'ARE'ARE CLASSIFICATION
OF MUSICAL TYPES AND INSTRUMENTS[1]

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0. INTRODUCTION

T he 'Are'are people of Malaita (Solomon Islands) perceive twenty musical types with variants which they classify in four categories of unequal size: *'au, 'o'o, nuuha* and *kiroha*.[2] No general label unites these categories. This is by no means unique: probably more languages in the world have no terminological equivalent for what the westerner calls "music." Music—in the modern western academic sense—is no more a universal concept than it is a universal language. The aim of this paper is to examine a folk classification which, besides its own interest, may give new insights into different aspects of musical thinking.[3]

1. SEMANTIC FIELDS OF *'AU, 'O'O, NUUHA* AND *KIROHA*

1.1. THE LEXEME *'AU*

Depending on linguistic and extra-linguistic context, the lexeme *'au* has different meanings. The use of the same lexeme at different levels of contrast is a well-known phenomenon in semantics (cf. man vs. animal, man vs. woman, man vs. boy [Frake 1961:119]).

Among the 'Are'are people the lexeme *'au* signifies "bamboo" at the most general level, and contrasts with other categories of plants, such as *'ai* "tree."[4] At the level of the utilization of the plant material by man, *'au* means "musical instrument(s) [of bamboo]" and contrasts with *nahe* "bamboo used for cooking," for example. All musical instruments which can produce a melody are made of bamboo, and it is with the term *'au* that the 'Are'are people designate European musical instruments and the objects which transmit western music, such as radio, record player and tape recorder. At the most specific level—that of instruments played at ritual feasts—*'au* signifies "panpipe ensemble," contrasting with *'o'o* "slit drum." By extension of meaning (sound producer → sound product), *'au* means "instrumental music [made by bamboo instrument(s)]" or, more specifically, "music of panpipe ensemble(s)" (Figure 1).[5]
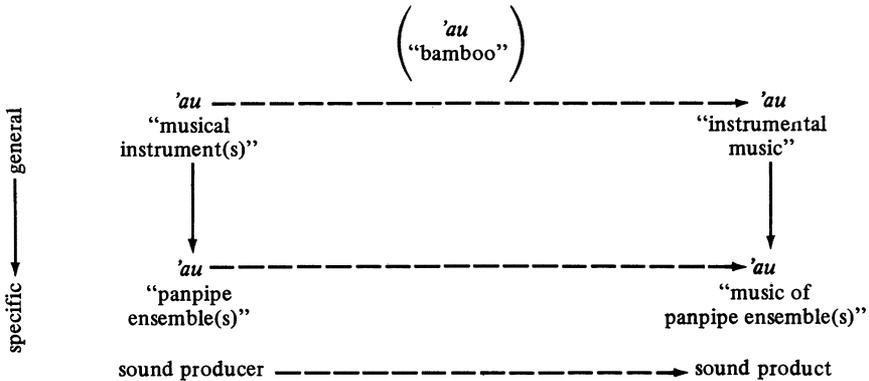
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Figure 1. Semantic field of the lexeme *'au*.

This ambiguity causes difficulties in the translation from 'Are'are. For example, would the sentence *'e rae 'au siko* be best translated as "he knows all about musical instruments," or as "he knows everything about instrumental music"? In certain lexical expressions the extended meaning of *'au* stands forth without ambiguity. Thus, *mani 'au (mani* "piece of") does not designate a piece of bamboo or a part of a musical instrument, but a "piece of music"; *pau ni 'au (pau ni* "head off") does not indicate the upper end of a bamboo tube or of a musical instrument, but the "principal part in two-part polyphony." When speaking of panpipe ensembles, the sentence *'e suppa HANI 'au* means "he composed FOR panpipe ensemble," while *'e supaa 'au* would be better translated as "he composed music [for panpipes]."

1.2. THE LEXEME *'O'O*

Definition of the lexeme *'o'o* is less complex. *'O'o* is a designative term for one particular musical instrument—the slit drum—and not for the material of which it is made. By extension of meaning, *'o'o* designates the sound produced by the slit drum. The lexical expression *mani 'o'o* means "piece for slit drum," comparable to the equivalent expression for *'au.* The slit drum is the only instrument which is not made of bamboo but which can play musical compositions; other sound instruments—such as pieces of sago palm wood beaten together, or the wood of a bow beaten with a stick—are only used as rhythmic accompaniment for bamboo instrumental music (*'au*) or songs (*nuuha*).

1.3. THE LEXEME *NUUHA*

The lexeme *nuuha* "song" is composed of the verb *nuu* "to sing" and the nominalizing suffix *-ha*; it groups all types of song, with or without

rhythmic accompaniment. The lexical expression *mani nuuha* "piece of song" does exist, but is used less frequently than *mani 'au* and *mani 'o'o* because the term *nuuha* already designates the entity song.

1.3.1. A southern synonym. In southern 'Are'are the verbo-nominal *kana* is sometimes employed as a synonym of *nuuha.* The use of the term *kana* in this general sense is probably borrowed from dialects of Small Malaita, an island situated south of the main island. Comparable to the lexeme *'au,* the term *kana* has different meanings depending upon the level of contrast. On the most general level *kana* means "song," contrasting with *'au* "instrumental music [bamboo]." On a more specific level *kana* is the name of the "divination songs" and contrasts with other song types such as *aamamata* "funeral laments"; it is in this sense that the term is employed in the north. At the most specific level *kana* designates the "principal voice-part in the divination songs" and contrasts with *aape,* the "second voice-part" (Figure 2).
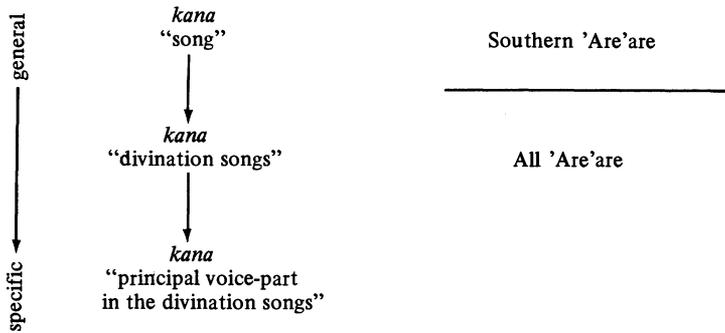
Figure 2. Semantic field of the lexeme *kana.*

Following is an explanation of these last two levels, given by a diviner of northern 'Are'are: "In the *kana* [divination songs] the first man who sings (*nuu*) is called 'the man who *kana*'; the man who starts singing afterwards is called 'the man who *aape*'" (*Kana, eetana mane ka nuu, kira iiria mane ka kana; mane ka suru 'ani nuu ru'u, kira iiria mane ka aape.*)

1.4. THE LEXEME *KIROHA*

The lexeme *kiroha* is compounded of the verb *kiro* and the nominalizing suffix *-ha.* It designates primarily a sound game played in the river. By beating the surface of the water and stroking the hands under water, sounds of different timbres are obtained; particularly characteristic is a very deep and resonant sound. Under certain circumstances the lexeme *kiro* can also be used as noun (without the suffix *-ha*), as in the lexical expression *kiro ni karusi*

"kiro of the water." In the language of Sa'a of neighboring Small Malaita, the term *kiro* (in its duplicated form *kilokilo*) is only used for this sound game (Ivens 1929:145), but in 'Are'are, four other musical types have been given this name.

By analogy to the deep sound and the percussion of the water game, the 'Are'are gave its name to a song type rhythmically accompanied by stamping large bamboo tubes on the ground and by beating shorter segments against the hand. The verb *kiro* and the nominalized form *kiroha* designate the whole performance. If the term *kiro* is used as a noun, it is usually combined with the verbs *'ui* "to beat" or *nuu* "to sing"; in the first case the emphasis is on the percussion accompaniment; in the second case, on the singing. The same is true for the nominalized forms *'uiha aana kiro* "beating of the *kiro*" and *nuuha aana kiro* "song of the *kiro*." To distinguish this musical type in speech from the water game *kiro* (*ni karusi* "of the water"), it is sometimes called *kiro ni mako* "*kiro* on the ground."

Three other musical types having their own specific designations have also been named after these large stamping tubes accompanying singing.

By analogy to the playing technique of the large tubes stamped on the ground, the small stamping tubes *'au ni mako* "bamboo on the ground," which are stamped on stones, may also be called *kiro (ni mako)*. Here, the term *kiro* can only be used as a noun, usually combined with the verb *'ui* "to beat." The adjective "small" (*masika*) distinguishes this "*kiro* on the ground" from the "big *kiro*" (*kiro paina*) with singing.

The panpipe ensemble with the largest instruments—named primarily *'au paina* and *'au repi*—is sometimes called *kiro*. Here, the analogy with the large stamping tubes is not the percussion, as this *kiro* is "blown" (*uuhi*), but the deep sounds.

Finally, the beating of the slit drum ensemble *para ni 'o'o* may be termed *kiro* when the leader does not shout during the performance (cf. 3.1).

In speech, these five different kinds of *kiro* are distinguished by linguistic and extra-linguistic context. If one sees or hears the performance of a particular *kiro,* there is no need for explanation. In conversation, if the identification is not clear, one can ask about the kind of *kiro* intended. Answers such as "*kiro* of the water"; "*kiro* on the ground," the "big" one or the "small" one; "*kiro* which is blown" or its other names *'au paina* and *'au repi*; or "slit drum beating without shouting" make it quite clear.

