E U G A C O U R T S H I P  

A N D  

M A R R I A G E  C U S T O M S  

Conference Paper  
by  
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As we begin to try to set down on paper a brief description of some of the Enga courtship and marriage customs we realize that this is a task which is impossible to do justice to in a brief conference paper. Courtship and marriage in any culture is a big subject. It is no less of a one in Enga society. Not knowing anything of what we write from first hand we feel particularly inadequate for this task. In this paper our information has come from only a few informants and is very subjective. We might well be doing the same thing that the blind men who were describing the elephant did when they said that the elephant was like a wall or like a rope or like a tree. But nevertheless something needs to be said on the subject as an introduction before detailed studies of smaller aspects are made. We are amazed at how ignorant we are of the customs and the life of the people here. After 2 or 3 or 4 or even more years we know little or nothing of what the average day in the life of an Enga is and this same ignorance exists with regard to Enga Courtship and marriage customs.

Though all of the material on this paper has been checked over by more than one informant yet we make no claim to its being entirely or even by an large accurate, and we ask all readers of this to merely take what we have gotten from our informants and check it with their informants to see whether it is so or not. A great deal of credit for the material in this paper goes to my wife who spent many hours working on this subject with native women. A total of 5 informants helped us to put down what is in this paper. As will be obvious this paper is not in any sense complete.

Before we proceed into a discussion of what happens prior to courtship in a man's life, how courtship is carried on and finally the marriage ceremony and union and a few general observations about daily life in marriage, and some of the beliefs that the people have about it are in order. The observations in this paper are mainly an attempt to portray what Enga Courtship and marriage were like before the arrival of the European. The customs are of course changing now and no one would be able to say what they will be like 10 to 15 years in the future, if the world stands that long.
Perhaps a study of what things are like now would be more interesting but on the other hand harder to observe. What things were like before seems a good taking off place.

First of all we should mention that marriage is definitely the normal thing in the Enga Society and that there seem to have been, and now are far fewer bachelors and bachelor girls than there are in our own society. Two informants were of the opinion that no one would willingly choose to be such. They said that only poverty or some sickness such as leprosy on the part of a man or poor looks or sickness on the part of the woman would lead one to such a life.

Seemingly everyone wants to marry. Men marry because they want a wife to help with caring for their pigs, planting their gardens, cooking their sweetpotatoes and making their clothing. They also are interested in having marriage relations and want an heir to look after them when they are old, inherit their land, and increase the number of their tribe. They are also interested in exchanging pigs with the wife's family in the Tie.

Women marry to get the bride price, to have intercourse, to eat pork and share it with their family, and to have children. They enjoy children for their own sake and also look forward to having the children care for them when they are old.

The things that made Enga marriage very different from courtship and marriage in our own society are of course polygyny (having more than one wife) the paying of a bride price, the magic which is tied up with almost every part of Enga courtship and marriage and the fact that the men and women did not sleep together in the same house. There is also a closer tie between the Enga woman and her own parents and brothers than there is between a wife and her own family in our own society. Where this last thing becomes obvious is for example, in the fact that an Enga woman will steal from her husband in order to give something to her parents or relatives.

Enga marriages were somewhat similar in that there was, in at least some instances, love between husband and wife, and there was some latitude in the choice of a mate. Perhaps most of the time the mother and father had the final word but the desires of the boy and girl were not left out altogether.
Ordinarily, at least, the whole thing was not settled before the child even was thinking about marriage, and most young men and young women were allowed to carry on courtship with more than one boy or girl.

While the status of the Enga woman is lower than that in our society. (This is also shown for example in that the woman walks behind her husband instead of together with him). It is also true that there is affection shown between husband and wife. Good husbands love their wives. They show this by holding the baby when the wife works in the garden, breaking firewood, making fences and giving their wife a generous portion of pork when a pig is steamed. Good wives also love their husbands. They show this by working in the gardens, looking after their pigs well, cooking food for their husband and making his rainmats and net bags. They obey their husbands and care well for the children. Sometimes when the wife goes to the garden the husband will stand outside of the "house meri" and wait for her, and he is happy when she returns so that they can sit down and talk inside of the "house meri". Likewise the wife is happy when the husband comes to bring firewood and get his food.

