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LAWRENCE REID:

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INTRODUCTION

The following account is a record of a wedding ceremony complex, commonly called *chono*, a generic term for all the major wedding feasts, but more specifically termed *Fayas*, the term for the culminating wedding feasts in which carabaos are killed for the main sacrifices. *Fayas* takes its name from the sugar cane wine (elsewhere in Mountain Province termed *basi*) which is consumed in large quantities during the various ceremonies. Notes for this paper were gathered during the *Fayas* which took place in Guinaang, Bontoc, Mountain Province in the Philippines, during September and October, 1960.

To understand some of the features of the *chono* it is necessary to realize that there are a series of well defined social strata in Guinaang, dependent not so much upon actual material possessions (although these may help to lift a person from one social level to another), but upon membership in certain family groups who in the past have shown their social ability by performance of the higher level wedding ceremonies. Thus even if because of a series of circumstances (such as being last in an inheritance line, an unsatisfactory marriage, sickness etc.) a man who is in the descendant line of a high social group, finds himself relatively poor, yet he will be expected to do his utmost to perform marriage ceremonies of at least the same quality and type as his parents performed, if not better.

The *chono* is the most important of all the wedding ceremonies, and for a completely successful marriage it should be participated in on three separate occasions. Persons whose social standing dictated a *lopis* ceremony of either *tefek* or *kinogkocong* standing (see Appendix 1) are not required to complete the three *chono* feastings, but for the three higher class *lopis* ceremonies, *finicat*, *inalcew* & *winalo*, all three *chono* feastings must be considered as compulsory to fulfill the social obligations of their class.

The first *chono* will not usually be participated in until the second or third year of marriage at the earliest, for two reasons:

1. The cost of performance of the initial ceremonies, plus the *lopis* ceremony, usually requires several years before the necessary supplies of rice, chickens, pigs and carabaos can be built up.
2. A participant must wait until a *chono* period is declared. A couple may fulfill the requirements of the initial ceremonies and *lopis* at any time of the year auspicious for them and their respective families. However the *chono* is participated in as a village and only a period auspicious for the whole village can be set aside for the performance of the necessary ceremonies. Because of the heavy drain on livestock and rice during the *chono* period, it is usually possible to hold a *chono* only once every three to five years. It is not infrequent, therefore, for grandparents whose married children are participating in their first *chono*, to still be facing the responsibilities of their own third *chono*.

I. PREPARATION.

The first evidences that there was to be a *chono* starting in September, 1960, came about three or four weeks before the actual starting date. Rumors spread through the barrio that a man by the name of Tongyofen was going to set himself the responsibilities of leadership—he was going to be the *pomango*. To be able to put himself in this high office, it was essential that he belong not only to the highest social class in the village, but he must also belong to one of the three family lines whose prerogative is to exercise leadership. Tongyofen met all requirements. His previous wedding ceremonies had been of high social standing and he and his wife, Agnaw, both belonged to leading families.

During the days preceding the actual starting date all the families who intended to participate began making preliminary arrangements, such as making trips to Bontoc to buy salt for the large quantities of meat to be preserved; new gongs were bought; and new clothes (G-strings, woven skirts and beads), for the long days of dancing.

About ten days were set aside for the repair of houses, mostly re-roofing, but in several cases it meant complete transfer from one site to another. After the *chono* such work could not be touched for several months, and so if repair was necessary, it had to be done before the *chono* started.

The *pomango* had special preparations to make. With his father-in-law (his own father was dead) he had to choose and notify some of the older men that they had been chosen to perform special ceremonies. One such group was the *maniwag* whose activities are described below; another group, the *pomapatay*, had the responsibility of performing sacrifices on behalf of the whole village. *Pomango* also chose an *inchono*, or worker, who would be responsible for performing the many household tasks, such as cooking, pig feeding, wood splitting, meat cutting, water carrying etc., which were soon to be completely taboo to him and his wife.

On September 4th, the day before the *chono* started, Fallong, (the father-in-law of the leader), the man who assumed spiritual leadership of the village for this time, prepared and built a box, *kal-ob* (about 2 feet cube) which, throughout the *chono*, was to have special significance. When it was completed he placed it on his shoulder and carried it through the village to the house of *pomango* where it was set inside in its appointed place, just to the left of the doorway leading into the sleeping quarters. In this manner the village was publicly informed that the *chono* was to begin the following day.

2. SIWAG, or the Beginning of Restrictions.

Following the arrival of the *kol-ob* at the house of the *pomango*, the four *maniwag* were called there. These men were chosen upon the following five qualifications:

1. They had to be old men,
2. Of good reputation,
3. From a leading family line,
4. Whose wife and children were still alive,
5. And had strength and ability to perform the tasks required of them.

The appointed leader of these men, *comeb-aw*, first must go to the house of one of the previous *chono* leaders to collect the ceremonial basket and stone desired by the *pomango*. These two objects are known as a *topil*. The basket, termed *cholaw*, consists of a circle of finely woven rattan about three inches deep, open at both ends, about 6 inches in diameter at the base, and 9 inches at the top. From a series of loops on the outside of the basket rise a number of lengths of fine rattan (about 9 inches long) to which are attached numbers of chicken feathers.

The stone, *moling*, a smooth water worn rock about 6 inches long and 3 inches diameter at the centre, is partly enclosed in a tightly woven rattan casing. There are three *topil* in the barrio, each belonging to one of the leading families.¹ Tongyofen, the *pomango*, sent for the pair used in the previous *chono* by Fokkasan, the older brother of his father-in-law.² When the *comeb-aw* arrived to take the *topil*, Fokkasan kills a chicken, opens his *kol-ob*, and passes it over. It is then carried openly to the house of the *pomango*, where the *moling* is placed inside the *kol-ob*. A small mat made of dried reeds called *nono*, joined with strips of rattan, is placed on the lid and is held flat by a piece of a branch called *panga*. The *cholaw*, with another basket containing a coconut shell for rice wine (to be used during the saying of certain prayers) is then placed on the mat.

Four posts called *pachek* are then erected, one at each corner of the *kol-ob* and they, plus the lid, are secured by tight rattan binding. These posts are invariably made from *fosag*, the matured heart of a pine.