Comparable to the other three categories of music, the expression *mani kiro* designates a "piece for *kiro*": either a musical piece "beaten" with the small stamping tubes, "blown" with the large panpipes, or the rhythms "beaten" by the large stamping tubes and the shorter bamboo segments during singing, or by the slit drum ensemble without shouting. In the case of the water game, the suffix *-ha* is normally added—*mani kiroha*—because *kiro* is mostly used as a verb.

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              ┌─────────────────────────┐
              │          kiro           │
              │ sound game in the river │        (musical category kiro)
              └─────────────────────────┘
                         │
─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─│─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─ ─
                         ↓
                       kiro
                 large stamping tubes              (musical category nuuha)
                 accompanying singing
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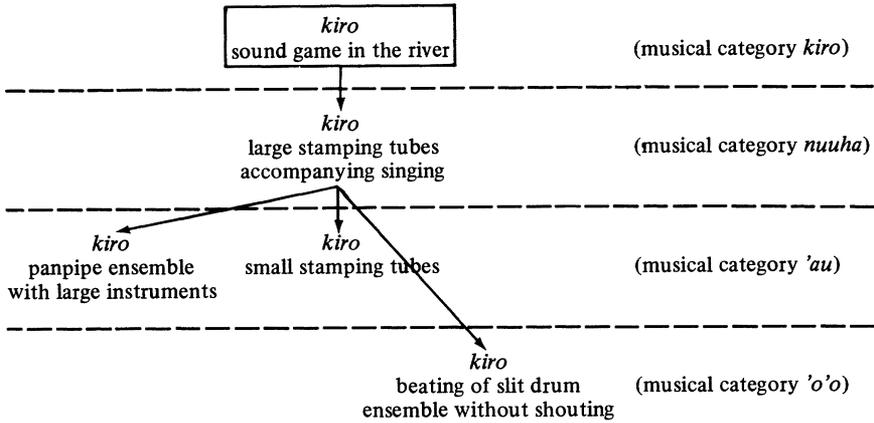
Figure 3. The five meanings of the lexeme *kiro*.

It is remarkable that the term *kiro*, primarily used for one particular musical category, also designates musical types in all the three other large categories: *'au* "bamboo instrumental music," *nuuha* "song," and *'o'o* "slit drum rhythms" (Figure 3).

2. TYPES OF *'AU*

2.1. DISTINCTIONS BY METHOD OF SOUND PRODUCTION, SOLO VERSUS GROUP PERFORMANCE, AND INTERVALS

The 'Are'are distinguish ten main types of bamboo instruments. The name of each type is compounded of the term *'au* plus one or two words, usually epithetic. The use of the word *'au* is optional in a few cases where—with one exception—the second word has no known meaning and thus can only name the instrument type (when this is the case the word *'au* will be parenthesized in this paper).

According to the method of sound production, the musicians classify the instruments into "bamboos which one blows" (*'au kia ka uuhi*) and "bamboos which one beats" (*'au kia ka 'ui*). Another distinction is made between instruments played solo, "one-man bamboos" (*'au ta'a mane*) and those played by an ensemble, "grouped bamboos" (*'au rokoroko*). The solo beaten bamboos include the musical bow (*'au) pasiawa* and the stamping tubes *'au ni mako* ("bamboo on the ground"). The performance of the latter is called "grouped beating" (*'uia rokoroko*) because one person plays all three polyphonic parts. The *'au ni mako* can also be played by three people in
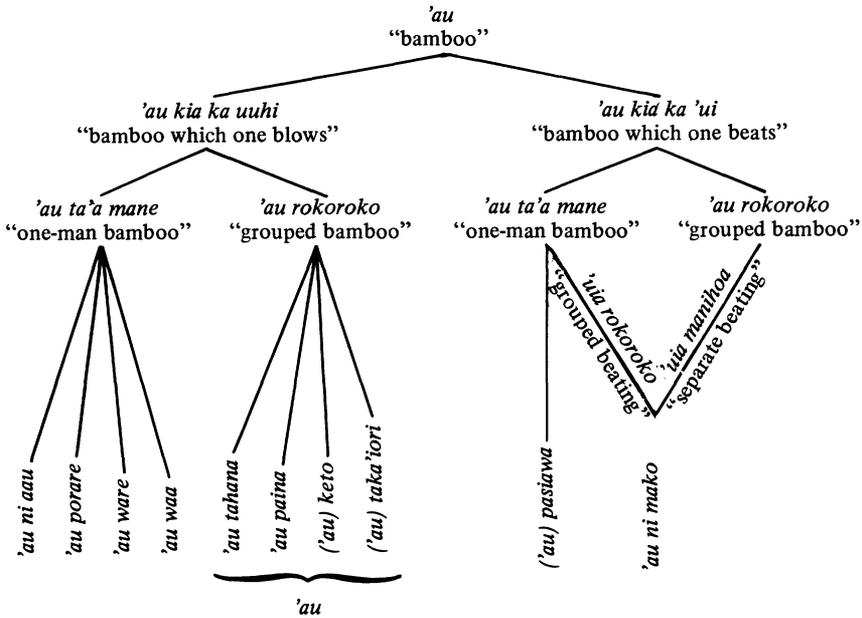
Figure 4. Classification by method of sound production, and solo vs. group performance.

ensemble, the parts being "beaten separately" (*'uia manihoa*), each by one performer. Among the solo blown bamboos, the 'Are'are distinguish the transverse flute *'au porare,* the obliquely held bundle panpipe *'au ware,* the vertically held bundle panpipe *'au waa,* and the panpipe with irregular order of lengths *'au ni aau.* The bamboos blown in ensemble include four types: *'au tahana, 'au paina, ('au) keto,* and *('au) taka'iori* (Figure 4).

Despite a superficial resemblance, the branching diagram (Figure 4) is not a taxonomy as defined by ethnoscience, that is "a system of monolexemically-labeled folk segregates related by hierarchic inclusion" (Conklin 1962:128), where classes of the same level are mutually exclusive. This classification is closer to what American cognitive anthropologists call a paradigm, characterized by multiple features in intersection (cf. Tyler 1969:10). If we add another feature, mentioned frequently by the 'Are'are to characterize a musical instrument—the presence or absence of *rapi 'au* (lit. "twin bamboo"), that is tubes tuned to the interval of the equiheptaphonic second (Zemp 1973)—we can construct a three dimensional paradigm (Figure 5).

This is not a perfect paradigm since there is one empty space (the 'Are'are have no beaten bamboo without equiheptaphonic seconds played in ensemble) and four of the boxes contain two instrument names. "The semantic structure of a domain is characterized by a perfect paradigm if and

	’au ta’a mane "one-man bamboo"	*’au rokoroko* "grouped bamboo"	
rapi ’au "equiheptaphonic seconds"	*’au ni aau* *’au waa*	*’au tahana* *’au paina*	*uuhi* "blown"
rapi ’au mao "no equiheptaphonic seconds"	*’au ware** *’au porare*	*(’au) keto* *(’au) taka’iori*	
rapi ’au "equiheptaphonic seconds"	*’au ni mako*		*’ui* "beaten"
rapi ’au mao "no equiheptaphonic seconds"	*(’au) pasiawa*		

*The oblique bundle panpipes *’au ware*, without equiheptaphonic seconds, are made by Tanimae of Torahuruna, close to the northern frontier of ’Are’are territory (cf. p. 48).

Figure 5. Paradigm of features of *’au* types.

only if each componential definition corresponds to a unique minimal classification event, and conversely," but as the author of this definition says (Kay 1966:21), perfect paradigms are empirically rare.

2.2. VISUAL DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN BLOWN BAMBOO INSTRUMENTS

In the course of performing sessions and discussions with the musicians, the distinctive features of the eight main types of blown bamboos emerged little by little. Certain characteristic features figure in the nomenclature of the types of *’au*, others in the terminology used in the context of musical performance. In order to verify this and to get a general view, I asked a number of musicians to explain the particular characteristics of each instrument and to group it with others of its kind, a middle sized specimen of each type being placed on the ground as a reference.

A first distinction is obviously made between an instrument with "one tube of bamboo" (*ta’a hau ni ’au*) and all the others with "several tubes of bamboo" (*haru hau ni ’au*). The former is the transverse flute *’au porare,* of which the "two ends are closed" (*rua tohu ’e ponopono*) by the natural nodes of the bamboo. A hole is cut near each end, one used as mouthpiece and the

other as fingerhole. The name of the instrument comes from the bird *porare (Porphyrio porphyrio)*.

The seven types of blown bamboo instruments with several tubes are called "panpipes" by the ethnomusicologist. 'Are'are musicians distinguish between *hoko ni 'au* "bundles of bamboo" and *aapa ni 'au* "wings of bamboo" (*aapa* meaning "wing, side, half of"), which corresponds exactly to what the Hornbostel-Sachs classification calls "bundle panpipe" and "raft panpipe." Wing panpipes (*aapa ni 'au*)–among the 'Are'are of Malaita–always have a single row of tubes.[6] They are distinguished from bundle panpipes (*hoko ni 'au*) not only by the spatial arrangement of their tubes but also because their "lower ends are closed" (*aari'ae 'e ponopono*). Whereas the lexical expression *hoko ni 'au* is mainly used for purposes of classification, *aapa ni 'au* is the current designation for a raft panpipe: for example, in passing his instrument to a fellow player, a musician may say "take this *aapa ni 'au*!"

