

D O B A
AND
D E A T H

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LUCIANA J. LUSSU
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
DURHAM UNIVERSITY

DOBA
and
DEATH

1992

Luciana. J. Lussu
Department of Anthropology
Durham University

This dissertation is the result of my own work completed following a field-trip to Papua New Guinea in the summer of 1991. The material has therefore been largely gained first hand, and supported by anthropologists mentioned within the following text.

A total of two hours was spent with my tutor, Professor Robert Layton during which time we discussed the following: the length; the definitions of various ambiguous anthropological terms; and the presentation. As all the information was already acquired, the meetings concerned the appropriate presentation of the material in both a graphical and written form.

The total length of the dissertation is approximately 16,000 words inclusive of all acknowledgements, contents, footnotes, appendices and bibliography.

In loving memory of Peter-pa.

" Sendo l'intento mio scrivere cosa utile a chi la intende, mi e parso conveniente andare drieto alla verita effettuale della cosa che alla immaginazione di essa."

" My intent being to write something useful to those who understand, I have tried to go after the factual truth of the matter rather than its imagination."

Nicolo Machiavelli.

The Prince, Chaper XV.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The expedition to the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea was only made possible through the efforts of many, both in Papua New Guinea and here in Britain.

Through the strong friendship that Jutta Malnic - a close and personal friend of mine - has created with the people of Yalumgwa village on Kiriwina Island the primary contacts were obtained, and it is to her that I owe the most profound thanks for the trips execution. With the much appreciated help of John Kasaipwalova, a member of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan and the most likely successor of Chief Nalubutau - our host and the present Chief of the clan - formalities concerning the Institute of Papua New Guinean Studies and the issuing of my research visa were assisted and readily made possible.

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appreciation and thanks are due. Thanks also to the Smedley's who welcomed us warmly in Port Moresby, both on our primary arrival in Papua New Guinea and our departure two and a half months later.

Throughout the trips organization and the writing of this dissertation my parents could not have offered more support and I am eternally grateful to their faith and encouragement throughout the completion of both.

CONTENTS.

Title	Pages
INTRODUCTION.	10
BACKGROUND	13
Origins of the Trobrianders	
SECTION ONE.	
I)The Origins of <i>Doba</i> .	16
I.i) Banana Leaf Bundles Manufacture.	17
I.ii) Grass-skirt Manufacture.	19
II)The Importance of <i>Doba</i> in Trobriand Culture.	23
II.i) The Physical Importance of <i>Doba</i> .	
II.ii) The Cosmological Importance of <i>Doba</i> .	26
SECTION TWO.	
The Death of Gaiyowa.	29
The Events Following the Death of Gaiyowa.	
i) The First Month.	31
ii) The Second and Third Months.	
ii.a) The <i>LIGABWA</i> .	36
ii.b) The <i>VITUVATU SEPWANA</i> .	37
ii.c) The <i>LITUTILA SEPWANA</i> .	41
ii.d) The <i>VALAM</i> .	43
ii.e) The <i>LISALADABU</i> .	44

SECTION THREE.

CONCLUSIONS. 52

GLOSSARY. 56

APPENDIX I: Kwainama Clan, Lukwasisiga Tribe. 62

APPENDIX II: The Children of Gaiyowa. 63

APPENDIX III: *Valam* 64

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 71

ILLUSTRATIONS.

FIGURES.

- Fig.1 - Map of Papua New Guinea
- Fig.2 - Map of Kiriwina Island
- Fig.3 - Life Cycle within Trobriand Society
- Fig.4 - Summary of Bundle Manufacture
- Fig.5 - Summary of Grass-skirt Manufacture
- Fig.6 - Time scale of the Events Following
Gaiyowa's Death
- Fig.7 - Summary of Items distributed in the Events
Following Gaiyowa's Death
- Fig.8 - Summary of the Roles of the Four Clans
- Fig.9 - The Percentage of the *Deli* Distributions
to the *Kakau* in Grass-skirts, 'laplaps'
and Clay Pots.
- Fig.10- Genealogy of Kwainama Lineage 1
- Fig.11- Genealogy of kwainama Lineage 2

PLATES.

- Plate.1 - a) Gegai
b) Gaiyowa's grave
- Plate.2 - a) Working the freshly picked *Wakaya* leaf on the *kaidawaga* board.
b) *Noku* fibres created with the use of the *kaisena* - modern tin instrument.
- Plate.3 - Making the *Nununiga*
a) Sun-drying the worked *wakaya* leaves.
b) Manufacturing of the bundle.
c) 2 units of the finished new/clean bundles.
- Plate.4 - The grass-skirts which are still manufactured.
a) *seyoyu*
b) *taginikosi*
c) *kakasasa*
d) *dobatola*
- Plate.5 - a) the *Vituvatu Sepwana*.
b) the *Litutila Sepwana*.
- Plate.6 - The *Ligabwa* yam piles.
- Plate.7 - a) Rosemary wearing the traditional *sepwana* mourning skirt.
b) Deideigu wearing the cotton *sepwana* mourning skirt.
- Plate.8 - The *Deli* distribution of the *Lisaladabu*.
- Plate.9 - a) Traditional Dress.
b) Influenced Dress.

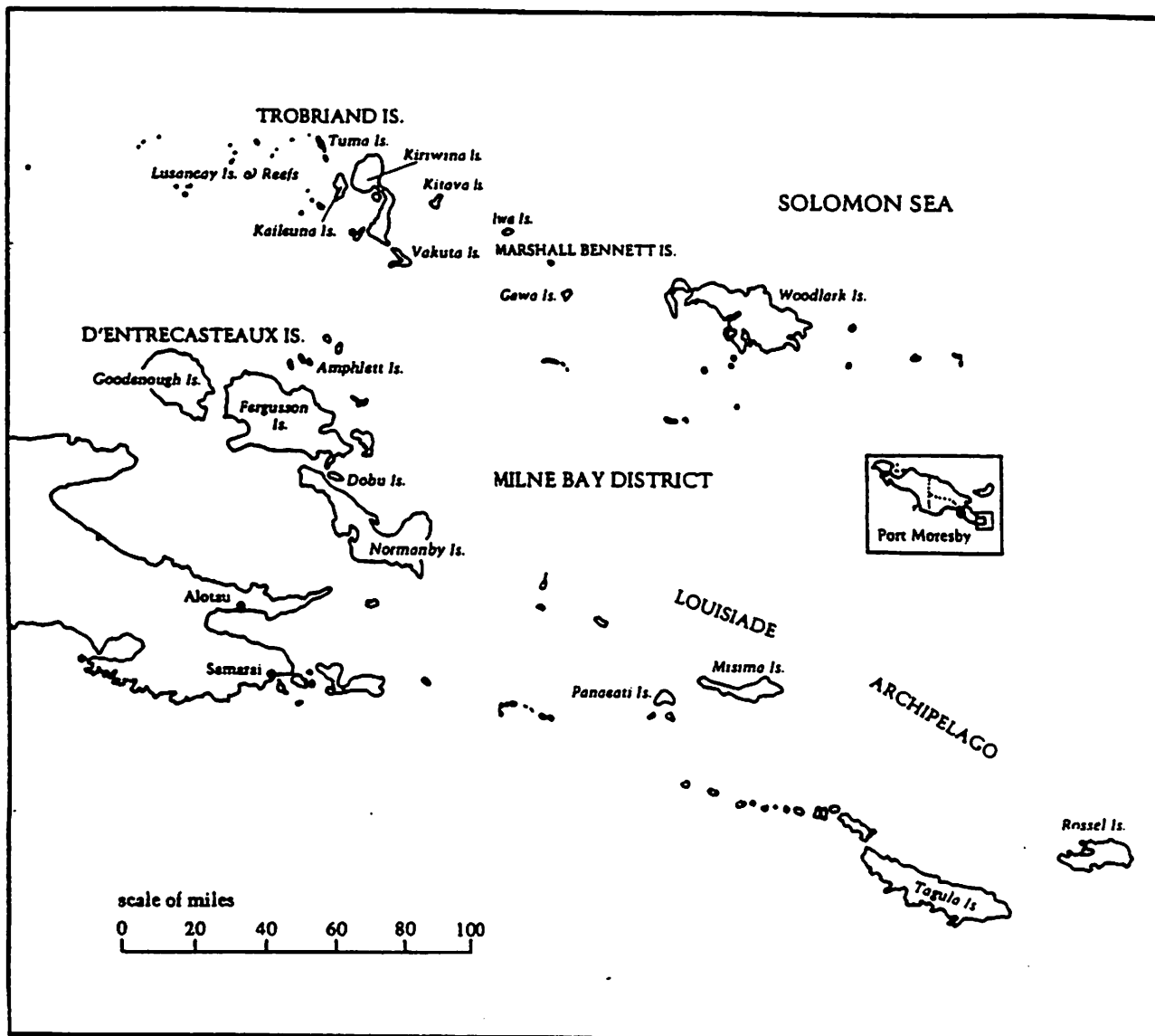


FIG. 1

KIRIWINA ISLAND.

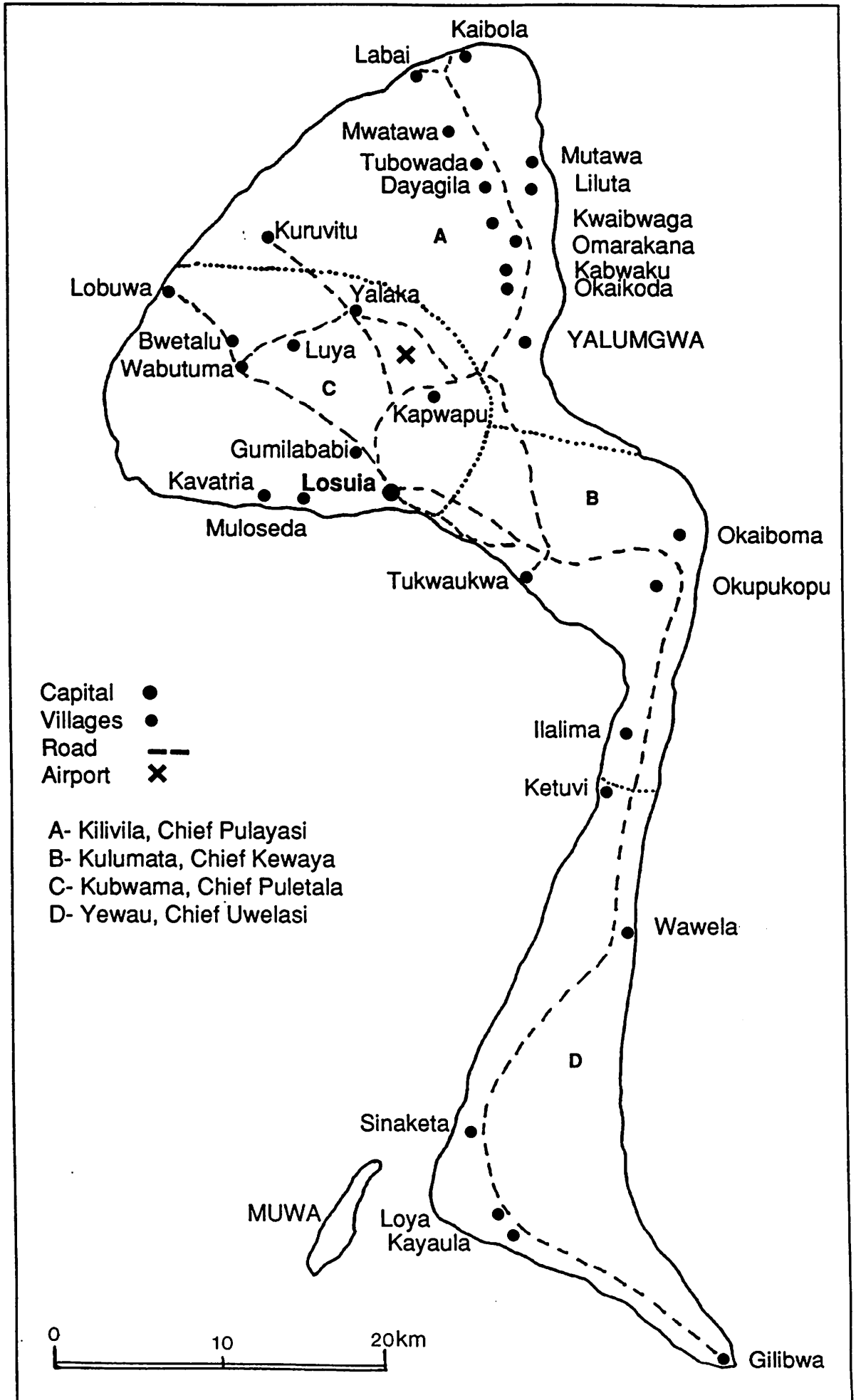
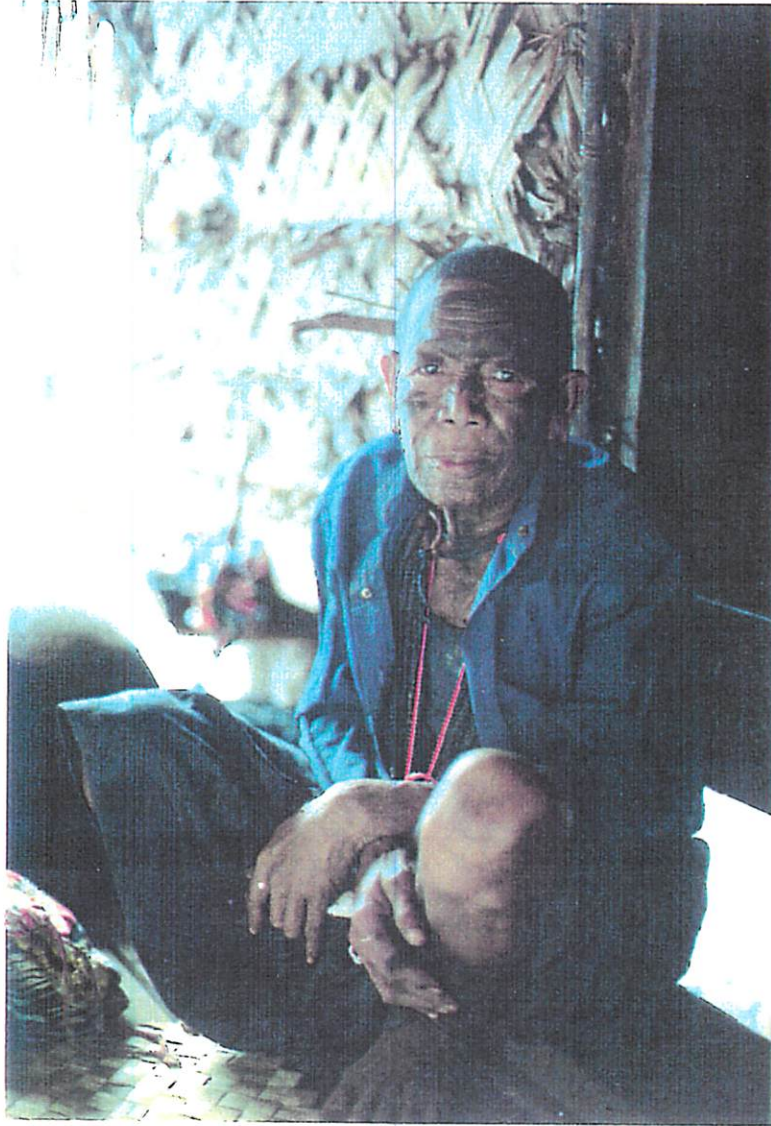


Fig. 2



a)GEGAI



b)GAIYOWA'S GRAVE

INTRODUCTION.

The trip to the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea from early-July to mid-September, 1991, was conceived in my first year at Durham University and made possible by my personal contact, Jutta Malnic, who for many years has visited the Trobriand Islands as a professional photographer and friend of the people.

The Trobriand Islands are located to the East of the most Eastern peninsular of mainland Papua New Guinea and are a part of the Milne Bay Province(Fig.1). During the colonial period they came to be considered part of the Massim¹(Fig. 1). Since the late sixteenth century, the area has received many visitors in the form of missionaries, explorers, anthropologists and even military forces during the World War II². Today, this is clearly acknowledged in the culture of the northern Massim - the Trobriand Islands - where I spent my ten week field trip in the summer of 1991. There are four main inhabited islands in the Trobriand group and the research period was spent entirely on the largest, Kiriwina Island which is 30 miles long and 10 miles wide. The people are known as Melanesians, practicing subsistence cultivation in yams and sweet potato and taro. Only on ceremonial occasions is pig ever eaten, and the other source of protein is fish which in the inland villages, like Yalumgwa(Fig.2) was not common. With the 'Western'³ influences, today much food is derived from the island food stores so a more varied diet containing high protein is exploited.