The property belongs to the husband, not the wife, but usually the husband asks his wife if it is alright to give something to his friends before he does so. A few husbands give something to their wife so that she can give it to her parents.

Although the husband lives with his brothers or father or some other members of his tribe in a "house man" and his wife in a "house meri" they do see and talk with each other every day as the husband brings firewood to the wife and gets food from her every day. They tell each other the things that happen and also talk about gardens, pigs, making a house and fence, singsings, fighting, their children and food. They talk with each other every day except when the wife is having her menstrual period.

Enga men probably married older than the modern American or Australian but the women probably married younger. Usually, both men and women attained puberty before marrying but it was not uncommon for a girl to marry earlier than this perhaps as early as 10 years of age, or possibly even younger. The government has now
outlawed this sort of thing and it is no longer very common.

In Enga society polygyny was and is practiced. There doesn't seem to be a limit to the number of wives a man may buy. One man near Wabag is said to have 14 wives, 10 of whom are still living with him. Since there is the custom of paying a bride price the number of wives is naturally tied up with what a man is able to afford. The general consensus of opinion seems to be that a man usually consults with his 1st wife and his family before purchasing additional wives. Sometimes the 1st wife doesn't seem to mind her husband taking more wives since it lightens her work load and increases the family status. At other times they deeply resent it and may even beat up the 2nd wife. Sometimes the wives all sleep together in the same house and at other times they have separate houses. A man may take more wives for reasons of intercourse, in order to have more children, or to have more help in caring for the gardens and pigs. Usually the husband waits until he has 2 or 3 children with his first wife before he takes a second wife.

The father of one of the informants for this paper had six wives in all. In order to get some idea of how a typical Enga might go about getting that many wives let us look at the example of this man. His first wife had a daughter who soon died then she had another daughter. After the second daughter was born my informant's father bought a second wife. This second wife had not had any children when he bought his third wife. Then his third wife had a daughter. After that his second wife had a daughter. The second wife and her daughter died when the daughter was about 2 or 3. Then the third wife died. Then the 1st wife had a son followed by a daughter and another daughter. After that she had twin sons. Then she died and one of the sons. At that time the informants father bought his 4th wife. She had a baby girl that died at about the age of 5. Then the informant's father bought his 5th wife. Then the 4th wife had another baby girl that died at 4 months. When the 4th and 5th wife had no more children my informant's father bought a sixth wife. At that time he chased away his fourth and fifth wives and lived only with his sixth wife. Later my informant's father died and his sixth wife married another man.
who already had one wife. This gives a person some idea of the polygynous practice of the Enga people.

If a woman's husband dies, very often she will marry his brother if he has one. In that case he will not buy her but will give her only one big pig. If someone else marries the woman then she will pay back her former husband's brother and might also give the children to him. Widows usually marry a brother of their former husband or someone else from his tribe. Sometimes they marry someone else in a different tribe.

Enga couples do not ordinarily have intercourse in their houses but rather outside in the bush or in the tall pitpit where no one can see them. This usually takes place in the daytime. There does seem to be some loveplay prior to intercourse but often this is more common among adulterers and fornicators. In some instances Enga marital relations might fall more in the classification of legalized rape.

Enga couples do not have intercourse during the time that a child is nursing and has not yet learned to eat sweet potatoes. This can sometimes be a cause of friction between husband and wife. While the Enga's recognize the relationship between intercourse and child-bearing they do not believe that it is possible to have a child by having intercourse only once. A fornicator who has had relations with a woman only once believes that there must be another guilty party if the woman becomes pregnant.