The calling of the *maniwag* to the leader's house, *inkofob*, began a vigil which was to last right through the night. The purpose of the vigil was to watch for omens that would affect, not only the days of the *chono*, but in certain instances the very life of the *komofob*, as the *maniwag* are termed during the vigil. The trail past the house is declared *panyew*, taboo, to all passers-by, on pain of becoming *mafaog*, unable to find a wife. *Pachipad*, long reeds used to signify that a house cannot be entered by visitors because of ceremonial restrictions, are erected, one on either side of the entrance. From the time of the arrival of the *komofob*, neither they, nor the inhabitants of the house are allowed to eat. In the event that there is a small child, rice is previously placed in a closed basket, also called *topil*, and he must eat only in the darkness of the sleeping compartment of the house, where none can see him.

As night falls, a sense of fear pervades the group as they sit silently around a small pitch pine fire, waiting and watching lest a cat meows, an owl hoots, a dog barks at the house, a rat runs across the path by them, or any other bad omen should occur.

a. The First Day.

Before daybreak, the *pachipad* are removed from the house, and each of the *maniwag* goes to his own house to get his gong, meat bag, and ceremonial dress for the occasion. They reunite again at the central barrio *ab-afongan* (men's gathering and sleeping place called *ato* in Bontoc) called Chatal.³ Here, as many people gather to watch, the leader dons a necklace made of a string of boar tusks, the base of each enclosed in a rattan casing, signifying his office. The vice leader, displays his office by taking a woven white loincloth called *chinangtal*, and either winding

it about his forehead, *fonglo* style, or hanging it around his neck, *kelkel* style, the loose ends are draped down his back. Each of the men then takes his gong and performs a three part ceremony. First, the gongs are beaten slowly, solemnly for about one minute. This is the *tachek*. Three of the men then sit while a fourth shouts a kind of challenge, *falos*. Following that, all sit while a short song is sung, *weel*, which is the word used upon which the tune is based.

All of the *maniwag* then proceed to the house of the *pomango* to perform *siwag*, to initiate the restrictions, or *afig*, which must be observed through the *chono*. Arriving at the house, the same three-part ceremony as was held at the *ab-afongan*, (which from here on will be called the *tachek* complex) is performed once outside the house. They then enter and count out the correct number of slices of meat which are the payment for the performance of *siwag*. In this house, that of the *pomango*, the *comeb-aw* receives as his portion two large slices of meat, *sin-ekep* (about 3 - 4 kilos); each of the other *maniwag* receives just one slice, *sinfotol*. These are then placed in a vat, *sangchal*, to cook (a pot must not be used).

Fayas is served to each of the men, and tobacco is handed out. The *maniwag* then go outside and perform the *tachek* complex three times in succession, before re-entering to collect their partly cooked meat. This is placed in large meat bags, *kicaw*, made of deer or cow skin. Rice will be placed before them and if they desire they may eat. On this first day of *siwag* only three or four other participants will have the above ceremony performed at their house. These are all members of leading families. The second house visited, *infanat*, must always be a close relative of the *pomango*. In the *chono* from which these notes were gathered this participant was a younger brother of the *pomango's* father-in-law.⁴

Having performed the *siwag* at four of the participants' houses, the *maniwag* return to the house of the leader about midday. They again perform the *tachek* complex and a large pig is then brought and the *maniwag* hold it facing towards the doorway of the house, and slaughter it by piercing the jugular vein.

Later in the afternoon the second group of chosen men, the three *pomapatay*, gather to perform the first of their designated tasks. These men, of a lower social standing than the *maniwag* are chosen on the following qualifications.

1. Their wives must be still alive,
2. These must have been no violent deaths in the family,
3. One must be *chochomngel*, that is, expert in hearing and interpreting bird-call omens.

Because the *pomapatay* are restricted from even washing their hands during the whole of the *chono* period, a helper will get a pig from the pigpen, clean it a little and it on to them. A smaller pig is used than that killed by the *maniwag* earlier in the day. One of the men places the pig on his shoulder, while the other takes with him a slaughtering knife, *jadyok*, a pot for the blood, and a bamboo tube, *folas*, containing *fayas*.⁵ Then they proceed to the sacrificing place, *papatayan*, located beneath a large pine tree just to the east of the village, at a place called Paliwak. Here the pig is slaughtered. A small fire is built to burn off the hair and

outer skin of the pig, and it is cut below the ribs in order to remove the liver and examine the gall bladder for an omen. The gall bladder is then removed and left hanging from a branch at the *papatayan*.

Sacrifices made at the *papatayan* are made on behalf of the entire village, and not of the individual. Omens received there are also omens which will affect the whole village. The spirit of the pig is believed to be offered to the spirits of the *papatayan*. These are termed *pakchel*. Sacrifices made at houses offer the spirit of the animal sacrificed to the family ancestral spirits, *anito*.

Following a drink of the *fayas*,⁶ the *pomapatay* return to the house of the *pomango*, where the sacrifice is divided between themselves and the *maniwag*. A report is also made on the gall bladder omen, the bird call omen, which was listened for at the *papatayan*, and any omen of the trail (a crossing rat, a bird flying over, a snake on the trail etc.) which might affect the value of the sacrifice made.

Periodically during the afternoon the *tachek* complex is performed at the house, and as night falls the group again settle down to a vigil of waiting for night omens. *Pachipad* are again erected and the trail declared taboo.

During this day neither the *pomango* nor his father-in-law are permitted to eat, and the same restriction is placed upon each of the participants at whose houses the *siwag* is performed.

This first day of *siwag* is also the first day of the village holiday, *teel*, which will continue with varying degrees of obligation until the end of the *chono*. This particular holiday is termed *teel si sikchod* as no 'bumping' *sikchod* may take place. This holiday, with its restrictions, must be rigidly adhered to. On this day, no borrowing or lending is allowed, no one may split wood, or leave the village for any purpose. Most important, no one, particularly young men, may touch one another, as such an act will portend a goring by a carabao on the days when carabaos are to be killed. Because of this restriction, young men spend the day sitting quietly talking a discreet distances from each other, in their respective *ab-afongans*. That night no young man will go to court his lady friend in the girls' dormitory and husbands will not sleep with wives.

b. The Second Day.