On departing England with my companion and fellow student, Edward Russell, I had prepared to carry out studies similar to those done by Annette Weiner, the American anthropologist who since the early 1970's has spent many years researching the importance of the women, socially, economically and politically within the Trobriand society. Having read her major work, 'WOMEN OF VALUE,

¹ Massim is the term applied by Seligman to this area which consists of one hundred and sixty islands and five hundred islets.

² Miller(1959) and Krueger(1953).

³ The terms 'western' and 'modern' have been chosen and will be used throughout the succeeding pages.

MEN OF RENOWN,' I believed it to be a valid study with her research providing me with a complete grounding. It was only on arrival on Kiriwina Island that I was faced with realities which were to alter slightly the emphasis of my research.

A month prior to our arrival, the younger brother of the Chief Nalubutau died and this meant that the entire village consisting of seven hamlets (approximately 500 people) was in mourning. Due to the state of the village, my work took on a slightly different angle as not only was I able to study the methods of manufacture of *doba* but also the implications within the society as they were emphasised by the death of GAIYOWA.

The methods employed to gain information were most often informal conversation in English most often with our hosts, Andrew, Kenneth, Jenny and other members of the village. Questions concerning the origins of women's wealth, the methods of manufacture and the translations of the mourning verse could only be obtained through more formalized interviews with the elders of the village. For such sessions dictaphones were used to record the language, and later translated by Kenneth. His patience and thoroughness allowed the stories from both male and female elders to be documented and vital information which I needed for a thorough understanding was acquired.

The degree of Westernization was indeed surprising as prior to arrival it was believed the language would create obstacles and the living conditions would be a great novelty. The installation of the English language and culture meant that little time was wasted in adapting to the unfamiliar situation thus allowing the research to begin immediately.

The following pages have been divided into three Sections. The first Section deals entirely with the *doba*, commencing with a thorough description of its origins and methods of manufacture and continuing with its importance within the Trobriand culture on both the physical and cosmological level. The second Section appears on first inspection to have little relevance to the wealth of the women,

however as one reads on it will become evident that the death of Gaiyowa was the primary cause for the women, so labouriously, to involve themselves with the manufacture of *doba* throughout my stay. The events following Gaiyowa's death have all been documented however it is only those at which I was present that have been detailed at length. The final Section of the dissertation primarily discusses the links between the death of Gaiyowa and the production of the women's wealth and concludes in answering the question of whether the position of women and their wealth within Trobriand society will continue to exist despite the intense pressures of Westernization.

THE LIFE CYCLE WITHIN TROBRIAND SOCIETY.

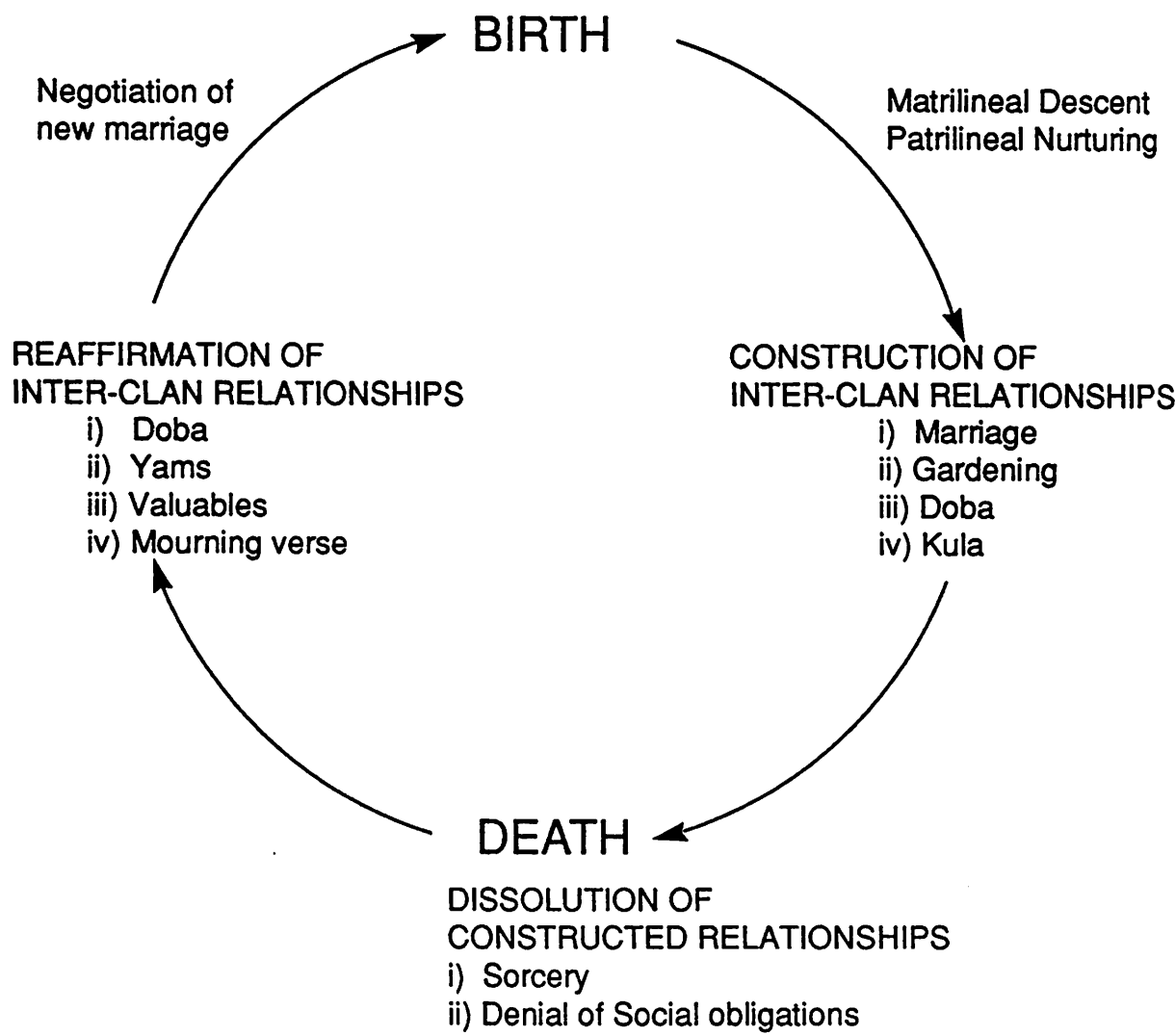


Fig. 3

BACKGROUND.

Origins of the Trobriand Islanders.

The increase in novel influences from both near and distant neighbours, has led the islanders to adopt a Western lifestyle and oral traditions concerning their origins must be detailed while they still continue to exist.

Trobriand descent is matrilineally based and consists of four clans - *kumila* - each one being composed of many lineages - *dala* - which are further distinguished as being of the upper echelon of society, *guyau*, or the lower echelon of society, *tokai*.⁴

The old blind man TOLOSI, who lives at LABAI, the area where it is said the original settlers arrived(Fig.2), was kind to come and spend a day talking to us⁵ to clarify certain points which did not correspond to previous documentation on the origins⁶. Tolosi who testified he received the information from his mother, is the only person still alive to know all the details of the origin of the Trobriander Islanders, which have been passed down through the generations orally.

The Trobriand ancestors are said to have travelled from a place called ITIPITA (which Kenneth believes to be Egypt) in two canoes, one which carried mainly technologies such as metals, and the other which carried mainly people. During a storm, the first canoe sunk and the second was shipwrecked on Kiriwina where the people took refuge in a cave at Labai - which still exists today and is filled with human bones and coarse ceramics⁷.

⁴ The method of classification of the Trobriand Island descent, has been derived from the Macmillan Dictionary of Anthropology.

⁵ Personal communication, recorded on tape and translated by Kenneth. (23.08.91)

⁶ Weiner(1976), Watson(1956), Malinowski(1922).

⁷ On visiting the cave, 23.08.91, I was allowed to take a small fragment of ceramic which is currently in the process of being dated in the Department of Archaeology, Durham University. (see Henige for details on oral tradition).

The four matrilineally based clans in order of status are: MALASI; LUKWASISIGA; LUKUBA; LUKULABUTA. Each of the four clans are made up of varying lineages, of which the Tabalu of the Malasi are the highest and from which the Paramount Chief is always derived.

For a time the survivors existed in the cave, until the members of the highest status lineages, the *guyau* which included members of the Malasi and the Lukwasisiga clans, decided to venture out. In this way the higher echelon of the society claimed the majority of the land and continued to possess the power and exercise the most authority, as was the case before the shipwreck. The remaining Lukuba and Lukulabuta, contributing the large part of the *tokai*, did not make many land claims, could not assert power and so remained at their previously allocated level of society.

Tolosi specified four original settling places known as *bwala* and it is here that the *gweguyau* (plural of *guyau*) came after leaving the cave. The *bwala* area where the Lukwasisiga clan, Kwainama lineage - the people of Yalumgwa village - went is called Bwedaga and from here they later separated and came to occupy land all over Kiriwina and neighbouring islands(Appendix I). Although often documented that the people of Kiriwina came originally from the ground⁸, it is a misunderstanding as the ancestors of all the clans of Kiriwina Island arrived in canoes and were shipwrecked. It is in their exploration of the Island and settling that such a misinterpretation has resulted.

The totemic symbols connected to each clan have also been documented fairly accurately by anthropologists⁹, however minor discrepancies during my field research period, should be mentioned. All clans are represented totemically by a bird and an animal and it is here that clarification is needed. The Malasi are represented by the white dove (*bubuna*) and the pig (*bunukwa*). Considering the pig forms such an important part of ceremonies and social occasions the taboo associated with its

⁸ Weiner(1976, 39-41,46-48) Stories from Chief Vanoi.

⁹ Malinowski(1926, 123), Weiner(1976, 52), Hogbin(1946)

ingestion must be queried. In fact it was explained how in the past the all white, all black and light brown coloured pigs could not be ingested whereas all others could, however, now the Malasi have become less conscious of their clan obligations and great pig eaters.

The Lukwasisiga has the green parrot (*karaga*) and the animal for one lineage - living at Kaulagu - is the shark but the animal totem for the clan is unknown.

The Lukuba has the eagle (*muluveka*) and the dog (*kaukwa*) as its totems.

The final clan, Lukulabuta, has the lorikeet (*gegila*) and the lizard (*kelavasiya*) as its totems.

The stories obtained from Tolosi were later supported by Chief Nalubutau, and the importance of the Malasi further emphasised. The majority of the Lukwasisiga clan, Kwainama lineage travelled from Bwedaga to Yalumgwa where they have since remained. As mentioned before they too are considered a part of the upper echelon of Trobriand Society, an important point to be aware of throughout this discussion. During my study of the *doba* and having read the works of Weiner, I discovered certain inconsistencies between the data I acquired and those already documented by Weiner. It is my belief that these are due to the difference in our village status' as Kwaibwaga, the village in which Weiner was based, constitutes the lower echelon of the society. For further understanding of the variance between *guyau* and *tokai*, the main documentations of all anthropologists who have visited the Trobriands must be consulted.

SECTION ONE.

The Origins of Doba.

The term *doba* is used in Trobriand Society to refer to the items manufactured by women from the leaves of a particular banana tree. Stories and information were largely recounted by Chief Nalubutau¹⁰ in the local language *kilivila*.

The two main items referred to with the word *doba* are banana leaf bundles - *nununiga* - and various grass skirts types, both of which are known to have arrived on Kiriwina with the first settlers. These early ancestors brought with them four types of banana tree, three which were useful only for food. The final and most important tree known as *WAKAYA*, was utilized almost entirely for the manufacture of the *doba* with the fruit rarely being eaten. Chief Nalubutau¹¹ explained how there were three Kwainama¹² female ancestors who left their origin location - Bwedaga - taking with them the *wakaya* tree. Two ventured to Yalumgwa village and the third, called Kawawega, went to Liluta village (Fig.2) where she attempted to plant her banana tree. The already settled women tore it from the ground and she was forced to leave so made her way south and eventually settled with her two sisters in Yalumgwa. This story explains not only the origins of the Kwainama lineage, but also their high rank as in the past ownership of such banana trees was highly prestigious and Chief Nalubutau refers to it as '*kasi vivila* - the source of food to women.' During this origin period those women owning many trees were called '*napweyaveka* - woman of *Doba* abundance'.

¹⁰ Personal communication, recorded on tape and translated by Kenneth. (27.8.91)

¹¹ Personal communication, recorded on tape and translated by Kenneth (28.8.91)

¹² Kwainama is the clan (*dala*) of the Lukwasisiga who reside at Yalumgwa village.

	PRE MODERNIZATION	POST MODERNIZATION
PREPARATION	Removal of the outer epidermal layer with the <i>kaniku</i> - a mussel shell.	Removal of the outer epidermal layer with the <i>kaniku</i> - a shaped tin implement derived from tinned foods.
MANUFACTURE	Decoration and symmetrical designing of the scraped leaf, executed with the <i>kidonatu</i> - a cockle shell.	Decoration and more complex symmetrical designing of the scraped leaf, executed by scraping over the patterned <i>kaidawaga</i> board.
COMPLETION	The completed bundles are dyed with the black sap derived from the mangrove tree bark and also kept their natural sundried colour.	The completed bundles appear only in the natural sundried colour.

SUMMARY OF BUNDLE MANUFACTURE.

Fig. 4

I.i) Banana Leaf Bundle Manufacture.

The ancestral women and those today, prepare the *nununiga* by firstly picking the *wakaya* banana leaves and scraping them on the wooden board - *kaidawaga* - with a sharp implement, *kaniku* (Fig.4). Only the outer epidermal layer is removed and two thirds of the leaf is then carefully and accurately patterned in geometric designs (Plate 2), using the *kidonatu* tool.

Once the leaf - about nine centimetres wide and eighteen centimetres long - has been scraped and the pattern applied, the leaf is placed in the sun to dry and changes from the vibrant green colour to the natural, white/yellow shade. When many such *wakaya* leaves have been dried, they are split into smaller segments, about 4 centimetres wide and about twenty five are organized into the bundle shape. The experienced *nununiga* manufacturer then rapidly ties the upper, unpatterned end tightly and pulls back all the leaves over this tied end, reminding one of the process of peeling a banana. This procedure allows the air to pass through the leaves and when they are pulled back to their original shape the bundle is thicker and more attractive (Plate 3). Although Weiner¹³ specifies four classes of bundles: new; clean; old; dirty, during my field research the women, both young and old, only identified two types of *nununiga*: old/dirty; new/clean. The status of a woman within her clan and lineage is the determinant for the quantity and quality of the *nununiga* which she is obliged to produce in all mortuary ceremonies¹⁴.

Only amongst the ancestors was the colour black ever applied to the *nununiga*¹⁵ and women would travel to the southern mangroves near Losuia, to collect the necessary bark for its completion. The bark, was carried all the way home, placed in a claypot and boiled with water to create a black mixture into which

¹³ Weiner.A.B. (1976, 94-95)

¹⁴ Refer to the next Section for further elaboration.

¹⁵ Details as to the dyeing of the *nununiga* was entirely novel and previously undocumented in the works of Weiner.

the dried banana leaf bundles were then dipped. The dyed leaves once dried would then be used in a *sagali*¹⁶ or stored and when the colour began to fade the already prepared mixture could be reheated and used in the redyeing. In all *sagali*, the bundles would be distributed in units consisting of at least five white and five black individual bundles, which Chief Nalubutau recalls as being 'very attractive'.

The causes for the termination of this technique was not specified however, and I assume that the effort needed in the collection of the mangrove bark was considered too great. Particularly so as the present purpose of *nununiga* production is to prepare as many as possible as quickly as possible, to increase one's social standing as a woman within the community and publically display profound loyalty to one's clan.

In 1977, Moiluvasi of Bwetalu village (Fig.2) invented the first *kaidawaga* board with a simple geometric design. In the same manner as before, the leaf was scraped however, with the underlying design the leaf became immediately decorated and no longer was the *kidonatu* necessary. Today all women of the island possess such a board as clearly the process of manufacturing the bundles has been facilitated and the time involved greatly reduced.

Both the invention of the engraved *kaidawaga* board and the termination of use of the black dye can be deduced as being evidence of Western influence as the accumulation of as many bundles in as short a time as possible appears akin to the capitalist mentality.

¹⁶ The name given to all festivals where distributions of any objects occur. Literally - 'to divide' or 'to share out'.



