sung by that tribe, there's going to be a fight. Because, from my tribe we consider the song sacred. We don't allow that tribe to sing our song.

CG: Change it, the song, into different meaning altogether is totally out.

A#3: Yes. It's not allowed. For example, we have "*Lamaikas*," using a bit of *tok pies*, *ehl* And they belong to a certain tribe, and their tribe elders give them that song, they allow them "okay, you go ahead and sing," so they sing. But they just cannot come and get a song from this or that tribe. It's not allowed. There's a local band called [?] using traditional song *singsing*.

CG: I've come to find out in the last four, five, almost six years, what I've learned in school, and to go back to the village and compare, to see the guys there. What I found out is their appreciation of traditional music. I've been asked by elderly men to tell the guys in the village, our age group, that our traditional songs are the most important songs that we should know first. But that's not the case in the village, that's not what's happening in the village right now. That's why they get laments, or our songs, and use it with a guitar. You have a *singsing* group up at Baruni, traditional *singsing* group, or, let's say traditional *singsing* group down at Rainbow, and you have a live band, power band, playing at Koki, and you have a hundred guys here, tell them, "you go down there," and "you go down, which of you is going to go? That's closer and that's too far out." I guarantee you every one, every hundred of those guys will walk all the way down there, just to see the live band. And that's what I'm scared of. As I mentioned earlier, this paper is the start of a project that I wish to get done before I leave the National Research Institute, to make sure that what we are going to lose in the near future is retained, kept, to be used later on. I think we've been standing here for a long time, and *yumi toktokplanti* - sorry, I'm using Pidgin. I thank you very much for your comments, Michael, *gutpela tru*. And I would appreciate it very much if, you have the copies of the paper, write what you think and give it to me. That would be very helpful to me.

THE GROWTH AND DIRECTION OF THE PNG VIDEO MUSIC INDUSTRY

MICHAEL WLD

Promotional Videos

The concept of music videos took hold in Papua New Guinea (PNG) in the late 1980s with Pacific View Productions (in Port Moresby) producing an in-house music clip called "Kame", by Pius Wasi and Jeff Barras. Shot and edited by Titus Tilly, it was one of the first locally produced music videos to be aired on E M - T V [played Example 1, "Kame"]

Pacific Gold Studios entered the scene with the production of the clip "Iau Ra Biavi", by the Barike band of Rabaul. Directed by Greg Seeto, Managing Director of Pacific Gold Studios (PGS), it became an obvious promotional tool to enhance sales of the Barike album "Oli Kam Ken". Shot on location in a quarry near Rabaul, on a minuscule budget, the clip nevertheless made an impact on audiences and sales. Soon, other studios in PNG were making music videos, [played Example 2, "Iau Ra Biavi"]

In a matter of months, the airwaves opened to virtually anyone who could use a video camera. Clips were being filmed on all sorts of formats, VHS, Super-VHS, U-Matic, Video 8, Betacam, and Hi-8. Quality and content varied greatly, and the cameramen, editors, and directors learnt their new skills and craft. Band members in these videos, with little or no experience at all in front of a camera, had to come to terms with learning a whole new range of skills, from lip-syncing, playing along with a backing track, performing and acting for the camera, to dancing and generally trying to look as if they were having a good time.

Obvious criticisms of these early efforts point to such things as lack of story, ham acting, scenes repeated over and over, poor lighting, editing mistakes and, in some cases, extremely long and boring sequences (in fact, Ronnie Galama's *Rinunu* from Chin H. Meen lasted seven minutes, surely an epic by anyone's standards).

However, with the production of a Lamaika band's clip *Feio Fasi* (a short, humorous story of a hunting party, a snake and some *puripuri* magic), a tandard of plot, substance and style was set in Pacific Gold's productions. The lyrics of this song refer to wrapping up one's enemies after you've killed them, following a tribal fight. It was a bit blood-thirsty, we thought, to make a story about that, so we adapted it to the idea of the man being

bitten by the snake and using the *puripuri* magic and wrapping him up in the leaves to cure him and bring him back to life. The lyrics actually say, "Wrapping, wrapping up, wrapping up slightly. Do it, do it now."

After the Lamaika band released their second album, called *Pepa*, with Pacific Gold Studios, the band leader Michael Kapira, who was at that time working for Pacific Gold as a salesman, was asked to resign due to lack of performances or whatever reasons. And he, of course, decided he would go to the opposition, Chin H, Meen, and take the band with him. So there was a big dispute between the band, and he took three or four of his personal friends over to CHM, and the other remaining band members who liked working with Pacific Gold stayed with us, and did another album in Rabaul. So, it's become a split camp. As a result, Lamaika are a CHM band now, and the offshoots of Lamaika are called The Bandits, who are recording in Port Moresby with us. It's a factional thing, it happens all the time and you get used to it.

Meanwhile, Barike were having the most successful year of their musical careers. In 1992 Barike released the Wan Kantri album; its anthem-like style of pop, and particularly the title track, have made it one of the all-time favourites of PNG audiences. Video clips of the songs "Wan Kantri" and "Aite Aiyō" helped to push these songs up to the top positions of the PNG Top Twenty charts, and the album became the most popular album of 1992. [played Example 4, "Wan Kantri"]

Since 1990, the Rabaul Pacific Gold musicians have been working autonomously from Greg Seeto and myself. There's been no expatriate involvement in the production of works from the Rabaul studio since those times. They basically just set their own schedules, they record whatever music they want to record, and they send us the master tapes. That's basically the process. I don't think since 1990 we've knocked back anything that they've sent over in the way of master tape. So that's a rather large achievement from the point of view of the production standards and the involvement of the musicians in Rabaul. In 1992 it became clear to some music industry people that available air time for music clips would be fiercely sought after, and that the exposure of PNG clips to the viewing public would be determined by those willing to spend the largest amount of money, [played Example 5, "Aye, Ayo"]

This particular clip is interesting because it features a family who are actually acting the parts or roles of the song. No band members are involved in the production of this until the later stage of the video where you see them performing a song live on stage. These characters were actually just a family from Rabaul, who decided they'd like to participate in a music video clip. CHM clips were on a saturation rotation schedule for the most part of the year, and were being produced in relatively large numbers, PGS video clips were played mainly on the EM-TV produced program, Mekim Musik, at that time sponsored by the Coca-Cola company. Being the first music program aired on EM-TV, its programming relied

heavily on the use of "Overseas" music videos and locally produced clips were only given a small portion of air time. At least 10 minutes of each show was devoted to requests.

In the latter part of 1992, CHM's involvement with the Pepsi company became apparent even to the extent of the Pepsi logo appearing on all their new videos. In an unusual situation, Mekim Musik continued to play CHM clips (even with the Pepsi logo) on the still Coca-Cola-sponsored program; a major conflict of interests was in the making. At this stage, EM-TV executives in charge of the production of the Mekim Musik program were insisting on having total creative control over the program, including the right to program "whatever they liked!"

By 1993 the situation had become very confusing, and then EM-TV began producing another similar program called Fizz, sponsored by Pepsi. This show featured CHM clips heavily, with clips by Pacific Gold and Kalang also aired on occasion. The situation was developing into an extension of the "cola wars" and was influencing the music industry to the extent of the only television broadcaster in PNG producing two similar music programs sponsored by two competing companies. Recently the Coca-Cola company withdrew its sponsorship of Mekim Musik, and many questions arising out of the corporate sponsorship of these programs such as conflict of interest, radical programming policies, creative control, and more, are yet to be answered.

Coke, however maintains its support of the PNG music industry, one area being their ongoing and active financial support of the Port Moresby Show's annual amphitheatre music concerts, [played Example 6, from Australian Beatles show at the amphitheatre] It's unusual to know that EM-TV had a cameraman at the Australian Beatles show, and that they did air some parts of this performance in the Mekim Musik program.

Live Performance Videos

There are many opportunities to produce exciting and creative music videos by looking to the possibilities of live performances. To name a few of the more obvious, performances by Tambaran Culture at the Jazz, Rock, and Blues Festival held at the Islander in April this year, have been exceptional. Performances by many unusual and exotic *singsing* groups at the Port Moresby Show, and all over PNG. Pacific Gold is currently producing several unusual live performance music videos, which will be released in the next few months.

Some of the artists I had contact with during their performance at the Islander expressed a great interest in Papua New Guinean music. In particular, Tommy Emmanuel, who's been here three times now, has expressed interest in returning to Papua New Guinea specifically to perform with Papua New Guinean musicians and record songs alongside Papua New Guinean musicians. Not only that, the band Hip Pocket, made up of members of the

Australian band Crossfire - a well-known international group, have expressed interest in coming back and writing a concept album about Papua New Guinea. The cross-cultural influences there are many, as you can appreciate. Events like the Jazz, Rock, and Blues Festival are a very, very positive influence and force in the Papua New Guinean music scene, at the moment. This year, however, I was very disappointed to see that the attendances were down, given that the ticket prices were very, very expensive and out of reach of most musicians in Papua New Guinea. I would like to see that next year, perhaps the sponsors could lower the fees again, and at least have one day where it's an affordable day for people to come and see these international acts.

Technical Choices and Considerations

Anyone familiar with the movie business would be aware of the immense amounts of creative staff working on each production. There are producers, directors, actors, stunt people, stand-ins, supporting actors, camera crews, lighting and audio experts, gaffers, grips, best boys, best girls, caterers, cooks, electricians, baby-sitters, security, photographers, carpenters, set designers, artists, architects, script-writers, accountants, and - have I missed anyone? Oh yes, the writer, and a cast of thousands!

Making music videos in PNG is a little different from the Hollywood style of doing things. Here we rely on sometimes only one or two people total to cover all the necessary talents. Quite often, the cameraman will also be the director, lighting and sound operator, photographer, editor and baby-sitter! Technically, this can cause many problems, which limit the creative options available. Sometimes difficulties (technical or otherwise) are solved by sheer ingenuity and luck, rather than by virtue of experience or knowledge. Under these circumstances, video, movie and documentary makers here in Papua New Guinea must be congratulated for their collective efforts.

Budget Considerations

In the fantastic, surreal world of "Hollywood", anything is possible - if the budget is right. Full length movies have budgets larger than some countries' gross national product(!), and are growing every year. Big production music videos in the USA reflect these enormous budgets, some costing over a million dollars, as in the case of certain artists like Michael Jackson. It seems as if money is no longer a consideration in the making of his "Video Art". And yet some amazing music videos have been made on much smaller scale finance, for example, clips by Peter Gabriel, Sting, Godley and Creme, and others. These videos are still in the "hundreds of thousands" category and utilise all the latest state-of-the-art equipment.

By comparison, the Papua New Guinea video industry, still in its infancy, is still working with budgets in the hundreds and will do so for some time. Advertising budgets in PNG for TV, reflect the market size and spend-

ing power of the viewing public. In turn, the companies spending money on videos have limited the amount of money spent on each clip, and try to make more clips (more value for your advertising dollar?). Even though video budgets are still tiny here in PNG, there is a core of people dedicated to the improvement of the industry, working long hours and using all the techniques and equipment available in Port Moresby. Craig Marshall and the staff of Pacific View Productions deserve thanks for their support of this fledgling industry, [plays Example 7, "Everybody Wants to Rule the World"]

Here's an example of a video clip that was made on a comparatively small budget. It's a song by Tears for Fears called "Everybody Wants to Rule the World". As you can see, it's a live video presentation, involves just three or four cameras, and it's just edited together featuring shots. This kind of video clip would cost no more than about 10,000 Australian dollars to produce. It seems like an enormous amount of money to spend on a video clip, but when you consider that the returns on overseas music are astronomical, it's not a lot of money. The techniques involved in shooting a video clip like this are quite sophisticated, however. It involves quite a large operational team.

The Future of PNG Music Videos

As in any industry, the number of factors governing its growth are enormous. This industry, being so closely tied in to the television, music, and even advertising industries, has a number of major hurdles to jump in order to survive. It is critical that a working infrastructure be established, in the way of consistent policies by the governments of the day towards broadcasting standards. A well defined program of technical training must be established, by both the private sector, (production houses, recording companies, advertising agencies, etc.) the government, and especially the National Broadcasting station, EM-TV. Now that EM-TV is hooked up to the satellite, its broadcast footprint covers not only all of PNG but reaches into the South East Asian area as well. As a result, there is now a major responsibility for the industry to consider, one of quality representation of PNG. For the music video industry, this means raising the standards in a large number of ways, technically speaking, camera work, lighting, story boarding, direction and editing need to improve. Far more importantly however, creativity must be the key to improvement. Artists and musicians must be encouraged to participate in the production of their music and art.

Papua New Guinea has an enormous cultural wealth that it can present to the rest of the world. In time, the video industry will improve, and in its own way will help to promote Papua New Guinea in its best light, [plays Example 8] This was produced for the Department of Trade and Commerce by Lynn Bayless, and it was actually presented to members of the government and the prime minister at a function in the Waigani Sports Complex. At the same time as the video was being played, the soundtrack

was being played, there was a presentation of workers and dancers and muscle-men and various actors as a backdrop. The whole thing worked quite well, and was quite a successful presentation.

Discussion

Stella Inimgba: I discovered that, in your presentation - the video clips that you made - I thought I was also going to see you incorporate a dance, movements to further illustrate the needs of the music. But then I discovered that I didn't see much of the choreographer's work, in helping to make the music inform better, or communicate more.

Michael Wild: Very good question. There have only been a limited amount of video clips made where your dancing is actually an integral part of the video clip. We've had a few by a band called Gildawong, from Rabaul, and another band called The Team Mates, who do perform some traditional style of dancing, but it's not really choreographed by anybody. As such there are no choreographers here in Papua New Guinea who are involved in the production of making videos. As I illustrated, most of the time, the person that goes out to shoot the picture is the one who says, "Okay, you guys move over here now. Quick, roll the sound! How's the light?", [laughs] does everything. So it's very limited in these regards. You know in overseas productions, you would expect there would be a choreographer, a set builder, a designer, an artist, a director, a team of cameramen, a team of audio engineers - a whole collaboration of technical staff working on each particular video. But here in Papua New Guinea the budgets we use just don't allow for that. And there is actually a huge need for people to be trained in these specific areas. It's a baby industry at the moment, and hopefully in the future it'll grow, and we'll develop these skills in the country.

Inimgba: I was asking this because I'm a choreographer [laughter]. Because when the video was on, I was just seeing areas that could have been choreographed.

Wild: Yes.

Inimgba: I was just worried I didn't see it.

Wild: Well there is certainly a demand for your talents. If you're interested in this kind of work, there's always video being produced here in Papua New Guinea.

Clement Gima: The international artists who come over and perform in Papua New Guinea copyright their music when they come over here. What about our guys who go down there to Australia, our music that goes out of the country?

Wild: Yes, that's a good question. Music that's performed overseas by Papua New Guinea musicians is still under a copyright situation. The Australian Performing Association, APRA association, does cover visiting musicians and their copyright situations, even if they're from a country like Papua New Guinea, that doesn't have a copyright law. But basically, you still have to be aware that if you're going to perform overseas, perform in front of a large crowd, your music is likely to be plagiarised in one way or the other, by someone who's listened to it, whether it's just an influence or whether it's a direct rip-off. It can happen. There are no guarantees that it won't, but that's something you take a risk with. If you expect to have your music played around in other countries, you have to take that chance, hoping the law will support you when you catch the people doing that.

Gima: I've had this question for a long time: because we don't have any copyright in the country, what are the chances of Papua New Guineans getting some copyright, using the Australian copyright to look after them?

Wild: Papua New Guinea desperately needs copyright laws to be introduced, desperately needs copyright laws. It doesn't only affect musicians, but it affects everybody in the creative side of things. Anybody that produces anything creative in Papua New Guinea can be plagiarised, and their work can be taken away from them, and used by basically anybody. There's no law stopping anybody from using anything that anybody else creates in this country, and that in itself is ridiculous, it's just ridiculous. In terms of industry, for example, you might get a chemist, one lonely chemist in Papua New Guinea might discover a medicine from the rain forest, that could cure malaria totally. Well, some other bloke might just come along and say, "Well, I like that idea, I'll use that," and it has happened on many occasions in the industries here in Papua New Guinea. Ideas are constantly leaving this country, and no benefits are coming back to Papua New Guinea, simply because there's no copyright law laid out saying, "You can't steal our ideas." And it does need to be worked on. People in this business, and people in the music business need it. Basically people in industry need to really gang up on the government and say, "Get it happening, get a law established." It's 1993, and it's one of those things that desperately need to be addressed.