Enga men were very much afraid of a woman's menstrual period and would not allow their wives to show their face or cook their food or walk on top of the sweet potato plants at that time. The woman must hide at that time. The husband was afraid that if he saw her or ate anything touched by her he would become weak and unable to singsing well or defend himself in a fight. If his wife was careless in observing the rules laid down for women who were menstruating her husband might hit her, kill her or divorce her. When a woman's menstrual period began she would not make a fire in her house. She would tell the children to tell her husband that she was "sleeping and eating in the house". This meant that she was having her menstrual period and her husband would not come to the house. If the husband was in the house and the wife outside
when her period began then she would go somewhere else to give her husband a chance to leave without seeing her. When five days had gone by the husband would get some leaves, tie them up in wad and put them by the door of her house. The wife would get these leaves eat some of them and put the rest back where she got them. The husband upon seeing this knew that his wife's period was over and would come again to the "house meri" to sit and to eat and talk with his wife.

Most of the informant's agreed that adultery is more common now than in former times as the penalty was greater then. In former days a husband would cut off his wife's nose or the top of her ear or fingers or toes or the back of her leg.

There would often be fights between tribes because of adultery. The wife of an adulterous man might club the woman who had committed adultery with her husband. Now when people get off with only a jail sentence there is not the same fear of committing adultery.

Having made these few very general observations about Enga marriage let us go back and trace through some of the things that happen to an Enga boy or girl that have pertinence to the subject of this paper. One of the first pertinent things in the life of an Enga boy is when he goes to plant "sagai" plant in the forest. This is a ceremony that is taken part in only by unmarried Enga boys. They may go to do this 5 or 6 times before they are finally married. The intervals between trips is probably about a year. Often the first time the boys are 14 or 15 years of age. The first time the boys go the older boys tell them what to do.

The planting of these plants in the forest is sort of an initiation ceremony. During this time the boys live in a house that they have built in the forest. They sleep in this house the first night and in the morning they dig a pond beneath a spring. They make dresses for themselves out of "tangkit" leaves and take off their net bags and leave them in the house. They submerge themselves in the pond and wash out their eyes with the water coming from a leaf drinking fountain such as Enga's commonly drink from. After they have thus washed out their eyes by letting the water fall on their eyes that are held open with their fingers they cover their eyes with their hands and go back to the house. Then they divide
7. and the younger ones go with older ones to a place where the older one has planted the "sangai" plant before.

This plant, if it has thrived, has spread and the older fellow gives the new ones some of his plant. Each one goes to plant this in a secret place. If a boys plant thrives this is a good omen and indicates purity of life on their part. After the boys have planted their "sangai" plant they return to their house. That night they dream dreams. They tell the dreams to the other boys. They also perform a magic ceremony in which they put bamboo like wood called "aro", pandanus leaves called "taka" and another kind of wood called "maku" into the fire in the house. In connection with this they speak a magic formula which they believe will warm the hearts of their loved one: The young boys who are going to the forest for the first time do not take part in this since they have not yet become involved with women.

The boys spend 5 days in the forest. They continue to dream dreams during that time. In speaking they use different names for the common objects of life. (I do not know what the significance of this is. It reminds one of a lodge). On the 4th day the girls come to the forest and get firebrands from the fire in the house and take them back. Later the relatives of the boys bring them belts and net bags with which to decorate themselves before they come out of the forest. On the 5th day the boys come down and "singsing" on the local ceremonial ground. On succeeding days, they singsing at other ceremonial ground in the locality. During this time the boys cannot eat anything that is cooked by a woman for them.

This planting of the "sangai" has significance in that it initiates boys into the period of their life when they begin to court girls. Also when the boys are singsinging at night on the "tee" ground they often go to to a singsing meri later in the home of a young girl. At these "singsing meris" Enga courtship takes place.

After the boys have planted the "sangai" in the forest they are usually nearly ready to take an active part in their first "singsing meri". Before this they merely attend. At the same time they regard this as dangerous and do not want to be too quick
to take part. They are afraid that if they do their body will be harmed and there is also danger of damage to their wig. It might also adversely effect the "sangai" they have planted in the forest. For this reason the parents of the girl who is involved with them in the "singsing meri" have to pay back the boy.