On the second day of *siwag*, the same restrictions are observed, but to a lesser degree. The morning sees the *maniwag* playing the *tachek* complex at the *pomango's* house before performing the *siwag* next at a relative's house and then at any house where the occupants intend to participate in the *chono*. Because they are sent from house to house in the manner of servants, *maniwag* are also respectfully termed *mafaal*. These men, still wearing the insignia of their office, and each clad in a once-white *chinangtal*, go from house to house announcing their coming by one of the men beating his gong as they pass along. A sense of awe pervades the village, and children and even adults fear to come close to the *maniwag* for fear of the *anito*. On this day participants may eat after the *siwag* has been performed but never before, or never with the *maniwag*. After a sufficient number of homes has been visited, and the *maniwag* know that they will be able to complete this part of their work on the following

day, they return to eat at the *pomango's* house. The *pomango* and his family and father-in-law may also eat without company. From now until the end of the *chono*, the father-in-law will live and eat at the house of the *pomango*, but he is never allowed to eat from the normal plate, *ciyag*; his food is always served in a *topil* basket. He is never allowed to get his own drinking water, from the water jar. It must always be drawn for him.

This second day of *siwag* is also the first day of *infayo*, rice pounding. Tongyofen, with his helpers, is the first to go to his granary to get rice. A dozen or more young men and women may go and get the initial loads of rice, and these are taken back to the house. A mortar is taken outside, and immediately, stripping, pounding, winnowing and sorting begins. Although *pomango* leads the way to the granary he is not allowed to carry home a load; he carries with him a coconut shell with *tapey* as a *fen-ag*⁶, and on his return home carries also a few stalks of rice as a token load. It is believed that by carrying the *fen-ag* for the spirits, they will be inclined to miraculously increase the depleted store in the granary. After *pomango* has taken his rice, any of those who had *siwag* on the first day may also get their rice.

Once the rice is home, the servant the *pomango* has chosen is called to the house. The servant will sleep and eat at the house, receiving as a compensation for his services fifty bundles of rice. Because he is unable to help in the work at his own house, he is entitled to take a plate of rice and meat from *pomango's* house to his family each mealtime. Normally a woman servant is also called at this time to aid the wife of the *pomango*.

Even if no vigil is kept, the *maniwag* and the *pomango* household will stay awake all this night. From now until the end of the *chono*, the *pomango* and especially his father-in-law, must endeavor to eat as little as possible, and to stay awake as much as possible.

c. The Third Day.

The third day of *siwag* begins as the previous day with a *tachek* complex at the house of *pomango*, and then from house to house, performing *siwag* for the remainder of the participants. It should be noted that only families who have performed at least *finicat lopis chono* may call for the *maniwag*. In this last Guinaang *chono* there were approximately forty families who were able to have *siwag* performed. Those who had received the *maniwag* on the second day were able on this third day to begin their rice pounding.

As each participating family receives the *maniwag* a set of rigid restrictions, the *afig*, are placed upon the members, which must be adhered to if the success of the *chono* for that family is to be assured. *Afig* restrictions may be divided into two sections; those which are adhered to during the period of the *chono* or for a short time after, and those which must be adhered to for a full season. In the case of the *pomango*, *afig* is even more severe, imposing restrictions right through until the next *chono*, several years later.

The first type of *afig* includes the following restrictions:

1. No bathing.
2. Eating no vegetables. Only rice and meat may be consumed.
3. No visiting any other barrio.

The second type of *afig* includes the following restrictions.

1. No cutting of growing trees or green leaves.
2. No wall building.
3. No house repairing.⁸

3. KOSKOS or the Stripping of Bark.

After three days of strict *teel* during which people leave the village only to get rice from their granaries, a day is set aside for the cutting of fuel, *koskosen* — to strip the bark from a piece of timber. This is also the day when timber is cut for the erections which are later built for the hanging of carabao heads.

After breakfast, the *pomango* with a group of young kinsmen helpers, takes a bundle of stripped rice stalks, *kom-i*, called *onoon*, lights it and leads the way to the mountains to cut his timber. He will not cut because of his *afig*, but he will choose the most suitable pine trees. The *onoon* must be kept burning during the period away from the village; if it were to be extinguished it would signify the death of the one holding it. When the wood is cut, trimmed, and stripped of bark, the loads are taken back to the village. Only loads of fuel are taken into the barrio, all other loads (i.e. timber for the erections) are left in neat bundles outside the bounds of the village, until the appointed day for their use.

On arrival home the *chommo*—*chono* participant—places his *onoon* back into the stove area from which it was lit, and places beside it a roll of lighted tobacco. The father of the *chommo* is normally the one to light the 'cigar', *pinachis*, and afterwards, says the following short prayer:

<i>Topngak sik-a ay tafako</i>	I light you tobacco,
<i>et insongmoy ongong-as na,</i>	so that children here, pigs, chickens
<i>fatog, manok ya pacey.</i>	& rice may be smoked out (as rats
	from a hole).

Both *pinachis* and *onoon* are then extinguished. This ceremony is called *songsong*. Fasting begins again at this point and no more food can be eaten until the following morning.

The *maniwag*, having been without sleep since they were first called to the house of *pomango* on the day before *siwag* started, spend this day at his house sleeping.

4. SALAG, or the First Carabao killed.

The first carabao killed is called the *salag*. This sacrifice is said to have particular value in producing fruitful and successful marriages and is reserved for the *pomango* to make. On this day only one carabao is supposed to be killed, that honor may not be taken from the *pomango*; however in this last Guinaang *chono*, one man took the opportunity to steal

and kill an animal, and another went to the next village, Mainit, to kill one.

Each *chomno* is supposed to gather at the house of the *pomango* for breakfast on this morning, as they will aid in the killing of the *salag*. They are served cooked rice and salted pig meat, *lenag*, which is eaten while lookouts are posted to warn latecomers not to join in, and to chase off chickens and dogs that might come around. Such incidents would cause danger in the killing of the carabao. Having eaten, the *pomango* or his father-in-law, takes an *onoon* and quietly leads the group of men to the terraces where the carabao has been located. No haste is allowed, lest one stumble, portending a fall in front of an enraged carabao.