Questioner: I work with the Department of Information and Communication, it's a new department, which the new Wingti government put into place. They've decided to establish this department. With regard to copyright law, the National Information and Communication Policy Committee, drafting the national communication policy of our country, the first draft of the policy will be tabled next time in the parliament session, which includes the copyright law as well.

Wild: Excellent.

Audience: [applause]

Wild: That's great. Thanks.

Questioner: That will be the first draft, and after the debate, if it is accepted—it covers copyright, everything. But as you and I know, in Papua New Guinea, there will be special provisions made for schools and colleges and universities, because all our textbooks come from outside. There are advantages and disadvantages about copyright law. When there's a very strict copyright law you cannot photocopy anything, even a textbook; you cannot photocopy anything.

Michael Webb: Mike, I have two queries. The first one is that, from talking to a lot of musicians, I'm interested in what you call the cola-wars, which to me seemed to be an extension of studio wars, as well. I think both wars are complicated by each other. For example, I recently was trying to find out why I heard over the radio that most of the musicians that performed at the Port Moresby Show were Pacific Gold-linked musicians, as in they recorded with Pacific Gold. Musicians in Rabaul, when they came back from the show, were reluctant to tell me, or to impart any comment. But, when I spoke to somebody from Chin H. Meen, I said, "Why weren't your musicians performing at the Show?", and this person said, "It's very simple, the amphitheatre at the Show is sponsored by Coke, we endorse Pepsi, therefore we don't perform."

Wild: Yes, that's a very accurate statement, that's exactly the way it turned out.

Webb: So it strikes me that the musicians' freedom to perform and create

creative contributions to music are being straight-jacketed, or are in danger of being straightjacketed by commercial, multi-national interests. I'm just curious to know if you've had any feedback from musicians as to what they think about this.

Wild: Yes, you're very accurate in your comments there. To give you a background on what happened at the amphitheatre, Greg Seeto is actually the amphitheatre coordinator, he has been for the last three years. He was asked to do it by the Port Moresby Show Committee, because no one else was willing to take on the job, and no one else really had the qualifications to take on the job. Every year, Greg Seeto invites by letter and by public invitation, bands from Chin H. Meen, Kalang, everywhere - every musician is invited to participate, regardless of whether there's a Coke amphitheatre or not. Coca-Cola have no say in the production of what's staged at the amphitheatre, whatsoever. Their only involvement in the amphitheatre sponsorship is they give direct cash. The cash is used in whatever way needed to bring artists to perform here. And of course, they have their massive amounts of signage over the area. But they spend a large amount of money, in the region of 20-30,000 kina per year, on the amphitheatre. Without that, basically, you wouldn't have the standard of performances and equipment available at the amphitheatre. Now this year, I was party to the meetings that went on at the Port Moresby Show Society, regarding the amphitheatre, and a letter was sent by Greg Seeto to Raymond Chin and to the director of Kalang, inviting them personally to attend meetings, and to participate in the running of the Port Moresby amphitheatre. No word was received back, and no reply subsequently has been received, and there was a no-show of Chin H. Meen bands altogether, this year at the amphitheatre. Feedback that we received from friends of musicians was that, as you said, Pepsi put the kabosh on the idea of Chin H. Meen musicians appearing under the Coke banner at the amphitheatre. It's a very sad indictment of the situation, that a cola company can affect where musicians can play and where they can't play. I personally don't believe that's right, and I'm sure that that will, in the long run, affect Chin H. Meen musicians, in one way or another, adversely. Pacific Gold's involvement with Coca-Cola is—we don't have any financial obligation with them at all. They're simply good people to deal with. We'd like to support the Papua New Guinea music business, and every time we ask them for a sponsorship, they say yes. That's Coca-Cola's involvement with Pacific Gold. There is a financial tie-in with Pepsi and Chin H. Meen, though. They do have a direct financial obligation and contractual agreement. That is where the situation arises from.

Webb: I don't know if you can answer this, but, do individual musicians benefit from Pepsi sponsoring Chin H. Meen music, or does the company benefit?

Wild: I can only speak from my point of view on that. I don't know personally, enough about their relationship. I would imagine no. I can't see how Pepsi caught being involved with the Coca-Cola company, or Pepsi company can directly benefit individual musicians. Perhaps Chin H. Meen, in their financial situation, that's the benefit there. But, I wouldn't see much of it trickling down into the musicians, no. No, I can't see it has any real relevance to musicians' lives in Papua New Guinea whatsoever, to be quite honest. If Pepsi cola would say, "Okay, we'll contribute 20,000 kina to a music festival," yes, then you'd be seeing something direct, going back to the musicians.

Clement Gima: I've noticed that the Pepsi logo is in every tape that comes out of Chin H. Meen. What benefit has an artist, from Pepsi, if you have any

information? As far as I know, 25 toea goes to the artist for every cassette sold; that's for the sale of the cassette. What about the logo appearing on the cassette?

Wild: Good point. I don't believe that the 25 toea royalty has anything to do with whether Pepsi's on the logo at all. The royalty rates can be as high as a kina for some artists. The 25 toea royalty rates are usually reserved for stringbands. The royalty rate in Papua New Guinea has grown over the years, but most bands are upwards of 60 toea now. But I don't believe that's directly related to the fact that Pepsi-Cola's got their logo on the cassettes at all. Because previously the bands were getting the same. I haven't been informed of any massive increase of royalties due to the Pepsi logo appearing on the cassettes. I think that's just a company policy now, that okay, you have your band's labels on it, Pepsi-Cola's label's on it as well. Whether you like it or not, that's the way it is. [laughs] That's the way it seems to be.

Frank Magne: Michael, two questions, the first one goes back to Michael's word wars, still on the soft-drink Coke, Pepsi, Pacific Gold, C. H. Meen. One of the things that struck me as interesting was that Coke and Pepsi have two different advertising strategies, in terms of English. I wondered how that interfaced with the record studio business. That Pepsi's image is all about youth and the young generation, whereas Coke's image seems to be about diversity within the one country - "Coke, *Em Tasol!*", a series of painted faces; there are the customs all put together, right? And I wondered whether you saw their's, Pacific Gold and C. H. Meen, without making any [?]. I'm not suggesting conspiracy here, I'm suggesting a coherence between the image that Pepsi's going for and the sounds that Pacific Gold's into and what C. H. Meen's into. On that note, going back quickly to dance, one of the things that's interesting about dance and C. H. Meen is Henry Kuskus. The reason people are into it is because of dance. But that's a Pepsi youth thing. Coke things seem to be different. Pacific Gold seems to be different.

Wild: It does appear to have a coherency, yes. I don't think it's through any deliberate strategies on behalf of the advertising companies. However, it seems to be the company. [?], Coke's advertising company, have always liked Pacific Gold's sound, if you like. They've always over the years been interested in what we do, and we've done commercial work for them. Just recently we've done two Coca-Cola commercials, produced in Pacific Gold Studios here in Moresby - sung by John Wong and the Clockwork Orange band, and they'll actually be played all over the South Pacific islands. The rough drafts of the tapes and the video were sent to Coke's headquarters in Florida, I believe it is, who were astonished and didn't think that we had something as good as that in the country, in terms of a production facility that could produce an ad like that. So, there's more to come from that, in that area. But certainly it appears that the cola war situation, for good or for bad, is definitely affecting the music business to some degree. I think in some ways we're getting a direct benefit from the sponsorship money through the fact that any events that we can put on, we can actually go to Coca-Cola and there's a very good chance of them saying "Yes, we'd love to give you sponsorship money for that." However, of course they do get massive amounts of exposure from the signage, on these events. But that's part of the industry of the music business, overseas as well. You look at the ties between the overseas artists and the contracts with the Coca-Cola company and the Pepsi company, in the millions of dollars. It's affecting the business of music everywhere in the world.

Magne: The second question has to do with one of the things you raised (this is also for the D.P.I.C. guy, whose name I forget), the future trends in video pro-

duction in PNG. You noted the need for creativity, and I was wondering what kind of stylistic directions you think Papua New Guinea video's going to take, and what relationship there's going to be between changes in the way specifically, uniquely PNG videos are made in terms of [?] storyline, etcetera, and song composition.

Wild: At the moment, video clips are just being shot for promotional purposes because the band likes this particular song, someone has a good idea for it, and the very small group of people that are involved in making the video decided that's what they'd like to do for the afternoon or for the weekend, now where are they going to do it. There's not much foresight or planning or anything in it at this stage, it's just a matter of, have they got a [?], yes, let's go and produce one. That's the way it is at the moment. I do see a very, very big demand for more creative people, all kinds of people. Put it this way, if a budget of 10,000 kina per video clip was available, the producers could afford to pay for a choreographer, a dance team, a rehearsal studio, a set manufacturer, three or four lighting engineers, a lighting technician, and a script writer, a story-boardist—these people actually getting paid for their time and for their efforts. But at the moment, no one gets paid, basically, to do any of it. So the creative input from other [?] is very, very limited, that's basically where we stand at the moment. The bands themselves do the creative direction. Basically it just comes from: there's our lyrics, that's what the translation of the lyrics means, we'd like to dance around there for awhile. As ideas develop and as creativity starts to pour in, I think then we'll see a change in the direction of the video art in PNG. I personally would like to see it delve more into traditional aspects, really start getting into more arty, more esoteric types of stuff. I don't think we need to produce "pop videos", as it were. There's a marketplace for it, sure, but I personally prefer to see it have more value than just a throw-away three and a half minutes.

Magne: What about the videos where there's everyday talk. I'm thinking of "all my money goes to my relations". Like the video you showed around the supposedly everyday family.

Wild: Yes, the song, "Where's My Pay?"

Magne: I mean, at least in the British video industry, there's not a lot of that going on. Do you think that's a specifically PNG thing?

Wild: I don't think it's specifically PNG, no. I think that was just a clever idea by a rather clever fellow in Moresby here, an expatriate who saw a small area of interest there and worked something funny out. That's basically just a comedy. I think comedy will play an important role. I think Papua New Guinea comedy, which is very much out on its own—in the style of Papua New Guinea, needs to be developed, and will be developed. There are a lot of comedic situations that can be applied by the movie-making and video-making industry, to make stories interesting for people to watch.

Webb: In that same area, I've been doing an informal reception study of some videos, and asking people's opinions about them, and I'm wondering if you're aware of any conflict, or whether you perceive a potential conflict between specifically local cultural notions of what is correct, by [82%?] of the videos, and between urban cultural notions and between national cultural notions of what should be in a video. I can think of portrayals that display affection and those sorts of things that a lot of people criticise, where I'm working. Another example is the video clip for "Mi Wari Tru Long Yu". I just heard comments that where you have a person from East New Britain linked romantically with somebody, I think it's from Central Province, that seems to be okay. But when I ask people whether Telek could actually have a Tolai

actress there, taking the place of that woman from Central Province in that video, the people that I've asked said absolutely not, that it would never be possible.

Wild: That's an interesting view actually. Basically in my experience in producing videos, we leave that up to the musicians. We decided, "Okay, you understand your culture, if you think it's all right to do, go ahead and do it. If you've got any problems with it, just don't do it." Who am I to tell them how they should act in the public view. I'm not directing a movie, I'm only directing a pop video, and in the case of George Telek's "Mi Wari Tru Long Yu", that's a Chin H. Meen production, and I should imagine the same thing applied to Titus Tilly, who produced that. He wouldn't have known whether it was the correct thing to do or not anyway. George Telek mightn't have made any comment about it either; it was just, "are you available to do this scene? Yes, sure, okay". Morally or not, the question wouldn't even have arisen.

Webb: Do you get any feedback on your videos?

Wild: We have had feedback on certain clips about the appropriateness of certain traditional dancing, and the relationship between the traditional dancing and the seemingly meaningless lyrics - particularly, half-naked girls on the beach doing traditional dancing in the traditional *bilas* and the song itself doesn't relate whatsoever to that. It's just like, "Oh, we'll throw some bare-breasted girls into this video clip for three minutes to make it look interesting." The song's about something totally different. That's been the case on several occasions. I personally don't think that's a very good situation. I personally think the artists themselves, whose video we're doing, have a responsibility to ensure that what they're presenting themselves is accurate.

Webb: So the following question would be, what input does the censorship board have?

Wild: The censorship board actually takes a look at all the videos, and they make a judgment on the video by way of, does it have violence, does it imply violence, does it imply overt sexuality, is it appropriate? To date I don't think any Pacific Gold video clips have been censored, but I believe some Chin H. Meen video clips have been taken off the air because they basically featured the inappropriate use of bare-breasted women out of context from the traditional style.

Webb: I heard that the forthcoming Riot Squad video had been censored.

Wild: Yes, that was an exercise by me to push the limits of the censorship board. I actually planned that. I'll give you my reasons. I decided that since it seemed as if there was no concern at the time over clips going on the air and EMTV, basically anything was being played, I showed a clip with scenes of the Arnold Schwarzenegger Terminator movie, and I directly inserted scenes of him from the movie into the video clip, and edited it. It got played on EM-TV twice, and then they jumped up and down about it, saying that, "Oh, it's going to affect copyright because the satellite footprint covers the Southeast Asian area." It didn't worry them at all, the fact that I was showing something from an overseas movie for the PNG market. What concerned them more was the fact that it was being shown in Southeast Asia, and that we might break overseas copyright laws. There's a very big disparity there. Why is it good enough—if it's good enough for PNG - do you see what I mean? So as a result, I just took it off and we haven't played it since. Between Greg and I we said, "Well, let's see how far we can push them, if they will come to terms with this, and jump on it straight away, or if they'll be slack and let it run and then eventually say, "Well, you shouldn't have been playing that," which has turned out to be the case. So we're having a bit of a dig at them, if you like.

PANEL: TRADITIONAL MUSIC AND THE RECORDING INDUSTRY IN PNG

Chairman: Robert Reigle

Panelists: Soru Anthony Subam, Pius Wasi, Michael Webb, Michael Wild

Discussants: Clement Gima, Stella Inimba, Frank Magne, Richard Moyle

Robert Reigle: The very first paper of this conference was by Dr Vida Chenoweth. Right from the beginning we've been talking about the question of what is traditional. Since then we had the paper by Dr Moyle, talking about the extension of traditional music, that traditional music has what other people would say are non-traditional elements in it, yet is a living extension of the traditional music. My question to start this discussion is, how much traditional content must there be in a song in order for people in Papua New Guinea to consider it a traditional song. At what point will Papua New Guinea be in a similar situation as Samoa, where people think of the traditional music as being able to have guitars in it; or for example, the Prophet Songs, are those traditional songs using traditional elements and modern elements? So, my initial topic for discussion is: how much traditional content must there be in a song in order for Papua New Guineans themselves to think of it as a traditional song. I just want to add one other comment: in teaching PNG music here for the last three years, it very frequently happens that I'll hear one of the student groups performing, and they'll say, "that's a traditional song." But the element of tradition in it might just be a short melodic phrase, or one single idea, and everything else is essentially European. So maybe, to begin this discussion we can consider this question.

Richard Moyle: It seems to me that anything that is considered traditional by the people who perform it is going to have two elements: first there's going to be continuity in style, and secondly there's going to be continuity in geography. You can't have something performed today in one location, abandoned tomorrow, and call it traditional. You start to have acceptance by an appropriate group of people, however that is defined, and it starts to endure long enough for the style in it to be accepted and be copied. So the two elements, it seems to me, are time and geography.

Michael Wild: From my point of view, I've seen groups come in the studio, who have said they had a whole lot of traditional songs. As you've said, almost 85% of the songs have actually been Western-influenced songs,

directly Western-influenced songs, with only a very small phrase or certain phrases in the songs traditional; and when we say, "What do you mean this is traditional, does this have *kundu* drums?" "Oh, no no no." "Well what part of it is traditional?" "Oh, that part of the vocal *singsing* is traditional." So, I suppose we'd have to say that in their eyes it's traditional but, what percentage of it is really [?] tradition taken out of context, put into a piece of rock music or a piece of current pop music. There's an element of that in there too. I can speak from the Tambaran Culture's point of view [?] we recorded over 15, 16 tracks with them. They have very, very heavily tradition-influenced pieces of music. The whole structure of the music is a traditional piece of music. The fact that they have used contemporary instruments is no real deal to me, because it's just a soundscape that they choose to use to create the traditional piece on. But you get certain artists' stuff you can hear basically just one or two short phrases and they call it a piece of traditional work. I don't really think they are. I think it's like a sample of a traditional work, you might say, but it's not really a traditional piece of music.