There are two types of bundle panpipes (*hoko ni 'au*), in both of which "the lower ends are wide open" (*aari'ae 'e waawaa*). The mouthpieces (*oowa* "mouth") of one of these types are also wide open, and it is this element of wide open tubes that gives the instrument its name, *'au waa*. It is composed of seven tubes in a vertically held bundle, with an eighth that can be substituted for one of the other tubes if the musical piece calls for it. In the second type of bundle panpipe "the mouthpieces are tiny" (*oowa 'e ware-ware*)–tiny holes made in the nodes–and again, it is from this trait that the 'Are'are have chosen to name the instrument, *'au ware*. In north 'Are'are the obliquely held instrument has four tubes.

Among the wing panpipes the line formed by the lower ends of the tubes varies according to their arrangement: the 'Are'are distinguish those with "irregular assemblage" (*aare haisuri*) of the tubes, from those having "decreasing assemblage" (*aare tahetahe*), that is, tubes arranged in diminishing order of size. In north 'Are'are the irregularly shaped instruments have seven tubes. This is the *'au ni aau* ("bamboo of the southeast trade wind"), thus called because it is primarily played for collecting canarium nuts which ripen during the season of that wind.

Until now we have been speaking of solo instruments (*'au ta'a mane*). All wing panpipes of decreasing assemblage are played in ensemble (*'au rokoroko*). There are four types of such ensembles, the scale being an important distinctive feature (Zemp 1973). The two intervals which characterize these scales–*rapi 'au* (equiheptaphonic seconds) and *hoa ni 'au* (thirds)–are recognizable by the difference in length of two neighboring tubes.

Panpipes with "equiheptaphonic seconds all around" (*rapi 'au rihu*), generally having fourteen tubes, make up the *'au tahana* ensemble. The origin of this name is uncertain: *tahana* designates the measure of a fathom, but the

two big instruments of this ensemble have only the length of an elbow, that is why it is sometimes called *'au ni ro'uro'u* "bamboo of elbow (length)," *tahana* also means "opening," but the reason for calling this ensemble "opening bamboo" is unknown nowadays.

The instruments with "thirds all around" (*hoa ni 'au rihu*) are either part of the *'au keto* ensemble, or of the *('au) taka'iori* ensemble. No external feature allows us to include a middle sized instrument in either of these two ensembles, unless the instrument has four tubes, in which case it definitely belongs to the *('au) taka'iori*. The latter has instruments of four, five, seven and sometimes eight tubes, while the *('au) keto* instruments have five, seven and sometimes six tubes. The etymology of the words *keto* and *taka'iori* is unknown.

Panpipes with "thirds between equiheptaphonic seconds" (*hoa ni 'au ma rapi 'au torana*), and generally having eleven or twelve tubes, make up the *'au paina* ensemble whose name means "big bamboo." This name comes from two giant instruments in the ensemble, the length of which may exceed 1.60 m. Two other names for the same type of ensemble are *'au repi* (the meaning of *repi* is unknown) and *kiro* (cf. 1.4). The scale of the *'au paina* instruments contains a third interval, *hari 'au* (major second), which the 'Are'are distinguish from *rapi 'au* (equiheptaphonic second).

These features by which the 'Are'are distinguish the different types of blown bamboos can be arranged in a "tree," a branching diagram, which permits identification of any species by successive dichotomous choices. "In polar opposition to the minimally redundant (paradigmatic) system of feature definitions, there is a maximally redundant system in which no two componential definitions contrast on more than one dimension. Such a system may be called a *tree*" (Kay 1966:22). The tree in Figure 6 permits to identify all types of blown bamboos except for *('au) keto* and *('au)taka'iori*. For example, the *'au ware* is a "bamboo which one blows," composed of "several tubes of bamboo," assembled in a "bundle of bamboo" in which the "mouthpieces are tiny"; the *'au ni aau* is a "bamboo which one blows," composed of "several tubes of bamboo," arranged in a "wing of bamboo," with "irregular assemblage" of the tubes; the *'au tahana* is a "bamboo which one blows," composed of "several tubes of bamboo," arranged in a "wing of bamboo" with "decreasing assemblage" of tubes, characterized by intervals of "equiheptaphonic seconds" appearing "all around"; the *'au paina* is distinguished from the *'au tahana* by having "thirds between the equiheptaphonic seconds."

In this tree (Figure 6), not all the distinctive features enumerated by 'Are'are musicians are represented; this is because several are redundant. Thus, it is unnecessary to show the alternative open vs. closed lower ends of the tubes, because all "bundles of bamboo" are open at the bottom and all "wings of bamboo" are closed. I chose the spatial arrangement instead because

'au kia ka uuhi
"bamboo which one blows"

ta'a hau ni 'au
"one tube of bamboo"

haru hau ni 'au
"several tubes of bamboo"

'au porare

hoko ni 'au
"bundles of bamboo"

aapa ni 'au
"wings of bamboo"

oowa 'e wareware
"tiny mouthpieces"

oowa 'e waawaa
"wide open
mouthpieces"

aara haisuri
"irregular
assemblage"

aara tahetahe
"decreasing
assemblage"

'au ware

'au waa

'au ni aau

rapi 'au
"equihepta. seconds"

hoa ni 'au
"thirds"

rapi 'au rihu
"equihepta. seconds
all around"

hoa ni 'au ma
rapi 'au torana
"thirds between
equihepta. seconds"

hoa ni 'au rihu
"thirds all around"

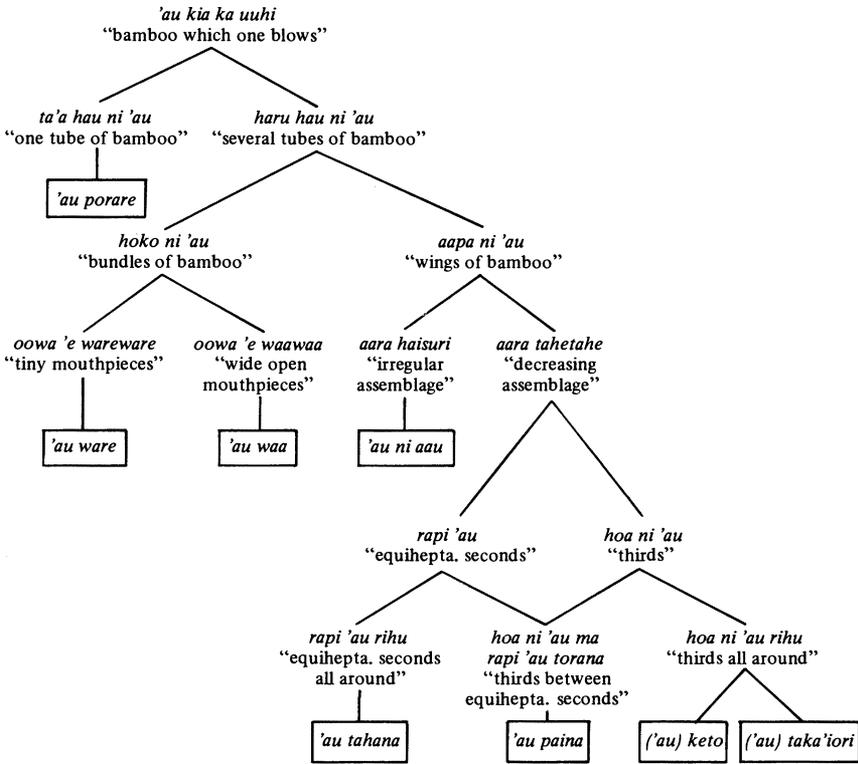'au tahana

'au paina

('au) keto

('au) taka'iori

Figure 6. Tree of visual distinctive features of blown bamboo instruments.

this feature denominates the 'Are'are categories. Similarly, it is unnecessary to indicate on the tree that the *'au ware* has four tubes while the *'au waa* has seven, because the alternative "tiny" mouthpieces vs. "wide open" tubes is given priority by the 'Are'are, judging from the denomination of the two instruments.

I showed this tree to Irisipau—one of the best 'Are'are musicians —following each successive alternative to the terminals. It is important to note here that the principle of branching diagrams is not foreign to the 'Are'are, as they traditionally represent genealogical trees by lines drawn in the sand (Coppet, personal communication). Irisipau approved the tree and requested a copy to use at the custom school of Raroasi, where he taught children the writing of the 'Are'are language and customs, including musical performance.

2.2.1. Southern variants. In southern 'Are'are there are variants of three types of 'au: the panpipe ensemble ('au) taka'iori, the solo panpipe 'au ni aau, and the oblique bundle panpipe 'au ware.

The ensemble ('au) taka'iori ni Marau, known in two villages of the 'Are'are Lagoon, comes—as its name indicates—from Marau, the easternmost point of Guadalcanal (cf. note 6). An instrument called "from Marau" cannot be distinguished visually from its Malaitan model. The difference lies in the repertoire, the rhythmic accompaniment, the distribution of the instruments in octave registers, and the spatial grouping of the musicians (Zemp 1972a:32-35).

In the same region of the 'Are'are Lagoon, the panpipe called 'au ni aau has only five tubes, and a variant with seven tubes (corresponding to the northern 'au ni aau) or with eight tubes, has the name ('au) pupuramarama, the etymology of which is unknown. On the east coast—still in South 'Are'are—the name ('au) pupu is used for a variant with nine tubes, while ('au) kirakira (name of a bird) designates a variant of eleven or sometimes nine tubes. The northern 'Are'are, who do not distinguish between these southern variants, call all these instruments 'au ni aau.