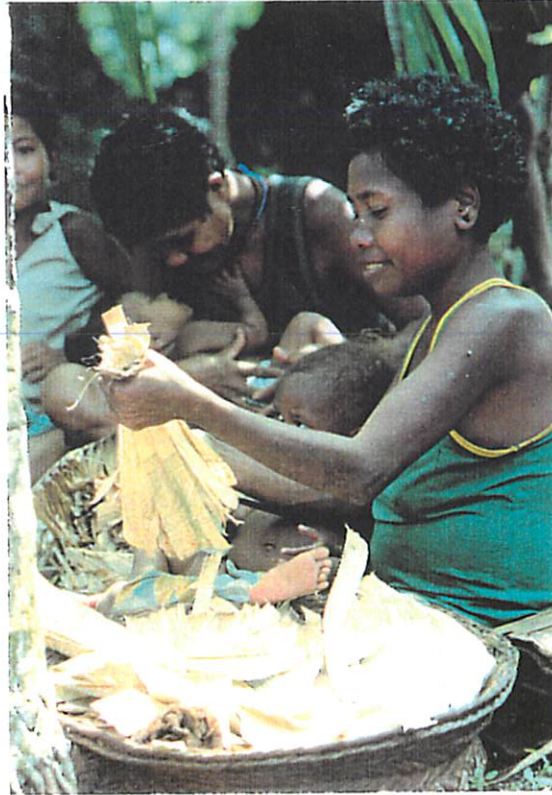
a) Working the freshly picked *wakaya* leaf on the *kaidawaga* board.



b) *Noku* fibres created with the use of the *kaisena*-modern tin instrument.



a) Sun-drying the worked *wakaya* leaves.



b) Manufacturing of the bundle.



c) 2 units of the finished new/clean bundles.

Making the *nununiga*.

Plate 3

I.ii) Grass-skirt Manufacture.

The grass-skirts comprise the other items referred to with the term *doba*. Like the *nununiga* these items have played a major role within Trobriand Society since their origins in the Massim (Fig.1), when obviously they served a more immediately vital purpose as clothing. Manufactured largely from the *wakaya* banana tree leaves and also from pandanus tree leaves, coconut tree leaves and *seulolu* bark.

As in *nununiga* preparation, the *wakaya* leaves are split down the midrib and then worked in one of three methods. The first method involves the removal of the leaf's upper layer, and with the use of a jagged utensil - today in the form of a metal tool and in the past a certain mussel shell referred to as *kaisena* - the leaf is completely fringed from the midrib to the leaf's edge (Plate 2). In the usual manner this fringed leaf is then placed in the sun to dry and is referred to as *katilava*. In its segmented form of pieces measuring no more than sixty centimetres and referred to as *silivila*, it forms the most frequent component in grass-skirts, making up the underneath layers of most decorative skirts. When left in length strips of more than one hundred and twenty centimetres is used to make the mourning skirt known as the *sepwana* (Plates 5 & 7).

The second method of working the *wakaya* banana leaf entails two thirds of the leaf's surface being scraped and then later fringed. Unlike the *katilava* one third of the leaf is left unfringed and after sun-drying the fringed part of the leaf is dyed. This method is referred to as *noku* and the term is derived from the plant from which the dye was gained to carry out this decorative process. Discussions with Chief Nalubutau¹⁷ portrayed three stages of preparing this natural red colour which is derived from the roots of the *noku* plant. Once collected, such roots are cleaned, scraped into fine pieces like dried coconut, and then squeezed so that the juice is extracted and kept. The banana leaf, already prepared as *noku*, is then dyed three

¹⁷ Personal communication with Chief Nalubutau. (27.8.91)

times so that the resulting colour is of a permanent and vibrant red and not an orangey-red which is considered a sign of poor preparation, and a lazy manufacturer.

Today with the introduction of modern dyes, the skirts are a great deal more decorative as many more colours are available. Chief Nalubutau¹⁸ not only referred to the introduction of many new colours, but also to the increased facility as the 'dim dim'¹⁹ dyes dilute readily with warm water and *noku* fibres can be immediately immersed and dyed in the mixture.

The third method of working the *wakaya* banana leaf is technically identical to that of the *noku* however, these worked fibres are never colourfully dyed. It is the method referred to as *taginikosi* and together with the *silisali katilava* and the *noku* forms the highly decorative skirts of the Trobriand culture (Fig.5).

The remaining constituents to the grass skirts include pandanus leaves which are dried out over a stone fire before utilization, the coconut leaves which are sun-dried and then fringed, and the *seulolu* bark fibres which are naturally bleached and fringed. In the making of all skirts the *gumgwam* tree's bark provides the tough fibre which makes up the band and to which all fibres both colourful and plain are tied.

The work of the Trobriand women in the manufacturing of skirts, from ancestral times to present day, has always been highly labourious. The following description reveals that two fundamental changes have occurred in the manufacture and usage of grass-skirts: several types of skirts are no longer manufactured because there has been an evolution from functional to decorative skirts; in addition the ready availability of alternative clothing material, such as calico, has replaced for ever traditional forms of clothing(Fig.5).

1) The *senuya* skirt and the (2) *sepiyopia* skirt, made from the fringed leaves of the *wakaya* leaves, was worn only in wet weather.

¹⁸ Personal communication with Chief Nalubutau.(27.8.91)

¹⁹ 'dim dim' the terminology used when referring to a white person.

3) The *sekeula* skirt, also fringed and only ever made of naturally coloured fibres, was worn by women who had given birth recently and continued to be worn until their child ceases to be breast-fed²⁰.

4) The widow/widower - *kakau* - wore the *setakwai* skirt, made entirely from pandanus leaves, from the time of their spouse's death to the final mortuary ceremony (refer to Section Two).

5) The children of the deceased known as *milaboa* dressed in the *silisali* skirt, made from fringed coconut tree leaves, during this mourning period.

Today, the following grass-skirts which are largely decorative in nature are manufactured, however rarely worn.

1) The *seyoyu* skirt, made from fringed coconut leaves resembles the *taginikosi* and can be dyed or maintained natural in colour. Often the *seulolu* fibres are added and today such a completed skirt is present at all types of *sagali*.(Plate 4.a)

2) The *taginikosi* skirt, woven from the dyed *noku*, the naturally coloured *taginikosi* fibres and the *silisali katilava*, is present at the various ceremonies especially those of a mortuary nature.(Plate 4.b)

3) The *seulolu* skirt uses only the tree's bark fibres which are dyed with many modern dyes and is most often worn as one of the underneath layers in a skirt.

4)The *kakasasa* skirt, made from pandanus leaves, dyed *noku*, *katilava* and dyed *seulolu*, is a highly decorative and also appears at all *sagali*.(Plate 4.c)

5)The *sepwana* skirt is made entirely from the lengthy *katilava* pieces, with the occasional addition of *seulolu* dyed fibres, and only ever worn during the mortuary ceremony (Plate.7).

5)The final and most important skirt is known as *dobatola* and with *katilava*, dyed *noku*, pandanus, and *seulolu*, it is of great beauty and the pride of a woman. Worn on all occasions in the past and distributed at the *sagali* today, it is one of the only skirts

²⁰ The *sekeula* skirt has only been abandoned in recent decades as within the Weiner publication of 1987 a photo of such a skirt is present.

which is ever worn when young girls dress in traditional costume for ceremonies.(Fig.5, Plate 4.d)

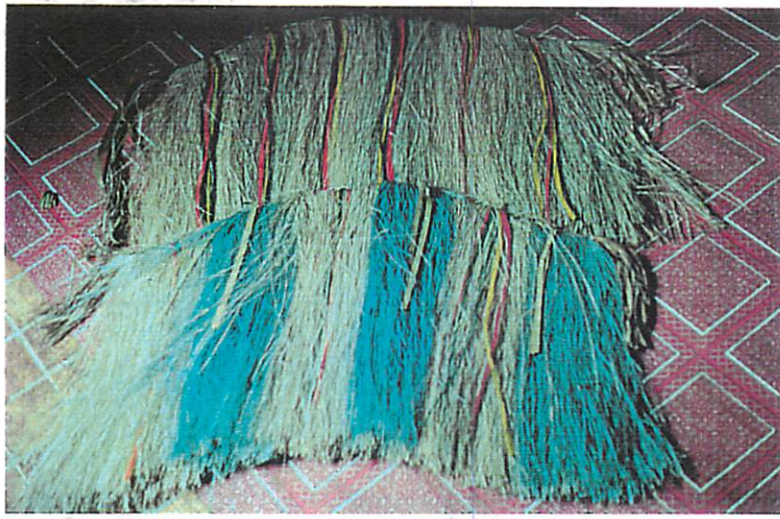
In recent times, the influence of capitalistic values, such as the notion of time saving and productivity, has caused time consuming and inefficient processes to be replaced by readily available quality materials and by modern processes such as chemical dyeing. The grass-skirts seen today thus represent a compromise between tradition and the influx of outside change.

Skirt Constituents	Senuya	Sepiyobia	Sekeula	Setakwai	Silisali	Seyoyu	Taginikosi	Dobatola	Kakasasa	Seulolu	Sepwana
Katilava											
i)Silivila	*	*					*	*	*		
ii)Sepwana			*								*
Noku-dyed							*	*	*		
Taginikosi							*	*			
Coconut leaves					*	*					
Pandanus leaves				*				*	*		
Seulolu bark-dyed						*		*	*	*	
Gumgwam	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Summary of Grass-skirt manufacture.

bold=no longer manufactured
normal=continues to be manufactured

Fig. 5



a) *Seyoyu*



b) *Taginikosi*



c) *Kakasasa*



d) *Dobatola*

II) The Importance of *Doba* in Trobriand Culture.

On arrival on Kiriwina Island, I was immediately immersed in the diligent work of the women in their manufacturing of both the banana leaf bundles and the grass-skirts. In Oluweta hamlet²¹ all women would involve themselves with intense labour on *doba* from morning until dusk, and often into the night if they owned kerosene lamps. All Trobriand women do maintain a permanent supply of *doba* however, the reasons for such an increased level of labour was due to the death of Gaiyowa, the younger brother of Chief Nalubutau. It is after any death that the true importance of *doba* can be observed both by women who are related to the deceased and those who are not. Through various distributions²² -*sagali*- the wealth of the women finds its position within society, one which is of profound importance.

The institution of *doba* has great relevance on both the physical and cosmological level and both must be individually tackled.

II.i) The Physical Importance of *doba*.

On the physical level *doba* is a form of wealth belonging to the females of Trobriand society and ensures their position within the community. Often during my stay the importance of being diligent was stressed and a woman considered to be lazy was criticized by both friends and family.

After the death of a clan and lineage member the women are obliged to produce as much wealth as they can so that their deceased kin's friendships with members of other clans and lineages, formed during the his/her lifetime, can be acknowledged and praised. Time is of the essence though and for a woman to maintain her social standing in the production of much *doba*, she must rely on two

²¹ OLUWETA is the hamlet of Yalumgwa under the authority of Andrew in which we were resident for our stay.

²² Refer to Chapter Two for full description of the types of distributions.

external methods of wealth accumulation. Women often visit the *sagali* of other villages taking with them traditional goods such as tortoise shell earrings or modern goods whether of edible, smokable or decorative nature, which are exchanged for the banana leaf bundles is done. During my stay I accompanied Jenny to her natal village, Okaikoda, and part-took in such *valova* exchanges. Taking with me one bag of jelly babies and one of smarties, both brought from Sydney, I established my own currency exchanging one of either sweet for one bundle, always in units of multiples of five - the traditional formula of *doba* exchanges. The sweets could not have been more successful with both children and adults as they were not sold in the Island's food store and were a novelty. Although my currency was steep, success in accumulating approximately three hundred bundles was rewarding and highly appreciated by Andrew's wife Rosemary (refer to Fig.10), to whom they all were given. Such *valova* exchanges have become increasingly common as women who are employed in the major cities or even the island's stores, cannot find time to manufacture the *nununiga* and grass-skirts so perform such exchanges with readily available alternative goods such as calico and foods.

The other method for women to accumulate *doba* is through the efforts of their husbands who exchange traditional items such as fish, pig, and rarely stone-axe blades and modern, Western goods²³. On more than one occasion I observed Andrew giving such modern goods to women in nearby villages to whom he had entrusted the job of manufacturing skirts and bundles for Rosemary²⁴. The wealth accumulation by all close female kin of the deceased is essential and one woman is entrusted with the responsibility of the greatest production. This particular woman was described by Weiner²⁵ as being any close female kin who was diligent to produce the most *doba*.

²³ Western goods include rice, flour, tinned foods, sugar, frozen meats, tea, coffee, tobacco.

²⁴ 6.8.91., Rosemary was given by Andrew three groups of the following items: a basket of twelve large tetu (yams), one packet of rice, one packet of sugar, one tin of mackerel, and one stick of tobacco. These goods were taken to Obwerya village and served as commission for the manufacture of three highly elaborate grass-skirts.

²⁵ Weiner (1976, 82)

In this way great competition developed among the women of the same lineage to win the leading position. Within Yalumgwa, I found the situation to be different as Rosemary, the eldest sister of Gaiyowa and a woman of the greatest importance in the Kwainama clan, was automatically given the responsibility of producing the most *doba* and was referred to as *navaleta*²⁶. The important difference in the allocation of this role between the research by Weiner and that carried out in the summer of 1991, can best be explained as being a difference between the lower and upper echelons of this society.

Clearly, the relevance and importance of *doba* in Trobriand Society is profound on the physical level, and how it is accumulated and later distributed will be further discussed in the following Section.

²⁶ Again this is an inconsistency in the term used to refer to the leading woman between my research and that completed by Weiner as she refers to this woman as *napweyaveka* (1976,82).

II.ii) The Cosmological Importance of *doba*.

One question which may be demanded is, 'Why does the husband of any woman assist her in the accumulation of *doba*, and in so doing, promote the external image of his wife's clan and lineage?' The political organization within Trobriand society is highly structured and of a complex nature and the manufacturing of *doba* is a key factor in the maintenance of this system. Primarily, as has already been stressed, the Trobriand society is one of matrilineal descent. Conception is believed to be solely through the female with her *dala* spirit entering her womb. The male is believed to nurture the foetus through sexual intercourse however, it is only after birth that his role is viewed as important in the upbringing of the child. Due to this matrilineal descent, the male does not have any profound, cosmological ties with his offspring. It is with this intense involvement in their upbringing and the great assistance provided in the accumulation of *doba* for his wife's, and in turn for his children's, lineage and clan that the husband protects his children and ensures them a position of renown within their own lineage.

Secondly, the husband is obliged to assist his wife because every year at the time of harvest, either the father or a brother of the wife gives him a pile of yams and often also *kuvi*²⁷. This gift ensures that the wife is treated in the correct manner, and men to be married will always seek to marry those women of lineages and clans which are known to possess much garden magic and produce wealthy harvests. The profundity in the political system can only be fully understood if a case of such reciprocity, observed during the field-trip, is detailed.

The third daughter of Andrew and Rosemary, Gertrude²⁸, is married to Jerome who is the eldest nephew of the Paramount Chief, Chief Pulayasi, and so a

²⁷ *kuvi* the long yam which grows vertically in the soil and the longer it is the greater the status attached to its harvester.

²⁸ Gertrude, being the third daughter and the only daughter of Andrew and Rosemary.(Fig 11)

member of the Malasi clan and the Tabalu lineage²⁹. John Kasaipwalova³⁰ is the eldest brother of Gertrude and to maintain the close ties within Kwainama lineage and secure her well being, he provides her with yams each harvest. In 1991, I witnessed such a distribution - referred to as *gogebila* - and John.K, keeping up to the reputation which the Kwainama lineage has acquired over the past as the most skillful and successful gardeners on Kiriwina, presented a yam pile of seven arm spans³¹ to Jerome at Omarakana village, the Paramount Chief's village. Due to the large size of this *gogebila* distribution Jerome could only acknowledge it if, Chief Pulayasi became the direct recipient as otherwise it would appear as though Jerome was in fact challenging the Paramount Chief for his position. The politics involved were indeed complex, and the main purposes for such a distribution were: to increase the status of Jerome in being married to a woman of such a talented gardening lineage; to ensure that Gertrude, an important Kwainama female of her generation, was treated in a positive manner in her marital village; and most importantly to place forcefully an obligation on Jerome not only to treat his wife well but also to bring up his children, who will obviously be of the Kwainama lineage, in a dedicated manner. One may well be thinking that any father would bring up his own children well, however as all Trobriand men adopt children who are of their clan, (usually their sister's children), often an increased level of care is given to directly related kin who will continue the clan and so must acquire as much knowledge both of an historical and magical nature to ensure this continued existence.