At the appointed place, the *pomango* takes a position at a well protected vantage point while his fellow *chomno* deploy themselves with spears ready to attack the carabao. With the first spear embedded in its side a wild chase begins. The injured carabao frantically endeavours to evade its pursuers. More spears find their marks and finally the beast falls from loss of blood and exhaustion. The nearest pursuer will at once sever the tendon of one of its back legs with his axe, to prevent it from arising again. Another axe is imbedded in the animal's spine to paralyze it. Then same one with a knife will attempt to cut its throat while a companion holds back the tossing horns.

Finally, all sign of life gone, *pomango* is called to say the prayer. Because of the necessity of getting the animal butchered and carried away before any bad omen can take place, complete prayers are not said. He will merely invoke the benefits of the *kitib* and the *fegwew* prayers upon the carabao and the *chomno*, in this manner.

Kitib, kitib, makitkitfan si nowang sina, ya chinomno.

Fegwew, fegwew, mafegwawan si nowang sina, ya chinomno.

(See appendix 4-5 for full text of *kitib* and *fegwew* prayers.) He then sprinkles *tapey* from a special closed gourd container (used only in special ceremonies) the *taking*, on the chest of the carabao. Then the animal is covered with a swarm of men with slashing knives. Each *chomno* must reddened his hands with the blood of the fresh meat. Until this time no *chomno* has been allowed to cook or handle fresh meat, but with hands stained red, his *afig* becomes stained and from now on fresh meat may be cooked at their houses.

Each man takes the share of the animal to which he is entitled plus part of what remains and returns to the house of the *pomango*. Once home, the *songsong* is performed as on *koskos* with the *onoon* and *pinachis*. The next thing that is done is the hanging of the carabao head inside the house, over the place normally reserved for pounding. This is always performed in the same method. Two loops of plaited rattan are made to fit over the horns. These are the *songab*. Then these are joined by tight bands of rattan across the skull, and through these bands the loop of rattan is placed by which the head hangs. The mouth is also bound with rattan to keep the tongue from protruding too soon, and a rattan tie is placed from either side of the head to a house post to keep it from swinging.

Not until after the head is hung can *fayas* be brought out. All participants will then drink and certain portions of the stomach will be cleaned, cooked and eaten. This first food and drink is termed *felkas*. However

pomango and his family must fast till the next day, as *songsong* has been performed.

The body of the carabao is apportioned out as follows:

<i>Body Part</i>	<i>Recipient</i>
Head, legs	Owner
Heart, liver & stomach	<i>Maniwag</i>
Half of the ribs	Owner's father-in-law
Neck	Reserved by owner for a relative in need.

Intestines, blood, *kosol* (part of the neck), tail with part of the backbone, 'short' ribs, spleen, kidneys & lungs. These are all shared by the killers.

Breast bone Close relatives of the owner's wife.

5. KEDKECHAG, or Spearings.

For four days following *salag* it was a common sight to see groups of men with spears, bolos and axes going off to the terraces followed by small boys each carrying a pot for blood, or a double *cimata* basket. A few hours later they would be seen covered in mud and blood from the chase, bringing home shattered spears, and heavy loads of meat. *Songsong* is performed in each house, the head hung, and food and wine brought out, as had occurred at *pomango's* house on *Salag*. Each *chomno* was allowed to kill only one carabao a day, and *kedkechag* would have been prolonged if somebody had needed time to take another animal. The *pomango* killed four, which was the highest number taken by one house.⁹

As well as the fasting which was required of each household following *songsong*, they also had to stay awake the whole night to be ready to entertain any relatives or friends who might come to see the head and have a drink of *fayas*. Poor people not actively participating, but who will invite guests, frequently group together and purchase a carabao from Bontoc, Mainit, or some other barrio, and kill it for meat. Such a carabao is called *tonpok*, as it was purchased by group funds. It is not speared, but tied to a convenient tree and killed by axe and bolo. The meat is shared in relation to the amount of money put up for the purchase. Heads of *tonpok* carabao are not hung over the *losong* or displayed at later stages of the *chono*.

On the evening of the day following the taking of the carabao, the meat is taken off the shelves where it has been placed and it is salted down into large jars. Salt is usually rubbed into each piece of meat before being packed with salt into the jar. This is covered and placed in a cool part of the house, normally beneath the carabao head where the *losong* or mortar is usually kept.

6. CHALLATEY, or the Vat Stand.

As on *koskos*, *pomango* will take the lead in going to the mountains for the cutting of the logs to make the vat stands. As before, he will

carry *onoon*, the symbol of life, and will not participate in the cutting. On returning home the *songsong* is again performed, and fasting continues till the next morning.

In addition to the necessary logs for the *challatey*, a thin straight branch is cut to serve as the *sanchag*, one of the symbols of fertility. All *chomno* except the *pomango* will strip the bark from this branch, leaving a green tuft of pine needles on the end, a sign of its life. If the *pomango* were to strip the bark from his *sanchag*, it is believed that the village rice crops would whiten with empty, unfruitful heads. After the *challatey* is brought home and the workers have been fed with meat and rice, they disperse to their own homes.

The mother-in-law (or any old woman) will call the wife of the *chomno* into the house, the husband staying at the door to keep out dogs and people, and sing a prayer called *pinalamag*, (from *inpalamag*; to bring up, to cause to ascend). The tune of the *chaing* is used. The purpose of the prayer is to invite ancestors to attend the feast, thus protecting the village from *amak*, any sickness occurring in the course of the *chono* caused by an uninvited ancestor. The *pinalamag* is as follows:

Pinalamag Ongpit ad Fangkecan, omalid Chongliyan chag-osen as Cifanay, ad Chongliyan, omalid Litangfan, inpinalamag aces. Ap-on Folod chi inmalid Litangfanet. Siya chi nan macabab-an si achi kaamakan nan ipocaw sinan chono.

"This *pinalamag* is for Ongpit ad Fangkecan, she comes to Chongliyan. She comes to Litangfan (Guinaang), she is brought up also. She is the descendant of Folod, he came to Litangfan. This is the prayer made, so that people will not be sick during *chono*."

That afternoon a suitable site is chosen for the *challatey* and it is laid out and pegged down. The *challatey* is either placed directly in front of the house or a little to one side where there is room. It can never be placed at the rear of the house.