Among the southern 'Are'are the oblique bundle panpipe with "tiny mouthpieces" is called 'au po'o (the name 'au ware, which is used for this instrument in North and Central 'Are'are, here designates the transverse flute). The term po'o "side" refers to the playing position and also indicates that the instrument is "turned" (po'osia) while it is blown. The South 'Are'are variant of this instrument has only three tubes while that of North 'Are'are has four. The presence or absence of the equiheptaphonic second in the tuning of the
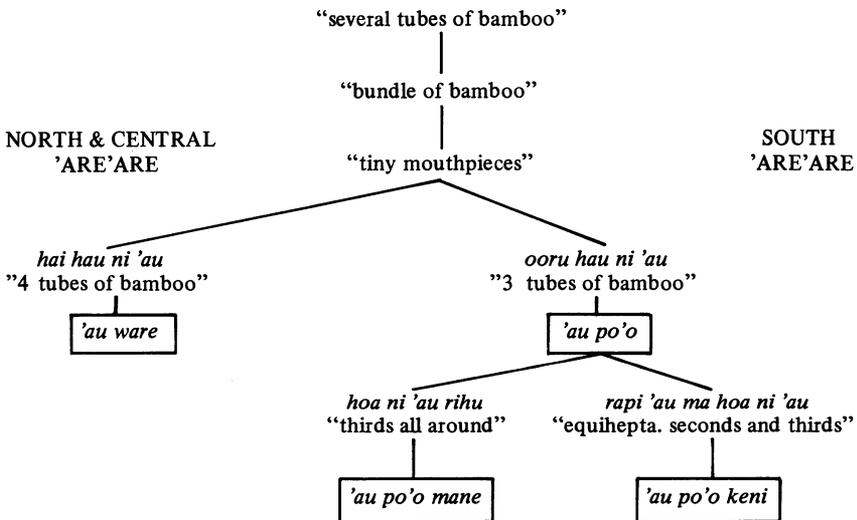

Figure 7. Variants of oblique bundle panpipe.

three tubes is used to distinguish two sub-types of *'au po'o*, *keni* "female" or *mane* "male" being added, respectively (Figure 7).

Nevertheless, one should not prematurely attribute to 'Are'are thinking a sexual symbolism or a classification system correlating masculinity with thirds, on the one hand, and feminity with equiheptaphonic seconds, on the other. Both terms of sexual opposition may be used in connection with the same interval, the equiheptaphonic second (*rapi 'au*). The term *rapi* means "twins of opposite sex"; in *'au tahana* panpipe music for example, *rapi 'au* is the interval obtained by blowing any two neighboring tubes simultaneously, the longer being "male," the shorter, "female." This male/female distinction depending upon length is, in the case of the two *'au po'o* sub-types, applied to the relative length of the whole instrument: given two instruments, the shortest tubes of which are equal in length, an instrument tuned in thirds is longer ("male") than an instrument tuned to a third and a second ("female").[7] This distinction is meaningful in South 'Are'are, where a single musician may make and play both variants. In North and Central 'Are'are this is not the case. A particular musician from the extreme north of 'Are'are (Tanimae from Torahuruna) makes, as he has learned, an instrument with four tubes tuned in thirds, while a musician from further south (Irisipau from Ha'area) will make instruments with two thirds and an equiheptaphonic second. However, this difference in tuning of the *'au ware* is not pertinent and does not give rise to two sub-types.

2.3. HIERARCHY OF TYPES OF *'AU*

The different types of *'au* do not all have the same importance for the 'Are'are. A first cleavage occurs between panpipe ensembles played during ceremonial feasts related to the ancestor cult and the big man power reserved for men, and the remaining instruments which—even if they have other uses—may be played for entertainment, some also by women.

Among panpipe ensembles the *'au tahana* is considered the most important (*eetana* "the first," and *paina taroriu* "the greatest"): it is the most ancient; its repertoire is the largest; its instruments have the complete equiheptaphonic scale and are the most difficult to play. A musician who masters the *'au tahana* can play in all other ensembles, say the 'Are'are; the opposite is not true.

The three other types of ensembles are approximately equal in value, although the frequency of their performance is not the same. The *('au) keto* is limited mainly to north 'Are'are. The *'au paina* is without doubt the most widespread and popular: sometimes there are other types of ensembles at the same feast but frequently it is the only one. Only a few *('au) taka'iori* exist nowadays. In Hauharii village it is the most valued panpipe ensemble:

tradition explains that this type of ensemble was invented by the ancestors of the actual inhabitants of the village, and that the instruments in use until about 30 years ago (they were destroyed by accidental fire) were the first ever made, nine generations ago. These instruments were "sacred" (*maea*).

Sacred instruments exist in all of the four types of panpipe ensembles. These are ancient instruments for which a special magical ritual was performed by the instrument maker, giving them permanent power. They are subject to certain taboos (e.g. it is prohibited for women to touch them, for men to step over them when they are placed on the ground, etc.). Other ensembles are given temporary power for a particular feast or musical tour, by a magical ritual. Still other ensembles—especially nowadays as Christianity is forcing out traditional religion—have no magical power at all, being made and played by "small people (*ta'aa masika*). During a funeral feast, for example, the playing of a sacred *('au) taka'iori* is a more important event than the playing of a *'au tahana* which has no magical power. The magic makes the sound of the panpipe ensemble attract many people, causes the musicians to be appreciated by men and women (especially young girls), ensures that they will obtain shell money for their performance (shell money has sacred character), and prevents sickness or death from striking them. Another criteria related to religious beliefs is advanced by the 'Are'are to explain the fact that the panpipe ensembles are at the top of the hierarchy of the types of *'au*: the musicians may be possessed by ancestor spirits.

Among the instruments played solo, the obliquely held bundle panpipe *'au ware* and the musical bow *('au) pasiawa* are classed highest, because they are connected with love magic. This is considered "small magic" (*warutana masika*) in comparison to the magic of panpipe ensembles. The *'au ware*, played by men, is made and preserved in the sacred men's house; the *('au) pasiawa*, played by women, in the menstruation house. The "sacred" instruments are "taboo" for the other sex, but it should be pointed out that, as with the panpipes played in ensembles, not all instruments used are sacred. A non-sacred musical bow may be played by a man, and, in fact, among the 'Are'are people of the mainland of Malaita, I did not find a single woman who remembered how to play this instrument, but only two men.

At the bottom of the hierarchy are the remaining four instruments, played mainly for entertainment and without magic attribution. The stamping tubes *'au ni mako* and the transverse flute *'au porare* are played as much by women as by men, the vertical bundle panpipe *'au waa* and the panpipe *'au ni aau* are usually used by men, but there is no restriction against women playing it. The sound of this last instrument formerly functioned as a call to women to collect canarium nuts; a man can also use it to call his girl friend to the forest for a rendezvous or to signal, from the path, his imminent return to the house (Figure 8).

'au tahana

'au paina

('au) taka'iori

('au) keto

'au ware ('au po'o)

('au) pasiawa

'au porare

'au ni aau

'au waa

'au ni mako

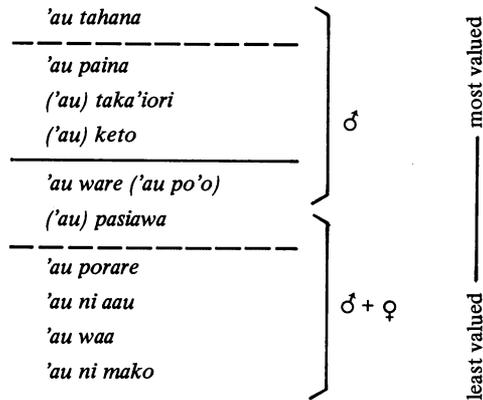♂ (most valued)

♂ + ♀ (least valued)

Figure 8. Hierarchy of types of 'au.

It should be noted that the position of an instrument in the scale of values is not directly related to the social status of its player. I know several *aaraha* (chiefs of peace) who perform in the most prestigious ensemble (*'au tahana*) and who play the least valued instruments as well (*'au ni mako* and *'au waa*). The true "men of music" (*mane ni 'au*) are familiar with most of the instruments.

2.4. AGE OF TYPES OF 'AU

It is interesting to compare this hierarchy with the age attributed by tradition to the different types of *'au*. All the musicians agree that the *'au tahana* is the oldest panpipe ensemble and that the *'au paina* was derived from it. The *('au) taka'iori* was created later, nine generations ago, the measurements of *'au tahana* instruments were said to have been used as a model. The *('au) keto* was introduced in 'Are'are only three generations ago by a musician who visited the grave of a relative among the Kwarekwareo people (neighbors of the 'Are'are to the northwest), who in turn say that their ancestors invented it following the model of a *'au tahana* which they borrowed from 'Are'are. In instrument making, the *'au tahana* may serve even today as a model for a new set of *('au) keto* (cf. Zemp 1972b:258).