The importance of *doba* on the Trobriands is seen therefore, to maintain close ties between different lineages and clans and is the pivot around which all

²⁹ Jerome has a strong chance of being the next Paramount Chief however, due to the young age of Chief Pulayasi(c.45 years old), he is unlikely to acquire such status within the near future.

³⁰ John Kasaipwalova is the eldest physically fit son of Andrew and Rosemary and having been adopted by Chief Nalubutau, because he is his eldest nephew, and brought up with all the knowledge of the clan, he is the most likely successor of Chief Nalubutau - leader of the Kwainama lineage.

³¹ Arm span is the measurement of a yam pile and is determined by the length of the vine at the base of the pile. Seven arm spans expressed a vine of approximately twelve metres and sixty centimetres.

cosmological aspects rotate. With the provision of sanctions both of a formal and informal nature, the refusal of a husband to assist his wife in *doba* collection, or of a brother to provide his sister's husband with adequate yams is discouraged and during our stay no stories of such unreciprocating behaviour were recounted. Through the production of the men - YAM - and the production of the women - DOBA - and the interchanging of these with other items between different clans and lineages, the complex physical and cosmological structure of Trobriand existence is maintained.

Expanding this cosmological aspect, the women are seen to be important both in birth and in death. As was already stressed, through the woman the spirit of the lineage is believed to be conceived, and at the death of a lineage and clan member the woman must prove her loyalty to the lineage by producing and accumulating as much *doba* as possible. Weiner viewed the *doba* as having such importance because in the distributions of it during *sagali*, all the goods of males and females³² which had been given away during the deceased kin's life were reclaimed to their original clan of origin. I must disagree with this deduction as from observations and discussions it became clear that the distributions of *doba* served to acknowledge and praise all the relationships that the deceased clan member had formed during his/her life with members of the three other clans, whether in the form of for males: *kula*, gardening, fishing, sorcery, marital relationships or for females: *doba*, *valova*, gardening, marital, sorcery relationships. The bonds created throughout one's life were revealed to be of the utmost importance and in order for the clans to continue to exist side-by-side, it was essential for all gifts to friends and marital family to be richly praised.

Therefore, on the more cosmological level, *doba* has profound force and validity to the society in holding together the political and ancestral structure, in revealing the importance of death exemplified at length in the following chapter.

³² Male goods= yams, stone-axe blades, *soulava* and *mwali*(*kula* trading items).
Female goods= banana leaf bundles, grass-skirts.

SECTION TWO.

The Death of Gaiyowa.

The death of Gaiyowa, the third child of Beona and Kalakinaiyalumgwa³³, occurred approximately one month prior to my arrival and had profound significance within the village of Yalumgwa. Gaiyowa was married to two Malasi women, the first of whom bore him only one child, and with the second he adopted six children (Fig.10 and Appendix II) . Over recent years he had followed and supported his favourite adopted son Kevin - the eldest son of Judith (Fig.10) - who through many antagonistic motions both on a national and village political level had become known as the 'black-sheep' of the clan. On more than one occasion it was emphasised how Gaiyowa's death was related to friction within the clan and although his death was medically noted as cancer most of the kin members still maintain that in fact sorcery was the ultimate killing factor. Therefore, on arrival the tension as to who committed the sorcery and the intense preparation by the women of their *doba* were at their peak.

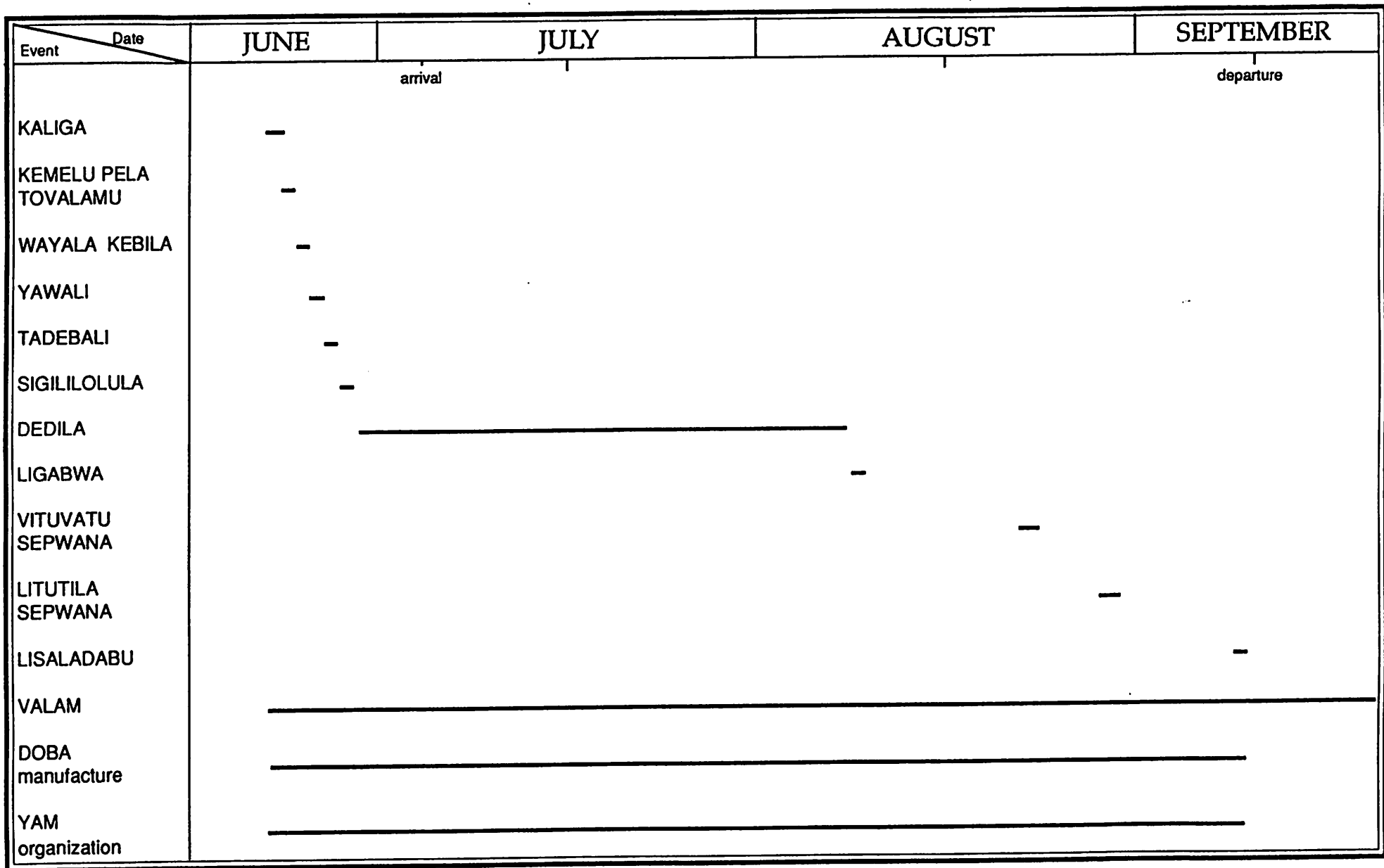
Many ceremonies occur after the death of a clan member within the Trobriands, and although I was not present to witness the proceedings which occurred in the first month following Gaiyowa's death, having acquired the information through informal interrogations³⁴, I feel it is necessary to expose it for the complete comprehension of the political significance of woman's weath within Trobriand society³⁵.

³³ Respectively the last chief of the Kwainama lineage and his wife.(Figs 10&11)

³⁴ Personal communications with Andrew Kalabaku on a regular basis throughout my stay.

³⁵ Refer to Weiner for further expansions on all such ceremonies following a person's death (1976, 64-85).

I shall then progress to detailing the ceremonies which I observed and finally end with the detailed analyses of the final and most important mortuary ceremony occurring from anything between three to five months after a person's death (Fig.6).



TIMESCALE OF THE EVENTS FOLLOWING GAIYOWA'S DEATH

Fig. 6

Events Following Gaiyowa's Death.

i) The First Month.

The day that Gaiyowa died is referred to as *kaliga* which literally means death. Whilst the spouse and her relatives - all the non kin members - prepare the body for the grave adding decorations³⁶, all the Lukwasisiga - kin - prepare food for the feast called *kemelu pela tovalamu* which literally means the 'preparation of food for the mourners'. Due to the great wealth of the Kwainama lineage, a pig was killed for this feast.

This is a highly tense time as the kin of Gaiyowa believe one of the non-clan members to be responsible for the death of their kin, and such organized events exist to keep all kin and non-kin occupied. I was told of the *koku* which is the first mourning cry taking place immediately after the death and involving the relatives of Gaiyowa, the relatives of Gegai, and all friends. In brief, the Malasi take up the role of looking after the body and are said 'to own it'³⁷, whilst the Lukwasisiga are responsible for showing thanks which usually takes the form of cooking for the Memalasi³⁸ (plural of Malasi).

Following the burial in the central place of Korporaseni hamlet³⁹ and first cries, the *wayala kebila* takes place and consists of the Memalasi clans-people giving valuables (*veguwa*) such as *beku*⁴⁰, *soulava* and *mwali*⁴¹ to the Lukwasisiga clan as a

³⁶ see Weiner(1976, 64,65) for further details.

³⁷ Quote from Andrew Kalabaku.(05.08.91)

³⁸ Memalasi is the plural of Malasi.

³⁹ Korporaseni hamlet is the 'capital' or Chiefly hamlet of Yalumgwa village and is where Chief Nalubutau resides. The central area of the hamlet is known as *baku*.

⁴⁰ *Beku* = stone axe blades which are the highest item in prestige within Trobriand Society. The stone is of a green-black colour and has entered the Trobriands through *Kula* exchanges, coming originally from Alotau.(Fig.I)

⁴¹ *Soulava* = the red coral necklaces exchanged in the *Kula* trade.

Mwali = the white conch shell arm bands exchanged in the *Kula* trade.

sign of respect and testification that they in fact had nothing to do with the death of the Kwainama lineage's member.

The major event of *Yawali* which can occur anytime from one to three days following the death, begins with *wosi*, another form of night mourning cries by the Memalasi at the widow's house. Again an emphasis was placed on the need for the Memalasi to perform well as otherwise the Lukwasisiga will suspect them of sorcery in not exposing emotions of great loss. The *wosi* is succeeded firstly by a small food distribution where the Lukwasisiga clans-people provide food for the Memalasi clans-people to acknowledge their mourning cries, secondly the *veguwa* distribution occurs where the valuables given to the Luksasisiga by the Memalasi are returned along with an additional valuable to each original donor, and thirdly the distribution of *doba* led by Rosemary - *navaleta* - takes place. The purpose of the *Yawali* is for all non-kin of the Lukwasisiga clan - which in this case predominantly consist of the Memalasi as Gaiyowa was married on two occasions into this clan and so had come to establish many strong ties with it - to prove their devotion to the Lukwasisiga and the immense sorrow at the loss of Gaiyowa. Through the distribution of the three most important items within Trobriand Society: yams; traditional men's valuables; female wealth (*doba*), the Lukwasisiga clan publically acknowledge the great loss felt by the Memalasi displayed through their mournful cries.

The *Tadebali* which is literally translated as 'shaving of one's head', consists of two different distributions involving both food and *doba*. The *kaweluwa* distribution is of uncooked food (mainly fruits and trade-store goods) and is given by the Memalasi, Lukuba and Lukulabuta clans to the Lukwasisiga clan. Immediately following, the small *doba sagali* takes place and led by Rosemary the Lukwasisiga clan give to the Memalasi, Lukuba and Lukulabuta clans. It is only following these distributions, that the Lukwasisiga can shave the heads, blacken the bodies and dress in black⁴² the non-kin people who are best differentiated from the kin because they

⁴² The dressing in black of the overt mourners today entails the wearing of

overtly display their appearance as one of great sorrow, and consist mostly of the Memalasi with few Lukuba and very few Lukulabuta. In addition, at the *tadebali*, the most important roles for the happenings leading to the final mortuary ceremony⁴³ are allocated to specific individuals as follows:

i)The *kakau* is the general term referring to the widow, Gegai, however in this case it also refers to the other non-kin persons to Gaiyowa who have been selected to manufacture the *sepwana* skirt which will be worn by specific Kwainama women on the day of the mortuary ceremony (see *vituvatu sepwana* below).

ii)The *kapu* refers to the father and as Gaiyowa's father, Beona, was no longer being alive his eldest grandson Gerald Beona⁴⁴, who is a member of the same clan and lineage, was chosen as a substitute.

iii)The *milaboa* which refers to the children, with the male children called *tomilaboa* and the female children called *namilaboa*. Gaiyowa's *milaboa* consist of seven children, four male and three female (Appendix II).

iv)The *valeta* refers to the siblings of the deceased and are the final group established during the *tadebali* distribution.

Following the *tadebali* those kin and non-kin recommence their normal lives by leaving the *libu*⁴⁵ site and returning to their own hamlets. Only the very close relatives of Gegai, her sisters and children, continued to remain with her giving her support throughout this mourning period. The Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, kin who had remained in Korporaseni since Gaiyowa's death were now permitted to return to their own hamlets and continued with preparations for the final mortuary ceremony, which for females consisted of *doba* manufacture and for males consisted of the harvesting of their gardens. Throughout my stay, Rosemary and Andrew

black calico skirts and shirts for women and black lap laps (pieces of calico) for the men. They are also decorated with necklaces which in the past consisted of plant fibres of a black colour, but today black rubber is utilized.

⁴³ The final mortuary ceremony is the *Lisaladabu*, see Section Two.ii.

⁴⁴ Gerald Beona is a member of the Malasi clan and is married to Andrew and Rosemary's eldest daughter Marcia.

⁴⁵ *Libu* site is the term applied to: the hamlet in which there is mourning; the widow's house; the mourning cries which the women part-take in from the time of death until the *Lisaladabu* (the final mortuary ceremony).

returned to the *libu* every evening after completing their days work and slept on the veranda of Chief Nalubutau's house, offering close kin support through the mourning period of his youngest brother's death.

The *sigililolula*, a small ceremony where the Lukwasisiga kin of Gaiyowa called all the other members of Yalumgwa village - those of the other three clans who have come to be a part of the village usually through marital links - and gave them food in a cooked form. This was the feast proper which enabled all those who have spent time mourning in the *libu* to return to their hamlets with a clear conscience that they have filled their obligation and proven that their devotion demonstrates that they cannot be accused of having committed sorcery.

The seven hamlets of Yalumgwa Village⁴⁶, were then obliged to delimit the *baku* area of the hamlets with coconut prongs placed vertically in a circular manner. This placing of the *dedila* displays to the outsider that the village is in mourning and for at least one month must remain like this, preventing any children from playing and festive events from taking place. Although I did not witness the installation of the *dedila*, it was approximately one month into my stay when it was dramatically torn down⁴⁷. The male members of the Malasi clan, who are married to Lukwasisiga clans-women, went to the coast to collect vast amounts of fish whilst the Lukwasisiga clans-men collected and cooked yams, taro and sweet potato. On their return the Malasi distributed all the fish to the hamlets of Yalumgwa Village and dramatically the coconut prongs were broken down by the village truck and by excited people. The excitement in Oluweta hamlet was intense and clearly lifted much of the mourning as the day for the final mortuary ceremony was finally in the foreseeable future. The situation was very different in Korporaseni however, where only half of the *dedila* was removed. The area enclosing the grave of Gaiyowa remained standing and was not removed until the day preceding the final mortuary

⁴⁶ Yalumgwa village consists of seven hamlets: Korporaseni; Mwoligilagi; Waikiki; Oluweta; Oilobogwa; Kutovila; Bawai. (in order of population size)

⁴⁷ The *dedila* was actually removed on the 6.08.91 which was just over a month before the final mortuary ceremony occurred.

ceremony, displaying the deep sorrow felt by Chief Nalubutau and the high esteem in which he held his youngest brother.

Event Item	Kaliga	Kemelu pela tomalamu	Wayala Kebila	Yawali	Tadebali	Sigillilolula	Ligabwa	Vituvatu sepwana	Litutila sepwana	Lisaladabu
DOBA				*	*			*	*	*
YAMS		*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*
VALUABLES			*	*			*			
MOURNING VERSE	*	*		*	*					

**SUMMARY OF THE ITEMS DISTRIBUTED
IN THE EVENTS FOLLOWING GAIYOWA'S DEATH.**

Event Clan	Kemelu pela tovalamu	Wayala Kebila	Yawali	Tadebali	Sigillilolula	Ligabwa	Dedila	Vituvatu sepwana	Litutila sepwana	Lisaladabu
Malasi	R	D	R	D R	R	D R	D	D	D	R
Lukwasisiga	D	R	D	R D	D	R D	R	R	R	D
Lukuba			R	D R	R	D R		D	D	R
Lukulabuta			R	D R	R	D R		D	D	R

R=recipient
D=donor

A SUMMARY OF THE ROLES OF THE FOUR CLANS

ii)The Second and Third Months.

ii.a)The *LIGABWA*.