In the evening the *maniwag*, now known as the *nafaal*, gather at the house of the *pomango* and erect a frame called *sagcipik*. The timber for this was cut on the day of *koskos* and it is brought in from the outskirts of the village to the house during the afternoon. The *sagcipik* consists of two uprights about six feet long and two inches in diameter, forked at the top, leaned against the thatched overhang of the roof, with one on either side of the doorway. Several pieces of wood are placed across from one fork to the other, forming a narrow shelf, and short lengths of wood are thrust through the thatch and fastened on the inside parts of the house frame, to make the structure firm. They also tie in position the *sanchag*.

That evening the *nafaal* and *pomango*, with his household, stay awake all night. No visitors are allowed; the house is declared taboo.⁸

7. TOTTOOD, or the Erection.

At daybreak the *nafaal*, assisted by able-bodied men, have the logs for the structures called *fansal* and *fawel* brought home and erected at the house of *pomango*.

The *fansal* consists of four corner posts about fifteen to twenty feet high and six to eight feet diameter at the base, and forked at the top. These are set into the ground immediately in front of the *sagcipik*, each post leaning slightly inwards. Cross pieces are fixed through the forks and a platform of sturdy branches placed across the crosspieces. On top of this is secured a mat made of reeds and tied together with rattan.

The *fawel* is usually erected between the *sagcipik* and the *fansal*. It consists of only two posts of the same dimensions as those used for the *fansal*, set into the ground and fastened across the top with a sturdy cross bar.

When this is completed all of the *chomno* gather at this house and receive short lengths of a vine called *chanon*. This had been collected from the mountains on the previous day (*Challatey*) by a messenger sent out by the *pomango*. It is said that in old times it was used freely in the place of rattan. *Chanon* is a strong tough thin vine and very pliable. It has small nodes. These are then taken home until the *nafaal* arrives.

The four *nafaal* divide the village into sections and through this day work individually to speed the work. Each *chomno* house is visited and the *nafaal* erects the *sagcipik* as was done at the house of *pomango* on the previous evening. As he thrusts the *los-ok* through the eaves of the house, he says the following short prayer:

*Inlos-okko sik-a ay saki, malos- "I thrust through you, house eaves,
ok si ongong-asna, fotog, manok ya may children here, pigs, chickens
pacey. and rice be thrust forth."*

Having fastened the *los-ok* with rattan, he gets a piece of wood called *lanipew*,⁹ and places it between the two forks of the uprights. Apart from this piece of wood, all other timbers are cut from pine trees. He fastens this with the short length of *chanon*, received earlier by the *chomno*. He then prays:

*Mataktaked si ongong-asna, "May the children here, pigs, chick-
manok ya pacey sina. ens & rice be bound (that they be
not dispersed)."*

The *sanchag* is brought and erected on the side of the entrance where the outside fireplace is. As he fastens it in place, he says:

*Intoodko sik-a ay sanchacet, "I erect you, sanchag, so that chil-
inkatotood si ongong-asna, fotog, dren here, pigs, chickens and rice
manok ya pacey sina. here may stand erect."*

He enters the house and brings out a small jar which is fastened to the base of the *sagcipik*. In former times this was a small valuable jar of Chinese origin, called *cameng*, which contained rice wine for any passer-by, spirits included; but because of the high breakage, a cheap jar is now commonly used and only a little wine is placed in the bottom to satisfy the thirst of visiting spirits.

Above the *losong* a shelf is also built and a mat of reeds, *atag*, is placed on it. This will be used to receive meat. In many houses this shelf is already there and has been used earlier for other purposes. What-

ever the case, the *nafaal* takes another stick of *lanipew* wood and binds it to the outer edge of the shelf.

The *nafaal* is now free to move to the next *chomno* house, while able bodied relatives erect the *fansal* and the *fawel* at the house he has just left. Carabao heads are removed from their position over the *losong* and taken outside to be hung from the *fawel* if there is one, or the *fansal*. The heads are placed facing into the entrance of the house. By this time the heads are beginning to disintegrate, and the eyes are hanging from their sockets, tongues are bulging out grotesquely and the hair is falling off in patches with the peeling skin. Maggots swarm in the nose, mouth and fleshy portions of the neck. Apertures in the neck like the gaping wind pipe are plugged with rice stalks to stop the loss of fluid. A strong stench pervades the area. Where neither the *fansal* or the *fawel* are erected, the heads are left inside the house.

Social prestige and the quality of previous wedding ceremonies determine which type of structure a *chomno* can build. If a man happens to be the oldest brother, or if his wife is the oldest sister of their respective families, thus receiving the largest inheritance, and if these families belong to one of the leading lines, (as do most, if not all, of the richer families), then they are privileged to erect a *fawel*, as well as a *fansal*, *sagcipik* and *sanchag*. If neither the husband or his wife can lay claim to the inheritance of a firstborn son or daughter, but if they belong to a family whose wealth has permitted them to perform either a *finicat lopis* ceremony or better, then they can erect a *fansal*, *sagcipik* and *sanchag*. However on the third *chono*, both of the above groups will erect a *fawel* only, with *sagcipik* and *sanchag*. This third *chono* is often referred to as *fawel* (see Chart I).

Sanchag and *sagcipik* only, indicate a *lopis chono* of either *tefek*, *kinagkocong* or *finicat* standard. A *sanchag* alone indicated that a pig had been substituted for the carabao sacrifice, and that the participant was either of low class who had not performed a *lopis chono*, or a *chomno* participating in his third *chono*, whose child was at the same time performing his first *chono*. It is common practice for parents not living with their children, who have completed their own *chono* feastings, and who have children participating at any stage or degree, to kill a pig and display the *sanchag*.¹⁰

As soon as the heads are in position, children are free to shin up the poles of the *fansal* (sometimes ladders are placed in position to make it easier) and crowd on to the mat, *atag*, on the top. Once there, they break into a song reserved for this place and occasion. The song is called *ican*, which is the word upon which the chorus is based. Verses are impromptu and sung to a pleasant, slow, melodious tune. From now until the *fansals* are taken down, from morning and often far into the night, the sound of the *ican* can be heard from some part of the village or another.