According to a myth (Coppet and Zemp, forthcoming), these panpipe ensembles were preceded by some solo instruments. The transverse flute *'au porare* was invented by a man to imitate the cry of the birds *porare* (Porphyrio porphyrio) in order to attract and kill them, because they were stealing from his garden. Another man derived the solo panpipe *'au ni aau* from the transverse flute. The obliquely held bundle panpipe *'au ware* originated from the transverse flute, and the instruments of the panpipe

'au porare

'au ni aau   'au ware

'au tahana   ('au) pasiawa

'au paina

('au) taka'iori   9

'au ni mako   5-6

('au) keto*   3

'au waa*   3
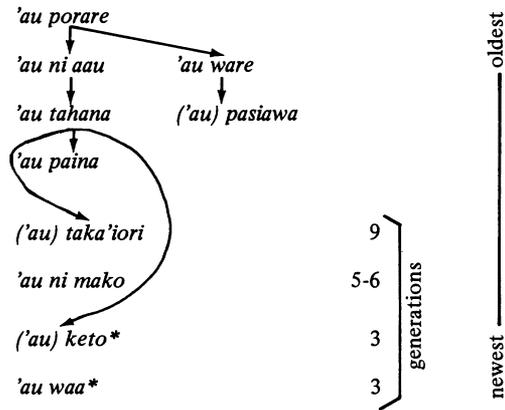
oldest ———————— newest

generations

Figure 9. Age of the different types of 'au according to oral tradition. (The arrows indicate mythical filiation, asterisks mark foreign origin.)

ensemble *'au tahana* from the solo blown panpipe *'au ni aau.* The delicate sound of the obliquely held bundle panpipe *'au ware* gave a woman the idea of creating the musical bow *('au) pasiawa.* All this is said to have happened in the mythical time when knowledge came to human beings, when the primordial ancestors *kiiramo* succeeded the wild men *ma'ema'ehunu,* 34 generations ago according to one informant. The stamping tubes *'au ni mako* are said to have been invented about five or six generations ago by a group of people producing lime from burning seashells and beating empty bamboo containers on stones (Figure 9).

The recent introduction of the *'au waa* (and the absence of magic) is the reason offered for classifying this bundle panpipe lower than the *'au ware.* On the contrary, the same recent introduction of the *('au) keto* does not devaluate this ensemble in relation to the *'au paina* and the *('au)taka'iori*: it has been adopted by the 'Are'are for use in the same ceremonial feasts. Among the panpipe ensembles, the *'au tahana* is—as we have seen—classified highest, mainly because of its mythical anteriority. It is remarkable that the transverse flute *'au porare,* according to mythical tradition the first bamboo musical instrument, is among the least valued. Thus the prestige of a type of *'au* is not always a function of the antiquity attributed to it by tradition.

2.5. TYPES OF INSTRUMENTS AND TYPES OF MUSIC

I am limiting this analysis of 'Are'are denomination and classification to instrument and ensemble *types.* The 'Are'are people also name the instruments of different size which make up the panpipe ensembles, according to octave register and/or polyphonic part (Zemp 1972a), but here we enter the field of

'Are'are conceptualization of musical structure which will be treated else-where. Analyzing the names of particular panpipe ensembles is also beyond the scope of this study; I must only mention here that instrumental ensembles—like human beings, pigs and canoes—are given personal names.[8]

When 'Are'are people speak of instrumental music (*'au*), they do not identify it by the social situation in which it is played, but by the name of the instrument or ensemble type. *'Au tahana* music is the same whether it is played when escorting the fiancée to the husband's house (*tarai keni taha*), during a funeral (*maeha*), a commemorative funeral feast (*houraa ni ha'otoha*), a feast with pigs (*houraa ni poo*), a feast of young people (*tootora huuhuu*), a musical tour (*tootora raaraa*), or in South 'Are'are during the enthronization of a chief (*ha'aaarahana*). The musical style of the *'au ni aau* solo panpipe is the same whether the performer calls women to collect canarium nuts, announces his arrival at the settlement, plays for his own entertainment, or sets a rendezvous with a girl. In this last case, he might have taught his girl friend to recognize a particular piece which he will play only when he wants to call her. But when hearing the sound of the *'au ni aau* from a path, those unaware of the secret will know with certainty the purpose of the performance. In 'Are'are culture terms used to designate types of musical instruments and types of music are identical: *'au ni aau* is the name of a type of solo panpipe, but also designates its music; *'au tahana* is the name of a type of panpipe ensemble, but also of its music (see above 1.1 concerning the extension of meaning: sound producer → sound product).

The repertoires of the musical types vary considerably in size, from a few pieces (*'au ware* or *'au po'o*) to several hundred pieces (*'au tahana*). Each piece has a title, usually given by its composer. It is through these titles that the 'Are'are musicians distinguish different "kinds" (*rautani*) of pieces. In *'au tahana* music, there are pieces for beginning a musical performance (*suru 'au*), pieces for closing a series of ten pieces and for marking a pause (*toto 'au*), pieces about the sound of birds (*mani 'au so'ona manu*), pieces about the speaking of people (*mani 'au so'ona wara*), pieces about funeral laments (*mani 'au so'ona aamamata*), pieces whose titles refer to a particular feature of the musical structure (*mani 'au so'ona 'au ke*), etc. Old pieces whose titles are now forgotten are grouped into "repertoires" (*panipani ni 'au*) named either after a center from which the music originated, or after a famous musician who taught many pieces to people. Formerly, musicians mainly played pieces from their own geographical area, but today the repertoires are mixed.

Despite these differences in repertoire(s), *au tahana* music is recognized as such by each member of 'Are'are society, and nobody would confuse it with the music of other panpipe ensembles. The same is true for the other musical types.

3. TYPES OF *'O'O*

3.1. DISTINCTION BY SOLO VERSUS GROUP PERFORMANCE

The slit drum *'o'o*—like the stamping tubes and the musical bow—is "beaten" (*'ui*). Solo playing is distinguished from ensemble playing as for bamboo instruments, but the terms are different: *'o'o mouta,* "single slit drum" and *para ni 'o'o,* "group of slit drums." The semantic field of *mouta* covers notions which can be translated by "alone, single, isolated, separated, different." This term could not apply to solo panpipes which always exist by themselves and are not "separated" from an ensemble; the *'o'o mouta,* on the contrary, is a slit drum with the same structure as those of the ensemble *para ni 'o'o.*

The solo slit drum is used to send messages. The repertoire consists of about ten *mani 'o'o* "pieces for slit drum," three of which announce death: death by sickness, violent death (accident or war), strangulation of a widow. In addition each settlement "owns" one or more particular pieces which—connected with the signals concerning death—give information regarding the place connected to the genealogical origin from which the message comes.

The repertoire of the slit drum ensemble consists of a great number of pieces which are primarily musical in function. Some of the pieces have a signalling function, such as the pieces beaten for each pig brought to the feast, or the piece announcing the payment of the price of a man. When the settlement organizing the feast does not have a slit drum ensemble, these pieces can be beaten on a single slit drum (*o'o mouta*). Conversely, in settlements which have a complete ensemble, one of the instruments, generally of middle size, can be used as *'o'o mouta* outside of the feast, to send messages.

In common usage it is not necessary to specify whether one is speaking of the ensemble or of the single slit drum since the term *'o'o* can be used for both.

It is interesting to note that pieces with signalling function—as in most Melanesian societies—are based on a system of lexical "ideograms" with no reference to the phonemic structure of the language (cf. Zemp and Kaufmann 1969), but that the repertories of the slit drum ensemble comprise many pieces imitating actual speech. In a complete performance the leader of the ensemble shouts the words at the beginning and between particular sections of the pieces. For slit drum pieces composed about cries of animals, the leader shouts 'nonsense' syllables imitating the rhythm of the beating. The slit drum ensemble performance including this shouting is called *'o'o rereho* "slit drum speaking" and lasted a whole night in former times. In contrast, shorter performances during midday, without shouting, were called *kiro,* in analogy to the beating of the stamping tubes (cf. 1.4).

Finally, we should mention the *'o'o ni poo* "slit drum for pigs," a small instrument made from a bamboo segment. The pigs recognize the sound and come to the settlement to be fed. There are no patterned pieces composed for this instrument; this is why the beating of the "slit drum for pigs" is not considered a musical type here.

3.2. HIERARCHY OF AGE OF TYPES OF *'O'O*

The slit drum ensemble has a much higher value than the single slit drum. Each settlement had a single slit drum, while owning an ensemble was and still is the privilege of a big man (*aaraha*). The single slit drum is used to send messages concerning daily life, while the ensemble is employed in ceremonial feasts. Magic is an integral part in the fabrication of an ensemble and intervenes each time the instruments are prepared for playing, while the single slit drum is carved and beaten without magic ritual.

According to an important myth concerning the origin of culture, the first slit drum was carved after the cultural hero Teakeni taught men how to manufacture stone tools (cf. Coppet and Zemp, forthcoming). A complementary myth specifies that, at the beginning, only single slit drums were used to send messages, and that the first slit drum ensemble was created later for a feast for the price of a man (cf. Coppet and Zemp, forthcoming).

4. TYPES OF *NUUHA*

Whereas in the category *'au* each type of music is determined by the type of instrument or ensemble, in the category *nuuha* the different musical types have a single sound source, the human voice, and are distinguished by names referring to use. In contrast to other Malaitan societies, the 'Are'are had no traditional choral singing until missionaries introduced church songs. Certain types of traditional songs may be sung solo, but the ideal is that two persons sing in two-part polyphony. The melodic structure of the two parts is fixed, but the words are frequently improvised according to circumstances; the 'Are'are say that the singer "enumerates words" (*iisisu wara*). The singer of the second part usually does not know what the singer of the first part is going to "enumerate"; so he generally hums or sings 'nonsense' syllables. In certain songs he joins with the words of the first singer during repetitions. Sometimes he also sings words but they are not synchronized with those of the first singer. As a result of this text improvisation the number of syllables often does not correspond to the rhythmic pattern of the melodic line; the singer fills out the line with 'nonsense' syllables or humming. Often he hums a whole melodic line or two, while thinking about the next words he will use.

4.1. DISTINCTION ACCORDING TO THE SEX OF PERFORMERS

The 'Are'are distinguish seven types of songs which they classify in *nuuha ta'aa mane* "songs of men" and *nuuha ta'aa keni* "songs of women." While the first are "taboo" for women, the latter may be performed by men under certain circumstances, although this is rather rare. The four types of men's songs all have a specific rhythmic accompaniment.