Although, like the majority of the procedures described above, *Ligabwa* does not involve the wealth of the women or in fact the women at all, it is necessary to document it to acquire a full and detailed understanding of the *Lisaladabu*, the final mortuary ceremony.

The *Ligabwa* is entirely organized and controlled by the men of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan and revealed a great expense of wealth both in modern and traditional forms. The day began early with the arrival of the Lukwasisiga clan spouses' kin who brought with them contributions of yams⁴⁸ for the Lukwasisiga clans-men. It is with these contributions and their own harvests that the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clans-men then began the usual method of arranging piles onto which the food distributions were placed (Plate.6). Chief Nalubutau was the overseer making sure that the correct piles, of which there were twenty six, received adequate amounts of food.

Three pigs were slaughtered and whilst four Kwainama lineage men carried out the dividing of the food, others prepared trade-store goods, like rice, tea and tinned foods which were given to their spouses' kin who had generously assisted in bringing many yams. Chief Nalubutau's second wife's brother even gave one of the large pigs, which publicly displayed his care for his sister and admiration for the Kwainama lineage during their profound suffering. The twenty six piles of food varied in contents with all consisting of *tetu* and *tomwaguba*, a piece of pork, and betel-nut⁴⁹, however those allocated to more deserving members had more of the above three items as well as *kuvi* yams.

⁴⁸ Yams which were brought included: *tetu* which is the everyday and most consumed yam; *kuvi* which is the highest status yam and is grown vertically in the ground; *tomwaguba* which is the yam of an intermediate size between the *tetu* and the *kuvi*.

⁴⁹ Betel-nut is the fruit the Trobriands eat continually, mixing it with

Following the allocation of all the food items, one man, chosen because of his forceful voice, moved around the area calling out the recipients name of the individual piles. I noted that the recipients of the largest piles were: *nakakau* (the specific name referring to the Gegai); *kapu*; the children of all the Lukwasisiga clansmen; the Lukwasisiga kin whose spouses had recently died; and the wives of the Lukwasisiga clansmen whose kin have brought food to assist in this distribution. Clearly it is observed how the Lukwasisiga men's image and therefore the image of the Kwainama lineage is heightened with the yam contributions by their spouse's kin. It is also evident that the purpose of this distribution is publicly to thank those who since the death of Gaiyowa have generously brought food to the mourners whether they be kin or non-kin of the Kwaimama clan. This distribution is entirely a male affair and can be seen as the parallel to the entirely female affair of the *lisaladabu* which occurred exactly a month later. The political significance of carrying out such distributions is profound and success is essential for the continued renown of the clan and lineage and the continuation of amicable contributions throughout the few final distributions which occur before the final and most important mortuary ceremony.

b) VITUVATU SEPWANA.

The *vituvatu sepwana* literally means 'the making of the *sepwana*'. The *sepwana* is the plain, full length mourning skirt made solely from the banana leaf in the *katilava sepwana* form and dyed *seulolu*. Unlike all the other events which followed the death of Gaiyowa, this one took place in Oluweta hamlet of Yalumgwa village and not Korporaseni, because Andrew is a member of Malasi clan - the same as Gegai - and is considered the most knowledgeable man within his lineage and therefore a man of high esteem.

powdered lime and mustard seed which gives them an uplift in moral, it is as Kenneth once said to me, 'our equivalent to alcohol'.

By mid morning the area in which they were working was completely filled, and work on five *sepwana* skirts was well under way (Plate.5a). All the women were members of the Malasi, Lukuba or Lukulabuta clans and the manufacture of the skirts was for the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan and would be worn on the day of the final mortuary ceremony. The significance was to provide the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clans-women who for three months had been preparing their *doba* for the mortuary ceremony, with items that acknowledged this intense work and also to thank them for looking after the widow and her relatives so well. The five individual groups, each one concentrating on the manufacture of one skirt consisted of approximately seventy contributors who had come with some *katilava* and the most skillful woman of each group busied herself in weaving the skirt. Each contributor was noted, by the manufacturers of each group, so that later repayments in woman's wealth could be made at the *lisaladabu*. Despite the presence of only five groups of women and therefore, the weaving of only five skirts, there were actually a total of eleven skirts being made however the six remaining weavers had not been able to attend this meeting at Oluweta hamlet.

Although six skirts were woven from the natural fibres of the banana tree leaves, those women working in Losuia⁵⁰, Port Moresby or another one of the major cities of Papua New Guinea did not have the resources to produce the traditional *sepwana* skirt. For this reason highly colourful skirts usually of a tiered nature, are sewn from imported calico (Plate.7).

Whilst the group of about three hundred non-kin related women to the Lukwasisiga clan continued with their strenuous weaving, their male kin living in Yalumgwa prepared food from both trade-stores and gardens for their lunch. It is also the women weaver's male kin who provide the food in the evening which consists of four yams, and one betel-nut. There were a total of three hundred and sixty of such distribution piles and each woman left after the hard days work of weaving and gossiping with a small token of thanks and recognition from her kin. The *vituvatu*

⁵⁰ Losuia is the capital of Kiriwina Island.

sepwana is clearly an all non-Lukwasisiga clan related affair which was held at Oluweta hamlet because Andrew is a member of the Malasi clan, and the majority of the eleven skirts were made by members of this tribe.

The weavers of all the eleven *sepwana* skirts whether of a traditional or modern form and their respective wearers to be documented:

- i) The traditional style skirt attributed to *nakakau*, GEGAI, and made by her kin the Bulubwalu lineage, Malasi clan, was given to Marcia, the eldest daughter of Rosemary (Figs.10,30).
- ii) The traditional style skirt attributed to *kapu*, MWABETA⁵¹ and made by his kin the Osusupa lineage, Malasi clan, was given to Yayau, who although she is of Opusaveka lineage, Lukuba clan, she is the second wife of Chief Nalubutau and received yams from Gaiyowa and so assumes temporarily the role of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan.
- iii) The traditional style skirt attributed to KELAI (Fig.11,32) and made by his kin the Opsaveka lineage, Lukuba clan, was given to Kemli who is a member of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan from the hamlet of Bawai.
- iv) The traditional style skirt attributed to WEKELA⁵² and made by his kin the Bwela lineage, Malasi clan, was given to Gertrude the third daughter of Rosemary and Andrew (Fig.11,10).
- v) The traditional style skirt attributed to KADUBUNAMA⁵³ and made by her kin the Mdavakala lineage, Malasi clan, was given to Komvautuba who is of Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan and lives in the Kutovila hamlet.
- vi) The modern style skirt attributed to OLIVIA, and made by her kin the Osusupa lineage, Malasi clan (Fig.11,43), was given to Bosaveva who is a of the Milabwema lineage, Lukuba clan, and is the sister of Yaloba⁵⁴ and lives in Okaiboma.

⁵¹ Mwabeta is the younger brother of Gerald Beona, takes the role of *kapu* because of his brothers national political obligations which hold him permanently in Port Moresby.

⁵² Wekela is Kevin's eldest son.

⁵³ Kadubunama is the eldest daughter of Siwaidou, the eldest son of Deideigu.

⁵⁴ Yaloba is the half brother to Chief Nalubutau as they both had the same father and different mothers.

vii) The modern style skirt attributed to VIVILUWA⁵⁵ and made by her patrilineal kin the Dinigaga lineage who are a part of the Bwela lineage, Malasi clan, whom she adopts temporarily for the making of this skirt, was given to Maria who is the second daughter of Andrew and Rosemary (Fig.11,9).

viii) The traditional style skirt attributed to TOWITALA (Fig.10,23) and made by his kin the Bwela lineage, Malasi clan, was given to Kemli who is of Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, and lives in Bawai hamlet of Yalungwa village.

ix) The modern style skirt attributed to NURATU (Fig.11,48) and made by her kin the Mwadoiya lineage, Lukuba clan, was given to Genevieve who is the only true daughter of Gaiyowa and for the *lisaladabu* she temporarily acquires the descent of her father.

x) The modern style skirt attributed to ILUVAYAUALA⁵⁶ and made by her kin of the Lokwai lineage, Malasi clan, was given to Bomlelai who is the eldest daughter of Deideigu (Fig.10,41).

xi) The modern style skirt attributed to POSUVALU⁵⁷ and made by his kin of the Waibali lineage, Lukwasisiga clan⁵⁸, was given to Kadubulesi(Maurine) who is the eldest daughter of Judith (Fig 10,50).

The above lengthy description both of the manufacturers of the *sepwana* skirts and the recipients of them provides the essential foundations needed for understanding the *lisaladabu*. The following event reveals more of the complex political system in which the work of the women, in their production of skirts and bundles from the leaves of the *wakaya* banana tree, is a primary pivot.

⁵⁵ Viviluwa is the eldest daughter of Linus who Andrew Kalabaku's brother and therefore a member of the Malasi clan.

⁵⁶ Iluvayaula is the eldest daughter of Kaoma and adopted daughter of Yaloba.

⁵⁷ Posuvalu is the eldest son of Henry - Judith's second son.

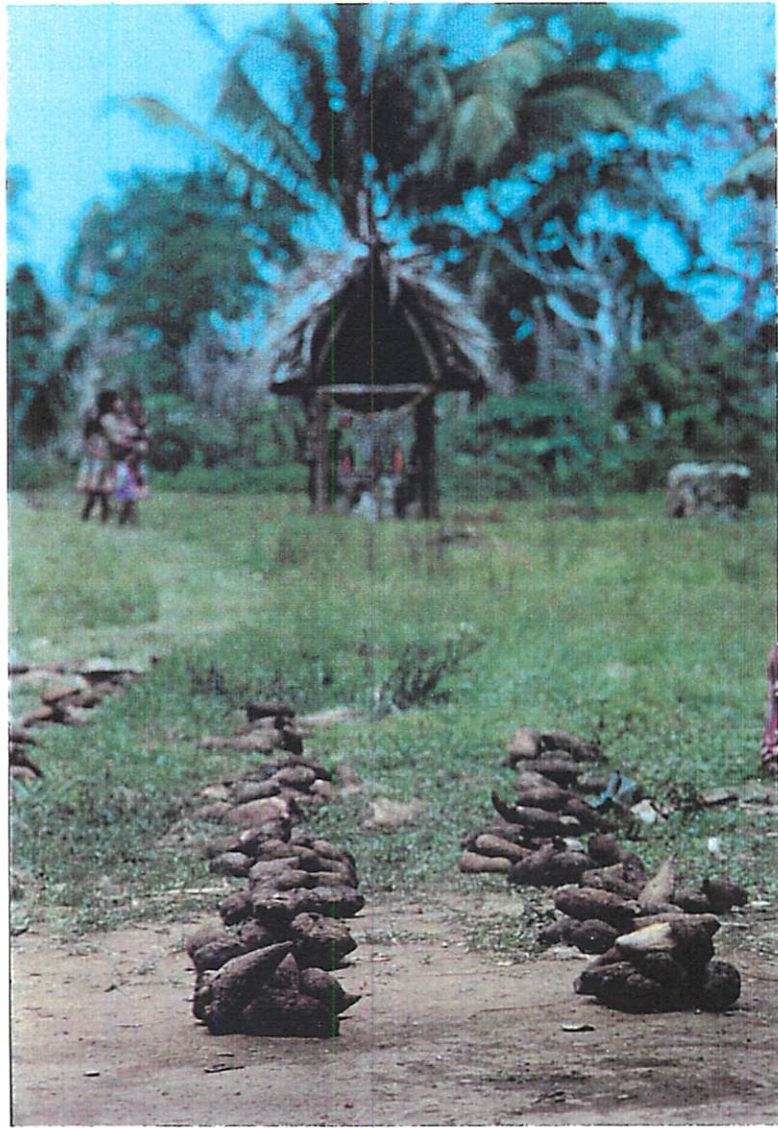
⁵⁸ Henry a member of the Kwainama, Lukwasisiga due to being the second son of Judith, broke the fundamental rule of marriage in Trobriand society by marrying a woman who is of the same tribe as him.



a)The Vituvatu Sepwana



b)The Litutila Sepwana



The *Ligabwa* yam piles



Plate.6

c) *LITUTILA SEPWANA*.

The *litutila sepwana* literally means the 'breaking of the *sepwana*' and took place ten days after the *vituvatu sepwana* in Korporaseni hamlet. This event can also be translated as 'the event before *sagali*' and all the people of Yalumgwa village acknowledged that the *lisaladabu* was to occur within the following two weeks. As with the other distributions, the hamlets of Yalumgwa from the very early morning were a hive of activity. Again, it is the day of the Malasi, Lukuba and Lukulabuta clans however, the Lukwasisiga were busy in the hamlets of Yalumgwa, preparing food in ground ovens for the clans that came to participate in the event.

Rosemary - *navaleta* - directed all eleven groups of *sepwana* makers, referred to as the *kakau* as they have all been involved in profound public mourning since the death of Gaiyowa, to particular places on the lawn of Korporaseni. Those *kakau* - each *kakau* group on average consisted of approximately forty individuals - who had been responsible for the weaving of the traditional *sepwana* skirt set about breaking it. This is the process needed to obtain the correct length of the *sepwana* so that it can be worn. The process usually involves no more than five women who each begin at the lower end of the skirt and break off segments of the long *katilava sepwana* pieces, referred to as *sisi* which are approximately thirty centimetres in length. Then bunches of about twenty *sisi* were made and this process continued until the correct length of the skirt was reached.

All the while, Rosemary was busily noting the amount of *sisi* bunches that had been obtained from each *kakau* traditional skirt by using a small palm branch and breaking off one leaf for every bunch that was formed. The mass of women who had travelled from near and distant areas of the island, then collected these bunches. Depending on how much each woman obtained and from whom it was obtained, she was then obliged to repay on a one to one ratio in *nununiga* at the final mortuary ceremony. With this knowledge, the reason for Rosemary's accuracy in the counting of the total *sisi katilava* bunches from each traditional *sepwana* skirt was understood.

The effects of modernization are noted again as having been well integrated into the Trobriand society with the *sepwana* skirts. As was already mentioned, the sewing of the coloured cotton skirts has been adopted, and in the *litutila sepwana* evidently they cannot be broken. Instead, the *kakau* who have made such modern equivalents of the skirt, also bring long lengths of the *katilava* which in the same above manner, are broken and assembled into bunches.

In this way, through the breaking of the *sepwana* the non-kin to the Lukwasisiga clan who have fulfilled their obligation of making and preparing the *sepwana*, also ensure themselves the endowment of much women's wealth at the *lisaladabu*, as all those who return home with a bunch of *katilava* from the *sepwana* mourning skirts are obliged to repay it with *nununiga* in the next distribution.

Once the skirts have all been shortened and measured accurately on their wearers, they are acknowledged as being of the wearers' possession. With all obligations of the non-kin to the Kwainama lineage completed, the Kwainama male members arrived with food and tea for all the women. Immediately after serving this food the Kwainama men, directed by Chief Nalubutau, organized forty-one piles into which food items of both a trade-store and garden nature were distributed. In this distribution the piles were allocated to villages, not individuals as in the *vituvatu sepwana*. The amount of food placed in each pile was relative to the amount of village representatives who had all been counted on their arrival in Yalungwa village.

This *sagali* can be perceived as being the transformation event in which responsibilities belonging to the non-kin persons of Kwainama lineage in the making of the *sepwana* skirt are completed and the obligations now transfer to the kin of Gaiyowa in the successful organization and execution of the mortuary ceremony are momentous.



a) Rosemary wearing the traditional *sepwana* mourning skirt.



b) Deideigu wearing the cotton *sepwana* mourning skirt.

d)The VALAM.

Prior to discussing the *lisaladabu*, which is the climax of the events following a person's death and where *doba* is observed to have its most significant role, the mourning cries referred to as *valam* must be exposed to reveal the true devotion of the kin and non-kin persons to Gaiyowa, and the psychological build up to his mortuary ceremony. I must stress however, that this field research was the most arduous as the translations and discussions of the verses, being taboo in some instances, were not always possible and not all verses were translated.