Now a few words about the singsing meri. This takes place in the home of the mother of the girl. Boys are invited by the parents of the girl, the girl herself or someone speaking for them. At other times the boy, someone speaking for him, or his parents make the initial contact. They ask for an invitation to come to court the girl at a "singsing meri". To my understanding when a boy is said to have "marked" a girl this can mean either that the initial contact which precedes going to a girl's house for a "singsing meri" has been made or it can mean that he has sat next to the girl and participated with her in the "singsing meri". In Enga the term for the first thing mentioned here is "adiki pigi" whether this is on the part of the girl, her friend for her, or her parents for her. It also refers to the boy, his friend for him or his parents for him. This phase of courtship, if initiated by the parents of the boy or of the girl, may include the exchanging of pigs, food, and gardens with the family of the one being "marked". This is something like everything that goes on in our society prior to the first date. However it is more serious to them perhaps.

The second sense of "marking" is denoted in Enga by the word "rakugi" and means going to a "singsing meri" and also actually participating.

When a boy goes to a "singsing meri" "eda rakuara polyamo" he asks about 4 to 10 boys of his line to go with him. The boys on the way to the girl's usually sing. They go in the evening. Usually the parents of the girl give the boys sweet potatoes, sugar cane and greens to eat. Then, if they are not there already the girl goes to find about 2 to 5 more girls of her tribe. Then the father and the brothers of the girl go to the "house man" and the mother and the sisters of the girl remain for the "singsing meri".

Enga men speak magic before they go to a "singsing meri" and
before they leave the girl's house. The young men who do not yet participate are afraid their wigs will be ruined and so they too say magic words.

When the singsing meri begins the boy's are sitting on the men's side of the fire and the women on the women's side, probably more to the back. The mother and the young sisters of the girl sit in one special place. The girl or girl's sit in another. If the house is crowded then the mother of the girl goes to sleep in the back room.

Either the men or the women begin to sing. Then the other group sing a song. While this singsing is going on, one to three girls or more go to the vacant half of the women's side of the house and sit down. Then an equal number of boys go to sit down with the girls. The boy and girl or boys and girls talk to each other while the singing goes on. The reason for the singing seems to be so that nobody will hear what the couples are saying to each other.

After the boy has talked with a girl he goes back to sit down with the other boys and another boy comes to sit with the girl. After all of the boys have talked with the girl she goes to sit down with the other girls.

This "singsing meri" usually lasts until 2:00 to 5:00 in the morning after which the mother of the girl may cook sweet potatoes for the boys and girls. After eating, about dawn, they go home.

Young boys and girls who have not attained puberty may attend
the "singsing meri" but they do not participate.

Sometimes the boy himself goes to sit down with the girl that he has "marked" and sometimes he sends his brother. Sometimes a boy is speaking for another boy to a girl who is hearing for another girl or vice versa.

The words of the songs at the singsing and the meaning of the magic words spoken might themselves be subject of a paper. But in this paper it might be interesting to mention the general topics of conversation that take place between the boy and the girl.

Chiefly, they are: 1) The couple may tell each other not to be friends with anybody else and later they will marry. (This is often a lie).

2) They may ask each other if they have other boy or girl friends. (They lie when they answer)

3) They may talk about general things within marriage (such as working in a garden etc)

4) They speak magic formulas to each other. The boy or girl hearing may say "yoka re" after every few words. Some boys and girls seem to be better at speaking their magic than others.

Sometimes they argue about who will speak first. They are embarrassed when talking directly to the person they are interested in.

If the boy likes the girl very much and wishes to marry her he will go to her house 4 or 5 times and then ask her to marry him. He doesn't wait for an invitation on subsequent visits. If he doesn't like the girl he goes to her house only a couple of times.

These "singsing meris" eventually lead to betrothal and marriage. Because of the lying that went on, there can be trouble at this stage. Recently at Irelyra a boy was ready to buy a wife when two more of his "girl friends" came to get in on the show. The leaders in the community and his parents advocated sending one back and buying the other one for his brother. I have not heard whether or not the matter was finally solved in this way.
As to who is most influential in deciding who a boy or girl marries, the informants say it can be either the parents of the boy, or the boy, or the parents of the girl or the girl. Usually the parents have their way but there are exceptions. The boy and girl tell each other they will marry each other at a "singsing meri". After this the boy's family and the girl's family exchange pork and other food. First the boy's family send a pig or a piece of pork to the girl's family.