When the four *nafaal* have completed their duties erecting *sagcipik*, they meet again at the house of the *pomango* where a pig is brought and sacrificed. No prayer is said at this stage. When it is known this pig is dead, each family who has a *sagcipik* kills a medium sized pig, removes its tail (to prove it is dead) and binds together the four trotters with

rattan; one strip of rattan is passed from these to the lower jaw binding it grotesquely open. It is then shouldered and carried to the house of the *pomango*. When all of the pigs have been laid in a pile around and beneath the *fansal* at this house, the father-in-law of the *pomango* emerges and says a prayer, *liniweng* (see Appendix 6). Each man immediately takes his own pig to his house where its hair and outer skin are burnt off and it is butchered. The following set distributions are made:

CHART I

Analysis of Guinaang Chono Sept. - Oct. 1960.

Structure Erected	Number of Families	Breakdown showing No. of carabaos taken by each family	
		Families	Carabao
<i>Fawel</i>	28	10	1
		14	2
		4	3
<i>Fawel & Fansal</i>	6	2	2
		3	3
		1	4
<i>Sagcipik</i> only	18	17	1
		1	2
<i>Sanchag</i> only	50	5 — Displayed by parents with children participating in one of the higher level ceremonies	
	5		
<i>Tonpok</i> carabaos — approximately 15			

Total Number of carabaos taken — approximately 100

sakab diaphragm Half is taken by the carrier of pig.

fongaw under side of stomach The dresser of the pig.

one-fourth of the ribs, *tadlang*, This is all called the *tachok*,
 one slice, *sinfetek*, of the gift to the father or the
 skin from the side, father-in-law.
tekling, a portion of meat
 from the rear of a back leg.

The gall bladder, *akco*, is examined and hung from the under surface of the roof overhang, near the doorway. The bladder is emptied,

inflated and tied, and hung with a length of inflated intestine on the *sanchag* to dry. In the evening these are taken down, filled with blood and cooked to be eaten the next day by relatives who will come to feast.

After pigs have been killed the *nafaal* once again go to each of the houses where earlier in the day they had erected the *sagcipik*. Now, each with the aid of helpers they proceed to build a *kol-ob* box in these houses of the same style as the one placed in the house of *pomango* on the day before *siwag* started.

There is much significance attached to the building of the *kol-ob*, as can be seen by the fact that at the conclusion of the building of the box, the *nafaal* says the following prayer, called *falos si kol-ob*.

<i>Faloska ay kol-ob, manalsoob si ongong-as na, fotog, manok, ya pacey.</i>	"Be challenged <i>kol-ob</i> , let children, pigs, chickens & rice break forth (as waters from a dam)."
--	---

<i>Faloska ay fosag, in-ifosacanchas loweb si kaomiliyencha.</i>	"Be challenged, matured wood of the pine, let them possess through maturity the inherited possessions of the fellow villagers."
--	---

<i>Faloska ay nono, intintimonos canak sina fotog, manok, pacey sina.</i>	"Be challenged, reed mat, let the offspring here, pigs, chickens & rice here, be continually produced (i.e. graduated in size, from tall to short.)"
---	--

<i>Faloska ay panga, somis-iyayas fotog, manok, pacey sina.</i>	"Be challenged, branch, let the children here, pigs chickens & rice here branch out in all directions."
---	---

Between each of the sections of the *falos*, the *weel*, chorus is sung. When finished, the *nafaal* gives a loud shout, *ke-e-e-w*, and then shouts a different type of *falos*:

<i>Chinpap apos Oyaan si Olhocan ay alincacanaken, alin-fotocen, alin-mamanoken.</i>	"My grandfather caught Oyaan at Olhocan, who was rich in children, pigs and chickens."
--	--

This is twice more followed by *weel* and *falos* of the above type, before all men go outside and perform the *tachek* complex. The *nafaal* then proceeds to the next house for their *kol-ob* erection, while at the previous house men and women are free to begin the *Falliwes*, or Bontoc War Dance, as it is popularly termed. The *nafaal* who erects the *kol-ob* receives six double slices *ekep*, of fresh meat, taken from the pig killed earlier in the day. The rest of the pig is salted down.

7. PATPATAY, or Killings.

On this day, every participating family from *sanchag* level up is expected to kill a large pig. *Pomango* is the leader, as usual, with the *nafaal* killing his pig. When the squealing of his pig has subsided, the rest of the participants are free to get their pigs and kill them. The

same procedure is followed in tying the pigs as on the previous day and each is then shouldered and carried to the house of *pomango* where they are piled high. While waiting for all to arrive, the men get out the gongs and dance in a space left clear for this purpose. When all are there, *pomango's* father-in-law emerges from the house and repeats the *kitib* and *fegwew* prayers (*kapyá*), and then each man is free to take his pig back home for butchering. In the Guinaang *chono* of September and October 1960, because of the large number of participants, over one hundred fully grown pigs were brought to the house for the prayer.

The functions that the father-in-law has been performing through the *chono* could have been performed by the father of *pomango* if he were living. Furthermore he would normally be allowed to live at his own house and the pigs would have been taken there and not to *pomango*, but Fallong, the father-in-law of the *pomango* in the *chono* under consideration, is living with his second wife (his first having died), who has failed to give him any children — even though she had five by her first husband. It was therefore considered auspicious for Fallong to perform his duties away from his own house, his wife not participating in any of the ceremonies.

Following the butchering, the head of the pig killed on the previous day, plus the head of the pig just butchered, is placed on the shelf of the *sagcipik* and covered with a type of rain protector, *tocawi*, normally used by people working in the fields.

Dancing continues right through the day and far into the night. On occasions other than the *chono*, when dancing is allowed it is restricted to a small dancing ground adjacent to the *ab-afongan* or men's gathering and sleeping place. During *chono* dancing is held at any place where a *fansal* or *fawel* is erected.

On this day the *in-awid* or guest callers leave the village to invite relatives from all the surrounding villages. Any one who can claim relationship through a common ancestor, even four or five generations removed, is invited to attend the feasting on the following day.¹¹

8. ALIN SI MANGILI, or the Coming of other Villagers.

This day, otherwise called *sangpet si mangili*, the arriving of other villagers, is in a sense the climactic event of all the preparation that has been going on for the previous two weeks. A spirit of festivity and joy permeates the village as it prepares itself to receive visitors from all the Bontoc barrios and beyond. Besides relatives born in other barrios, every living person whose birthplace is Guinaang is expected to be in the village on this day, and so from as far away as Manila and Baguio, and from the mines at Antimok, Suyok, Lepanto and other places, the Guinaang people come home. Over a thousand people, rich and poor, old and young, full cousins, distant relatives, are soon crowding the trails into the village.