In Korporaseni hamlet, every day following the death of Gaiyowa his kin, whether through marriage or descent, would sing lugubrious verse at least three times a day. At dawn, Gegai, her sisters, her adopted daughters, her nieces, Gaiyowa's sisters who lived in Yalumgwa⁵⁹ and the daughters of Gaiyowa's siblings who live in Yalumgwa all assembled in Gegai's house and not facing each other began their cries. The event which really should be viewed as a highly skilful ceremony, was always begun by Gegai singing her solo and followed by Rosemary singing her solo and then all the other women present participating with their individual solo. All such solos were sung with the remainder of the women quietly muttering over and over their respective verses which were highly personal in their recognition and public statements of the ways in which Gaiyowa has been a good, husband, brother, father, uncle etc. depending on whom the verse belonged to. As the ceremony continued, there was a notable increase in the contributions by the individuals both in tone and volume, however at all times to the listener it was a performance of the utmost control. All *valam* are sung in an hypnotic manner and create an atmosphere of intense sorrow⁶⁰. Merely the opportunity to sit and observe such accomplished and evidently structured verse was moving however, the translations (see Appendix III)

⁵⁹ The sisters of Gaiyowa living in Yalumgwa are Rosemary - who although normally she has her base in Oluweta was living in Korporaseni for this mourning period - and Deideigu. Despite the fact that Judith was Gaiyowa's favourite sister, due to living near Okaikoda and being old and frail she did not come to live at the *libu* area.

⁶⁰ For a full comprehension of these verses the recordings should be consulted.

provide the essential words which reveal so much of the character of Gaiyowa, his importance within Kwainama clan, and the profundity of grief his death caused within the village of Yalungwa.

e) The *LISALADABU*.

Throughout the above descriptions of the events that succeed Gaiyowa's death, *doba* was rarely the major distributed item. There were small *sagali* mentioned where the *nununiga* were allocated or the mourning type of grass-skirt was present however, it is in the *Lisaladabu* mortuary ceremony that the intense labour of the women - kin to Gaiyowa - in the manufacture and accumulation of *doba* is displayed and is viewed in its most impressive form of existence. During my research into the contributing stages - which together form this final mortuary ceremony - prior to the ceremony⁶¹ as well as notes taken throughout the day of the *lisaladabu sagali*, I acknowledged many discrepancies with the work of Weiner(1976) which again, I have attributed to the differences in level of society between our two locations on Kiriwina. Some discrepancies will be mentioned however, for a full interpretation of the level of variation Weiner's major field research work (1976) should be consulted.

The activities at dawn were paramount with all the participating women - who were primarily of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan - organizing their large *segai*⁶² underneath the canvas shelters which their husbands had constructed. The proceedings began at about eight thirty, when Samugwa⁶³ had returned from his journeys throughout Kiriwina to pick-up people of the Kwainama lineage, and

⁶¹ Personal communications concerning the different stages of the *lisaladabu sagali* were all done in english with Lydia, the fourth daughter of Rosemary and Andrew.

⁶² *Segai* is the term applied to the coconut leaf baskets within which the *nununiga* are carefully arranged in layers across the bottom of the *segai*. The pile often reaches a relatively large height and different sized *segai* exist.

⁶³ Samugwa is the second son of Deideigu and the driver of the village truck.

continued well into the evening with virtually continual, ceaseless activity. The stages that I observed are best understood if placed in a systematic order.

i) *KATUVISI ULUSI*: The opening procession to the house of Chief Nalubutau with *veguwa*, the giving of which cleaned the way for the *lisaladabu* to be able to commence.

ii) *MWEUISA*: This literally means, 'the cleaning of the mourners' and was the first stage to reveal a discrepancy with Weiner⁶⁴. During this stage, all the *milaboa*; the daughters of the Kwainama men; and the old men who are either relatives of Gaiyowa or were very close *kula* or gardening friends of his were surrounded by the Kwainama women (namely Rosemary and her daughters who were to prove to be the most active throughout the day) and covered with talc, deodorant and flower necklaces and covered with an excess of brightly patterned calico - sewn into skirts or dresses for the women and laplaps for the men - and stripped of their mourning necklaces-*kuwa*. Following this initiation, the Kwainama women went around the entire central area with talc and calico, dressing not so elaborately, all those others who are non-kin to Gaiyowa and were loyally in a state of mourning his death. Tukwava⁶⁵ showed great objection to the removal of the *kuwa* which clearly revealed her true, deep sorrow for the loss of her adopted father, which was most often concealed with the 'dressing' of the other people.

⁶⁴ The dressing of the mourners publically to put an end to their sorrow was the opening stage of the *lisaladabu* in Yalumgwa, whereas in Weiner's documentations it occurred well into the ceremony prior to the final stage. On visiting another *lisaladabu* in Okaiboma at the beginning of my stay, I observed the presence of this cleaning towards the end of the ceremony, as well. Perhaps the level of status within the deceased's clan was relevant however, more likely I believe the reason for such variation to be due to the size of the *lisaladabu* at Yalumgwa village which was colossal.

⁶⁵ Tukwava was the favourite adopted daughter of Gaiyowa and had the responsibility of carrying his personal basket which was decorated with betel-nut, arm bands, cockatoo feathers, lime sticks, cowrie shells and *soulava*. The basket is worn around her neck from the day of his death whenever she ventures out of her hamlet, which in this case is Yalumgwa.

iii) *SEPWANA*: This distribution which literally means 'all clothes', is on a basic level the direct thanks by the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, to the *kakau* - the eleven clans who were responsible for the manufacture of the *sepwana* skirts which were worn by the selected eleven Kwainama women. The eleven wearers of the *sepwana* skirts individually entered the central area of the hamlet - *bukubaku* - bringing with them their largest accumulation of new/clean *nununiga* (about five hundred banana leaf bundles), few *dobatola* grass-skirts, and large pieces of calico, and called out the name of the specific *kakau* who was responsible for making their skirt. In calling out the name of the *kakau* not only did all Kwainama women go to the centre and deposit units consisting of at least five banana leaf bundles, but also all those women who on the day of the *litutila sepwana* took bunches of *katilava sisi*, entered the centre and deposited the equivalent amount of *nununiga* when the name of the *kakau* from whom it was obtained was called out. The rapidity of these transactions was intense and vast amounts of *nununiga* belonging to the Kwainama women were publicly exhibited in such presentations to the makers of the mourning skirts.

iv) *BUBU*: This distribution is limited to the guyau of the Trobriand Islands, and was the first stage in which Rosemary entered as the leading woman - *navaleta* - and displayed her authority and position within the clan. This saw the true beginnings of the *lisaladabu* with the commencement of the *nununiga* distributions which largely dominated the remainder of the day. The Kwainama women and the children of the Kwainama men, who for the event adopted the descent of their fathers, followed Rosemary depositing assemblages of new banana leaf bundles personally into the recipients hands or carefully on the ground in *segai*. The names to be called out were all members of the Lukwasisiga clan who since the death of Gaiyowa had been restricted in their movements. For example, men had not been able to participate in *kula* exchanges and women had been often confined to their villages unable to visit

relatives and friends living elsewhere. Through this distribution, such restrictions were acknowledged, praised and lifted.

v) *KAWELUWA*: Is the term applied to food, and this distribution is divided into two sections one for uncooked food and the other for cooked food. The change from the previous distribution to this one is only noticeable from the placement of *nununiga* directly onto the ground. Again Rosemary is the central figure, leading her female kin who await her deposition of *nununiga* units before they place their's on the ground. Even more emphasised than in the other distributions was the fact that Rosemary and her daughters were the most active donors.

v.a) *GENATA*: This distribution recalls the *tadebali* ceremony immediately after the death of Gaiyowa. The eleven *kakau* were allocated at this time and their kin brought uncooked food - *genata* - which was subsequently given to the women of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, who had been chosen to wear the *sepwana* skirts which were to be manufactured. In the sharing of this food between her clans people, each wearer of the skirt expressed who the donor was and it is in this fifth stage of the *lisaladabu* that the *kakau* are acknowledged and publically thanked for their assistance during the severe mourning period following the death of Gaiyowa. In discussions with Lydia (Fig.11,12) it was revealed how at the *tadebali* she received a basket of uncooked yams and a blue skirt and is obliged to repay the donor at this stage with fifty new *nununiga* for the yams, and thirty new *nununiga* for the skirt. Evidently there is an organized system of repayment which the women of the Kwainama lineage had on this occasion established, and in its generous nature it revealed the wealth of the clan. Again, the Kwainama woman would enter the *bukubaku* and call the recipients name, and if there was too great a confusion, go directly to the individual and hand her the pile of banana leaf bundles.

v,b) *MENU*: In this second stage of the *kaweluwa*, no partners exist as was the case in the previous distribution. It recalls the bringing of cooked food to the *libu* area, which was largely done by the spouses of the Lukwasisiga men of Yalumagwa,

from the death of Gaiyowa up until the day of the *lisaladabu*. Depending on the amount of help, or more crudely the amount of food, that was given by individuals the Kwainama women then decide on the appropriate amounts of *nununiga* which must be distributed. Rosemary led the distribution taking new banana leaf bundles, and in the standard manner calling out the recipients name. It is to this pile that each consumer of the cooked food brought by a particular person, was obliged to add at least five new/clean bundles. During this distribution the amounts of *nununiga* contributing to an individual were immense and often also calico was added to the piles.

vi) *DELI*: Literally this term means 'a line' and was the most impressive distribution of the day and highly important to the Kwainama lineage for the raising of their renown throughout the island (Plate 8). They were highly successful and the level of wealth distributed must be detailed at length (Fig.9). For the first time, both women and men of the Kwainama clan participated. Compared to Weiner⁶⁶, the term and the time of occurrence of this distribution of the final mortuary ceremony, and the degree of wealth vary.

All *kakau*, the makers of the mourning grass-skirts are the recipients. Commencing with Olivia (Fig.11,43) and her kin, the Kwainama lineage arranged themselves in long lines (Plate 8) which were led by the wearer of the skirt - in this case Bosaveva - with women taking firstly grass-skirts of *dobatola*, and *taginikosi* style, and then laplaps, and men and women taking claypots⁶⁷ to one side of the *bukubaku* where a man stood with a pole and called out the name of Olivia. The kin of Olivia present would then come and collect their large pile of goods which later on would be evenly divided up among those who had any responsibility in the

⁶⁶ Weiner(1976, 112-120) documented this event being the final stage carried out at the mortuary ceremony, with skirts carried to the house of the *kakau* and the event being called *kalakeyala kakau*. As was mentioned earlier on, these similarities were seen in the *lisaladabu* at Okaiboma.

⁶⁷ Claypots, which are imported from the Amphlette Islands are a highly prestigious item within Trobriand Society, ranking on a par with the smaller sized *beku*.

manufacture of the skirt. The following eight *deli* which in order were to Towitala, Ivayoula, Viviluwa, Kadubunama, Wekela, Nuratu, Kelai, Posovalu, followed the same format with firstly the women taking the least elaborate skirts, usually the *taginikosi* and the *seulolu*, secondly the line of the *laplaps*, thirdly the line of the highly elaborate *dobatola* skirts, and finally the men would join in with the line of the claypots. The amount of skirts, *laplaps* and claypots given to each *kakau* did vary to a degree (Fig.9).

The final two distributions of the *deli* stage did however, show great increase in the decorative nature of the skirts and the degree of goods presented. The tenth distribution to Mwabeta had the same format as the other *deli* distributions however, the *dobatola* grass-skirts were of maximum attractiveness and manufacturing skill. Held across the chests of those Kwainama women who carried them (Plate 8), the recipients and observers who had travelled from all over the island were given a proud display of the work that had been dominating the lives of all the Kwainama women since the death of Gaiyowa. The final distribution of the *deli* to Gegai-*nakakau* - proved to be the most elaborate and wealthy. Led by Marcia - the wearer of the *sepwana* skirt manufactured by the kin of Gegai, Bulubwalu lineage, Malasi clan - first a line of new *nununiga* tied to a wooden pole proceeded to the depositing area in the central square of Korporaseni hamlet. The following lines were the same as those mentioned above however, the aesthetics of the *dobatola* had increased and the innovation viewed spectacular. The skillful Kwainama women had managed to weave the skirts in a way that the names of people appeared written across the middle section of the skirt (Plate 4.d). There were at least double the amount of claypots as was seen before and for the first time in the *deli* distributions, *beku* were given.

The obligations by the Kwainama lineage to produce and accumulate vast amounts of women's wealth in order primarily, to acknowledge the importance of the relationships that the deceased had developed with members of the other three clans,

and secondly to display publically the wealth of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, had been most successfully achieved through these colourful processions.

vii) *KEMELU*: It is the final distribution to occur at the *lisaladabu* which literally means 'food'. Like the previous stages, this one also refers back to the events that occurred immediately following the death of Gaiyowa from the *yawali* to the two events involved in the making of the *sepwana* skirt.

The old/dirty *nununiga* are distributed with pieces of calico to all those men of the Lukwasisiga clan who assisted their clanswomen in preparing food during all the *sagali* where women's wealth was the central action. Although the names of the men are called out, it is their wives who collected all presentations. Those to receive the largest piles are logically those who contributed the most throughout the mourning period.

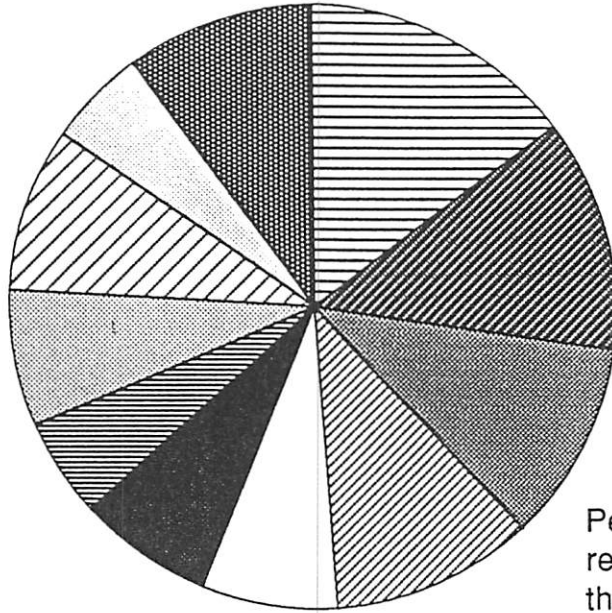
Rosemary was still recognized as the most important woman contributing at least one unit of *nununiga* to each pile, however there is a deeper organization to this final distribution stage of the mortuary ceremony. Yayau (Fig.10,11) was allocated the responsibility of ensuring that all those men south of Yalumgwa village were given the correct amounts of *nununiga* and calico. Helping her were Marcia, Gertrude, Tukwava, Maria, Sukusaku, and all the younger generation of children who have Kwainama lineage, who for the day adopted a patrilineal descent. The remaining area of the island was looked after by Idumata⁶⁸ and assisting her were Sarah, Genevieve, Bomlelai, Lydia and Ruby (Fig.10,52). Although the initial distributions made were to the Kwainama men, afterwards the other men from the other clans were acknowledged and presented with banana leaf bundles and calico. This was the final distribution of the *lisaladabu*, and following it all the women collapsed having had such an unceasingly active day.

⁶⁸ Idumata is married to Kevin, and was chosen to take up this responsibility because Kevin was the favourite adopted son of Gaiyowa.

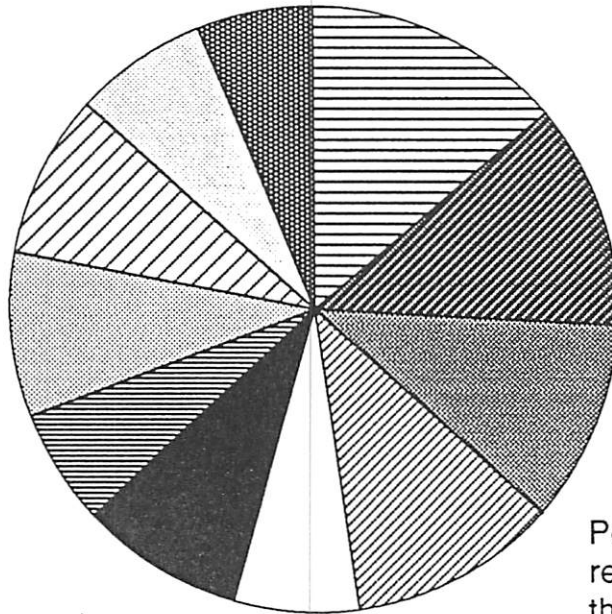
The men now for the first time came to the forefront in their usual role of food providers. In the same way that the women's role in this most grand mortuary ceremony was thoroughly organized and well structured, so was the male's food distribution. The day of the *lisaladabu* belonged entirely to the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, and their success was mammoth. As the day drew to an end all the important Kwainama women - in particular Rosemary - received *tilewayi*. This is a form of praise where those observers and recipients (the remaining three clans) tied a piece of string around the wrist of the Kwainama women as a method of acknowledging and praising their success in the day's distribution of their *doba*. The recipients of such strings were then obliged to pay the givers with a valuable. In Rosemary's case, money (2Kina) was given, and in the end she had to conceal herself as so many people wanted to praise her impressive stamina throughout the day as well as the enormity of her manufactured *doba*.