After a boy and girl are "engaged" they and their parents visit each other often (every week or so). They continue to go to "singsing meris" for their other boy or girl friends but they singsing "nothing". The length of the "engagement" varies very much.

In choosing a wife a man and his family look for a good gardener, one who can make nice net bags, one who will care for pigs well, one who obeys her parents and is a healthy woman. The wealth of her parents is also considered. Her appearance matters very little although some value is attached. A skin free from sores and an attractive face.

When a woman and her family are thinking about a future husband they mainly consider the amount of the bride price whether or not the man is a good worker and if he is healthy or not. As with the choosing of a wife the appearance of a man matters little.

Marriage ceremony, 1st day.

The groom, his family or a close relative go to the bride's house to get her. One person, usually a brother or sister of the groom leads the bride by holding her by the arm. However, another informant says that the groom's family doesn't go to get the girl, but rather sends a woman to find out if the girl wants to marry the man or not. If she and her family like the man she will go. If not, she will not go. They go to the house of the groom. Young women of the bride's tribe goes with her, not her parents or family.

After they arrive at the groom's house the groom gives the bride 4 of 5 big pigs. (A few groom's give only 3 pigs). The pigs are kept in the house for the night. Sometimes they don't give the pigs until the next day.
When the sun has gone down and after eating, the groom and his father go to the "house man" or some other place outside where they discuss the bride price until quite late before retiring.

The young people of the groom's tribe remain at the house of his mother for the singsing. The bride and the young women of her tribe also remain at the house for the singsing.

1st day through the 5th day, "singing out" for the bride price:

The bride and 5 or 6 other young women go outside of the house and start singsinging about sundown. The young people inside of the house singsing with them. At about 9:30 the women come inside the house and continue singsinging. They singsing all night until about 3:00. Then they sleep for about an hour. The boys throw water on the girls to keep them awake or rub them with stinging nettle. At about 4:00 the women go outside of the house again and singsing together with the young people inside of the house. When it is almost time for the sun to come up they all sleep for about an hour while the groom's mother cooks sweetpotato. for them.

This "singing out" for the bride price is repeated every night for the next 4 nights.

The purpose of this "singsing" is to call out for the bride price from the groom's line. They call out the names of all of the men, women and children of the man's tribe so that they will feel obligated to help with the bride price.

2nd day

In the morning after the groom and his father and his tribe have come to the groom's Mother's house the groom's tribe select a girl of the bride's tribe to go tell the bride's parents about the place in a certain road where they and their tribe should gather because later they will come to this place to bring the 1st part of the bride price.

The women of the groom's tribe lead the 4 or 5 pigs that the groom gave the bride on the 1st day to this predetermined place in a road. The groom, his family, and those in his tribe helping with the bride price go too as do the bride and the young women with her. After arriving at this place in the road the bride's
tribe sits down on one side and the groom's tribe sits down on the other side. The men of the groom's tribe put the stakes in the ground that they have brought for the pigs and tie the pigs to them. The pigs are lined up between the two tribes.

After they have sat down and the 4 or 5 pigs are lined up, one man of the bride's tribe stands up to tell the bride that if she wants to marry this man then they will take the pigs but if she doesn't want to marry this man then the man's tribe will have to take the pigs back. To this the bride says that she wants to marry the man, that they have been friends with each other for a long time. She tells them to take the pigs to their houses, that she wants to marry the man. Then the bride's tribe says that the bride has made her promise and that they will take the pigs. The bride's tribe also says to the groom's tribe that they should give any pigs for the bride and that they have many pigs too so that they should exchange many pigs. Then, the bride's tribe take the pigs to their places. The bride and one of her women cousins go back with the groom and his tribe to the groom's house.

Very seldom does a bride say that she doesn't want to marry the man. If she does, then the groom's tribe must take the pigs back. If the parents refuse, they may try again later.

Most parents do not demand that their daughter marry a certain man but a few do. My informant says that the parents do not force their daughter to marry a certain man but they do "bawl her out".

After eating, some men (about 10-12) of the groom's tribe give 10 - 12 big pigs to the bride. Every time someone gives her a pig, they say her name and she runs up to them, holds the pig rope and says "Thank you". The pigs are put in the groom's house.