Because of the 'spiritual' danger of having such a large number of people from other villages about to enter, it is necessary for the *pomango* to provide another pig for a village sacrifice at the *papatayan* or sacrificing place. The *pomapatay* are called and the same procedure is followed

as on the first day of *siwag* when a village sacrifice was taken to the *papatayan* at Paliwak. On this day, however, it is taken to the other *papatayan*, commonly known as Papattay, but referred to in the prayers as the *papatayan* at Faang. The meat of the pig is divided between the *pomapatay* and the *nafaal*.

About ten in the morning the visitors begin to arrive, contingents from each village travelling together. At each of the four main entrances to the village the crowds gather, each village keeping apart from the others. Gongs are called for, and these are taken from *pomango's* house to the old men in each contingent. Each group then performs the *tachek* complex three times and one of the old men says the *kapyá* called *alawig*. (see Appendix 7). This is to protect the visitors from the harmful influences of Guinaang's ancestral spirits. Until these ceremonies are performed not one of the visitors may enter the village.

Upon completion, the contingent enters the village, and separates to go to the homes of the relatives who invited them. As he arrives each man surrenders his spear to be bound to a post of the *sagcipik* until the following morning when he departs for home again. The first arrivals wait outside the house, until an old man enters and performs a ceremony called *fakas si kol-ob*, the breaking of the *kol-ob*. Squatting in front of the box he recites a long *kapyá* called *fakas si kol-ob*. With his axe he then strikes the stones upon which the *kol-ob* rests, shouts a *falos*, and proceeds to cut away the rattan, binding the four corner posts in position. This is accompanied by a number of loud *falos* calls. When his task is completed, all men gathered sing *weel*, visitors may freely enter the house, and *fayas* wine is served. As each house receives its complement of visitors the family helpers uncover the big vats of steaming rice and carabao meat, plates are loaded, and the visitors squat around in small circles with their woven bamboo plates and wooden bowls on the ground in the center, and begin their feasting.

It is not long before the ring of gongs is heard throughout the village, and dancing begins. It is normal for people from the same village to dance together and when finished to hand the gongs over to the waiting dancers from another village. Mixing seems to be avoided, each team trying to impress the others with its skillful dancing. On this day, while visitors are present, it is considered to be in bad taste for local Guinaang people to dance, so consequently local men and women do not participate.

Older men, however, seem to mix more freely with men of other villages. Sitting on their heels in groups around pitch pine fires, with plenty of *fayas* to drink and tobacco to smoke, these men wholeheartedly join in the singing of a song called *ayyeng*, usually sung after pig sacrifices. The extemporaneous words may relate a story or in often highly metaphorical language express desires of fruitfulness to the *chomno* who is their host. Frequently, as the *fayas* effects the tempers of the singers, men from different villages will begin heated arguments over who should lead the song, or over something that was said in the song. Such arguments are usually killed by someone calmly squatting between the two opponents and leading off the song again as though nothing was amiss.

Food is served again in the evening. (Normally dancing would begin again and continue through the night hours, but there had been earlier in the afternoon a fracas between men from two villages over which group would take the gongs next. Throwing of sticks and stones preceded a knife fight in which three men were badly slashed about the head. The police who had come up from Bontoc to keep peace, promptly vetoed all night dancing.) The old men kept singing their *ayweng*. The old women kept exchanging tales with old acquaintances, while the young men and women joined themselves into groups and wandered through the village stopping here and there where other groups had formed to sing a *lefek* song, characterized by its vigorous chorus, *soweeey*. Other young men and women paired off to seek the solace of some dark corner, while others, tired by the day's activities just wrapped themselves in their brightly coloured woven blankets and settled down under the eaves of a nearby house to pass the night in slumber.

During the night food is served to all who come, and it is customary to take down one of the carabao heads, split it to allow the brains to cook, and place it, maggots, falling hair and all, into a vat to cook. When cooked the horns are chopped from the skull and rehung where the head had previously been. All present then eat freely of the meat and drink liberally of the broth from the vat.

FOKAL SI MANGILI, or Dispersing of Visitors.

The next morning, food is again served to all the visitors. Then shares of uncooked, salted pig meat are distributed to all visitors. These meat portions are pierced with a length of rattan, to form loops for carrying. Men are then free to take their spears; women tie their small children to their backs, families gather and gradually the visitors leave the village.

During the rest of the day the Guinaang people are free to dance, and feast. However at the house of *pomango* no dancing is allowed, as *sinfotol*, one slice of meat, had been brought from each participant who had killed a carabao and the *nafaal* and the *pomango* did not want to be disturbed during the distribution of the meat. It was divided into five shares, the four *nafaal* and *pomango* each getting an equal share. This meat share is called the *panigfasan*.

During the afternoon and evening a ceremony called *kayabyab* is performed, first at *pomango's* house, and then at each of the houses where there were carabao heads. This ceremony, which takes its name from the violent flapping of chicken's wings, when the chicken is held by the feet, is intended to disperse, or blow away any malingering evil left behind by the visitors. The ceremony consists merely of a triple repetition of the *tachek* complex. As it is finished at each house, gongs are put away, and no more dancing is allowed; so the night hours are quiet as each family recuperates from the activities of the last two days.

9. KIK-ILIS SI OLON SI NOWANG, or Cleaning of the Meat from Carabao Heads.

Early in the morning, one of the remaining heads is taken down, split, placed in a vat and cooked. Old men then go from house to house,

usually in the company of one of the *nafaal*, to scrape meat from the bone, eat as much as they desire, place a portion in their meat bags, and move on again.

Through the day and far into the night, young men and women form themselves into groups and wander from house to house, eating, drinking, singing and dancing. Again in the evening any head that remains will be taken down and cooked to provide meat for any who come to feast.