The *lisaladabu* distribution is clearly the summit of display of the women's wealth which emphasises the fathomless position it holds within Trobriand society in the political, social and economic systems.

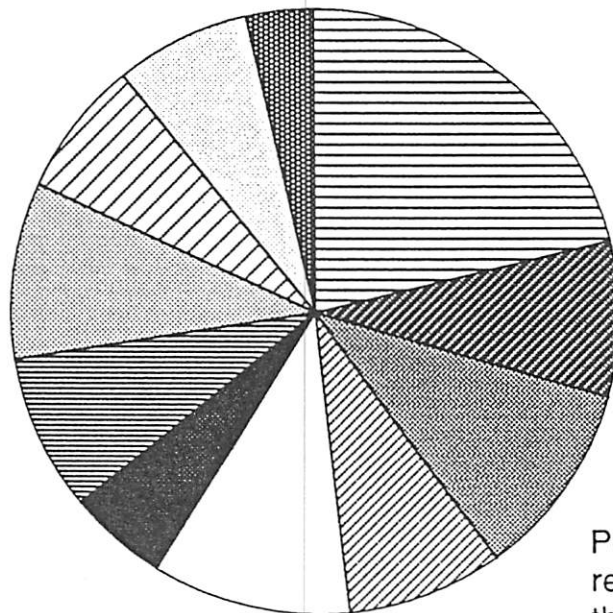
Several distributions involving the men of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, did occur after the *lisaladabu* however, due to the termination of the research period were not able to be documented.



Percentage of grass skirts received by each *kakau* at the Deli distribution.



Percentage of 'lap laps' received by each *kakau* at the Deli distribution..



Percentage of clay pots received by each *kakau* at the Deli distribution.

-  Nakakau-Gegai
-  Kapu-Mwabeta
-  Kelai
-  Wekela
-  Kadubunama
-  Olivia
-  Yiviluwa
-  Towitala
-  Nuratu
-  Iluvayaula
-  Posuvalu

Fig.9



The *Deli* distribution of *Lisaladabu*.



SECTION THREE.

CONCLUSIONS.

Throughout the period from the death of Gaiyowa to the mortuary ceremony, which occurred approximately three months later, the women of the Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, were extraordinarily busy preparing themselves both mentally and physically for the final recognition of the death of one of their clansmen. Days were seen to be spent entirely on *doba* manufacture, and as the *lisaladabu* grew near pressure increased and consequently so did the length of hours spent in manufacture. Mentally, with at least three-times-daily mourning cries, the women kept fresh in their minds the figure of the deceased which was critical to maintaining their stamina for completion of the vast amounts of *doba*. Although *doba* can be viewed at any time within the society, its true significance can only be comprehended through its importance in the funerary events.

In the discussion of the events that followed Gaiyowa's death (Section Two), it was noted that in three of the four *sagali* detailed at length from direct observation, there was the presence of *doba* and women who were both kin to Gaiyowa and non-kin to him were involved in its giving or receiving (Figs.7&8). It was through such distributions that not only could the non-kin persons to the deceased prove their loyalty to him and his clan and therefore exclude themselves from any suspicions relating to sorcery, but also that the kin of the deceased could express their thanks and admiration for the non-kin members who were so thorough in their care of the deceased's body before it was buried. On both the kin and the non-kin sides various acknowledgements were made and recognitions constantly conveyed in order to maintain equilibrium between non-kin and kin.

The bonds created during the lifetime of a clansperson are momentous and recognition of such bonds is made primarily through the wealth of the women.

With successful manufacture and distributions of their wealth, the women maintain the status of the clan in the acknowledgement in *doba* to all those persons who came to be linked to the deceased whether through marriage, activities⁶⁹ or friendship. These bonds are of the utmost importance in Trobriand society, as amicability among the four clans is essential if the continued inter-marriage between them is to occur. Therefore, such payments are critical to the society's political stability. Through success in distributions the clan, within which the recent death has happened, strengthens and cements the relationships created during their deceased kin's life and publicly states its trust in the non-kin persons who came to form bonds with the deceased.

The immense suffering of *nakakau*⁷⁰ which was displayed by her dressing in black, shaving her head, leading the mourning cries, remaining in the village at all times, and not eating 'good food'⁷¹ was publicly acknowledged and admired by the clanspersons of Gaiyowa. Just as the Kwainama lineage acknowledged its obligation to produce many affluent *sagali* for their deceased member, so too did the non-kin stand under the obligation to mourn faithfully throughout the period following his death.

Interesting to observe are the similarities that can be drawn between the production of yams, which belongs entirely to the males, and the production of *doba* which is the domain of the females.

i) Yams are also present at all funerary events and during those of Gaiyowa, it was noticed how the status of the men of Kwainama lineage, Lukwasisiga clan, increased if their talents in gardening were of a high standard. Not only was quantity important, but also quality especially with regard to the *kuvi* yams.

⁶⁹ These activities mainly include *kula* and gardening when the deceased is male, and *doba* and gardening when the deceased is female.

⁷⁰ *Nakakau* refers to Gegai.

⁷¹ Good food refers to food such as yams, taro, sweet potato. From the time of her husband's death she did not ingest such foods and instead survived on goods such as trade store items of fruits.

ii) It is through the harvesting of yams that a man reinforces his bonds to his clan as in the annual gift to his sister, and ensures the well-being of his nieces and nephews - the next generation of that clan.

iii) In the annual receiving of yams from their wives' husbands, the inter-clan bonds which are so important to Trobriand existence are preserved.

i) The *doba* in both its forms, of grass-skirts and bundles, is present at the funerary ceremonies and the status of the women augments if the amounts of banana leaf bundles is colossal, and the quality of the skirts -most often the *dobatola* skirts- innovative and highly decorative.

ii) In its distribution, especially during the *lisaladabu*, all the female members of a particular clan join in the public display of the wealth of their clan and through this obligation to perform well, the political structure within the clan is sustained.

iii) The amicable presentation of both forms of *doba* to the non-kin of the deceased is responsible for the maintenance of inter-clan bonds.

The productions of the women and those of the men both possess a pivotal position in the political structure of the Trobriand Islands and ensure the continuation of inter-clan and inter-lineage bonding. Together yams and *doba* constitute the means to maintain the development and preservation of bonds created through marriage and social activities which are too vital to be merely forgotten at death.

The question, 'What does the future holds for the Trobriand Islands and their culture?', is a difficult one and clearly only speculative proposals can be attempted. During my stay on more than one occasion, I was told of how the women's manufacture of *nununiga* was a pointless exercise, had no worth in Western terms and could not be exchanged for trade-store goods.

A more radical view in favour of discontinuity in the manufacture not only of *nununiga* but of grass-skirt as well would imply the abandonment of *doba*, and is held by some men but not by women. During my stay in fact I found only one

woman at Okaiboma⁷² who supported such a view on the grounds that the *doba* work was too time consuming and gave too little benefit in return for such great effort⁷³.

My own assessment is that in the foreseeable future, certainly the grass-skirt if not the bundle will continue to hold a strong cultural role, although in changing ways. Since the influx of outsiders, the skirts have already come to acquire a very different appearance, in the more marketable look, thus developing a useful *valova*⁷⁴ role as more elaborate designs are being produced thanks also to the application of modern dyes. This change has not had a detrimental effect on the functioning of the society, on the contrary it seems to be assisting through the understanding of capitalistic values the integration with the outside world.

The installation of *doba* into Trobriand society remains therefore deeply rooted and the impact of Westernization has not caused its abandonment. To quote Chief Nalubutau⁷⁵, 'During my life and beyond I believe all traditional goods like yams and *doba* to continue to maintain their positions of importance within our society.'

⁷² The lady in Okaiboma spoke fluent English having just completed a literacy course. (17.07.91).

⁷³ During my stay I attempted all stages of the manufacture of the *nununiga* and was therefore fit to observe the intense labour that is needed for its completion.

⁷⁴ *Valova* - refer back to Section One, Part II.

⁷⁵ Personal communication on the 27.08.91.

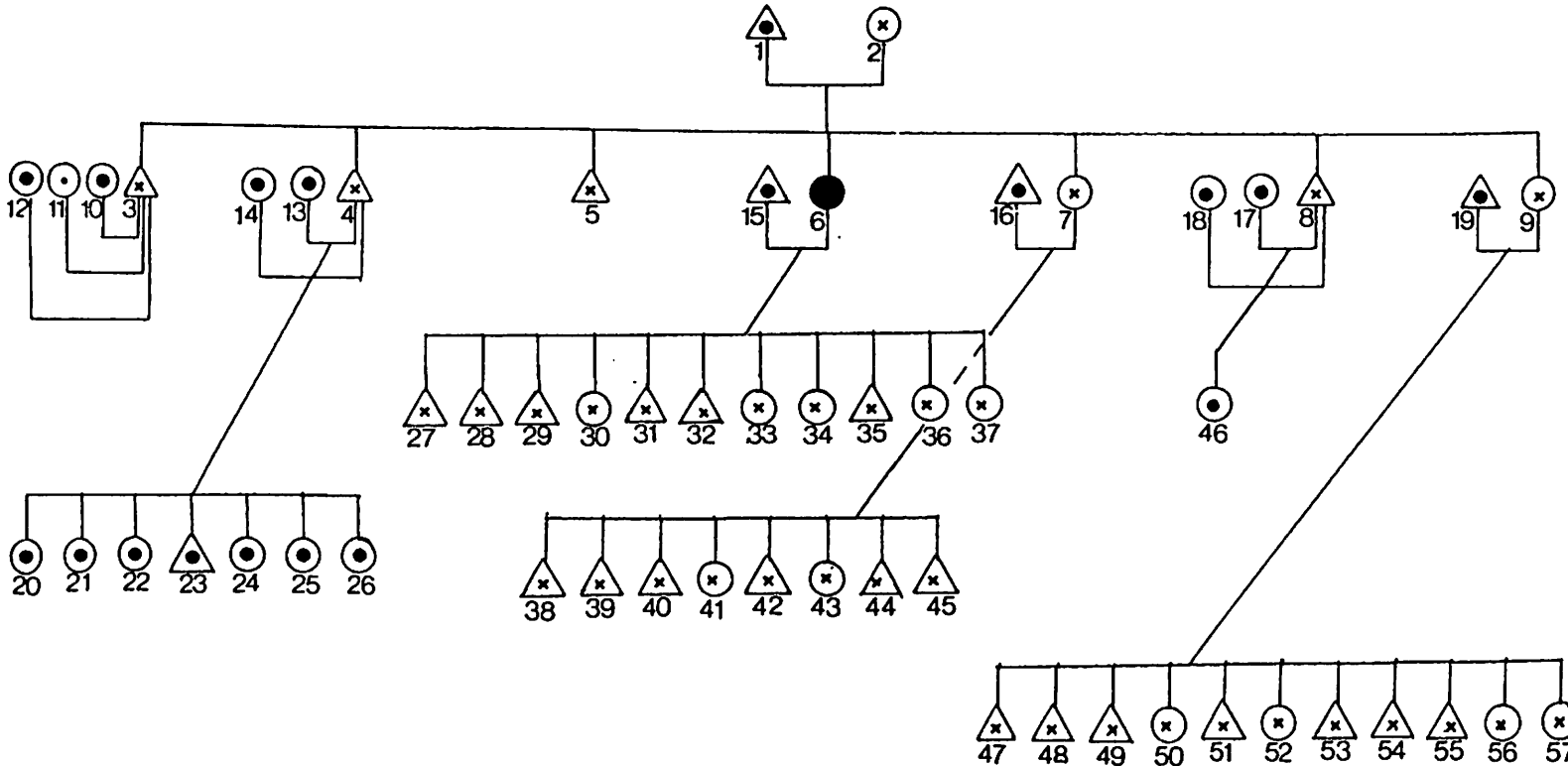


TRADITIONAL DRESS



INFLUENCED DRESS

GENEALOGY OF KWAINAMA LINEAGE 1



- | | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| 1) Beona | 15) Andrew |
| 2) Kalakinauyalumgwa | 16) Toyagena |
| 3) Nalubutau | 17) Boyoweta |
| 4) Kayegila | 18) Gegai |
| 5) Siwaidou | 19) Kaidoga |
| 6) Rosemary | 20) Sucusaku |
| 7) Deideigu | 21) Katemeya |
| 8) Gaiyowa | 22) Damawota |
| 9) Judith | 23) Towitala |
| 10) Bomtayega | 24) Imkuyawa |
| 11) Yayau | 25) Tukwawa |
| 12) Iyowaga | 26) Gelubala |
| 13) Nabokela | 27) Kelai |
| 14) Iyopaka | 28) Paul |

- | | |
|--------------|---------------|
| 29) John.K | 43) Kamyovau |
| 30) Marcia | 44) Mwedola |
| 31) Rex | 45) Deuguyau |
| 32) Maurice | 46) Genevieve |
| 33) Maria | 47) Kevin |
| 34) Gertrude | 48) Benedict |
| 35) Kenneth | 49) Linus |
| 36) Lydia | 50) Maurine |
| 37) Sarah | 51) Henry |
| 38) Siwaidou | 52) Ruby |
| 39) Samugwa | 53) Richard |
| 40) Tobweka | 54) Mathew |
| 41) Bomlelai | 55) Ronald |
| 42) Nagiya | 56) Caroline |
| | 57) Boluwaba |

- MALASI
- ⊗ LUKWASISIGA
- ◐ LUKUBA
- ▮ LUKULABUTA
- Foreign to Kiriwina

Fig. 10

GENEALOGY OF KWAINAMA LINEAGE 2

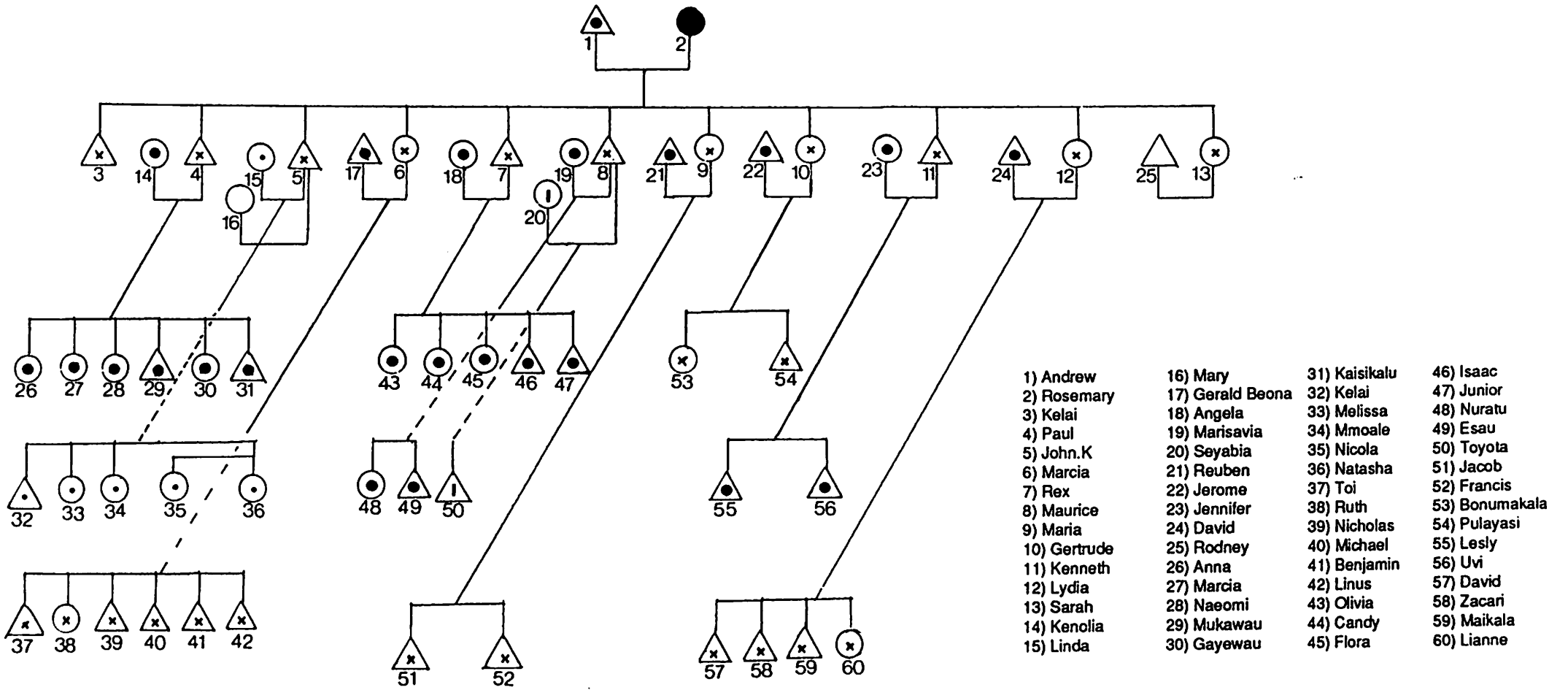


Fig.11

GLOSSARY.