At sundown the groom and his father go to the "house man" and the older men and women of the groom's tribe return home. The young men and women of the groom's tribe remain for the singsing as do the bride and her cousin. The singsing takes place in the same manner as the night before.

3rd day

In the morning, the groom, his father and his tribe come to the groom's mother's house. The groom's mother takes about 6 of the 10 or 12 pigs that the bride got yesterday and the day before out of
the house. (Her husband and the groom tell her how many of the pigs to take). Some women of the groom's tribe lead the pigs to the house of the bride. The bride, her cousin, the parents of the groom, those in the groom's tribe helping with the bride price and usually the groom go to the house of the bride too. A very few grooms are embarrassed so they don't go to the bride's house at this time but stay in their own house.

The bride's relatives have already tied the 4 or 5 pigs that the bride got yesterday to the fence around the bride's house. After the groom's tribe arrive the women of the bride's tribe tie the 6 pigs that they brought to the fence too. The bride's tribe sit down inside of the house and close to it. The groom's tribe sit down a ways away from the house but inside the fence. The bride's tribe gives food to the groom's tribe. The 10 or 11 pigs are tied to the fence between the two tribes. The bride goes to sit with her family near the house so that her father can tell her how to divide out the pigs. The dividing goes something like this: the parents 3, 4 to her brothers and sister and 4 to other people of their tribe. After the bride divides the pigs, the father of the bride gives 2 pigs of his own to the groom's tribe. This is how the two pigs are given: The mother of the bride takes the 2 pigs out of the house and gives them to a woman of the bride's tribe to hold. The bride then goes to sit down with the groom's tribe. The woman holding the two pigs calls the name of the bride who upon hearing her name runs to the two pigs and says "thank you" to her father and a woman of the groom's tribe takes the pigs to the groom's house.

The bride's family and relatives take the pigs to their houses and tell each other that they will "back" the groom's tribe with some pigs the next day.

The bride, her cousin, the groom, his family and young people of the groom's tribe go back to the groom's house. After eating, the same people that held the singsing on the two previous nights hold a singsing the same as the two preceeding nights.

4th day

In the morning the groom and his father and some people of his tribe come to the groom's house. The groom and his father tell the groom's mother to take about 4 of the remaining 6 pigs that the groom
and his tribe gave the bride on the 1st, and 2nd days of the ceremony out of the house. Some women of the groom's tribe take the 4 pigs to the house of the bride. The bride, her cousin, the groom, his family and some members of his tribe go to the bride's house. They tie the 4 pigs to the fence. The groom's tribe sit down a ways away from the house as they did the day before and the bride's tribe sit down in and near the house. The bride sits down with her parents. The father of the bride tells her how to divide the pigs, it would go something like this: her parents 2 pigs, and one pig to her Aunt and 1 to her cousin. After the bride gives out the pigs by calling out the names of her family and relatives she goes to sit with the groom's tribe.

Now the bride's tribe gives 6 to 8 big pigs to the groom's tribe. Some women of the bride's tribe are holding the pigs and they call out the name of the bride who runs to the pigs. They call out her name for each pig and she runs to the pig each time...and says "thank you!" Some women of the groom's tribe take the pigs back to the house of the groom.

The groom, his family, and close relatives remain to talk about killing the pigs on the 6th day and also about gathering kumu etc... on the 5th day to put with the pigs when they cook them.

After this discussion they go to the groom's house and a sing-sing is held the same as on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd nights.

5th day

In the morning, the groom, his father and his whole "line" go to the house of the groom. About 30 to 35 people give a small pig, axe, or shell to the bride. They call her name and she runs to the giver and says "thank you."

The groom and his father divide out the work for cooking the pigs on the next day to members of the tribe. Some clear the ground for the cooking of the pigs on the next day, some gather firewood and break it, some go to the bush to gather kumu, the women get the stones for cooking the pigs and some get the dried pandanas nuts out of the houses and break them and soak them in some water to make them big again.

Then the bride, her cousin, the groom and his family go to the the house of the bride. They take about 6 of the bigger pigs
to the house of the bride's parents. The bride's father tells her how to divide the pigs: "Give me 2, your mother 1, your brother 2 and your cousin that has been with you during the ceremony give 1."