Frank Magne: I wanted to make a distinction between a *tok pies singsing* and a *Tok Pisin singsing*. What a lot of young men do is: they hear songs on cassettes and copy them down, and they reproduce them; what's the point in reproducing them if not knowledge of the texts? What I find significant in the [?], hearing people reproduce these cassettes, is the distinction that they make between somehow *tok pies* as being more local even if it's about [?], therefore more on the side of *tumbuna* than *Tok Pisin*. Maybe that's a more significant distinction than traditional versus modern. How do you feel about that, Michael?

Michael Webb: Actually, there are only two terms used in pidgin, or probably more when they're conversing in *Tok Pisin*, relating to what we're calling "traditional" here. One idea is *singsing tumbuna*, so "ancestral songs," or however you want to translate that, and the other one is *ol singsing pies*. In Rabaul I've never heard anyone refer to music - what we might call traditional music - I've never heard any Tolai call that music *singsing tumbuna*. *Singsing tumbuna* seems to me to imply - they call it *singsing pies*, so local, I suppose you might want to call it - village songs. What that communicates to me is that when - and I could be wrong here, I'd like some Papua New Guinean musicians to speak to this - but if they talk about *singsing tumbuna*, they often are talking about some sort of [?] connection between the songs that they've inherited from the village and what they're performing now. That is, that they had to go back and learn them from somebody, they had to collect them somehow, either on a tape, or they had to write them down, or you had to have somebody teach it to you so you could then perform it in another context. If it was the Port Moresby Show, you're competing for the prize money and you have a group pulled together from your community of Southern Highlanders, or whatever, in

Moresby; people might call that *singsing tumbuna*. But locally, people performing without consciously thinking of it as recreating something of the past, I hear the term "*singsing pies*" used. It's just what we do, it's the music we do. So perhaps there are different situations throughout the country, depending on the size of the group, and also, I think, the degree of extended contact with outside groups and with European [?] as well. Sometimes you have overlays. You'll have being performed at the same times you'll have *six-to-sixes*, and you'll have string bands, and you'll have church choirs, all of those things going on. In other situations you might have only the *singsing pies* being performed. In other places you might not have any *singsing pies* but you might only have *six-to-six* type music.

Magne: My work depends on how the group I hang out with mix two kinds of times. To talk about continuity doesn't necessarily work. To talk about tradition in terms of continuity may not work. You may need another kind of marker, it may be language or it may be a kind of language.

Pius Wasi: One thing I'm trying to get is what's happening with these songs. Do they call them traditional songs or [?] to contemporary? What's the common name for what musicians have created? Now we've got the string bands getting songs and creating these, and popular bands doing the same thing, and contemporary groups. I'll give you an idea about a song I wrote, and how I wrote it using Western notation. I wrote exactly how the rhythm goes, of that traditional song. I will call it a traditional song, because it's a war song from the olden days. Before I realised that song into contemporary, which means just adding on Western instruments, I did that without changing anything in the song. This song's melody is there, its rhythm, everything is there. I just left it there, and added on instruments-keyboards, bass, and drums. That was it. Now we are talking about asking if that song has any traditional element in it, or is there a meaning in there, a real meaning we would call traditional. So, we [i.e., Tambaran Culture] came out with a lot of arrangements we're calling contemporary music. But the point that I always emphasise to my members is, if we believe that there is a real traditional melody or rhythm in there, just leave it in there, don't do anything with it. Just add colouring. Just colour it up, and then the meaning is in there, the real feeling of the tradition is in there. Never change anything, you will always add on, colour it in. So, that's the main aim of how we are arranging our contemporary music.

Wild: That's the way you've recorded those songs, too.

Wasi: Yes.

Wild: This album hasn't been released yet, and we're taking a long time on this album because we believe that the particular kind of music that's recorded on it will prove to be critically acclaimed overseas, if you like, as one says. We've actually played some of the tracks to Peter Gabriel, a well-known English musician. He has a company called Real World Records, who release ethnic music from all over the world, on Virgin

Records, his record label. He expressed his interest in releasing the Tambaran Culture album on Real-World, when it's released here. We've also subsequently had talks with various visitors to PNG who have heard Tambaran play live and have heard their recorded work, and they seem to feel that Tambaran would be well-accepted and well-received in places like London and New York. It shows you the interest being taken in ethnic musics around the world. But from my point of view, I think the Tambaran Culture album will be one of the most outstanding works of Papua New Guinean music to be released to date, when it does come out, because it certainly does have a flavour and feel of the times, that haven't been captured yet.

Webb: If there's no difference, Pius, between what you do, apart from colouring, and what a group in the village does, then why bother recording it anyway? Why not go to the village and record the music and release it? In other words, it's being mediated somehow, is the way I see it. The other thing is, what you're talking about is sort of idealistic, because for one thing, members of Tambaran Culture don't all come from the same area, and don't all speak the same language, so if you're introducing a song into the repertoire of your group, you have to teach people how to pronounce it, and how to sing it, and how to reproduce the desired vocal timbre, and all of those sorts of things, and it's already being heavily mediated by doing all of those things. For another thing, the context is completely different, within which you're playing.

Wild: Yes, that's all very well, but by the same token, if groups like Tambaran Culture don't get together and perform this kind of music, it'll never get heard by anybody. Who can afford to go to West New Britain Province and hear a *singsing* group play in a traditional context? If we're talking about certain musics being closed to the general public, not only in Papua New Guinea, but in Australia and around the rest of the world, and being held up for scrutiny alongside African music and Indian music, and South American music, as culturally worthwhile and having value of its own - Tambaran Culture is one way of making it happen.

Webb: Yes. Well, it would be interesting to run this sort of question to Clement, because this issue was raised yesterday. I think the music will be received by different populations in different ways. For example, if you take a performance of a Tambaran Culture song, and play it to somebody in the village in which the song originated, will they recognise it as a traditional song? I'd be very curious to know whether they do or not, and what that means, even if they do or don't, when you were comparing the two versions of the song. Perhaps the people that have the most interest invested in the traditional version won't agree with a contemporary re-arrangement.

Clement Gima: I don't use new traditional songs, but I use songs that are associated with legends. The people in the village use them to tell the

kids. I use that kind of music, and I don't change the way they sing it in the village. The melody line is the same as an old man would sing it for a kid in the village. That's what I do. I sing that same melody, and add something on to it at the piano, and I make sure that I don't lose the feeling of the traditional song. If I'm going to use a sad song, a lament, I don't get a rock'n'roll style of playing the piano and add it on to it.

Stella Inimgba: I'm beginning to see a real controversy here on what is a traditional music and what is a contemporary music. From the point of view of dance or theatre, if you lift theatre from its original context and move it over to a different setting, obviously many things are going to change, so that what you are lifting up can sit in the new environment. That is exactly what he is saying, that when you do that kind of lifting, that even those colourings that you are talking about, are an influence, and are creativity, because those things are going to colour it, either from the creative point of view of the individual or another group of people, or being influenced by the new environment where you want to set it up. So in that case, it would be difficult for that music to retain its authentic content because [?] certain things and replace them. That is exactly what he is saying: from that point of view it is difficult to say categorically that what you produce is a traditional music, because of the influences that what is traditional should be that which remains with the people, like you said. Although there may be influences from other aspects of the culture - that which is added and which is still culturally accepted by the people who own it, as long as it remains within its geographical location, and is being practiced by the people who own it - then you can say it is a traditional music. But when you bring it out with all the colourations that you are talking about, then you are adding creativity. It has shifted. This has now moved from traditional to creativity, or from traditional to theatre, or to contemporary, depending on the kind that you want to use.

Wild: You're exactly right about that. However, you must remember that musicians aren't just copyists. The function of a good musician is not to copy something exactly accurately as it's always been done, and perform it forever as that piece of music. Any musician who has a spark of creativity, who obviously had his own influences, will grow, will absorb new influences, and with pieces of music will create and flower and develop into other things. It's a natural thing. For example, contemporary jazz is total improvisation. Ninety percent of jazz music is total improvisation. Where does that come from? And yet, you ask a musician, "That's a traditional piece of music." "What do you mean?" "Well, it's a song by Dizzy Gillespie," or "It's a song by Charlie Parker," or "It's taken from the 1920's." What he might mean by that is that that one germ of an idea was a traditional piece, element of music. That one cool turnaround or that one piece of structure of the music was a traditional element. From that it grew into an expanded improvisation. That's musicians' role in life, to

create, to improvise - to take something and turn it into something else. If music was made to be copied precisely, exactly, you'd buy a tape recorder and we'd tape record it and that's it. That's the tape recorder's function. A live musician's function is just to do what he can with the pieces of music, with the instruments that he has.

Inimgba: Okay. What is important is whether the additional creativity is culturally accepted by the people who own it. That is what is important, that even in the traditional setting you still have artists who through improvisation enrich that tradition. But, whatever that artist is adding is also being scrutinised by the people, to make sure that it is within the cultural context, before they can support it. But now, what about somebody who has added something that has also enriched that traditional music which he is working on, but what he has added is not culturally accepted in the original context of that music? So in that case, it would still be difficult to say that that music is traditional, because there is an influence.

Wild: Yes, that's very true, yes. There's certainly a dividing line there; you can't call music that has some traditional elements "traditional" at all. I'll give you one good example of a radical situation: the album *Deep Forest*, by the French musicians; I don't know whether any of you have heard of it. That's a compilation of two French musicians who went around the world with a digital sampler and a tape recorder, and recorded village chants and little kids singing and stories being told and sung, and all kinds of music from around the world. They used African music quite visibly, Indian music, South American music; I believe there are actually people from Bougainville on the album. They took it back to the studio in France and they cut it up like you wouldn't believe, and they stuck it all into a synthesiser and computer, and added a fairly sophisticated drum track to it, and they just fed these totally unrelated pieces of music and pieces of vocals and things, into the sound and made a sound collage, if you like. But it's totally made up of traditional pieces of music - elements of music, like snippets: one second, two seconds, 10 seconds, just a bit here, a bit there. The whole sound painting is painted with these pieces of music. That kind of music has proven to be immensely popular around the world because it's so unusual. Nobody's ever heard a Chinese language being used there and then juxtaposed over the top of it is an African chant, and then underneath that is a rhythm that had come directly from South America.

Reigle: There was a precedent for that, also: David Byrne and Brian Eno's *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts*, which came out about 10 years before this *Deep Forest*. We're running short on time. Before we conclude this I would like to call on Soru Tony Subam to give us some of his wisdom. As you know, he was a member of Sanguma and a very important shaper of the way we think about PNG contemporary music.

Soru Anthony Subam: I don't know; those are just terms which I

really can't explain. They don't express ideas that are really representative of people. Your expression of an idea is probably totally different from my understanding of it. So, "traditional" as an element, it would seem to me, is something which stays within boundaries. Once I take it out and use it, it becomes a creative idea. It's no more a traditional idea. It has a traditional context, but I am using it as a creative person would. It's become caught in two different "spheres," let's call it, and I'm the one that's a link between those two; I'm the one that's turning it. But I cannot call it traditional. I'm just using that aspect as a part of my creativity, my expression as an artist. If I go any further it's quite hard to explain because terms are confusing, like I said already. That's why I shut my mouth, because when I explain, you will understand it differently from what I'm actually trying to tell you. When the band started, this whole idea came around from where we started creating music; it was just that throwing together of ideas and just letting the inner person take over. When you grow something it becomes a spiritual extension from the individual himself. Where words cannot express . . . Words are just outside terms.

CONTEMPORARY MUSIC IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

PLS WAS!

The simple description that most people attach to contemporary music is "the mixture of traditional and Western European musics". Western music is something that was introduced and what I learned from the book and classroom. Another culture which I may put in my terminology, as a native, is the culture or tradition of "civilisation". One must learn about another culture known as "civilisation". For me as a native, civilisation would mean destroying my world and living in another world, but what difference does it make if a European is wearing a *laplap* and a lady from Oro Province is wearing a *tapa* cloth or a grass skirt?

To categorise all sorts of Papua New Guinea and introduced music is becoming a problem for developing musicians. That includes children learning music in schools. But what music? Of course, the Western music. The word "music" is also from another language, but is used to describe all sounds from traditional and Western musics worldwide. The main groups of music I shall discuss are string band, popular, and contemporary.

When we talk about categorising PNG music, we must state clearly what music we are talking about. When we say PNG music, what sort of PNG music? String band or traditional music? When we study how Western music is categorised, we should look at PNG in many different ways. But I'm writing about how the three categories are related: string band, popular, and contemporary.

String Band Music

Acoustic guitars and ukeleles were the first instruments introduced to natives of PNG. The natives were taught only to play the instruments, not how to make them. Natives can construct instruments and play them. Listening to two *mai* pipe voice modifiers would sound like a synthesiser to any Western musician. But a native can walk into the bush and make one that can sound like a synthesiser.

String band music was introduced. It is not an original idea. This is being said in a real PNG traditional view. The local songs (folk songs) were introduced to the introduced string instruments. Then the style of playing or picking the strings was created. So every province, every village had their own style of playing, which went with their style of singing folk songs. After that, new songs were composed. Still today the string band musicians are composing new songs of all sorts.

Popular Music

After acoustic string instruments, electronic instruments were introduced. Playing by ear was natural to a Papua New Guinean. So popular Western music playing was introduced. Self-taught musicians were introduced to all sorts of songs, talking about different life styles. By that time, the experienced musicians could understand how songs are composed and why songs are written. Then they started composing songs about love, a sad story, etc. The same thing as the string-band songs. When it happened that self-taught musicians were composing their own songs, a new style of PNG popular music was introduced. Playing string-band style songs using Western instruments is what I call popular music. The example of popular music I can give is what is recorded at Chin H. Meen Studios, Pacific Gold Studios, and Kalang service. It simply means that if there is Western popular music, then there is PNG popular music. Popular music had two influences: Western style popular music, and string-band style.

Contemporary Music

Cultural groups and cultural institutions were set up. Schools were established with basic teaching of music, how to sing do-re-mi; the first thing was choir singing. Ideas were used in cultural institutions. Creativity and experimentation slowly crept in. Theatre from the West was introduced. The idea of theatre was very strange to Papua New Guineans. But after all, I realised that I also had cultural drama. Most village men, young and old, were truly natural actors. So the institutions made a breakthrough and introduced "contemporary arts".

Creativity and experimenting became more important in that area. The contemporary performing arts groups and institutions in PNG include Raun Raun Theatre, National Theatre Company, Raun Isi Theatre, Dua Dua Theatre, The Wokabout Marketing (an advertising company using actors), Sanguma, Tumbuna, Tambaran Culture, and the National Arts School, now known as the Faculty of Creative Arts. Contemporary dancing and folk opera was introduced in theatre companies. Expressive Arts was introduced in National High Schools, provincial high schools, and higher technical colleges. The idea of blending two different cultures was introduced at the National High Schools and the National Arts School. Sanguma was formed and experimented with the idea. The title "Sanguma Music" was new to the people of Papua New Guinea, but they were hearing PNG instruments and traditional songs with Western instruments. The idea was promoted and interested many people; it was unique.

Today many people are still asking and trying to categorise Sanguma music. In articles and newspapers, journalists couldn't come up with the title but only explain it as jazz-rock and reggae, with traditional rhythms and songs. Some say jazz fusion, but most of the music journalists say it is pure Sanguma Music, which becomes PNG contemporary music.

The idea of Sanguma Music took the world by surprise, and the music is talked about in every country that Sanguma toured. Most musicians and people in the neighbouring countries are still asking for the group, because the group is the only one in the Pacific with such a unique idea that shocked many countries. Also for Sanguma, the important thing is that they've brought Sanguma Music as far as it could go. It brought PNG contemporary music to the world standard. Music students in those days (1980s and 1990s) were inspired by Sanguma Music, and the idea started developing. The only thing people of PNG found hard was understanding music and what Sanguma was all about. Many people appreciated their music, because they could hear PNG songs and rhythms, and see PNG instruments on stage. The sad thing is that, when Sanguma made it to the top, the country, Papua New Guinea, forgot that Sanguma existed. But they made it.

The idea inspired students, and the recording/performing group Tumbuna was formed in 1983. The group went on for at least four years and released one album with Kalang Studios, which was still under the National Broadcasting Company label. The music was there, except for a lot more use of real PNG ethnic rhythms, and more emphasis on originality, the sounds. But the whole idea of contemporary sound was there.

One other idea was adopted, the use of traditional instruments representing nature and animals in a story/drama. Kiko and Bake, a PNG traditional musical drama along the lines of Peter and the Wolf, was produced by the music students at the National Arts School. All the established theatre companies also got into more experimenting with dance movements and patterns. They used soundtracks for choreographing dance patterns, incorporating PNG traditional dance movements into contemporary forms. Forming a theatre group gave me an experience of practically being self-reliant. Some one would introduce an idea and do what he was capable of first. We formed a band. It all added up to one big theatre group with a music department. The idea was from an Australian, and the group is now known as Dua Dua Theatre.