The divination songs *kana* are performed at night inside a house. All fires are extinguished so that the diviner, singing the principal part, can see the spirits of the ancestors who reveal to him the cause of sickness or the most propitious date for a feast or a canoe journey. The songs are accompanied by the deafening beating of sticks on the wood of a bow. The *kana* is the only 'Are'are song type which has a third part (although this is not considered to be "sung," *nuu*) in addition to the two solo voices; it is performed by the men assisting at the seance, who periodically "growl" (*nuruhia*), especially at the end of lines.

Nuuha aana rapaha are the "songs of pounding" performed by two singers, while other men pound taro, dancing and jumping around the mortar. The rhythm of pounding is sustained by beating—with sticks—a bamboo pole held horizontally by the two singers. The song is inseparable from the action "to pound" (*rapa* or the reduplicated forms *rarapa* or *raparapa*), the term *rapaha* "pounding" automatically evokes the type of song with which it is associated.

Formerly, in the course of long inter-island voyages in big canoes, one or two men sang "songs of paddling" (*nuuha aana hote*) also called "songs of 'Running'" (*nuuha aana ooro*), 'Running' being the name of the canoe magic. Another term, *mani hote* (*mani* "piece"; *hote* "to paddle, the paddle") designates both the paddling rhythm (which includes the beating of the canoe side with the paddle) and the song, but can apply to the rhythm alone if there is no song.

Nuuha aana kiro, the "songs with *kiro*," are performed by two men singing in two parts while a group of men—sometimes also a few women—beat short bamboo segments on the palms of their hands, and four men stamp larger bamboo tubes on the ground. We have already seen the use of the term *kiro* in speech (cf. 1.4). Because of this instrumental accompaniment the ensemble approaches the category of "the bamboos which one beats" (*'au kia ka 'ui*), but the song is indispensable and it is by the tunes that the different pieces of the repertoire are distinguished, the rhythmic accompaniment of the bamboos always being the same.

The three types of women's songs are performed without any instrumental accompaniment.

The term *roorowera,* which designates the lullabies, is composed of the

duplicated form of the verb *roo* "to rock" and the noun *wera* "child." A synonym for it is *rooropau* "to rock the head," expression which refers to the practice, sometimes used during song, of rhythmically making the baby nod. In current usage it is not necessary to suffix the noun "child" or "head": it is sufficient to use the verbal forms *roo* or *rooro*.

The *nuuha iisisu* are love songs and/or complaints; the term can be translated literally as "enumerative song" (*iisisu* "to count"), but, as mentioned earlier, texts of all song types are "enumerated." The young girl who sings about her lover risks mockery or even real trouble with her relatives, if somebody hears her and reports her words. Only her best girl friend may hear her and participate by singing the second part. Although classified as women's songs, *nuuha iisisu* may also be sung by a young man. Thus, some *nuuha iisisu* were composed by young men working on European plantations or in the labor camps of the American forces during World War II, the words evoking their sadness at being far from home.

The term *aamamata* which designates funeral laments is composed of the reduplicated form of the verb *aama* "to lament, to cry" and the nominalizing suffix *-ta*. One can say in a sentence that "a women SINGS a funeral lament" (*keni ka NUU aamamata*), but one can also employ the verb *aama* or *aamasia*. Like in a love song/complaint, the woman who mourns the dead "enumerates words" concerning the virtues of the departed and the emptiness he leaves behind; that is why the verb *aamaiisisu* ("to cry enumerating") can also be used. Two other terms are more frequently used in South 'Are'are for funeral laments, *aaniaanita* and *nanarata,* comprising the reduplicated forms of the verbs *aani* and *nara* "to cry." Broken by sobs, the funeral laments may be sung by two women in two parts. In exceptional cases when a man feels particularly sorry about a dead person, he may also sing a lament. This song type also includes laments sung by men or women sufffering from pain or from any privation of food.

4.2. HIERARCHY AND AGE OF TYPES OF *NUUHA*

Classification in men's and women's songs implies a hierarchy, the latter being lower in the scale of values. The four types of men's songs are all connected more or less with the sacred sphere.

At the top of the hierarchy are the divination songs *kana*. Only diviners who have received power from their ancestors can perform this most powerful of all 'Are'are divination forms. Because of the evocation of the ancestor spirits (whom the churches call "devils"), the divination songs are forbidden today by all churches, even by the more liberal Catholic Church and Melanesian Church (Anglican) which otherwise encourage performing of

traditional music. The divination songs are decisive over life and death. The diviner finds out if a sick person will die or recover if properly treated (with traditional medicine, prayers and sacrifices). There is some danger associated with the performance of the divination songs; if badly done, not only the sick person may die, but also some of his relatives, the curer recommended by the diviner, or even the diviner himself. In setting a propitious date for a feast or a canoe journey, the diviner also has a life and death responsibility, as sickness and death may strike the participants if the date is badly chosen. The diviner who sings the first part is paid with shell money; the other participants do not receive any remuneration.

The second most important song type is the paddling song (*nuuha aana hote*) in which the singer also calls ancestor spirits who, in form of sacred sharks, come to guide and protect the voyagers. The man who steers the canoe knows the itinerary and all the canoe magic, and he is also the main singer. He is remunerated for his knowledge of voyaging, of which the singing is an integral part. The canoe songs are considered second to the divination songs because the latter decide when the journey will be made. As long canoe journeys between the main islands of the Solomons are forbidden by the Government (because of the danger of accidents), these canoe songs are not performed any more.

In third position are the pounding songs (*nuuha aana rapaha*) and the songs with beaten and stamped bamboo tubes (*nuuha aana kiro*) which are of equal status. These songs are not directly sacred, but as feasts given by chiefs (*aaraha*) are connected with the ancestor cult, they are considered to be of comparable status with the panpipe ensembles. The singers are remunerated, either with shell money or with a special gift of food.

Among women's songs, funeral laments (*aamamata*) and lullabies (*roorowera*) are considered of equal status. Funeral laments approach the sacred in being part of the funeral ritual. In pre-colonial times they were a powerful call for revenge, if a particular person was considered responsible for the death (e.g. the person giving a feast is held responsible should a death occur during his feast). When the women "enumerated" all the qualities of the dead and the responsibilities of the person held to have caused that death, the men angered and took up their weapons.

To the foreign observer lullabies might seem of little importance and one would not expect them to have any sacred characteristics. But under certain circumstances, lullabies can be related to the powerful divination songs. While "enumerating" the words of the song, the mother could have an apparition of her husband's former sexual partner whom he did not reveal at the wedding. Or inversely, if the father is singing the lullaby (which is rare), he may have a vision of a former sexual partner of his wife. Such confessions at the wedding are necessary and their omission causes sickness of the child

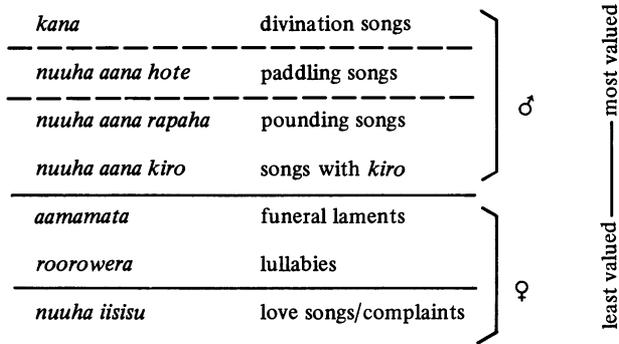| kana	divination songs	
nuuha aana hote	paddling songs	
nuuha aana rapaha	pounding songs	♂
nuuha aana kiro	songs with kiro	
aamamata	funeral laments	
roorowera	lullabies	♀
nuuha iisisu	love songs/complaints	

most valued —————— least valued

Figure 10. Hierarchy of types of *nuuha*.

and might be the reason for his crying. The singer of the lullaby may also have a vision of an ancestor spirit—causing the baby to cry continuously—who may ask something (a sacrifice, or that his name be given to the child). In extreme cases the singer of the lullaby may be possessed by a spirit and in such cases he will start to cry even louder than the child; this is a sign of the inevitable death of the child.

At the bottom of the song hierarchy are the love songs/complaints (*nuuha iisisu*). Singing about a lover is extremely ill-considered and may "spoil" the name of the besung. Love affairs must be kept secret and only made public if marriage results (Figure 10).

The three types of women's songs and the divination songs are known throughout the 'Are'are territory. The three other men's songs are limited to South 'Are'are, the paddling song to the coast of the lagoon and the passage separating Big and Small Malaita.

The hierarchy of song types reflects their respective age more than does that of bamboo musical instruments. Divination songs are considered to be the oldest, of the same age as the first musical instruments (see 2.4). The canoe songs and the pounding songs are said to be more than 20 generations old. According to some informants, the songs with *kiro* are of the same age; according to others, they are of more recent creation (but older than the small stamping tubes which are said to be 5 or 6 generations old). Funeral laments date back to the time of the invention of the obliquely held bundle panpipe *'au ware*. The lullabies are considered old, but no specific age is given. The love songs/complaints are a new creation of colonial times; before colonizers imposed peace, the singing of a love song would have led to the killing of the girl singing and her lover. Despite their recent invention, the musical style of the love songs/complaints is traditional, and very close to that of the funeral laments.

5. *KIROHA*

The water game *kiroha* is a single musical type belonging to none of the three main categories *'au, 'o'o* and *nuuha*. The repertoire is very limited, restricted to three or four short pieces. Played by women and girls in the river during bathing—sometimes small boys may also try it—it is a simple entertainment. No older boys or adult men would ever perform this sound game.