The bride's father and brothers give a big pig to the groom's "line" which they take to the house of the groom.

The cousin of the bride takes her pig and goes to her house. She doesn't go back with the bride to the groom's house.

After sundown they hold a "singsing" the same as on the previous nights.

6th day

The groom's tribe go to the groom's house in the morning. The groom and his father tell the groom's mother to take about 5 of the 10 pigs inside the house out of the house so that they can cook them.

The men of the groom's "line" kill the pigs by clubbing them. After washing the pigs they singe the hair off and then wash them again and then skin the pigs. The groom "marks" a different pair of men to cut up each pig. 10 women take the intestines to the river to wash them. Two men of the groom's tribe divide out the pieces of meat to all in his tribe. They put the pieces of meat on sticks and roast them over the fire. When cooked, they eat the meat.

Now they prepare the pigs for steaming in the long pit. They line the pit with banana, "akapu", and "tokopati" leaves. Then they put in hot stones and "kumu", then they put the intestines filled with meat and pandanas nuts into the pit and small pieces of pig, enen cabbage and kumu and large pieces of pork. Then they put hot stones on top, then a lot of "kumu", then hot stones, then pig piece of pork, then "kumu" (a lot), and then its covered with leaves and grass and then earth.

Two women decorate the bride while the pigs are cooking in the pit by putting grease on her body. She wears a net bag and a grass skirt, paint on her face, & bracelets (pig penis) on her wrists. They also put pandanas leaves, paint, and grease in her net bag.
After the pork is finished cooking, about 4 or 5 men of the groom's tribe divide out the "kumu" to all the members of the tribe. They also put the leaves, intestines and meat into the billums of 4 or 5 women for carrying to the bride's house. They put all the heads in one net bag and put it in the groom's mother's house. They put a side of 2 pigs also in her house. The rest of the meat (the fatty meat) 4 men carry on their shoulders to the house of the bride.

The groom's "line" take the axes, small pigs, chickens, shells, and ornaments for singing called "pauu" in Enga (that they gave the bride before) to the house of the bride too.

The bride, the groom, his family, and all members of his "line" except old people and some of the children go to the house of the bride's parents.

Most of the bride's "line" have gathered at her home, some on the inside of the house and some on the outside (close to the house).

The groom's "line" put the pork that they have brought on banana leaves on the ground. The shells, axes, "pauu" and small pigs are lined up close to the cooked meat. Larger pigs are held by women. Then they go to sit down in a group away from the house. The bride sits down with her parents so that they can tell her how to divide the meat.

The bride's "line" (about 60) give sweetpotato to the groom's "line".

The two tribes are now sitting down in two different groups with the pork between them.

After the bride has been instructed by her father as to how the pork should be divided and also the axes, shells, ornaments and small pigs, she then goes to the center of the two groups and divides the articles out to her relatives. Then she divides the pork thus: a large piece and a net bag full to her uncle, 2 large pieces and a net bag full to her brother, 4 large pieces of meat and 2 net bags full to her father, 1 large piece of meat and a net bag full to her mother. (The better meat is in the net bags).

The bride's "line" put about 4 or 5 large cooked pieces of pork and 4 or 5 net bags full of cooked pork on the banana leaves on the ground. The groom's family go to get the pork, and take it to the groom's house. The bride and groom and his "line" now go to his
The bride's uncle, her brother, and father choose certain men to help them with cutting up the pork and dividing it out among the members of their "line". The bride's father also cuts up the large piece of meat that the bride gave her mother too; just the net bag full of meat that the bride's mother got remains to be put in their house. The members of the "line" take the meat to their houses and give it out to their families. The mother and father of the bride divide the net bag full of meat in their house to give to some of their children and they all eat some but leave some for another day.

After the bride and groom and his "line" arrive at the groom's house they put the pieces of pork and net bags full of meat on banana leaves on the ground. They also put the 2 sides of pork on the leaves that were kept inside the house while they went to the bride's house, just the 5 heads remain in the house. The groom tells the same 10 men that cut the meat before to cut up this meat too. The groom's mother asks another woman to help her cut up the intestines of the meat and divide it out to the women to eat, and she also gives some to the groom to eat.