The Dua Dua Theatre then renamed its band "Duaks". The group was introduced to the idea of contemporary music in 1978. Before that the band used to play popular music and rock music. During that period, Sanguma was heard. It was also quite early for Papua New Guineans to understand and appreciate contemporary music. But popular music was already taking shape as well. Dua Dua Theatre also released a record of contemporary music in 1980 under the NBC label. That was my second stage of playing music, the first being the string band.

Contemporary forms gradually took shape, and when Tumbuna left the National Arts School, Tambaran Culture was formed. This was in 1985, when the music course was re-introduced. The group had a totally different act from Sanguma and Tumbuna. This time it was all PNG tribal: sounds, dance, music, and celebration. There were 23 students in one

class studying music. What music? Western music. During the first year in the school, 20 students were selected for the first tour to Australia. Tambaran Culture's music is more culturally oriented because the group performs traditional dances, traditional music, contemporary music, contemporary dance improvisation using PNG rhythms, plus improvisations on rhythms.

Tambaran Culture has a different approach to PNG traditional music and dance. The use of instruments and the performance of dances and songs show an awareness of cultural rules and of how to use instruments the right way. For that, with all these ideas in mind, the group seriously decided to establish itself as a music and dance company, to help develop performing arts and contemporary arts. Tambaran Culture is now established in the National Museum and Art Gallery as artist-in-residence.

The Background of Tambaran Culture

Tambaran is the name of a Papua New Guinea performing group formed in 1985. Tambaran Culture, as it is known today, was formed by music students who entered the National Arts School in 1985. The class had the highest number of students up to that time, 23. Tambaran is a product of the Creative Workshop course of the Music Department. The aims of the course were:

1. Experimenting in creating music.
2. Searching for a national music identity.
3. Developing the use and repertoire of traditional PNG musical instruments.
4. Studying performance disciplines.
5. Studying performance organisation.
6. Promoting PNG traditional music in the urban situation.

The group also has the responsibility to educate the general public and school children on how to appreciate their own music and dance. By doing that, the people will know and understand why it is important to promote their own culture and have the industry grow. The music can be known as PNG traditional music and PNG contemporary music. Tambaran Culture sets its aim to travel the world and show its music and dance to the rest of the world.

Tambaran perform music in three categories:

1. Tambaran Music and Dance, with as little variation as possible from the original; variations are to accommodate a stage setting.
2. Arranged Traditional Music, blending instruments and rhythms from all over PNG; this is the search for a national musical harmony and the development of what we hope will establish an ensemble of PNG instruments expressing PNG musical forms.
3. Original Compositions, any musical form and any instruments; members usually incorporate international instruments in this section. With

the bias on PNG music training at the National Arts School, we notice that at least 50% of our original compositions end up with a distinctly Papua New Guinean flavour.

The group is highly colourful, all dressed in traditional Papua New Guinean *bilas* - costumes reflecting natural decorations commonly used in traditional Papua New Guinean performances. We enter a stage set with all sizes of *kundus* (membrane-headed drums) and *garamuts* (hollowed out logs; slit-drums). We punctuate and colour our music with bamboo, wood, and shell wind instruments - all traditional PNG instruments. The band demonstrates great skill in handling these traditional "voices of the spirits", as instruments are called in Papua New Guinea.

Tambaran's music is very rhythmic and rousing. It is not always regular by Western standards, with pitch, harmony, and rhythm variations that are unusual but very captivating. At times the band blends modern sounds with the traditional, moving from one instrument to another with a fluidity that you'd expect from musicians who have spent years in the art. It is hard to believe Tambaran Culture has only been studying music since 1985.

From their very first public performance on 28th July, 1985, the band has filled its venues to capacity and have moved audiences to respond with encore requests and standing ovations. In September 1985, Tambaran toured New South Wales, Australia. The band broke attendance records at all performance venues, including Martin Place. Tambaran are full of life. Tambaran confirms that music is the soul of Papua New Guinea.

I have gathered brief biographical sketches of the 23 music students from the 1985 class from which Tambaran Culture developed (Appendix 1). Everyone left Tambaran Culture and found jobs elsewhere in 1990. The sole survivors reformed in 1991: Raymond Ranganin, Pius Wasi, Ben Hakalitz, and George Heni. The membership of Tambaran changed over the years (see Figure 1).

1986- 1988	Vincent Palie, David Daniel, Dorothy Kia, Clement Gima, Peter Piruke, Daniel Manilus, William Valeles, Harry Hesaboda, Randal Aisoli, Angus Vaineti, Cyril Lumbia, Augustine Yendi, Albert Vatahi, Brown Kapi.
1987- 1989	Norah Ratu, Eddie Biru, Chris Urrio, Nelson Eka, Jefferson Chaslon, Bill Griffin, William Karom, Aida Paska, Raphael Yambune, Gary Kaiser, John Ga'a.

Figure 1. Members who joined Tambaran (while students at the National Arts School) from 1986 to 1989, and left the group.

All of Tambaran's tours (Figure 2) produced different experiences, from home to overseas. Looking after and controlling a group of 12-17 members was an experience for every tour manager and group leader.

- 1985 Australia Sydney, Wellington, NSW.
- 1986 Australia PNG Independence Day celebrations in Sydney, Singapore ASTA Holiday Travel Show.
- 1987 Australia Sydney Holiday and Travel Show, Singapore Cultural Exchange.
- 1988 Australia Sydney Holiday and Travel Show, Guam Cultural exchange performance Australia, Brisbane, EXPO '88.
- 1989 Australia Sydney Holiday and Travel Show, Singapore Food Fair.
- 1991 Australia Tour with Not Drowning Waving (Melbourne to Brisbane by road; Pius Wasi and Ben Hakalitz) Vanuatu , Port Villa Promotional Tour.
- 1992 Australia Holiday and Travel Show, Melbourne to Sydney by road.
- 1993 Australia Adelaide World Music and Dance Festival, Pius Wasi and Ben Hakalitz Cook Islands-Rarotonga, South Pacific Festival of Arts, Raymond Rangatin, Ben Hakalitz, Peter Kailap.

Figure 2. Tambaran Culture's Cultural Promotions Abroad

The group learned from experience, other groups, and mistakes, about the problem of really establishing contemporary and other cultural groups. Tambaran Culture, led by Pius Wasi, Raymond Rangatin, and Ben Hakalitz (who was, and still is, the new drummer for Sanguma), searched the city of Port Moresby to find a place for the group to settle, work, and establish itself. After all the members left school and the group (1990), the leader was left by himself. But because of his strong mind to set off for his aim, the group was re-established. After searching the city for a place to work, the Director of the National Museum and Art Gallery, who also had creative ideas, offered a place for the group, providing facilities, such as the open-air amphitheatre, indoor theatrette, use of telephones, and office space. It was like a miracle for the members to feel at home again after the Mother of the group left them. She ran the group with a long-term aim to establish the group in an entertainment centre with offices for the group to run the centre. She and the members really worked very hard to set up the entertainment centre. The centre was built and named the Raun Haus, the PNG National Entertainment Centre.

The whole idea and hard work were taken away. The group was ignored and left homeless. The head of the Music Department was pushed around by the Tourism Department, and cultural institutions were pushed around from department to department. So each cultural institution became an individual entity. The National Arts School was taken away by the University of PNG, Raun Raun Theatre was on its own, and the National Theatre Company was on its own. After learning from all these experiences, Tambaran Culture was re-established at the National Museum of Papua New Guinea. Now, the group is, for the second time, trying to build another entertainment centre, with necessary equipment. In 1991,

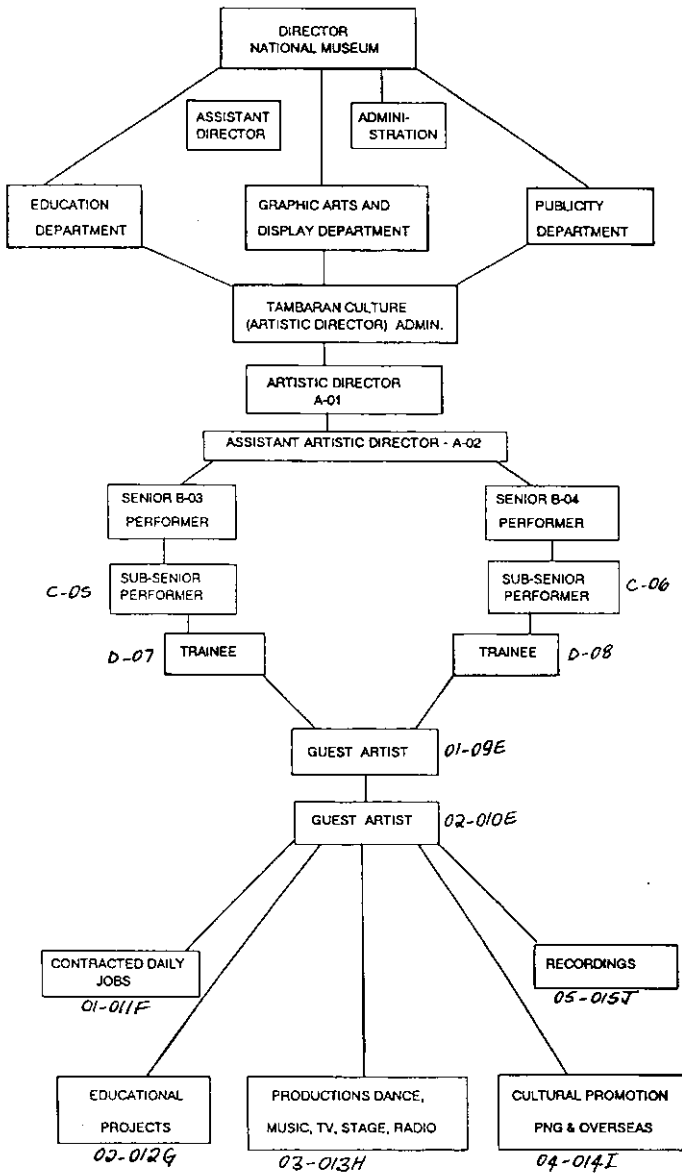


Figure 3. Tambaran Culture's operating structure with the National Museum.

the group's main project was the South-Pacific Games songs, which were recorded at Chin H. Meen Studios. Video clips were done with Pacific View Productions, and shown on the local TV station, EM-TV. Both the cassette and the video were on sale at the same time. The group made a big impact during the South Pacific Games.

Also in 1991, the group was engaged to do performances around Port Moresby with a group from Australia, Not Drowning Waving, and two of the members were contracted to tour with the group to Australia. In 1992 the PNG musical documentary with Not Drowning Waving and members of Tambaran Culture was launched live on SBS Television in Sydney. At the World Music and Dance Festival (WOMAD) in Adelaide in February, 1993, Ben Hakalitz and Pius Wasi were engaged with Not Drowning Waving to represent PNG with all the world-class musicians. Tambaran's repertoire includes music and dance from all over PNG; its members also come from different areas of the country. Thus, the group represents PNG as a whole.

Tambaran Culture is now self-employed and working hard to preserve its culture with its own programs, in conjunction with the National Museum. The group pays its members through performances. But now, after proving to the Museum what the group can do, the Museum has set a new department for Contemporary Arts, Public Programs (see Figure 3). Through that program, six members of the group (Figure 4, numbers 1-3 and 5-7) receive K30 as pocket allowance from the National Museum. Thank you so much, National Museum, for helping the struggling musicians of PNG. Tambaran Culture is performing and will perform—to the last member. It is fit for survival; no matter what happens, even with no resources, the group will survive with PNG's traditional music and instruments. Even with only one or two men, the show will, and must, go on.

Traditional Copyright Law in PNG

Do we Papua New Guineans know if there is a traditional copyright law in this country? I grew up knowing that I had a law that protects traditional music and dance. When I came into the city I found out that there was another Western copyright law that protects Western music. Which copyright law are we trying to enforce in PNG? Is there any form of law that we can use in the urban areas? The PNG traditional copyright law has been in existence but hasn't been recognised. The law is similar to the Western law, but is used in different ways. For example, the traditional songs and instruments which belong to men remain within the men's house (Tok Pisin, *haus tambaran*). Women and children are not allowed in that area to observe. Also, songs, dances, and instruments form the identities of a particular group of people, therefore they require payment if a song, dance, or instrument is taken out of the village or province and performed somewhere else.

1. Artistic director and core member. [Pius Wasi]
2. Assistant artistic director and core member. [Raymond Ranga tin]
3. Senior core performer [George Heni]
4. Senior core performer [Ben Hakalitz]
5. Sub-senior performer [Vincent Palie]
6. Sub-senior performer [Norah Ratu]
7. Trainee [Mike Asa]
8. Trainee.
9. Guest Artist [Peter Kailep]
10. Guest Artist.
11. Contracted daily jobs.
12. Educational projects.
13. Productions: dance, musical, TV, radio.
14. Cultural promotions: PNG and overseas.
15. Studio recording.
16. Inward correspondence I.
17. Outward correspondence I.
18. Artistic director's personal file.
19. Higher forms and pay-sheets,. 1992/1993.
20. Outward correspondence II 1993.
21. Inward correspondence II 1993.
22. Minutes.
23. Sponsor letters.
24. PNG copyright.
25. New/old pay-sheets.
26. Government expense receipts.
27. Group expenses receipts.
28. Publicity and press releases.
29. Tour documents.
30. Costumes.
31. Traditional instruments.
32. Western instruments.

Figure 4. Tambaran Culture's filing index and current position-holders.

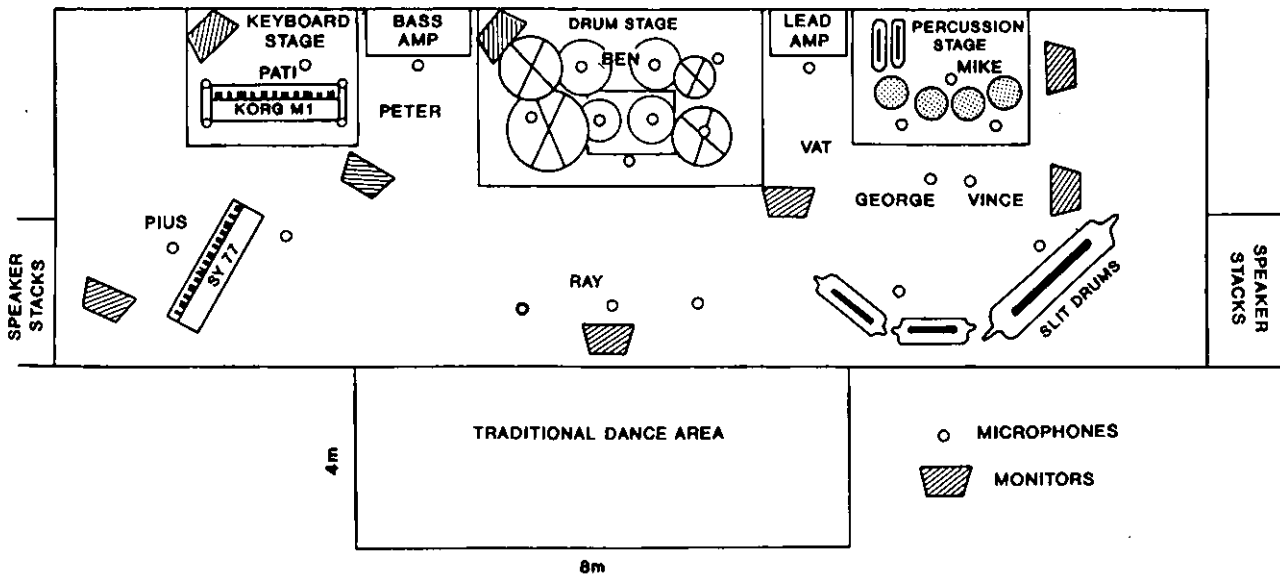
If the country wants to use the two laws, the laws can work separately. Popular music in PNG can be taken care of by Western copyright law, and traditional and contemporary music by traditional copyright laws. The question is: is there any form of law that's going to be used in PNG to protect our cultural heritage? Papua New Guinean law existed with the culture itself. The government's came later. The law was already there to protect music and dance, whereas, from what I understand, Western copyright law protects only what has been created by artists themselves. That is the difference. If there is PNG traditional copyright law, why have the traditional artefacts, paintings of masks, and instruments from all over PNG been exploited around the world, without knowing that the copyright law did exist in PNG? If the Western copyright law can protect its music

and arts - the original works - then why can't PNG law work for its original artefacts from the villages, to prevent people from selling them cheaply? But, if Papua New Guineans are creating original works, how can PNG protect them; which copyright law will work?