BEKU - The obsidian stone axe-blade which has great prestigious value within the society.

BUBU - The fourth stage of the *Lisaladabu* distribution.

BUBUNA - A dove.

BUKUBAKU - The central open area of all hamlets.

BUNUKWA - A pig.

BWALA - The original settling places of the first settlers on Kiriwina Island.

DALA - The lineages which make up the four main clans.

DEDILA - The coconut branches which are utilized during the mourning period to delimit the central area of the hamlet.

DELI - The sixth stage of the *Lisaladabu* distribution ceremony, which is considered the most important as the wealth of the clan of which the deceased was a member, is publically displayed through the elaborate *dobatola* skirts.

DIM DIM - White person.

DOBA - The term used to refer to the items manufactured by the women of the Trobriand culture. Generally it refers to both the banana leaf bundles and the grass-skirts.

DOBATOLA - The highly elaborate skirt which is of the highest significance, as it displays the great skill of the individual manufacturer and the clan as a whole.

GEGILA - A lorikeet.

GENATA - The first part of the fifth stage during the *Lisaladabu* distribution.

GOGEBILA - The annual yam distribution from the brother of a particular woman to her husband.

GUMGWAM - The bark fibre to which the constituents of the grass-skirt, whether of an artificial or natural colour, are tied. Therefore it is the waist band of the skirt.

GUYAU - The upper echelon of Trobriand Society.

KAWAWAGA - The wooden board on which the *wakaya* leaf is worked.

KAISENA - The jagged edged instrument used to fringe the worked banana leaf to create fibres such as the *katilava*, *noku* and *taginikosi*.

KAKASASA - The second most decorative skirt produced.

KAKAU - The non-kin mourners to the deceased who are nominated the task of producing the mourning skirt for the kin of the deceased.

KANIKU - The instrument used to remove the outer epidermal layer of the *wakaya* leaf.

KAPU - The father of the deceased.

KARAGA - The green parrot.

KASI VIVILA - 'The source of food for women', referring to the *doba*.

KATILAVA - The natural coloured, fringed fibres manufactured from the *wakaya* tree leaves.

KATUVISI ULUSI - The first, opening stage of the *Lisaladabu* mortuary ceremony, involving the distribution of valuables.

KAUKWA - A dog.

KAWELUWA - The term applied to food, and also the fifth stage of the *Lisaladabu* distribution.

KELAVASIYA - A lizard.

KEMELU PELA TOVALAMU - The preparation of food for the mourners, and the second event following the death of a person.

KIDONATU - The instrument used in the past to create the patterns on the worked *wakaya* banana leaf.

KILIVILA - The name of the Trobriand Island language.

KOKU - The first mourning cry involving both kin and non-kin to the deceased and occurring immediately after the death.

KULA - The system of exchange, most often only involving the males of the society, who travel to distant islands in search of exchanges of *soulava* or *mwali*.

KUMILA - The four clans of the Trobriand society.

KUWA - The mourning necklaces made of black natural and artificial fibres and worn throughout the mourning period by non-kin persons of the deceased.

KUVI - The long yams which grow vertically in the ground and depending on their length, display the level that a gardener has reached.

LIBU - The site of mourning, usually the house and hamlet in which the deceased person lived.

LISALADABU - The final mortuary ceremony occurring between three to five months after the death of the clan member.

LITUTILA SEPWANA - The breaking of the *sepwana* mourning skirt, usually no more than two weeks prior to the final mortuary ceremony.

LUKUBA - One of the four clans, which consists of both *guyau* and *tokai*.

LUKULABUTA - One of the four clans, which consists largely of *tokai*.

LUKWASISIGA - One of the four clans, which consists largely of *guyau*.

MALASI - One of the four clans, which consists solely of *guyau* lineages.

MENU - The second part of the fifth stage of the *Lisaladabu* mortuary ceremony.

MILABOA - The children of the deceased who hold an important role throughout the mourning period following a person's death.

MULUVEKA - An eagle.

MWALI - The conch shell, decorative and purely ornamental arm bands which are a major part of the *kula* exchanges, arriving on return from the East.

MWEUISA - The second stage of the *Lisaladabu* distribution, which literally means, 'the cleaning of the mourners.'

NAKAKAU - The specific term applied to the widow/widower.

NAMILABOA - The term referring to the female children, whether adopted or natural, of the deceased.

NAPWEYAVEKA - A woman of *doba* abundance.

NAVALETA - The woman who is allocated the primary role in all distributions following the death of a kin, of leading the other women, and is obliged to collect and manufacture the greatest abundance of *nununiga* and elaborate grass-skirts.

NOKU - The manufactured fibres from the *wakaya* banana leaves which are two-thirds fringed and later dyed.

NUNUNIGA - The term applied to the banana leaf bundles which can be either of a new/clean appearance or an old/dirty appearance.

SAGALI - All distributions, literally it means 'to divide'.

SEGAI - The varying sized baskets which are made from the branches of the coconut trees and carry the bundles.

SEKEULA - The no longer manufactured skirt which was worn by pregnant women, and was of a very plain form consisting solely of *katilava*.

SENUYA - The no longer manufactured skirt which was worn only in wet weather and consisted of the fringed *wakaya* leaves.

SEPIYOPIA - The no longer manufactured skirt used in wet weather and made from the fringed banana tree leaves.

SEPWANA - The full length mourning skirt manufactured entirely from the *katilava* fibres and worn in the final mortuary ceremony.

SETAKWAI - The grass-skirt, no longer manufactured, that was worn by the *kakau* during the mourning period.

SEULOLU - The bark fibres which when dyed either form an entire skirt or a constituent to a skirt.

SEYOYU - The still manufactured skirt, from fringed coconut leaves which always remains natural in colour.

SIGLILOLULA - The food distribution event following the death of a clan member which allows all those kin and non-kin who have come to mourn the loss in the deceased's hamlet, to return to their own respective hamlets and resume normal activities.

SILISALI - The mourning skirt manufactured from the fringed coconut leaves which is worn throughout the mourning period by the *milaboa* of the deceased.

SILIVILA - The segmented form of the *katilava* fibres which measure no more than sixty centimetres.

SISI - The small broken off pieces of the *sepwana* skirt which are seen at the *Litutila Sepwana*.

SOULAVA - The red shell necklaces which form the opposite side to the *kula* exchanges, arriving from the West.

TADEBALI - The event which follows the death of a person and involves distributions of yams and *doba*. Also during this event the numerous roles of *kakau*, *kapu*, *milaboa*, and *valeta* are allocated.

TAGINIKOSI - The fibre which is derived by fringing two-thirds of the worked *wakaya* leaf and is never dyed. This fibre forms much of the decorative skirts with one skirt known by this same term.

TETU - The most harvested yam, the commonest yam on the Trobriand Islands.

TILEWAYI - A form of praising those who have performed well, where a string is tied around the wrist of the performer who is then obliged to pay the donor in some valuable.

TOKAI - The lower echelon of Trobriand Society.

TOMILABOA - The male children, whether adopted or natural of the deceased, who during the mourning period have very important roles.

VALAM - The mourning cries which involve most often the women kin and non-kin of the deceased and continue from the actual day of death to the final mortuary ceremony.

VALETA - The sisters of the deceased who acquire an acknowledged role from the time of the *tadebali*.

VALOVA - The traditional form of exchange between both women and men so that accumulation of *doba* is rapid.

VEGUWA - The term which refers to all valuables including: *beku*; *soulava*; *mwali*.

VITUVATU SEPWANA - The making of the *sepwana* mourning skirt from the *katilava* fibres derived from the *wakaya* tree's leaves.

WAKAYA - The banana tree from which the majority of the skirt fibres are gained for manufacture.

WAYALA KEBILA - The event that follows soon after the death of a person and involves the distribution of valuables to the kin of the deceased by the non-kin.

WOSI - The night mourning cries which occur the evening before the distributions of *yawali*.

YAWALI - The event occurring usually three days after a person's death and involving the distribution of: yams, *doba*; and valuables, by both kin and non-kin to the deceased.

APPENDIX I.

The Kwainama Clan, Lukwasisiga Tribe.

The Kwainama clan is one of the few *guyau* clans and contributing to it are seven groups which although they all arrived from Labai, soon separated and came to inhabit areas throughout the Trobriand Islands⁷⁶.

The first group before the separation took place were located at Bwedaga, an area positioned fairly closely to Labai. The initial group then fissured with the following locations coming to be inhabited: Liluta; Okaikoda; Yalungwa; Ilalima; Kumilabwaga; and Vakuta. In referring to Figure.2 the vast expansion that these early settlers made will be evident.

⁷⁶ Personal communication on the 20.08.91. with Andrew Kalabaku.

APPENDIX II.

The Children of Gaiyowa.

The children of Gaiyowa total seven individuals, with Genevieve being the only true genetic daughter of him by his first wife Boyoweta (Fig.10).

The other children all adopted from his sisters and brothers include: Mokepvesi (male); Harry (male); Tukwava (female); Sukusaku (female); Mwedola (male); and Naduku (male).

APPENDIX III.

The Valam.

The recordings of the mourning cries were obtained on various occasions, and their translations majorly completed on the 22nd August, 1991. I have decided to firstly give the verse in the native language and then to provide the translation below it for each individual contributor. It must be kept in mind that the widow was always the first to begin the crying sessions and was gradually joined by the other women who would each begin with a solo whilst the widow and others would repeatedly lament over their words.

The *KASOLUKULA valam* is the main *valam* sung by all the women and primarily refers to the deceased's renown in the garden. All those women whom received garden produce from him are obliged and entitled to sing this *valam* to express publically their profound loss with his death. Each woman held a unique relationship with the deceased and so their respective mourning verse's are highly personal, and in the following analysis this will be demonstrated.

i) *nakakau* (Gegai).

a) *Ula gweluwa*- I am nobody, I have no family or home and am drifting.

This refers to the fact that she moved to the village of her husband and now that he has died she has no home.

ula neuya- I have no origin, I am a Gypsy.

ula sivayaba- I am a guest to every one, I have no security and only rely on the good will of others.

Again this refers to her not living in her natal village.

ula minuwayoya- I am like a bird wandering to its next nesting area.

This is a poetic metaphor again expressing the lack of a secure home. *yoya* actually refers to a southern

storm and implies the bird losing its course because of this storm, like she has lost her course because of her husband's death.

Gaiyowa Tolegu- Refers to her husband who she cared for immensely.

This is entirely a verse of self pity by the widow where she publically tells all exactly what she has lost, and how lonely she is feeling. In mentioning her husband's name at the end of the verse she demonstrates that when he was alive she felt no such feelings of vulnerability.

b) *umkwebagula*- You were industrious, and had a hardworking nature in the garden.

umsolukula- You were a man with a garden filled with many crops, it was filled with variety.

umtabweteta- You were a man who cut many gardens.

umlolewa- you were a good gardener because you would harvest enough yams to be able to make a large stack.

umyomwadeo- You were a good gardener being able to use the long vine which is round around the yam pile.

Gaiyowa Tolegu- (see above)

umkwalidema- You are a very industrious person and used your yam stick for poking the ground to plant your seeds and therefore produce much food.

Clearly this is the *valam* for the garden where Gegai praises her husband for providing her with food and publically displays and reminds all that he was highly successful in the garden.

In talks with Rosemary it was revealed how in fact much of Gegai's verse was inaccurate and terms were used which should only ever be used with reference to a Chief. An example of such misuses was with *uligioveka* which literally means 'big chief' and should only ever be used on a true Chief, not a person of chiefly status.

ii) Rosemary

- a) *Ugsolukula luguta-* My industrious brother who planted a variety of crops in his garden and was a good and highly capable gardener providing me with food whenever I required it. (*luguta*=my brother)
- uluvitou' ula-* my brother you are my first beginnings and the most important one to me.
- ula katu'ula-* my brother you always contributed to my feasts of a large or small size.
- ula pitaveka-* my big basket of yams, piled up high with a basket at the base, which you always gave me.
- agu solukula-* my gifts from your garden were always plentiful as your abilities were so expert in this field.
- ula kavoveka-* your garden was always open to me and supported me with good food.

The mourning verse by Rosemary publically displays her immense loss and emphasises all the areas in life from which her brother was so generous and in which she now feels great absence.

iii) Sukusaku⁷⁷

a) *ula katu'ula tamagu* - You were the first to celebrate my marriage bringing much betel nut and many yams. In all celebrations involving feasting you always brought plentiful amounts of food.

Unlike the previously well documented mourning verses, with Sukusaku I was only able to translate this phrase which is continually repeated over and over throughout the session.

iv) Tukwava⁷⁸

a) *lokaipewava-ula yupitupitu* always when I was angry with you you only ever offered me kindness and generosity, and now I shall never have such a relationship again.

ula kamna mwana-ula kadubaduba- I have lost all my pride whenever women criticized me saying I had no riches, I confidently assured them that I did and it is all because of you.

ula kapeiyava-ula kapapelapela- the gifts from you were always plentiful. when I made mistakes and was referred to as a rubbish woman by friends, your support made me proud enough to disregard these comments.

All of Tukwava's verse is intensely melancholic and publically her colossal loss through the death of her adopted father is revealed. She demonstrates the happiness and confidence she gained from him and consequently its

⁷⁷ see Genealogy 1
⁷⁸ see Genealogy 2

disappearance with his death. Being the carrier of his personal basket throughout the period from his death to the *Lisaladabu*, she is also under the obligation to mourn well so that all will acknowledge her bereavement.

Both Sucusaku and Tukwava refer to the deceased as their father, as in Trobriand society the uncles hold an important position often being adopted. Although only Tukwava was an acknowledged adopted child of Gaiyowa, Sucusaku also held a close relationship with her uncle.

v)Yayau

a) *ula kowoveka bwadagu*- you, brother, made a big garden for Chief Nalubutau and being his wife, I received many which were always of a very good quality.

ula kowagugula- you left piles of yams in front of my hut which I then shared with all my kin.

ula bukwaiyam- you made it possible for me to divide the large piles of yams into many small piles because of your generosity.

The verse sung is one of diplomacy and obligation on the surface however Yayau too feels the immense loss with the death especially because she is married to Chief Nalubutau who feels the loss most deeply.

vi)Ibouda⁷⁹

ulakoiya- I have much social standing because of your renown within Kwainama and throughout the whole of Kiriwina (literally it means 'I stand on a hill' and is a metaphoric verse).

ula seuya- you protect me (again a metaphoric verse which literally translates as 'a reef at the beach where the waves break').

⁷⁹ a niece of Gaiyowa

ula kabovakola- I had little need to move and travel because all you gave me was sufficient for my existence.

This mourning verse is highly meaningful and as was seen with the verse of Gegai, here too metaphors are used to provide great depth in the public display of their relationship.

The *valam* for *Kula* known as *KAWEYOVA* is only ever sung for deceased who are of the *guyau* echelon of society. With the same format as the above documented *valam*, this one also involves the close kin of the deceased who all commence by singing a solo which is repeated throughout the mourning session. Such a *valam* was not sung for *Gaiyowa* as it is only the Chief's of the society who are eligible for such verse after their death, and it is only the closest female kin (usually the eldest sister or the mother) who is allowed to sing such verse.

kagukwauya- your basket of *mwali* and *soulava* is always full.
kauyaveka- only the best *mwali* and *soulava* are in your basket.
uluguyau gioveka- my top ranking *guyau*, my chief.
agubwagigi- my conch shell blown whenever
waluma you returned from the east
bringing with you *mwali*.
agukwasalili- many times *soulava* were
wadom brought from the west (highly poetic in its metaphoric nature
of referring to the *soulava* as a line).
ula taibutu- you were a highly valued person who everyone
knew even if they had never met you.

Such a *valam* is one of the most preserved within the Kwainama lineage and its appearance is only ever seen in the death of the lineage chief. It is of great poetic standard and in being sung by the most respected woman of the lineage, its elite quality and implications when publically heard can be understood.

Once again it must be emphasised that such evidence has not been previously documented, possibly because of the great secrecy and taboo which is placed on the discussion of such verse, however a valid study topic would be further analysis of such mourning verses and the differences between the upper and lower echelons of the Trobriand society.

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