I did not find any tradition concerning its origin, but it is considered to be older than the songs with beaten and stamped bamboo tubes to which it has given its name.

6. THE BOUNDARIES OF *'AU, 'O'O, NUUHA* AND *KIROHA*

Several ethnomusicologists have drawn attention to the necessity for studying the ways in which different cultures define the concept "music" (cf., among others, Merriam 1964:63, Rouget 1968:1345, Blacking 1973:4, Herndon 1974:248). After specifying that the distinction between music and noise or non-music is basic to the understanding of music in any society, Merriam affirms:

> If one group accepts the sound of the wind in the trees as music and another does not, or if one group accepts the croaking of frogs and the other denies it as music, it is evident that the concepts of what music is or is not must differ widely and must distinctively shape music sound (Merriam 1964:63).

In studying concepts of music the first requirement is to use the native language for the investigation. In 'Are'are there is no more unitary terminological equivalent for "noise" than for "music." One can easily imagine the lack of understanding of a bilingual 'Are'are musician who is asked in pidgin English or English if he considers the sound of the wind in the trees or the croaking of frogs as music. But replacing the term "music" with the 'Are'are labels *'au* and *'o'o* does not help, since neither the wind nor the frog produce sound by "beating" or "blowing" a bamboo musical instrument or by "beating" a slit drum. There can be no answer to a question which, in a given cultural context, makes no sense. However, if there is one society where frogs and wind have importance for music, it is the 'Are'are, where one-third of the repertoire of instrumental pieces are inspired by sounds of nature (another third by sounds made by men). In 'Are'are it is possible to ask if birds "sing" (*nuu*) and the answer is affirmative. But it would be absurd reasoning to classify the "song" (*nuuha*) of birds within the boundaries of 'Are'are music and to exclude the "crying" (*nanarata*) of musical instruments (as musical instruments "cry," *nara,* in 'Are'are)![9]

It is not by studying expressions like "the birds sing" or "the panpipes and the slit drum cry" that we are able to define the boundaries of music in 'Are'are. We may rather investigate certain underlying features, some of which the four categories *'au, 'o'o, nuuha* and *kiroha* share with other sound phenomena, and some of which are their own: (1) the "sound" (*nonorota*), (2) the "piece" (*mani*), (3) the "composition" (*supaaha*), (4) the "musical segment" (*ro'u mani aa*), (5) and the movement "towards the bass" (*hi uuru*) and "towards the treble" (*hi hua*) of the musical segments, in the categories *'au* and *nuuha.*

(1) The term *nonorota,* translated here as "sound," has, in reality, a different semantic field than the English term, as it is situated exclusively at the level of perception. *Noro* means "to hear," *noroana* is the term for "ear." The 'Are'are say of a good musical performance that "it hears well" (*'e noro rete*), as they say of a beautiful adornment that "it looks well" (*'e rio rete*). Thus, the term *nonorota* designates more precisely the sound which one can hear, for example, "the sounds of the forest" (*nonorota ni ma'asu*), "the sound of the river" (*nonorota ni karusi*), "the sound of the scraping of coconuts" (*nonorota ni roosiniuha*), and of course, "the sound" of the four categories *'au, 'o'o, nuuha* and *kiroha.*[10]

(2) The term *mani* "piece" implies a unit with fixed boundaries. Thus, a well-defined cloud in the blue sky is called a "piece of cloud" (*mani raho*), but a cloud has no "sound." The ocean has sound, but the flow of the waves breaking on the beach cannot be qualified as "pieces." The wind can blow continuously, but can also gust; the latter is a "piece of wind" (*mani sisiho*). A "piece of words" (*mani wara*) is a short expression or a proverb. The cries of a child may be called a "piece of crying" (*mani nanarata*). We have already seen above the use of the term *mani* in connection with the four categories *'au, 'o'o, nuuha* and *kiroha.*

(3) The term *supaaha* applies to "composition" of pieces of the categories *'au, 'o'o, nuuha* and *kiroha.* Spoken texts such as "proverbs" (*mani wara*) or "children poems" (*uunuunuha*) are not "composed," but "started" (*tara'ae*), as are inventions of material goods.[11] The blowing of the conch-shell (*puu,* or *uu'uu*) for signaling purposes and the beating of the "slit drum for pigs" (*'o'o ni poo*) may sometimes be called "pieces," but these are not "composed" and have no "musical segments" (see 4 below).

(4) The term *ro'u mani aa* "segment of the thing" implies periodicity, *ro'u* meaning "folded." The word *aa* "thing" is usually replaced by one of the three terms *'au, 'o'o* and *nuuha; ro'u mani 'au* is a "segment of music [bamboo]," etc. The segments of the pieces of the water game *kiroha,* which are very short, are called *wa'owa'o ni aa* or *wa'owa'o ni kiroha.* My informants could not find any example of this term in other contexts, and explained its meaning by saying that it is a shorter segment than a *ro'u mani aa.*

	nonorota "sound"	mani "piece"	supaaha "composition"	ro'u mani aa "segment"	hi uuru ma hi hua "towards the bass and towards the treble"
(cloud)		(+)			
ocean	+				
wind	+	+			
cry of a bird	+	+			
proverb	+	+			
children's poem	+	+			
conch shell	+	+			
slit drum for pigs	+	+			
'o'o	+	+	+	+	
kiroha	+	+	+	+*	?
'au	+	+	+	+	+
nuuha	+	+	+	+	+

*For the *kiroha,* the segments are not called *ro'u mani aa,* but *wa'owa'o ni aa* (see text).

Figure 11. Features shared by different sound phenomena and by the four categories of 'Are'are music.

(5) Movement "towards the bass" (*hi uuru*) and "towards the treble" (*hi hua*) exists in pieces of bamboo music and songs, but not in pieces for slit drum, as each instrument produces only one pitch. The sounds of the water game are said to be between those of *'au* and *'o'o,* neither going "up and down" like a panpipe tune or a song, nor going "straight" like a slit drum rhythm.

These features (see Figure 11) are not artificially applied from the outside, but correspond to concepts inherent in 'Are'are thought, which are frequently expressed in the vocabulary of the musicians.

For the 'Are'are people, bamboo instrumental music (*'au*) and songs (*nuuha*) are intimately related. They explain this close relationship by the fact that each piece of bamboo instrumental music is first sung by the composer before it is played on the instrument(s). If a musician does not know how to sing a piece, then he cannot play it, and to teach it to him, a fellow musician may sing it. If, on the one hand, song is primordial for composing and playing of bamboo instrumental music, oral tradition says, on the other hand, that instrumental music has inspired the creation of three song types (lullabies, funeral laments, love songs/complaints) and also particular tunes of a fourth song type (divination songs).

A myth about the origin of the funeral lament makes this relationship between song and bamboo instrumental music explicit. Formerly when a death occurred, women cried without listening to each other and without singing in two-part polyphony. The man who invented the obliquely held bundle panpipe *'au ware,* composed a piece of music inspired by this female crying. He turned his instrument during the performance so that two

neighboring tubes sounded simultaneously. The musical piece was so beautiful that the women felt sad[12] and thought it would sound nice to sing funeral laments (*aamamata*) like that, i.e. in two-part polyphony.

The first tunes of lullabies are also said to have been sung in imitation of panpipe tunes. And as we have seen, the love song/complaint was created recently during colonial times, from women's former singing of panpipe tunes without words.

On the other hand, many individual bamboo instrumental pieces have the titles of song types, showing that they were inspired by songs.

The continuous exchanging of tunes between songs and bamboo instrumental music, in both directions, is possible because both musical categories have in common sounds which go "up and down," "towards the bass and towards the treble." In fact, the term *'au* is sometimes used, in the most general sense, for all kinds of music with sounds going "up and down," including songs. While in South 'Are'are (where *kana* is the general term for "song") the principal vocal part in songs is called *pau ni kana* "head of the song," in North 'Are'are it is called *pau ni 'au* "head of music." The lexical expression *mani 'au* "piece of music" is often applied to songs, sometimes the term *'au* alone is used, which may then be translated as "music" or "tune." *Nuuha aana 'au* means "singing [a tune of] bamboo instrumental music," the inverse sentence *'au aana nuuha* means "the music [tune] of the song." The use of the term *'au* in this widest sense can be seen in an explanation given by a diviner: "One composes the music for the divination songs about a piece of music from the [panpipe ensemble] *'au paina,* or the music of the [panpipe ensemble] *'au tahana,* or the music of a funeral lament; if one knows how to sing it, then one can transform it into a divination song" (*kia ka supaa 'au hana kana so'ona mani 'au aana 'au paina ma, 'au aana 'au tahana ma, 'au aana aamamata ma, kia rae nuu 'ai, ma kia rae rikita'i 'ai hana kana*).[13]

In this widest sense, *'au* designates all music with melodic elements, even if there are no bamboo instruments, as in songs or in modern westernized music: *'au aana kita* is "music of guitar." The main reason why 'Are'are classification does not include the slit drum pieces in *'au* is not because slit drums are not made of bamboo material ("slit drums for pigs" are!), but because they do not produce sounds which go "up and down." A piece for slit drum cannot be sung like a piece of bamboo instrumental music; it can only be "spoken" (*iiria*) with 'nonsense' syllables (such as *teke tekerei*) or with words in the case of pieces imitating actual speech. The water sound game is considered to be between bamboo instrumental music *'au* and slit drum rhythms *'o'o*. The sound pattern of the pieces are neither "sung" nor "spoken," just sometimes "imitated" (*haimaani*) with the mouth, for example, if one girl shows another girl how to combine and repeat the different segments of the piece.