Appendix I. Backgrounds of 1985 Music Students

- I. Oa Aihi, from Central Province, was a Visual Arts student in 1984, but switched over to music. He graduated in 1988.
- 2, 3. Albert and Joe, from Central Province, came to study music straight from high school without a real aim, so they left school after a couple of weeks.
4. Daniel Misa, from East Sepik Province, studied music after he had been working; he was sponsored by his church (Assembly of God).
5. Loujaya Dunar, from Morobe and Gulf Provinces, is a Seventh Day Adventist gospel singer, self-taught. She graduated from the University of Papua New Guinea as a journalist. She studied voice at the National Arts School.
6. Jimmy Elias, from East Sepik and Central Provinces, is the last-born of his family. He was the young drummer in their family band called Soles. His family sponsored him to study music theory. He is still playing in their band, but did not complete the music course.
7. Edward Gende, from Chimbu Province in the highlands, went to the National Arts School from Kainantu High School. He graduated in 1988 and went on to teach music, especially guitar.
8. George Heni, from Gulf Province, was sponsored by Raun Isi Theatre from Wewak. He is an actor and traditional dancer. He graduated in 1988.
9. John Jaysimo, from Eastern Highlands Province, went to study music after wandering around after high school. He couldn't continue his music studies, and became a cameraman with EM-TV in Port Moresby.
10. Steven Kairi, from Gulf Province, was sent to study music by a religious organisation, because he was having trouble raising school fees to continue high school.
- II. Dorothy Kia, from the National Capital District, Central Province, joined the group in 1986, but did not complete her studies.
12. Luke Kouza, from West Sepik Province, had graduated from the University of Papua New Guinea and went on to study music, but couldn't continue.
13. Esther Kulbob, from East Sepik and Madang Provinces, is a graduate of the school of nursing. She worked for a few years and then decided to study music. She couldn't continue for family reasons.
14. Yanda Nobu, from Morobe Province, was also a female student who couldn't complete the course.
15. Hickari Novulu, from Gulf Province, was from the working class, and a rugby player. He was involved with religious groups, singing and playing guitar. This led to his interest in studying music. Halfway through, he decided to work for the students, so he became a school warden.
16. Raymond Rangatin, from New Ireland Province, went to study music straight from Keravat National High School, after playing with school bands. He graduated in 1988.

17. Pius Ripason, from Chimbu Province, was another working class man who came to study music. Unfortunately, his interest faded.
18. John Sikiri, from East Sepik Province, went to the Arts School undecided from high school, so he left the school.
19. David Vavia, from Central Province, went to study music from Kerevat National High School. He graduated with a diploma.
20. David Waive, from Gulf Province, was a string band guitarist who was also working as a security guard. He had an aim to help his string band, but didn't graduate due to survival hardship. He released an album with his string band and started working with Chin H. Meen Studios.
21. Oscar Wanu, from Morobe and West New Britain Provinces, went in from National High School. He was also attending music classes at Ayura National High. He couldn't complete his studies, but after leaving school went on to perform music and drama with the theatre group formed by Pius Wasi and others in Lae.
22. Pius Wasi, from East Sepik Province, was a self-taught musician who came to study music first in 1981-82. He left and then returned in 1985, sent to school by Dua Dua Theatre in Lae. He was also the last member who joined Sanguma in 1988. He graduated in 1989.
23. Augustine Yendi, from East Sepik Province, left school after a couple of weeks, but came back in 1987 and completed the four years. He is now a National High School music teacher.



SOURCES, OWNERSHIP OF SONGS AND APPROACHES TO COMPOSITION IN RECENT COMMERCIAL MUSIC FROM RABAUL

MICHAEL WEBB

At the outset I wish to acknowledge all of the Rabaul musicians whose names are mentioned in the following paper (and some who remain unidentified), for generously spending time with me over the past five months, and for their willingness to teach me.

In March of this year [1993] I attended a rehearsal of the band Hoodsco, at Nangananga, outside Rabaul in East New Britain. The band were preparing for a dance at a club at Bitarebarebe, and at the outset of the rehearsal the leader brought out a large ledger-type book which contained the lyrics to numerous songs in their repertoire. After gaining permission I looked through the book and noticed a repertoire list on one page [see Appendix]. Of the 46 songs, eight were from non-PNG bands or musicians; five original to members of the band itself; 29 songs from the repertoires of Rabaul, Tolai, Duke of York or New Ireland musicians; and several from other PNG sources. Hoodsco is typical of Gazelle Peninsula club-dance bands in that they mainly perform cover versions, and it is significant that these are predominantly "local" songs, representing a gradual shift in this direction over the past decade. I became interested in how this shift can be accounted for, but more specifically who was providing the song material and how it was being created. The topic interested me for other reasons: I heard talk of "running out of songs"; there were accusations of song theft; conflicting claims of song authorship; musicians talking of developing marketing strategies regarding song selection for cassette albums; and listener participation in song composition.

With this paper I present, by way of an ethnographic report, a preliminary investigation of the musical material included on some recent commercial cassette albums produced in Rabaul recording studios. I look at the related aspects of music production: song sources (both in terms of "inspiration" and origin), the various understandings of composition processes, and current attitudes to song ownership. Along the way I will sketch in some historical details in a general way, which will contribute to an understanding of choices being made in song selection.

It should be emphasised from the outset that Gazelle Peninsula peoples have been exposed to a wide range of "new" musics for more than 100 years. Besides the introduction of religious and patriotic songs of German, British, Australian, and Japanese colonial governments at various stages since 1875, the technologies of gramophone (being heard regularly in the early 1900s on Matupit), film, and later, radio, have shaped the repertoires of local musicians and communities. From the latter part of the 19th century ships and their crews contributed to the transmission and circulation of new musics to, from, and around the Gazelle Peninsula. Before the turn of the century a number of Tolai musicians had performed in Berlin before large audiences and on the Peninsula itself, and the new tradition of *singsing* festivals featuring *ol singsing peles* from various parts of the country were features of plantation entertainment.

The literature indicates at least four, perhaps five layers of musical culture being practiced in Rabaul even as it was being created, reflecting the racial hierarchy instituted by colonial governments, and maintained internally with different strategies by the various groups. Based on an evolutionist model, the local indigenous population were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy, Europeans at the top, and in between, the Ambonese or Malay, so-called Mixed-race, and Chinese populations vied for positions of superior status. Even in a strict socially-segregated and urbanising setting, cultural boundaries were not able to be rigidly maintained, and so a certain degree of "overflow" was inevitable: cultural practices leaked through the cracks. It appears that the present seems to be an unprecedented moment of diversity and richness of music sources and approaches to composition, but such a situation is not without its attendant problems, several of which I will allude to in the material which follows.

Terminology

In current commercial music originating in the Rabaul area songs appear to be either

- composed (or at least co-composed) by the performers themselves
- "given" to the performers to record by another party (and in some cases "taken")
- reworked versions of older local songs
- drawn from music repertoires of precontact song and dance forms
- largely derived from overseas popular songs or church music

Field enquiry reveals that what I as a researcher understood by the verb, "to compose", seems to have acquired more shades of meaning, locally. Regarding Tolai *malagene* or *singsing pies*, the creators of songs and dances are indisputably identifiable since they belong to customary schools of composition and choreography known as *bual*. These *bua*i are

named and are the historically traceable cultural property of family lineages. Creators are paid for their compositional and teaching services and their dance and music creations are only used by another party if payment of *tabu* is made. One Tolai composer explained that

[E]ach *buai* has a kind of basic song - a model song on which we base our compositions. It serves as a pattern for a composer. We can invent variations on the basic rhythm and tune, but the end product must be recognisable as belonging to this particular *buai*. If you have not achieved that then you are a failure (Enos 1977).

It is possible that many younger Tolai composers, for example, consider culturally external source material as types of "basic" or "model" songs; "patterns" for their new pop songs, in much the same way as in the customary system.

A brief discussion of the terminology relating to composition processes reveals both a lack of consensus in usage and of precision in meaning. Here we can look at two sources: cassette cover notes (usually written by the performers, sometimes with the assistance of a studio employee), and the terms used by musicians in conversation. Cassette cover notes sometimes acknowledge composers, as for example on the cassette *Drop In* by Gilgilwang Stringband of Bialla (PAC-254): "*Bikpela tenkyu i go long ...* composer Lawrence Steven", who is not listed as a member of the band. In some cases the term "composer" will be listed among a musician's credits on a given album, as on the most recent album by Hanglooze Mates of Butuwin (CHM 837): "Bernard Magiao - Main Vocals/Composer/Harmonies". In the cover notes of an album by Barike (PAC-270) two band members are credited as "arranger", and there is no mention of a "composer". A final example here brings into view the orality/literacy divide. The cover notes on Leonard Kania's just-released album *Kas Out '93* (CHM 845) state that "He writes his own songs, arranges the music and sings his original compositions". A casual conversation with a university-educated Tolai friend last week (he had just been listening to this album on a Walkman), indicated that he was interpreting the term "writes" literally, telling me that this made the process sound more prestigious than it actually is. He said that these songs are not written down; they simply go around and around in the mind of the composer and are stored there - "they might scratch down a word or two on paper, but not all these dots and dashes [music notation] - never!" In fact many composers do write down their song lyrics and keep them collected in a book. Few use music notation, though I have encountered one church musician who composes through standard Western notation which he taught himself from theory workbooks, and the singer/composer Blasius ToUna has for 40 years composed through cipher notation taught to him by a priest, Fr Joseph Reischl.

Another term occasionally used by musicians is "cover version". In Western popular music terms a cover version is a recorded performance of another composer's song, which, through the process of musical arrangement and adjustment of various musical parameters, attempts to convey something new. In Rabaul I have heard the term used in two ways. The first, in the sense referred to at the outset in the case of the Hoodsco repertoire, where recognizable imitations of the original recordings are expected in the live performance context; and the second, to a song which borrows a melody from an overseas source, and combines it with new lyrics - they may be in any language, but are often in Tok Pisin. An example would be Barike's recent national hit song, "Aiya, Aiyo" (PAC-522), the melody of which is apparently derived from a song sung by Italian heartthrob Julio Iglesias, whose music permeated even the least accessible regions of the globe several years ago. In the mid-1980s a three-cassette recording project known as *Brukim Bus* ("shortcut") codified this approach to music composition. An international song is domesticated or localised, and often local listeners are not aware of the source, claiming the new song as their own.

The process has several different historical precedents in the Rabaul area. The first case is that of the extremely musically and culturally influential United Church Kuanua language hymn book *A Buk na Kakailai* (United Church 1984), where authorship of text and origin of melody are clearly stated and indisputable: the melodic source (such as Methodist Hymn Book, Alexander's Hymns, Salvation Army Tune Book and so on) is listed at the top of each hymn while the text-author's name is provided below the printed text. While the missionary Benjamin Danks began translating hymns into Kuanua in the late 1870s, it was not long before church-educated Tolai men created their own texts to set to introduced hymn melodies. Again, many of these were not merely translations from the original English, but reflected local experience, and theological understanding. I have provided one brief example, the third stanza of hymn number 9, in English translation:

**If I was to really see the power of Your handiwork
In one of the volcanoes
Such as the one at Tavana [Vulcan]
I would realise I have no permanent place in this world'**

Given that today it is widely believed that Tolai elders "bought" (in the customary sense, with *tabu* or shell money) the new music from Rev. George Brown in 1875, it seems natural that they would feel free to compose substitute texts for the English hymns.

The second precedent relates to the repertoires of early guitar bands in Rabaul. At least from the 1950s the so-called Mixed-race community's

social clubs featured bands with eclectic repertoires. The most popular singer of the late 1950s, Paul Cheong, of Chinese and New Ireland parentage, was highly regarded locally for his very competent vocal imitations of singers as diverse as Louis Armstrong, Johnny Ray, Jim Reeves, and Harry Belafonte. Guitarist Willie Seeto formed the Tremors (note the local reference in the band name, to Rabaul's volcanically active locale) in the early 1960s and recently sang me one of the songs in their repertoire, a version of John Denver's "Leavin' on a Jet Plane" (1969), a portion of which was translated into the pidgin spoken by the Mixed-race community:

*Olgeta pies mi go mi tingting long yu
Olgeta song mi sing, mi singim long yu
Sapos mi kam bek mi bring yu planti tabu*

The repeated coda of the performance alternates "jet plane", "*balus*", and "*feikei*" [phonetic spelling]: English, Tok Pisin, and Chinese words for airplane, respectively, and the above excerpt substitutes the English "wedding ring" with the Tolai "equivalent", *tabu* "shell currency".

The term "remake" also has some currency, and usually refers to an updated, electric version of an older local song, commonly a stringband song. I will elaborate on this practice below. It can be seen that English terms are used when referring to song compositions in the current commercial context. When conversing in Tok Pisin about his and his band's compositions, well known composer of stringband songs, Roy Mangut of Eagles Mixed stringband of Matupit used the expression "*ol compose bilong mipela*". He was stressing the point that some of his songs are recorded by other bands, who failing to acknowledge their source. In Kuanua the term "*pipit*" refers to the noun "composition", while the verb "*pinipit*" refers to process of composing: it remains to be established whether Tolai composers of commercial music use these terms in the more recent musical context. Many musicians import the English term "song" into Tok Pisin, or use the term "*singsing*", hence "*singsing bilong mi*" or "*song bilong mi*".

Importing English terms relating to the creative process is no guarantee that their meaning is transferred intact. Consider the following excerpt of an interview in February this year with Judas Molek of Narox Band (Duke of York Islands) by NBC radio journalist Robert Anisia:

R.A.: *Molek, planti long ol singsing nau mi wok long lukim i gat dispela kain tiun i klostu wankain olsem ol olupela Kantri music bilong ol waitman. Husat tru i wok long komposim ol dispela singsing long ol kaset bilong yupela?*

J.M.: *Em nau ol dispela nupela singsing gen ating long own ar-*

rangement bilong mi yet mi wok long deal wantaim ol dispela niupela arrangement gen na yupela i harim olsem i wok long go olsem ol Country stail. Mi wok long traim long tanim hau musik bilong mi bai go narakain liklik bikos nowadays em yumi ken harim olsem olgeta ben ol i wok long go wantaim wanpela old stail tasol. Olsem na mi laik bai karai bilong musik bilong mi i mas narakain liklik tu long ol narapela.

R.A.: Molek, many of your songs sound similar to old Country-and-Western songs. Who actually composed these songs on your new cassette?

J.M.: That's right - these new songs are my very own arrangements. I've been dealing with new arrangements and those are the ones that sound like Country-style music to you. I'm working at adapting my music so that it sounds a bit different, because nowadays all you hear are the majority of bands playing in the same old style. Because of this, I work at producing my own sound which is distinct from all of the others.[translations by M. W.].

Here, Molek may be either evading the issue of the ultimate source of his songs, instead substituting the term "arrangement" (and using it interchangeably with another term, "*stail*"), or he may have a conception of composition which permits heavy borrowing from other source material. The notion of "arrangement" is important in new music, and has come in to use as a result of exposure to transnational pop music forms and multitrack recording technology, though formal music education has contributed to its currency as well. Let's listen briefly to what Anisia and Molek are talking about [Example 1. "Tagur na Lar" by Narox].

Differentiated Areas of Composition - Lyrics

Currently song lyrics, music (in most cases melody and chordal accompaniment), and arrangement are differentiated areas of composition in the Rabaul area. Song composition seems to rely heavily on collaboration, in various ways, and no more so than in the area of song lyrics. A unique feature of an overwhelming number of songs composed for commercial recordings in the New Guinea Islands region is the practice where a listener delivers to a musician (by mail or by hand), either a "story" or pre-composed song lyric. This material is to form the basis of a song for inclusion on a cassette album. I have been told that this practice is only as recent as commercially recorded "live" or electric bands (a little over a decade), and is dependent upon a literate mode of communication. (At Matupit last Monday I attended a rehearsal for a traditional dance to be performed at a wedding later in the month, and noted one singer reading the song text from a sheet of paper). Virtually without exception these lyric "requests" contain details of a damaged (usually male) ego through

casual liaisons (premarital or extramarital), broken promises, and conflicts with disapproving relatives, or a jealous marriage partner. The object of the lyric writer (the wronged party) is to shame or humiliate the former partner in the relationship.

Julie ToLiman told me that she receives submissions of stories for songs on a variety of topics, and when incidents about broken relationships are related or submitted to her, she reworks the story or lyrics, disguising identities and always looks for a lighter, humorous side to the situation depicted. Bernard Magiao has recorded several songs based on stories given to him by his mother, mostly about her experiences while working as a nurse outside of the province.