The groom takes some meat and intestines and "kumu", and divides it out to all of the men of his "line".

The bride gives one of her net bags to her husband. He fills it with 2 "bel" or stomach's of pigs. Then he gives the stomach's with the intestine included and one leg of pig to a man in the groom's "line" that the groom chooses to be his marriage counsulate. This man must be a strong man who has not been ruined by marriage and a man who has children. This man can be anyone in the groom's tribe who has, in the eyes of the groom made a success of his married life. He can be a brother, father cousin or friend of the groom, but he must be a member of his "line". If he is a man outside of the tribe he may tell the wrong magic to the groom and lie to him thus ruining the body and taking the strength of the groom away. This "marriage counsulate" takes the bilum, the stomach's of the pigs and the leg of the pig to his house.

The groom calls his wife's name and gives her a whole
19. shoulder of meat. The bride takes this piece of meat and gives it to the little brothers of the groom. The groom calls the name of the different "kamogos" from different areas. The "kamogos" of different areas come and get a leg of pig each for their areas. The men cut up the legs and give it to the people of the different places.

The groom tells the 10 men that cut up the pig to take some meat for themselves and he divides out the rest of the meat to all those who have helped him with the bride price. They take the meat to their house and cut it up again for their families to eat.

The groom, his family and the bride go inside the house and eat 1 of the 5 heads in the house, saving the other 4 heads for another day. The shoulder is eaten by the little brothers and sisters.

At sundown the groom goes to the "marriage consultant's" home. He goes alone to the house and the young people hold a "singsing" again but the bride and the other women remain inside the house for the "singsing" rather than go outside as on the former nights. Although they "singout" for the bride price again, they do it softly in contrast to the preceding nights when they sang loudly. They hold this "singsing" without a reason for doing it since everyone has already given the bride price.

For 4 to 5 months

During these months the bride sleeps in the groom's mother's home and the groom sleeps with the "marriage consultant" in his house. The groom can however leave that house whenever he chooses, to go and visit with his bride and to get his food.

The bride doesn't do any work during these months.

More pigs are killed during this time and more exchanges are made between the two families.

This close relative or "Eda lyoge ramaigi" in Eja, tells the bridegroom magic for 4 to 5 months depending on how quick the groom is able to understand it. He tells him the magic formulas that will need to be recited at the time when the woman menstrual period comes and when he singsings and when he has intercourse. The "marriage consultant" talks, and the bride-
groom recites after him until he knows it. After the bridegroom recites this magic and knows it perfectly then the two of them go and plant sagai plants near a river. They plant two plants. Two to the East and two to the West. On the East the plants are for eating. They eat them when they go to a singsing, when a woman has her menstrual period and when they are going to have intercourse. On the west he rubs these plants on his skin. He rubs them on his skin when they are going to have a baby, for a singsing, and when the woman is having her menstrual period. According to one informant the man says these magic formulas that he learned from his relative whenever he drinks water, whenever his wife is having a baby or whenever she is having her menstrual period, whenever he is walking on the road etc. After this is planted, they plant the taro.

10th to 14th days

The bride and groom go to plant the taro together. They decorate themselves when they go to plant this taro plant. This is "nemago" I think. The groom puts his foot down first and the bride puts her foot on top of his when planting the taro. Then they go to the "bush" to have intercourse. At night the bride sleeps with her mother-in-law and the groom with his father. After 5 days of having intercourse in the "bush" they are considered married.

Once in a while the man will marry 2 wives at once. If he does, he doesn't take both of them to the 'bush,' but one at a time.

Marriage Ceremony, exchange of pigs

The bride's "line" back the groom's "line" with the same amount of big pigs and shells as they received from the bride's "line". Small pigs, axes, ornaments for singsing etc...the bride's "line" receive without having to give anything back.

Married Life, the beginning of

Now the husband tells his new wife to start working. She puts on an old net bag and is ready to work. Her mother-in-law shows her the gardens and she begins to work.