If the 'Are'are make a sharp distinction between *'au* and *nuuha* on the one hand, and *'o'o,* on the other, with *kiroha* lying between the two, they nevertheless say that all "four kinds of things" (*hai rautani 'are*) have a common feature, the pieces being composed in imitation of sounds. Even the pieces from the water game imitate other sounds, like the beating of leaf parcels accompanying the panpipe ensemble (*'au) taka'iori,* or the pattern of a musical piece of the panpipe ensemble *'au paina.*

Finally, the 'Are'are concept *'au,* as opposed to *'o'o,* appears to be somewhat similar to the popular Western concept of music, in which the melodic elements also tend to receive more importance. When a military band walks down the street and the drummers play alone, many people would not call this "music," but just "drumming"; the "music" might be considered to start with the playing of the wind instruments. Furthermore, the occasional hierarchic inclusion of *nuuha* in *'au,* and the more common use of the two classes at the same level of contrast, have also a parallel in the West. Musicologists certainly include the class "song" in the category "music," but this is not always the case in Western folk taxonomies. In French common language, for example, *chant* is often opposed to *musique,* the latter term being restricted to "instrumental music."[14]

This conclusion may differ somewhat from the initial statement of this paper which implies that 'Are'are language has no terminological equivalent from what Westerners call music. But the similarity between the 'Are'are concept of *'au* and popular Western concept of "music" was not an Eurocentrically *a priori* assumption, but arose only after careful and lengthy examination of 'Are'are terminology.

The study of folk classification is a first step towards an understanding of what constitutes music for a society, after which one no longer poses the question concerning the nature of music in the same terms.

NOTES

2. The 'Are'are language, spoken by less than 10,000 people, is Melanesian and as such a member of the large Austronesian language family. In the transcription of 'Are'are words, the apostrophe marks a glottal stop.

3. A study of musical terminology is necessarily somewhat tedious for anyone unfamiliar with the music under examination. To have some idea of the actual musical sound, the reader is referred to three discs (cf. discography) containing examples of all traditional musical types of the 'Are'are people (with one exception). Photographs of performing musicians are included in the liner notes and in previous papers which deal with various aspects of musical instruments, such as organology, geographical distribution, uses of music, spatial arrangement of the musicians, and fabrication and tuning of panpipes (Zemp 1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1973). A general photographic iconography of 'Are'are society with special reference to music will appear in a book prepared in cooperation with the anthropologist D. de Coppet (Coppet and Zemp, forthcoming). For an ethnographic description of 'Are'are society, see other publications of Coppet (bibliography *in* Coppet and Zemp, forthcoming) with whom I work in close collaboration and whose dictionary of the 'Are'are language (forthcoming) is of great assistance. The film *'Are'are Maasina,* made by Daniel and Christa de Coppet with my collaboration as sound engineer, shows a traditional feast organized for the launching of a modern boat. The film *Musique 'Are'are* gives a complete inventory of all musical types, the classification and performing techniques of which are explained by a 'Are'are musician, while *La coupe des bambous* shows the fabrication of panpipes (cf. filmography).

4. English forms enclosed by quotation marks are semantic equivalents of 'Are'are terms, more or less "literal translations" depending on the degree of comprehensibility to the reader. Thus, in figure 5 for example, the English translation "blown" for *uuhi* and "one-man-bamboo" for *'au ta'a mane* are literal, while I chose the musicological term "equiheptaphonic second" for *rapi 'au,* as the literal translation "twin bamboo" does not permit to understand that it is a specific musical interval. A detailed semantic study of 'Are'are terminology concerning musical structure (intervals, melodic movement, form, polyphony) will be published later.

5. Such an extension of meaning also exists in European languages, but in the opposite direction, as in German and French, where the term for music can be applied to an orchestra, e.g. *Musikdirektor, musique de la Garde Républicaine.*

6. There is a 'Are'are group at Marau, the easternmost point of Guadalcanal island separated from Malaita by 60 km. of ocean, who has a double row panpipe. Since this type of instrument is known elsewhere on Guadalcanal but not in Malaita, it seems probable that the 'Are'are of Marau adopted it from their neighbors, but the music of this ensemble, called *'ahai,* is their own. This *'ahai* has not been introduced to the 'Are'are of Malaita, but to one village in southern Small Malaita (Zemp 1972b:36).

7. The 'Are'are rarely use such sexual distinctions in the musical domain. Only two other cases are known to me so far: the denomination of the two lips of the slit drum (but only the "male side" is beaten), and a metaphorical expression to qualify two-part polyphony, where the second part turns around the first "like a woman turns around a man."

8. A few examples of personal names of panpipe ensembles are: *Ria 'asi* "Sacred Ginger," leaves used in a ritual to give magical power to the panpipes; *Nuku uuru wara* "Old Maid [with] sad Words," name given because the sound of this ensemble was so much appreciated that an old maid regretted not having a husband and sons who would play the instruments; *Ripoha ni 'aite* "Lies concerning Cockroaches," a name given to this ensemble because a musician once excused his poor performance by saying that there had been cockroaches inside the bamboo tubes.

9. *Nanarata* "crying" is the term generally used for birds, others, including the term *nuuha* "song," being reserved for certain species.

10. In a similar sense, *nonorota* also means "reputation."

11. The 'Are'are dictionary of P. Geerts (1970) translates *supaa* as "invent, start something new"; this may be the use of the area where this missionary worked most, Small Malaita. The dictionary of D. de Coppet (forthcoming) indicates three other interesting meanings: to imitate slit drum rhythms by beating an aerial root; to shout something new; to burst an abscess.

12. The emotion which is felt in listening to a beautiful musical piece is that of sadness, remembering relatives and friends who died. When listening to a panpipe

ensemble performing during a feast, the sadness that comes over a young girl may lead her to amorous passion for a musician (Coppet and Zemp, forthcoming).

13. This sentence is quoted to illustrate the method of data acquisition I used, following some proponents of ethnoscience who take their eliciting cues directly from patterns of question and response in natural settings, whereas others formalize their eliciting procedures to an extreme (see Tyler 1969:92).

14. Two examples from the French: the expression of a peasant from Southern France, "*J'aime bien chanter, mais sans la musique*" (i.e. without accordion, personal communication of B. Lortat-Jacob); and the title of a show presented in Paris in May 1977, *Les Guaranis. Chants, danses et musiques d'Amérique Latine.* That this use also exists in English and Italian is indicated by the titles of records produced by Folkways (FE 4486), "Songs and music of Tibet," and by Albatros (VPA 8296), "Canti e musica populare di Scozia e delle isole Ebridi."

APPENDIX: SELECTED LEXICON

aama: to cry, to lament; *aamamata,* funeral lament.
aapa ni 'au: general name for reed panpipe.
aana: of, with.
aara: to enclose, assemblage; *aaraha,* chief of peace.
'au: bamboo, musical instrument (of bamboo), instrumental music (with bamboo instruments), panpipe ensemble, music of panpipe ensembles, music (tune). *('au) keto, 'au paina* or *'au repi, 'au tahana, ('au) taka'iori*: types of panpipe ensembles; *'au ni mako,* stamping tubes; *('au) pasiawa,* musical bow; *'au porare,* transverse flute; *'au waa,* vertically held bundle panpipe; *'au ware* (or *'au po'o* in South 'Are'are), obliquely held bundle panpipe; *'au ni aau,* solo played panpipe; *'au rokoroko,* bamboo instruments played in ensemble; *'au ta'a mane,* solo played bamboo instruments.
'e: he, she, it.
eetana: first.
hau ni 'au: tube of bamboo.
hoa ni 'au: third (interval).
hoko ni 'au: general name for bundle panpipe.
iiria: to say.
ka: actual tense marker.
kana: to sing, song (South 'are'are); to sing a divination song, divination song; principal voice-part of the divination song.
keni: woman, female.
kia: indefinite pronoun.
kira: they.
kiro: to play the water game, to beat the stamping tubes, stamping tubes, name of the panpipe ensemble called also *'au paina* or *'au repi,* beating of slit drum ensemble without shouting; *kiroha,* water game; *kiro ni karusi, kiro* of the water (water game); *kiro ni mako, kiro* on the ground (stamping tubes).
ma: and.
maea: sacred.
mane: man (vir), male.
mao: no.
masika: small.
mani: piece of . . .
mouta: single, separated, different.
nara: to cry; *nanarata,* the crying, sound.
noro: to hear; *nonorota,* sound.
nuu: to sing; *nuuha,* song; *nuuha aana hote,* paddling song; *nuuha aana kiro,* song accompanied with large stamping tubes; *nuuha aana rapaha,* pounding song; *nuuha iisisu,* love song/complaint.

'o'o: slit drum, slit drum rhythms; *'o'o mouta,* single slit drum.
paina: big, great, important.
para ni 'o'o: slit drum ensemble.
pono, ponopono: closed.
rae: to know.
rapi 'au: equiheptaphonic second (interval).
roko, rokoroko: group, to group.
roorowera: lullaby.
ro'u mani aa: segment of a thing; *ro'u mani 'au,* segment of music; *ro'u mani 'o'o,*
    segment of a slit drum rhythm; *ro'u mani nuuha,* segment of a song.
so'ona: about, according to.
supaa: to compose; *supaaha,* composition.
ta'a: one.
ta'aa: people.
'ui: to beat; *'uiha,* the beating.
uuhi: to blow; *uuhiha,* the blowing.
waa, waawaa: wide open.

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