Several musicians have told me that some requests are extremely clever with their use of language play, mixing English, Tok Pisin and *tok pies* for effect. Both men and women participate in this practice, and there is at least one example where they create a "dialogue" vicariously through commercial cassettes: a man (ToBen) submitted a story about his friendship with a woman (Elizabeth) to be included on an album by Kopex Band several years ago. Elizabeth's reply was included on an album by Nogat Wok Band sometime later, denying many of the details on the ToBen's song.

An explanation of the intended "work" of such a song is again provided by Judas Molek of Narox, in his description of the composition of his song "Resign":

One of my sisters wanted me to compose and record a song for her, and she wanted it to convey [a particular] mood. The sound or mood had to be a bit sad; the kind of song that would cause a person to really think about his actions. This was because her family was going through some hard times as a result of their father playing around. My sister was discouraged and wanted to leave them, and that's how and why I composed "Resign". So I set those lyrics to that tune and those guitar patterns, because I see that these days many families are experiencing difficulties like this, and I wanted the song to be relevant to others, because many husbands leave their wife and children. [Translation by M.W.]

Some composers and singers are known for their songs of this type, among them George Telek and Kanai Pineri. George Telek told me that on occasion his songs have resulted in a reconciliation. Some people requesting such songs from established musicians accompany the request and lyric material with a small payment (K10 or K15, 1 was told by George Telek); others offer either cash payment or a carton of beer if the song is actually recorded and released, although Kanai Pineri told me that these offers have yet to eventuate for him. Julie ToLiman said that she is of-

ferred payment on occasion, however she never accepts it, as she feels she will include such a song on an album only on the basis of merit. Several musicians (including Erex Suisui) consider these songs to be "album filler" ("*bilong bilasim album tasol*") and prefer not to include them since they often result in controversy. As a genre they are widely disliked, in particular by older listeners, because they are often explicit, both sexually and in revealing the identity of persons involved.

Further research may indicate that some of these can be better understood in the context of the traditional genre of either *warbat* songs or another traditional genre. According to Apisai Enos, "*Warbat* is an institution in which boys express their feelings on love and sex in magic songs" (Enos 1971:2). The songs and associated magic work to control a girl's "heart and mind and make her love the boy" (*Ibid.*). Let's briefly examine two examples, the first is part of a lyric shown to me by Erex Suisui of Painim Wok Band, the second, a "story" shown to me by Oscar and Sebastian Babate of Kopex (and loosely translated by Sebastian).

Song lyric

"Nai Gee Reject"

[nickname]

Sore na wari i kisim mi taem yu luslain long mi.

I was overcome with pain and loneliness when you left me.

Bai mi wokim wenem nau?

What will I do now?

Em i oraet mi pasindia mangi tasol long peles bilong yu

It's okay, I'm just a freeloader around your place

Leva lustingting long mi

My sweetheart has abandoned me

Contract i expire pinis

My contract has expired

[Post script]

Dear Palik, wokim gut bai karai sore - bel sore.

Dear Palik, make it a good one so she really cries - heartbroken.

Song story

Stori olsem,

Mi bin go long wok long Popondetta or Oro Province. Bihain wampela meri mix Matalau na West i bin salim tok long mi, mi mangi NgaSanap [Ngatur]. Na em bin wok long PNGBC Popondetta. Na bihain wampela del mi bin ringim em bai mitupela

i silip wanpela nait long Lamington Hotel long Popondetta yet. Na bihain i bin wanpela gutpela nait trull Yu save!! ha ha. Na bihain mi bin bringim em long Girua Airport, bai em go pas long Pom City [Port Moresby] bai em i wok long PNGBC long Town insait long Pom. Na mi bin bihainim i go long POM na em i no bin lukluk gut long mi nau [the term "vok" for plantation worker or foreigner/outsider is used]. Ating em tasol.

Name - bilong meri IaR. S.J.

Na mi bai yu sotcut long en olsem !! [P . . . J]

HOlsem Chris, save stap long yu - Hai ha ho!!

Mi [P....]

Arrangement and Rearrangement

Recently, Bernard Magiao - one of the composers and lead singer of the stringband Hanglooze Mates - showed me his song book (containing the lyrics of his compositions). Inside the front cover was a performance list of five of his songs, four of which were followed by style labels in parentheses, including the categories "Island Reggae", "Boogie", "Sentimental", and "Solo n Rock". Bernard seems to first compose a song (always at midnight, he told me) he then sets or arranges it in one of these or some other style categories (such as "stringband"). He and a number of other musicians have indicated to me that listeners expect a variety of styles on a single album, regardless of whether it is by a stringband or a live or electric band. This awareness of styles (related to public musical taste and marketing strategies) brings the concept of arrangement (and "rearrangement") into the discussion of notions of the process of composition. The term "rearrangement" is usually used in the context of traditional songs, where the song may be accompanied by instruments, and arranged in a certain style, but may also be pulled apart and put back together in a different way - certain lines of text or melodic phrases are repeated in a new order, for example.

Patrick Babate of Kopex (a former National Arts School music student) does distinguish between composition and arrangement, and further, between style, as one might expect. His brother Oscar composes the songs then leaves it to Patrick to arrange and decide what style the band should use for each particular song. Patrick does attribute his talent for arranging to his education within the traditional *buai* system, however.

George Telek's collaborations with David Bridie of the Melbourne, Australia, ambient music group Not Drowning, Waving, exemplify the way notions of composition and arrangement are bound together: Telek is now a member of A P R A (Australian Performing Rights Association) and his songs such as "Tabaran" and "Amidal" are copyrighted in both his and Bridie's names, registering by actual percentages the extent of involvement of each musician in the "composition" process. Incidentally, Telek

admitted to me that these "ethnic or third world" arrangements of PNG music for overseas audiences won't sell within PNG. He said that PNG audiences prefer more familiar, less cluttered, uncomplicated arrangements. Listen to Telek and Bridie's arrangement of "Amidal" from a CD single released in Australia last year. This performance is an example of what Telek calls "freeform" arrangement [Example 2. "Amidal"]

Musical Structure

Musical structure is also linked with arrangement. The AB Verse/Chorus idea has largely replaced a monochordal or later primary chordal accompaniment to songs following the structure of traditional songs. This may explain why medleys are becoming more common when recording remakes of stringband songs (current remakes on Barike, Erex Suisui, and a traditional song medley by Narox): the songs are not considered to be substantial enough to stand alone. I hear from studio engineers that audience expectations are changing and the brief repetitive strophic stringband songs of the 1960s and 1970s have to make way for the more "complex" pop song formula "intro/verse/chorus/lead break/ verse/chorus/outro". The chord sequence employing the three primary triads and the supertonic has been a widely used compositional device and compositional foundation since the advent of Gazelle Peninsula stringband music in the 1950s. The lead break was a component of stringband performance, and the term used for the chord sequence of the lead break was "step". Highly regarded composer Samuel Bata, formerly of Yellow Top Band, has described to me in detail how he follows the patterns of melodic alternation and repetition of well known hymns in *A Buk na Kakailai* for his gospel compositions. To Bata has thought carefully through the composition process, since he has many requests from people asking him to teach them how to compose gospel songs.

The Song Resource Pool

Many musicians or bands recording in Rabaul are known for whether or not they compose their own songs: I often hear the comment regarding this band or that musician - "*ol i no gat singsing*" - meaning they don't compose songs themselves. This fact doesn't seem to be directly related to the prestige or success of the musicians, since three musicians/bands most frequently singled out in this regard are Barike, George Telek, and Painim Wok Band (among PNG's most commercially successful musicians). Donald Lessy of Barike has told me that the pressure of turning out recording after recording for some musicians puts a strain on their song supply. Kanai Pineri, for example, records as a member of Barike, Shut-down Band, and as a "solo artist". He has also been engaged in what are known locally as "projects" such as the *Semitones of Rabaul* album featur-

ing himself and Lessy. Kanai is therefore recording around four albums per year. While he composes songs himself, usually based on memorable personal experiences ("Wewak i Paia", "Maborasa", "Submarine Base" being some of his better know, even notorious songs), he is not prolific and so relies on other sources. What are these sources upon which musicians rely?

Besides self-composed songs the resource pool includes "traditional" songs from a musician's home area as well as from other areas or provinces; old stringband songs (themselves sometimes based on "traditional" songs - the song is being filtered by historical process); and songs by other composers. Songs in this latter category may be "given", "stolen", or "remade" (prior association often ensures popularity with listeners). Let's look quickly at each of these ways of acquiring songs. A good example of a recent song being given to a musician is "Boram Sunset" recorded by George Telek. I pieced together the background to this song from information from Telek, John Wong, and in person and over the radio from Justin Kili, on his PNG Top 20 program. J. K. told me that Dabsi Yapuc (originally from Finschafen) "gave" the song to Telek. According to Telek, Dabsi had recently "changed life" (that is, converted to Christianity) and so no longer wished to record the song about "*ol meri Sepik*" paddling on Boram Lagoon. As John Wong told the story (he was working with CHM at the time, recording a Telek album), Dabsi and his gospel group were leaving the studio. Dabsi lagged behind the others, closed the studio door behind them and told Telek to listen quickly; he had a song for him to record. Apparently while Dabsi was anxious to leave his past behind him, he considered the song too good to go unrecorded. Back in Rabaul, Alfred Darby devised and recorded the "South Seas" guitar arrangement which was a major factor in the commercial acceptance of the song. Telek subsequently had a substantial hit with the song.

When a PNG musician records a song from another province or area, this seldom escapes contestation. Telek told me that he was challenged by a Sepik musician over the phone, saying that the song was his and that Telek had no right to sing it. CHM cassette salesmen in Rabaul told me that Sepik residents complained that a popular Tolai singer was praising "their" women (through the song lyrics), as though they were available to anyone for the taking.

Consider two other brief examples of songs being given to musicians. In April I was visiting engineers in CHM studio in Rabaul when Tivon Lakua (engineer and a Tolai) asked me to listen to a great new song he had been "given" the day before. He related that he had been working in the recording studio when a local policeman and his *wantok* from Duke of York islands dropped in and asked whether he would like a "traditional" song to record on his or any other musician's album. Tivon jumped at the

chance and had the two men sing the song to a drum programmed accompaniment which he recorded as a guide track. When I arrived the next day he was layering keyboard instruments and electric guitars over and around the song, preparing to rerecord the vocal part. He had asked the men to write down the text so that he could pronounce it correctly. The song was to go on an album by his band Kokorats, which he was currently recording.

Several days ago Julie ToLiman described to me her musical strategy, or "psychology" as she called it. Her first solo cassette (named *Toinara* after her family's *buai* or traditional school of music and dance) contained her own and her father's songs; her second, third and fourth, songs from elsewhere in PNG including one (on her second album) given to her by a man from Southern Highlands Province working in Rabaul. She practised the song then went to him for coaching on language pronunciation before recording it. Apparently Southern Highlanders were very pleased with the recording, which features Julie's unmistakable Tolai musical interpretation. [Example 3. "Ka-Noma-Pora Sikimu"] The album she was recording this week in Rabaul contains songs from Manus, Nissan Island, and Bougainville and Vanuatu - and here she is deliberately recording songs further afield, even though she is a prolific composer herself. George Telek made the following comment to me: "I'm not a Tolai any more, I'm a Papua New Guinean - I record songs from all over PNG". Recording songs from all over can reflect any combination of desperation, common-sense marketing, or broad-minded musicianship.

At this stage I won't devote much time to "stolen" songs since it is a controversial area, however it seems that cassette technology is largely the means of transmission here. (I stress that I'm not verifying whether the examples I provide are true or not, but simply what I have been told, and so interesting to the extent that feelings are being verbalised by musicians). Demonstration tapes submitted to studios for consideration are one source pointed to by some disgruntled musicians. They claim that theirs or other bands' demonstration tapes are rejected, while studio employees cream off the best songs for their own bands to play. One composer claimed to me that a number of his songs have been appropriated by other musicians. At drinking parties where his stringband has performed, people have brought their cassette recorders and recorded the music. The tapes have subsequently been circulated and the composer has heard excerpts of his lyrics turn up on albums by one of PNG's most popular Tolai musicians (he names specific songs of his and connects them with songs by this musician).

A milder form of appropriation occurred in the case of a member of Eagles Mixed Stringband, where Barike recorded his song "Bomblas" on one of their albums. They sought permission, although the composer wasn't

actually acknowledged on the album and didn't receive any remuneration, which left him feeling exploited. A slightly different case concerns that of the recently popular song "Iau Serious Tarn", the authorship of which is contested by two well known musicians. Recorded initially by George Telek on a solo album, the song became a hit. Subsequently, Painim Wok band (of which Telek had been a member) recorded the song, and over the radio this version was being referred to as the "cover version" (once the superculture establishes the song's authorship, it is difficult to refute). Telek claimed to me that the song was his; John Warbat of Painim Wok told me that the song was jointly composed by a group of musicians and friends - Telek among them - at a club, while drinking and playing around with a guitar. Telek recorded the song first while the rest of his band were away on tour. John Warbat told me that this was also the case with "Namisali" which Painim Wok had already arranged in "African Style" before it became a hit for Telek and Henry Kuskus. They subsequently dropped their version from their then forthcoming album.

The point here is not to expose "villains" who exploit lesser known local musicians, but to indicate that the realm of popular music seems to be less bound by established conventions than traditional music. Perhaps as a result of its wider circulation (hence being less personal or local) ownership of new songs will remain unmanageable for some time to come. The music industry mechanism now in place softens and even breaks down culturally established notions of ownership of expressive cultural property such as dances and songs. Musical and hence cultural individualism brings potentially wider fame and public recognition, but as a trade off, a powerlessness in terms of being able to manage rights of ownership.

All sorts of songs are "remade" or "rearranged", including older stringband songs and traditional songs. John Wong's recent "Dust Over Rabaul" came from the repertoire of the Kambiu Club Stringband, an Ambonese and Mixed-race group of the late 1940s. Junior Unbelievers and then Kopex popularised the recording of a song genre called *a hot*, which originated during German colonial times. As New Irelanders became increasingly mobile and many worked on plantations on the Gazelle, or as ships' crews, they disseminated the genre, which is known for its "*kranki Tok Pisin*", humorous mixture of languages, and frequent references to life on the sea. Current bands often take liberties with the texts, updating them. "Traditional" songs of various genres are becoming more common on pop music cassettes, in the New Guinea Islands region. I observed Donald Lessy of Barike bringing one of his relatives into the studio to sing several songs of the *kaka* style of New Ireland onto a tape, which he later played repeatedly to Kanai Pineri until he in turn had learned the melodies. Later I watched as Donald and Kanai worked out guitar chords, drumming patterns, then a complete pop music arrangement for

the songs to be included on a forthcoming Barike cassette.

Bongas of Reks Band of Finschafen (who come to Rabaul by ship to record their albums) explained to me their process of adapting traditional songs for rock band. The process involves one of three options:

Singsing mipela singim na putim ol tiun bilong gita i go na em ifit olgeta, mipela i singim stret - original - [olsem] ol tumbuna i save singim. Na sapos i hat liklik, mipela i senisim na putim narapela i go insait gen. O, i hat olgeta, mipela senisim olgeta gen. Putim ol tiun bilong mipela yet.

If a [traditional] song fits perfectly with a guitar accompaniment, we sing it straight - original - just as our elders sang it. But if there are difficulties in reconciling the melody and the chords, we alter the tune in order to make it fit. Or if it is impossible to match the two, we change the melody completely and replace it with our own. [Translation by M.W.].

Listen to a "traditional" song performed by Robin Steven [Example 4. "Toksave"] as an example of the first of Bongas' options, above.

It is important to note that Tolai and New Ireland pop musicians are careful to use only "traditional" songs for which they have the rights. They couldn't contemplate using a song to which they didn't have access through relationships. A "*singsing peles*" village song belongs to the person who commissioned its composition. It can be reused, but must be bought with *tabu*.

In quite a number of cases at present, musicians whose spouse comes from another province find that they have an additional song source, particularly in the area of traditional songs. A full reception study would have to be done in order to gauge attitudes to this practice, however I have heard a range of opinions: from, "*ol bikman long peles i no wanbel*" ("the elders don't agree with it") to pride - that these are the favourite songs on cassette the older men like to listen to when they are drinking. Criticisms often focus on the fact that songs may be shortened, melodically altered, or the texts mispronounced (particularly in the case where a cultural outsider is the vocalist).

