

the complex interplay of regionally linked theoretical foci with social and cultural difference on the ground? Finally, Stewart and Strathern make some very suggestive links to recent work on sensibilities in lowland South America (*The Anthropology of Love and Anger: The Aesthetics of Conviviality in Native Amazonia* edited by Joanna Overing and Alan Passes, 2000). The implied comparisons here may in part reflect some similarities along social dimensions such as scale, local organization, and the like. But, more signally, and especially when read with and against related work elsewhere, this volume points effectively to the considerable conceptual power of “sensibility” as an orienting notion—and as a lively nexus of agency, experience, and imagination. *Gender, Song, and Sensibility* provides a rich ethnographic record, serves as a stimulating corrective to the excesses of our theoretical preoccupations, and subtly lays out an interpretive program of considerably broader applicability and value.

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*Panpipes across the Ocean: A Production of Popular Tunes from the South Pacific Islands.* Suva: Newsounds Oceania Studio; Oceania Centre for Arts & Culture, University of the South Pacific, 2002. E-mail <Oceania@usp.ac.fj>. Compact disc. US\$16.00.

Contemporary musicians in the Pacific, as in many other parts of the world, are often exploring ways of

combining elements of their traditional musics with those of the West. Whether as an attempt to express the complex cultural mixtures of contemporary life or as a marketing ploy to tap into the seemingly lucrative world music scene, such experiments encourage new approaches to musical expression. In the compact disc under review here, a traditional instrument—panpipes—is used to perform a type of popular music found throughout the Pacific.

As observed in the brief notes accompanying this recording, panpipes have quite a wide distribution in the Pacific. They are or were found throughout most of Melanesia, but also in Polynesia, in Tonga and Sāmoa. Everywhere, these instruments consist of a number of bamboos or other tubular plants put together to form a single instrument. Depending on the area, the pipes may be bound together in a raft form or in a bundle. If in raft form, there may be one or two rows of pipes. The distal ends of the pipes may be closed or open. Panpipes may be played solo or in combination with other panpipes or different instruments; singing and dancing may or may not also be included.

Beginning in the 1970s, Swiss ethnomusicologist Hugo Zemp's numerous releases of Solomon Islands panpipes introduced many listeners to these important traditional instruments, particularly as expertly played in ensembles by 'Are'are musicians of Malaita. Here, we were exposed to distinctive tunings and polyphonies, coupled with a fascinating indigenous theory of music. Many listeners, including this reviewer, were spellbound.

Islanders have also been adept at modifying traditional instruments to meet new musical demands. According to some accounts, the “bamboo band” developed on Ranongga Island in the Solomons, from bamboo tubes originally struck on the ground. People tuned the bamboos to a diatonic western scale, bound them together, and struck them with a thong, sometimes with panpipes accompaniment as well as singing and dancing, creating a vibrant new sound, now associated with parts of Melanesia.

Throughout the Pacific, new songs have emerged following contact with western cultures, especially during colonization. Thus, in addition to traditional musical forms, the repertoire of Pacific groups includes songs accompanied by guitar, ukulele, or both, in local languages, and often based on the harmonies and melodic patterns of western music. Although sometimes referred to as “pan-Pacific pop,” such music displays considerable stylistic variation throughout the region. A knowledgeable listener can readily identify the provenance of a particular band by focusing on such features as the language used, melodic contour, vocal timbre and harmonies, guitar or ukulele playing style, meter, and so on.

The Solomon Islands students of the University of the South Pacific in Suva use their panpipes on this recording in a distinctive way. The tuning of the traditional single raft-form instrument has been modified to a western scale, so as to play arrangements of Pacific pop songs. Traditional polyphonic organization is lacking; instead, the arrangements invariably highlight the panpipes with the melody, in a slow or moderate

tempo. Except for tracks 2 and 9, which have intermittent vocals, these performances are instrumental only, with the panpipes backed up by an array of keyboards, guitars, and percussion instruments.

Two of the ten tracks are from the Solomons, and two from Fiji. Single tracks represent Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Sāmoa, and Tonga. Yet, unless one is familiar with the original songs, the type of arrangements used here masks any identification of origins. Godffrey Rahari’s playing of the panpipes seems less related to a traditional Solomons sound than, perhaps, to Gheorghe Zamfir, who made Romanian panpipes world famous.

Two tracks are particularly well known in Papua New Guinea. Track 1, the Solomons Pijin classic “Wakabauti long Chaena Taon,” is probably more commonly known by its original title, “Walkabout long Chinatown,” recorded by Fred Maedola on the New Zealand-based Viking label in the 1960s. (Viking was a true pioneer in its releases of Pacific pop and certainly demands an academic study.) Additionally, “Wan Pela Meri” (correctly written in Tok Pisin as “Wanpela Meri”), listed as track 3 on the CD, but actually track 6, was composed and first recorded by Papua New Guinea’s Krymus Band in 1975. Both songs have become staples of the stringband repertoire, sometimes even with bamboo band accompaniment. But the presentation of these songs on the present CD are more akin to that heard in a hotel restaurant: a piano player providing music for dining, mixing the predictable repertoire of western standards with some local melodies. This is not music to dance

to, but to weave in and out of the background, with a familiar melody being heard now and then.

Many Pacific pop lyrics focus on melancholy subjects, such as the loss of a lover or one's separation from home. Hence, perhaps the muzak-like arrangements of such songs will evoke nostalgic sentimentality in the listener. Rahari and the other musicians deserve credit for beginning to explore some of the possibilities of panpipes. If you prefer easy-listening music, soothing you into memories of the past, you'll probably find much to like about this CD.

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*Kuo Hina 'E Hiapo: The Mulberry is White and Ready for Harvest.*

27 minutes, VHS, Color, 2001.

Directors and producers: Melinda and Joseph Ostraff; writers: Joseph and Melinda Ostraff and Michael Van Wagenen; English narrator: Loa Niumeitolu Saafi, with English subtitles for Tongan interviews.

Distributor: Documentary Educational Resources, Watertown, MA.  
 <<http://www.der.org/films/kuohina-harvest.html>>. US\$145.00.

*Kuo Hina 'E Hiapo* is a process-oriented documentary about how Tongan women's identities in their communities are tied to their role as makers of ngatu, or barkcloth. The narrator begins by merging historical and contemporary narratives about ngatu when she states, "After centuries of use, ngatu has literally become

the fabric of Tongan society." The film documents the process of ngatu-making and highlights women's roles, their personal stakes, and their voices in this collaborative work. Using insightful commentary, vivid imagery, and steady, focused camerawork, the film nicely interweaves three main narratives: one about ngatu-making by women in groups called kautaha toulanganga, another about women finding voice and power through the social relations nurtured in the kautaha, and a third about how they fulfill their expected societal roles by teaching these skills to younger generations of Tongan females. Through clear English narration and Tongan interviews with accurate subtitles, the film effectively communicates its claim that "all the comments made in [the] film are the thoughts and words from the women of these kautaha organizations who have joined together for the making of ngatu."

The film's strength is its privileging of women's roles in, and impressions about, the kautaha. It introduces several women by name and strongly suggests that kautaha is a microcosm of ideal Tongan society, evidenced in the pride with which the women from one such group describe their kautaha as an organization with a constitution and laws. They describe the enforcement of these laws through fines and the strict discipline of work schedules and the sharing of the burden of work. The continual return to beautiful and intimate shots of numerous pairs of women's hands and the range of interviews with them as they work together further illustrates this point. The main tension in the film seems to be between women who make ngatu