Closing Remarks

There are other aspects of contemporary song composition to explore. I have attempted to demonstrate and illustrate how the current commercial music situation in PNG - the "music business" - has contributed to new forms of musical expression and attitudes to ownership of cultural property. Today there seem to be more people involved in the creative process of composition than at any previous time. Creative adaptation of

pre-existing forms, and the development of new approaches to composition contribute to the vitality of Rabaul as one of the two key commercial music centres in PNG. But confusion and contestation over composition and ownership is bound to increase, and become a larger issue in the production of popular music. This is an issue which will probably need addressing officially as more musicians come to depend on commercial recordings for at least part of their income, and as pop songs are reconceptualised as Papua New Guinea public culture.

Appendix

Repertoire list (March 1993) of Hoodsco, a band from Nanganang, East New Britain. Song source (where known) is indicated in brackets (in cases where Hoodsco have their own names for some songs, the published name of the song is given in brackets before the source).

Kingston [Town] [UB-40]; Feel Fine [?Maxi Priest]; Down Under [Men at Work]; Hotel California [Eagles]; Is This Love [?]; Good Thing Going [UB-40]; Thinking About You [London Beat]; Amidal [Hoodsco; also recorded by Telek on *Iau Maris*]; Meri Nipsco [recorded by Leonard Kania]; Djaul Island [Itambu and Junior Kopex]; Mangas [Painim Wok]; Poin Fulabon [Barike]; Ia Alice [Leonard Kania]; Meri Ke Ave [Barike]; Nurvue Ke Iau [Telek]; Kanu ["Boram Sunset"] [Telek]; Tadiring [Hoodsco original]; Iau Les [Leonard Kania]; Adisena [from David Kurni]; Iau Serious [Tarn] [Telek's version]; Mi Save Wari Tru [Telek]; Meri Namatanai [Erex Suisui]; Ia Shirley [Narox]; Tutu Gae [Narox]; V-Las [Vunalaslas] [Molachs]; [Sweet] Marilyn [Leonard Kania]; IaRose [Kevin Tokiala]; Malira i Nogut [Kopex]; Amoi Tasol [Kopex]; Gaidio [?from Central Province]; Daina Or ["*Kas bilong Mi*"] [Itambu]; Solwara Katim [Shutdown]; Sawai 2 Or ["Ringe Maue" from Barike]; Morin [Kevin Tokiala]; N.G.I.P. ["Meri Wantok"] [Itambu]; Tutuarengge [Henry Kuskus]; Aitigak [Sikal Kelep]; Ia Elsie [?]; Lae City [?]; River Goi [Leonard Kania]; Ram Kuk [Painim Wok]; Namuka Ra Matam [Painim Wok]; Kako ["Waitpela Gras" from Barike]; Bala Maris [Hoodsco]; Remember Me [Lucky Dube].

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Note

¹Thanks to Rev. Eliuda Laen for bringing this hymn to my attention, and for assistance with translation.

Discussion

Richard Moyle: Are these composers full-time?

Michael Webb: Very few musicians actually derive a living out of music (maybe that's not the same thing, "full-time" and "a living"). The couple of studios in Rabaul probably employ full-time, all out, about 15 musicians. But the interesting thing is that the other composers are often doing something else. Very few of them are actually employed in town. A lot of them are self-employed in the village, on cocoa blocks, or processing their own copra, or involved in a trade store, or as a PMV driver, or *boskru*.

The curious aspect of that is that these days, musicians are having less and less say in the production of their music. For example, I witnessed, probably three or four days ago, a group called the Bali Mates, from Clement's place. I felt sorry for the Bali Mates because the whole band had come in from Bali [Unea Island, in West New Britain Province] and they were lined up against the wall in the studio, just standing there watching the two studio-employed engineers and producers successively put down the bass part, then the lead guitar part, then the rhythm guitar part, and then the keyboard parts in all of their songs. What they were to do was, at the end of three weeks come in and sing the vocal lines on top of what the other guys had done. I could tell that they were really disgruntled by the whole thing. But it's actually very common; it happens all over the place now. I see musicians doing it all the time.

Another example was just the other day: a recording had been made about six months ago and had never been mixed on 24-track recording technology. The guy that had been given the job to mix it wasn't the guy who had recorded it. I just happened to walk in when he was listening to it, and he was really disgusted because it was recorded very poorly. The bass part was out of tune, it didn't rhythmically fit with the drums, and he was trying to put a keyboard part on it after the event, and he couldn't get it to fit rhythmically well. So what he essentially did was keep the vocal part and re-do the whole track himself. Then it goes on the album. I guess the musicians feel like they did it, because they were the ones that came in the first place and recorded it six months ago, from Bulolo in Morobe Province.

Keith Stebbins: It's like [?] She told me that she was from a family of traditional song-writers, who were paid traditionally [?] and special items. Did she say anything about traditional songs that she's prepared that she gets paid for?

MW: Yes. I didn't deal with that at all. I was talking about songs that other people asked her to include on her albums. She doesn't accept any payment for those.

KS: In a traditional context, would she receive payment for songs she's writing for village occasions?

MW: Yes, she would. She would receive *tambu* [shell money] for that. If it's her band recording her songs, she won't charge them, because they're related to her. She'll only compose songs in that sense, for people that are related to her, however distantly, through marriage or whatever. Those are songs that are recognisable as being in the traditional lineage, like people can hear the melody. In fact, she cited one example where an old man heard the cassette some months later and said, "I know that that is her song; even though Julie's not singing it, I know that it's from this *buai* lineage," which hers is called [?].

Frank Magne: As far as the commissioned songs go, what's the gossip like with the everyday listener? Does anyone know this is a commissioned song? I was thinking of the specific names being mentioned. They'll say, "Oh, that's so-and-so." Or they don't elaborate that and say.

MW: It's hard for me to really get a real feel for that because people converse in rapid Kuanua about those sorts of things. If I ask about them in Tok Pisin, people don't really like to talk too much about them. They'll make the odd off-hand comment. It's really hard to get into because people want to know what agenda you have in asking about them anyway. That's why it's hard to actually get copies of the tapes, too. The composers tell me, "Oh, we've got plenty of them." I say, "Well, would you mind if I had a look at the letters?" Formerly they told me that they keep every letter that they get, but then they tell me, "Oh, when I composed it I threw it away." I think it's just that they don't really want me to see it because of what I might think about it. I think another thing is, some musicians have said to me, "Why are you interested in this, don't you white men do it like that?", you know, compare songs like that. I tried to say, "Well, there are sort of examples like that," but like I talked about the whole country music phenomenon of having fresh composers submit their songs to you on tape, and then you choose the ones you like. You record them and then they get paid for it. But then once they realise that this is a fairly unique approach to composition, some people are a little embarrassed by it. Like, "You must think we're stupid." Or, because they know you're going to write about it, "If you write about this, they'll probably think we're ridiculous." So you have to assure people that you're curious for different reasons. My Kuanua wasn't up to scratch; if I had overheard the conversations, I could answer that.

Student: Do you think Telek is safe overseas, when he's recording with these overseas musicians?

MW: It depends what you mean by "safe". In the context of what we're saying this morning, because he's a financial member of APRA, the Australian copyright association, people would be prosecuted if they used any aspect of his songs, whether they recorded or they performed them or used them on a movie soundtrack, or whatever. They'll be prosecuted by that organisation if they do

that. So he'll directly benefit if anyone wants to use his material. But as far as I know, he's the only Papua New Guinean musician that's bothered to do that.

KS: What effect would the introduction of a copyright act have on, say, the contemporary music in East New Britain?

MW: It's a much more complicated issue than the way we've been tossing it around today and yesterday. Part of the problem is you have two copyright laws, one is for overseas and one is local. But there's another issue, that is, the number of bands that actually derive material from overseas songs - what do you do about them? If a big multinational corporation comes in and decides that Telek's making enough money off a melody which he's borrowed intact from another song that they've recorded, they might choose to prosecute him for a large sum. I doubt whether the sums of money that he's making would be worth them prosecuting him. But, there's always that potential. People have to realise that, if you want to protect your own material overseas, then you also have to treat overseas material fairly. So, what it would take is a massive shift in the way you think about composition, and what are actually sources for composition. You're going to have to say, "Well, I can't use Julio Iglesias's song any more." Is that what you were asking?

Student: Yes.

Clement Gima: If somebody went to the studio and used the same bass line as the other band, would they have some controversy between the two bands? But then you mentioned studio musicians putting all the other tracks, leaving out the vocal parts and vocal tracks for the band or the singers. Maybe that's the reason why almost every band sounds the same. The guitar and the bass . . .

MW: That's exactly why they sound the same, because usually it's the small cadre of musicians that are doing all of the backing. But I was extremely pleased to see one of the most fiercely independent musicians that I've ever seen record over the last few months in Rabaul - one of your fellow students, Julie ToLiman, who insisted that musicians do what she wanted them to do on the new album that she recorded over the last few weeks. She said, "I don't like that bass line, put a bit more variety into it." When they changed it around she said, "Those three notes aren't good enough, I want you to do something else." She didn't actually pick up the bass and play a line, but . . . She'd put her guide track down with her playing the guitar, and then they'd want to put one of the studio musicians in playing the guitar. She said, "What's wrong with my guitar playing? I want it there, I like it like that".

So I asked the guys, without Julie being present, "What's going on?" They said, "*O, em meri*," she's a woman. "But, we would never let any other male musician do that". But they're sort of scared of her I think, I don't know. She selected the musicians she wanted, too, whereas most other musicians don't have any say. If two musicians are scheduled to back you on your album, you take them. If you don't want them or you want somebody else, you pay them. Whereas, Julie said, "Nonsense, I want the musicians that I want. I want this guy and that guy. They're going to back me."

WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY MUSIC

JULIE TOLMAN TURALR

Ladies and gentlemen, I bring to you women's music of Papua New Guinea. I discuss here only eight women artists who have come out publicly with their music. There are many women who have recorded to date, but I've selected only a few (see Appendix).

The Line Cousin Ladies

This string band from Vunakabi, East New Britain Province, recorded their first album in 1978, with the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). The band recorded four albums: *Tikanabung na Marum* (One Night) recorded in 1978, *Kongo na Koloata* (Sounds of a person who doesn't know how to swim, 1979), *Tara bung na Kinakawa* (Christmas Day) 1979, *Ika Nihibur* (Romance) 1987.

The Cousin Ladies played guitars and ukelele, and composed their own songs, mainly in Kuanua language, because, they said, the language itself is musical. They performed at many occasions in the village, especially around the Toma area (Toma is a village with its own community government). They harmonised their songs, usually from beginning to end.

The style called "*kikinit*" ("pluck"), "*paep ki*" ("five key"), or "*pilai bulu*" ("play blue", like American blues), was the style commonly played by Rabaul string bands. But the Ladies had their own, unique style, plucking the guitars with a mixture of classical and original techniques. Even the ukulele was strummed in their own style. Unfortunately, these ladies got married and broke up their string band.

[Example 1. Line Cousin Ladies, "Christmas Eve," from *Tara bung na Kinakawa*.] There is no lead break in the arrangement. At the beginning they have an introduction, which they used to call a "step". At the end of the song, they have another instrumental section with guitars and ukelele, and they call that too a "step"; they never had any lead break in the arrangement. They start with the step, go to the body of the song, then another step, and that's the end.

The Lonely ML Daughters

I was a member of this string band from Rabaul, along with my sisters, all from one set of parents. I had five sisters: the oldest was the late Josephine ToLiman Rengkio, then Bonnie ToLiman Buburuv, Mary ToLiman, Luddy ToLiman Hanamo, and Pauline ToLiman Mogish. Music was always part of our day-to-day activities; not with guitars, but traditional dances, choir, etc.

In 1971 we participated in the Tolai War-Wagira in Rabaul, the only female group competing. We took third place, which was the first time a female group won a prize in this festival. It was very exciting. We were very nervous because we never played for a big crowd. In 1972 the women's section in the Warwagira was established. We won first prize in that category for eight consecutive years.

Although we were not the first group to make a commercial recording, the ML Daughters was the first PNG female group ever formed, performing in the villages as far back as 1968. Some of our songs were recorded by Radio Rabaul (the provincial station) for broadcast, not for commercial publication. It wasn't until later that we decided to make a commercial recording.

Four of us decided to record with NBC. In 1982, Mary, Luddy, Pauline, and I recorded two albums in Port Moresby: *Barike a Dim Light (A Dim Light; Barike* is just an expression that means "o, *em tru, ah*"), and *A Botol Ga Oro Iau (Gate Crash)*. Then in 1984 we recorded another cassette through NBC, *A Iagim Rabaul (Your Name Rabaul)*. That was the last time we recorded.

Most of the songs we sang were our dad's, our own, or our brother Vincent ToLiman's. They were original tunes of our *buai* (a spiritual gift, that we call "*toinara*"). We only knew three chords. Although all of us could compose and play music, my sisters never took music seriously, the way I did. We have not recorded for a long time now, but we still play our own style whenever we get together. [Example 2. Lonely ML Daughters, "Kakaruk i tok long Morning" ("Rooster's morning crow") from *Barike a Dim Light*.} This was one of the hits from 1982.

Cathy Lee (Chan)

She prefers to be called Cathy. She was born in 1962 at Burabalen village, Namatanai District, New Ireland Province, to a Chinese businessman who married her mother from Burabalen. Cathy was educated at her home village community school and continued at Rabaul High School in East New Britain.

Cathy joined the school choir and started singing in Grade 4. She also took part in traditional dance in Burabalen village. After leaving school, in 1980 she moved to Port Moresby and joined the Night Owl Electric Band.

The band consisted of Chinese, European, and Papua New Guinean boys, plus Cathy, the only woman. Cathy was doing mainly singing, and this was where she was encouraged to start writing her own songs. She sang some of her own songs during the band's performances in night clubs and school functions.

Cathy decided to have a commercial cassette recorded, and she took the chance when Mr. Chin allowed her to record with Chin H. Meen (CHM). In 1985 CHM released Cathy's first album, titled "*Aigiris*" (*Admire*). This was her first success, not only because of her Chinese influences, but because she became the first PNG female solo artiste to go into commercial recording. Cathy collected some and wrote some of the 12 songs on her first album. She did her own arrangements with the help of Dika Dai, who Cathy said was very patient and willing to help.

She released *Love Bilong You* in 1986, and *Cathy Lee, Volume 3* in 1989. Then in 1990 she released *A Vavina na Gunan* ("*Village Woman*" in the Tolai language, Kuanua). This album was most valued by Cathy, because it was her first cassette after she got married and became known as Cathy Lee Chan.

She released *The 9th South Pacific Souvenir* cassette in 1991. Her daughter, Jamie Lee Chan, aged six, accompanied her on two songs from her 1992 *Christmas Carol*; a good start for a young musician.

Although Cathy doesn't play any instruments, her magic voice box sounds typically Asian. Her fascinating and beautiful singing, no doubt, has won the hearts of many listeners in Papua New Guinea. She also recorded duets with some male artistes, Nokondi Nama, Steve Lahui, Tim Kalmet from Vanuatu, Sikal Kelep, and many more.

Cathy is in the process of doing her fifth and sixth albums, one country style and the other gospel. She has also recorded three video clips: "Gere Mino," a duet with Nokondi Nama; her own South Pacific Games song; and a Christmas song called "A Child Is Born". This Burabalen woman says that more women should record commercial cassette albums so the public can have a variety of voices and music. [Example 3. Cathy Lee Chan, "Jingle Bells," from *Christmas Carol*].

Loujay Dunar

Loujayah, a journalist by profession, devotes her musical gift to the Lord through gospel music. She is also a PNG author, poet, song-writer, and singer. Loujayah became very popular when she sang the South Pacific Games songs in 1991. Her sharp and "*masta* voice," or "*masta nek*" as I call vibrato, added a style completely different from that of most singers in the country. Her beautiful voice and use of English are fascinating.

Loujayah recorded her first album, *Time i Kolostu*, in 1988 with CHM. She released *Someone Is Praying for You* in 1990, and *Hear My Cry, Oh*

Lord in 1992. Loujayah has also performed with the Tambaran Culture (electric) band. She has written a lot of songs for public service messages like Aids prevention, "Keep Port Moresby Clean," and many more. She has done public performances to raise funds for the Red Cross, and traveled the country raising funds for church organisations and the disabled. Because of her strong self-determination, this gospel singer should be rewarded for her charity work, that has contributed to our nation. Something for the Women's Council to think about.

Julie ToLiman Turalir

I feel very embarrassed to talk about myself, but for the sake of women's involvement in music, I'll touch on my musical career. I'm from Rabaul, of course. I was born in 1960, at Britakapuk village, in the Toma area, East New Britain Province. My mother was from Taulil village in the Malabunga area.

My father, Michael Taniel ToLiman, was a traditional dancer, a composer, and a village leader, from Toma village. His father was a village chief who belonged to a traditional royal family in our own society. My father was a *tena buai* (musician) from the *bita buai* of *toinara*, passed on to him by his father, ToLiman, the great chief of Toma and well-known throughout the Gazelle area. To be a *tena buai*, one has to be initiated into the *tena buai* society. I went through that process through my father's *buai*, "*toinara*." Being a "*tena buai*" incorporates many roles: *tena pipirit* (composer), *tena malagene* (dancer), *tena kakailai* (singer), *tena wamo-ong* (costume; decorations/&/as), and *tena na gugu* (make people like one's music and protect one from being spoilt because of jealousy).

According to Tolai folklore, *buai* refers to both betel nut and a divine gift possessed by a group of chosen people. It is the gift of composing songs to accompany dancers and create decorations (*bilas*) - in other words, to become a musician. Different names are given to *buais*. In my case, my father inherited "*toinara*" from his father, and passed it on to me. It is unusual that a woman can be a *tena buai* in my area, but because my father was one, I am accepted in that society.

I began my education at St Joseph's Community School at Papatatana in 1966. I completed Grade 10 at Kokopo High School in 1976, and graduated from Port Moresby Teachers College in 1978. I studied at the National Arts School, now the Faculty of Creative Arts. At the end of 1979, I left the school and worked for the tourism industry until I resigned last month.

When I was four years old, my mother bought me a small Asian-made guitar. I could play only major chords. By age seven I began composing children's songs. I joined the school choir as a singer and conductor - *kikita na tak* in Kuanua - beating 4/4 time with a stick and using other

motions to control the choir. I participated in all school choir activities, and traditional dances.

At Kokopo High School, I formed the Romantic Roamers girls string band. I also formed a traditional dance group, taught them my father's dance, and composed my own string band songs. The school set a record of winning first prize in the Tolai Warwagira's school section for four consecutive years, when I was at the school. At the end of my Grade 10, I was named the Most Outstanding Creative Arts Student of the Year.

I joined the school electric band at Port Moresby Teachers College, playing lead guitar (a little), rhythm guitar (mainly), and singing. My music lecturer, Keith Stebbins, recommended me for a scholarship at the National Arts School; I studied there for a year.

After leaving the National Arts School my cousins and I formed the Double Vision Band (which was electric). I composed most of the songs, played rhythm guitar, and sang. We had a contract with the Boroko Hotel.

I went to Goroka in 1983 and formed a girls string band with the Raun Raun Theatre Company. We performed mainly at women's functions. From 1984 to 1987 I played with the Itchy Fingers electric band in Lae. I decided to return to musical studies at the Faculty of Creative Arts, and re-enrolled in 1993.

I recorded my first album in 1989, with Pacific Gold Studios, which I titled *Toinara*, after my *buai*. I never expected my album to become a Gold Record; it sold more than 10,000 copies in the first two weeks. I realized that the public enjoyed my music. In 1990 I released *Tavurvur*. My daughter Priscilla, age four, accompanied me in one song on my 1991 album "*Tabapot*." Next week my new cassette, *A Tarai na ToLai*, will be released. I am working on my fifth cassette, which will be released next year, titled *Stail Ailan ("Style Island-Mmus")*. I do my own compositions, harmonies, guitars, percussion, sound effects, and arrangements.

[Example 4. Julie ToLiman "Poroman," from *Toinara*.] That was my own composition. Buruka Tau played keyboard; I was mainly on vocals and rhythm guitar. Don Lesi from New Ireland and Lino Tiriman, who work at Pacific Gold Studios, helped me.

The words to "Poroman" ("My Friend") are:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Poroman, yu koros long wanem? | My friend, why are you mad? |
| <i>Yu ken wokabaut long laik bilong yu.</i> | You can go your own way. |
| <i>Na sapos, yu bungim narapela</i> | And if you meet somebody new, |
| <i>Salim regards, bilong mi tasol.</i> | Just send me regards. |
| 2. Poromoan, yu mas wokabaut gut | My friend, do take care |
| <i>Nogut bai yu, popaia long rot.</i> | Or you might meet the wrong one. |
| <i>Na sapos, yu kisim nogut</i> | And if you find trouble |
| <i>Yu noken wari, kolim mi tasol.</i> | Don't worry, just call on me! |

Joyce Lavett

Joyce was born in 1970 at Vunamami village, Kokopo district, East New Britain Province. Her father is from Kavieng and her mother is from Vunamami. She was educated at New Ireland and Rabaul, and completed Grade 12 at Kerevat National High School in 1989. She enrolled in the Dance/Drama program at the Faculty of Creative Arts, where she is currently studying. Joyce learned to play ukelele when she was young, and joined a string band in her own village. She also took part in traditional dances, both in the village and at school.

In 1990 she recorded with Pacific Gold Studios in Rabaul. With the help of John Warbat at the studio, her cassette was released. Joyce wrote five of the songs herself, and collected the remaining five. She was very shy and reserved the first time she recorded, but her uncle who works at the studio, Thomas Lulungan, encouraged her. She is currently in the process of doing another recording with Pacific Gold, with backup by The Clansmen, of the Faculty of Creative Arts.

Joan Niut

Joan Niut is from Viviran village, in the Toma area of East New Britain Province. She plays no Western instruments, but several traditional instruments, including *kundu*, *papupak* (bamboo slit-gong), and *tidir* (bamboo xylophone). She is a dancer and singer, performing her own traditional music.

Joan recorded her first album with Pacific Gold Studios in Rabaul in 1991. For the recording, she decided to use modern instruments. She composed a few of the songs, and collected the rest from friends who had composed them. She comes from a *bita buai*. Her father was a musician in his own right, and composed a lot of songs/dances. Joan is a composer of traditional songs in her own village. [Example 5. Joan Niut, from *Joan Niut of Rabaul*.]

Rabbie Gamenu

This Rigo (Central Province) woman married to a Mt Hagen (Western Highlands Province) man, has been singing to the whole nation almost every day on Radio Kalang. She was born in 1970 at Port Moresby Hospital, and educated at Bavaroko Community School and Badiagua High School. Rabbie's musical interests started at age six. She joined church choir, string band, and traditional dance groups.

Rabbie joined NBC in 1992, to work as an account clerk. That same year, she decided to express her musical interests by recording songs she composed and collected. NBC released her first cassette in October, 1992, and it reached the whole of PNG within one week. Rabbie's songs reach

very remote areas faster than anyone can buy her cassette in a shop, because of Kalang Radio's advertisement.

Rabbie's song "Betty Betty" was very popular because she sang it in Roglomb, a language from Mt Hagen. This *meri Papua* (lady from the Southern Region) sang it beautifully, harmonising with herself through multi-track recording, which made it more interesting.

Rabbie wrote most of the songs on her album, including "Imuti Lele." She sang in Roglomb, Motu, Tok Pisin, and English. She only plays ukelele, and said that she would like to learn other instruments to develop her musical talent. She has done two video clips: "Betty Betty," about her daughter; and "Imuti Lele," about her two mountains in Rigo district.

Rabbie says that music is satisfying to her because she can express her own feelings through it. She says PNG music is male-dominated, so she would like to encourage more women to join the musical scene - if men can do it, so can women.

Rabbie is currently recording her second album. When I visited her she was very, very thankful that I did, saying that my visit was an encouragement to her. She said I was the first woman artist to come and congratulate her as being in one musical family. With the help of Wamsi Lau, Tiko Ekonni, and Wilson Tonga at NBC (who worked on her first album), she hopes to have another successful release this year. Her first cassette is still selling well; a lot of people have appreciated her music. Her music is not very complicated, using three or four notes in the melody, and standard form (binary). People, especially in remote areas and the Highlands where her husband is from, all appreciate her music.

Appendix: Chronology of First Recordings by Important PNG Women Artists

- 1978** Line Cousin Ladies - *Tikanabung na Mavum* - NBC
- 1981** Three Cousins string band - *Three Cousins* - Pacific Gold
- 1982** The Lonely M.L. Daughters - *Barike a Dim Light* - NBC
- 1985** Cathy Lee - *Solo* - Chin H. Meen
- 1988** Loujayah Dunar - *Time i Kolostu* - CHM
- 1989** Julie ToLiman (Turalir) - *Toinara* - PG
- 1990** Joyce Lavett - *Joyce Lavett* - PG
- 1991** Margarette Aoka - *Margarette Aoka* - CHM
- 1991** Aida Paska - *Child* - CHM
- 1992** Joan Niut - *Joan Niut of Rabaul* - PG
- 1992** Hubertina Mara - *Hubertina Mara* - CHM
- 1992** Rabbie Gamenu - *Betty Betty* - NBC

Lexicon of Tok Pisin

(Prepared by Robert Reigle, with assistance from Don Niles and Steven Feld.)

I have indicated the parts of speech used most often, though other uses may sometimes occur. For complete definitions, see F. Mihalic, S.V.D. 1971. *The Jacaranda Dictionary and Grammar of Melanesian Pidgin*. Papua New Guinea: Web Books.

Abbreviations:

adj.= adjective; adv.= adverb; comb, form = combining form; conj.= conjunction; n.= noun; prep.= preposition; pron.= pronoun; v.= verb.

<i>amamas</i> (adj., n.)	happy; happiness
<i>bai</i> (comb, form)	future tense indicator
<i>bikhet</i> (adj.)	obstinate, conceited
<i>bik man</i> (n.)	a leader or important man
<i>bilong</i> (prep.)	from, of
<i>bllum</i> (n.)	string bag
<i>boskru</i> (n.)	operating crew of a car, boat, etc.
<i>buai</i> (n.)	betel nut
<i>em, en</i> (pron.)	she, he, it
<i>garamut</i> (n.)	log drum
<i>i</i> (comb, form, v.)	predicate marker/ no translation; is
<i>insait</i> (adv., n.)	inside
<i>kambang</i> (n.)	lime for chewing betelnut; gourd for containing this
<i>kanaka</i> (n.)	ordinary traditional villager, not in the cash economy, and not educated by Western methods. The more marked senses have to do with lack of worldly experience, travel, and sophistication. The term has a great range of ironic and parodic usages, especially across generations and across class/ skill/experience divides, cowboy, used of a flashy dresser, etc.
<i>kauboi</i> (n.)	
<i>klia</i> (adj.)	clear
<i>kros</i> (n.)	anger
<i>kundu</i> (n.)	hourglass-shaped drum
<i>laik</i> (n., v.)	like, wish; wants to
<i>lap</i> (n., v.)	laughter; laugh
<i>long</i> (prep.)	of, at
<i>lotu</i> (adj., n.)	church, worship (with Christian implication)
<i>malira</i> (n.)	love magic

<i>man</i> (n.)	a man
<i>Man Antap</i> (n.)	God (Christian)
<i>marila</i> (n.)	alternate pronunciation of <i>malira</i>
<i>meri</i> (n.)	a woman, a female
<i>na</i> (conj.)	and
<i>nating</i> (adj.)	worthless, empty
<i>nau</i> (adv., n.)	now; the present
<i>nek</i> (n.)	melody, voice, neck
<i>pamuk</i> (adj.)	prostitute
pasm (n.)	way, custom
/ W V (n.)	Public Motorised Vehicle; buses or trucks for transporting people
<i>samting</i> (n.)	something
Seten (n.)	Satan
<i>sindaun nating</i> (adj)	unemployed, just hanging around, loitering
<i>singsing</i> (n., v.)	a song , a traditional song/dance; to sing
<i>six-to-six</i> (n.)	all-night party, frequently with bands performing for dancing
sta/? (v.)	to be (usually preceded by predicate marker 'i')
<i>stretpela</i> (adj.)	straight, correct
ta/m bipo (n.)	the past
<i>tambaran</i> (n.)	ancestor spirits, system of spiritual beliefs
<i>tanget</i> (n.)	a shrub used for magic, decoration, and clothing
town (adj., n.)	town
toA: (n.)	speech
fo£ pan/ (n.)	joking, humorous speech
to£ p/es (adj., n.)	vernacular
<i>tumbuna</i> (n.)	ancestors
<i>wantok</i> (n.)	one who speaks the same language; friend
yw (n.)	you

Information on Contributors

Augustine Abo comes from Lavongai village, New Ireland Province. At the time of the Conference, he was completing his Diploma in Music at the University of Papua New Guinea (UPNG).

Luke Balane is from the Vitu islands, West New Britain Province. He gained a Diploma in Music at UPNG, and is currently studying music education in Sydney.

Vida Chenoweth, from the United States, wrote the first doctoral dissertation directly based on her own field work on PNG music, and has published several important books and articles on PNG music. Dr Chenoweth retired from her teaching position at Wheaton College on January 1, 1994.

Steven Feld is noted for his research on Kaluli music. He was awarded a MacArthur Fellowship in 1991, and is Professor of Anthropology and Music, and Director of the Center for Folklore and Ethnomusicology at the University of Texas, Austin, in the United States.

Clement Gima is from Unea (Bali) island, West New Britain Province. After finishing his Diploma in Music at UPNG, he joined the Music Department of the National Research Institute.

Stella Oguoma Inimgba, from Nigeria, is a Lecturer in Dance at UPNG. Since 1982, she has earned many credits as a dancer, choreographer, actress, and playwright. She is currently pursuing her Ph.D. on the indigenous theatre of PNG.

Rockland Kamarefa comes from the Kainantu District of Eastern Highlands Province. At the time of the Conference, he was studying music at UPNG.

Frank Magne, who died tragically eight months after the Conference, was a British citizen of French parentage. He was 31. Frank had studied social anthropology at the University of Edinburgh, and ethnomusicology and anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin. At the time of the Conference, he was conducting field work as a doctoral student in anthropology at the University of Manchester.

Louise Meintjes is a doctoral student in anthropology at the University of Texas at Austin. Her work concerns the politics of popular music production in South Africa.

Richard Moyle is one of the foremost scholars of Oceanic music. Among his many publications are studies of Samoan, Tongan, and Australian musics. Dr Moyle teaches at the University of Auckland, where he is also Director of the Archive of Maori and Pacific Music.

Samuel P. W. Pongiura is from Yangoru district, East Sepik Province. He taught at a high school for six years, then earned a Certificate in Music at UPNG in 1993. He is currently teaching at Yangoru High School.

Robert Reigle is from the United States. He conducted research in Madang Province on a Fulbright Scholarship, from May 1988 to January 1990. He was Dean of the Faculty of Creative Arts, UPNG, and is currently working on a doctorate at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Keith Stebbins, from Australia, has championed expressive arts education in PNG for many years, encouraging and teaching some of PNG's most successful musicians. He is heavily involved both in the production of educational materials and in community arts activities. He works in the Curriculum Unit of the Department of Education, in Port Moresby.

Soru Anthony Subam is well known for his work with the Sanguma band and albums of his own compositions. At the time of the Conference, he was teaching music at UPNG.

Justin Tonti-Filippini is Head of the Expressive Arts Department, Goroka Campus, UPNG. In addition to shaping the curriculum for Expressive Arts teachers, he has produced educational materials, presented conference papers on expressive arts education, and has been active in arts advocacy.

Julie ToLiman Turalir, from East New Britain Province, began composing songs at the age of seven. After performing with various bands, she produced five solo albums. She is studying music at UPNG.

John D. Waiko is the Member of Parliament for Sohe District, Oro Province. He was the first Papua New Guinean to earn a doctorate in history. His home village's celebration of his achievement is documented in the film *Man Without Pigs*, by Chris Owen and John Waiko. Dr Waiko served as Head of the History Department at UPNG from 1987 to 1992.

Pius Wasi is from Kirimbit village, Chambri Lake, East Sepik Province. After completing Grade 6, he undertook two years of correspondence studies and later attended the National Arts School. He has performed with Dua Dua Theatre and Tambaran Culture. He was featured in PNG's first video clip, "Kame".

Michael Webb, from Australia, is completing his doctorate at Wesleyan University in Connecticut, U.S.A. He has published scholarly works, sound recordings, and educational materials on PNG musics and taught at Goroka Teachers College and Sogeri National High School.

Michael Wild is from Australia. He is a producer at Pacific Gold Studios in Port Moresby, and works with many of PNG's leading musicians. He is actively involved in developing PNG's music industry, and has assisted with community and national events, as well as UPNG Music activities.

Yoichi Yamada, from Japan, has worked with the Iatmoi and the Waxei of East Sepik Province. His publications include three compact discs of PNG music. He has taught at Shimane and Hiroshima Universities and also conducted research in Fiji, New Caledonia, and Vanuatu.