10. KIK-ILIS SI OLON SI FOTOG, or Cleaning of the Meat from Pig Heads

The same procedure is followed on this day as on the previous day. Pig heads are cooked early in the morning and are left until the old men arrive to clean the meat from the bone, take their portions and leave. Each group endeavours to visit as many houses as they can to increase their shares of meat, and so their work is performed as speedily as possible. After all houses have been visited the old men return to *pomango* to sing the wedding song, *chaing*. (see Appendix 5, page 80)

11. COMANGSA, or Gong Owners.

All of the *chomno* (men only) as well as others who did not participate this time, but who have in the past, and who own a gong, are entitled to join in the feasting and meat gathering which proceeds for the next four days. They first gather at the house of *pomango* and the old men perform the *tachek* complex. Ten chickens are then beaten to death outside the house and also one inside. A prayer called *senga* is said:

Seng-ek chakayoy comacangsa et iya-mongyoy canakyo ya lowebyo, comanges nan cangsayo.

"I say *senga* for you, gong owners, that you may gather offspring and wealth. May your gongs reverberate."

The feathers are then burned off, they are cut into set pieces and are placed in a vat to cook.¹² In the vat also is placed a large amount of salted carabao meat. The leading families are expected to cook about fifteen *ekap* (double slices) weighing around 60 kilos. The meat of all four legs of a carabao is often insufficient to supply all the requirements. While it is cooking the *comangsa* will pass the time by singing the *ayyeng*, or dancing. At the beginning of the *ayyeng* an introductory theme is sung called the *elwa*. It consists of three parts, each followed by a *weel* chorus. The leader who sings the theme as a solo, must be an old man who has completed all his own *chono* feastings, and has all his children married.

The *elwa* themes are as follows:

1. *Inmali nan incomangsa.*

"The participants in the *comangsa* ceremony have come.

2. *Incanakchas lapona.*

"This has produced offspring from the beginning."

3. *Inlowebchas lapona.*

"This has given wealth from the beginning."

Certain of the older men are assigned the task of cutting the cooked meat into smaller pieces, *ceaed*, while others distribute it on large winnowing baskets. Each man present receives at least two *ceaed*, older men, dividers, and the distributors getting larger portions, as well as the pieces of the chicken. The chicken that was killed inside the house is kept, to be distributed later in the day. Each man places his meat in a *topil* basket. *Fayas* wine, and tobacco are shared by all. Everyone is also entitled to eat of *tofo*, a confectionary made of sticky rice *chayket*, boiled in a woven sugar can leaf covering.

From the *pomango* the one hundred and fifty or more men file to the house who first received the *siwag* after *pomango*. The same procedure follows here. At the end of each day, the *comangsa* return home with their *topils* loaded with meat, and their basket hats filled with tobacco.

Not all of the *chomno* kill chickens. It depends upon the precedent that was set in their first *chono* feasting. If in the first, they killed seven chickens then in the succeeding *chonos* they are expected to kill seven. Meat shares are also dependent upon precedent, although the higher class families are expected to provide most. Poorer families need only provide about six *ekep* of meat, which is about twenty to twenty five kilos.

Each carabao-killing *chomno* is expected to invite the *comangsa*. Parents who are having *sanchag* only, in their third *chono*, because they have children participating as well, may also invite the *comangsa*, thus saving them the burden of *sanchag* participation in the two following *chonos*.

As the group pass from one house to the next they are led by an old man carrying a wooden tray, *choyyasan*, on his shoulder, on which one *ekep* of uncooked meat is placed at each house visited, to be taken to *pomango*. This share is called *tofotob*, and is placed on the shelf which was erected above the pounding place on the day of *Totood*.

Each day the group will start its meat collecting at a house where chickens will be killed, and it is only at such houses where the *tachek* complex will be performed. The first house of the day is called *inpayomyom*, the one which brings together.

After the *comangsa* have finished at a house, a group of about twenty old man led by the *nafaal* are free to come. These men are called the *somafosab*, the prayer sayers. *Fayas* wine is served all round. A large section of a pig, including the ribs, is put on to a board inside the house, and as it is divided for cooking, one of the men says a long prayer called *kitib* and *amolo*. (see Appendix 8) It is cooked in a vat, inside the house, (the meat of the *comangsa* was cooked in a vat outside the house), and is then placed on a winnowing basket with the chicken that had previously been killed in the house, and each man is passed his share.

Following the visit of the *somafosab*, another small group of men, led by the three *pomapatay* are free to come. This group is called the *fomocinney*, the singers of the *focinney*. As soon as they arrive they proceed to sing the *focinney*, (see Appendix 2, page 73) a song which on other occasions is sung after *ayyeng*, and just before the eating of a sacrificed pig.

These men receive for *pomango* two legs of a pig (i.e. the lower leg and trotter only), plus a handful of *fokay* mixture of rice, blood and brain. For themselves, one *ekep* of pig meat — usually ribs, is cooked in the inside vat and divided evenly. *Fayas* and tobacco is passed around before departing.

The *fomocinney* having done their part and moved on, a group of old men plus several of the older women are free to come. These are the *inchaing*, the singers of the *chaing*. (see Appendix 5, page 80). Only leading families receive the *inchaing*. These come by invitation. Before beginning their song, three to six *ekep* of meat is cooked and divided, the visitors also feasting on *tofo*. The singing of *chaing* will begin while the same amount of meat is again placed in the vat for cooking. Half way through their song, this lot of meat is shared; they eat and drink, and begin the second half of the *chaing* while a third share of meat, as big as the others is placed in the vat for cooking. This is shared around at the end of their song. They eat and drink again and move on to the next house which has invited them, and where all prior ceremonies are completed.

The fourth day of *comangsa* is also known as *folong*, or the taking of shares. On this day as each group finishes visiting in the last of the participating houses, they proceed to *pomango* for their final sharing of meat. After all have gathered, strips of *fikal* bamboo called *inegtap* are handed out to all present and are then recollected and counted to get the exact number of slices needed. The *tofotob* is then taken from the shelf on which it had been piled during the previous two days and it is sliced. Each man's share, uncooked, is tied to his strip of bamboo, and he is then free to take his *topil* and go home. On this night, each of the *comangsa*, who is not otherwise participating in the *chono*, kills a chicken. This night is also termed *kofob* just as the night before *siwag* began, because each of the *nafaal* gathers at *pomango's* house and spends the night watching for omens.

12. KETKETAD, or Cutting of the Bindings.

Starting from the house of *pomango* in the early morning, and radiating out through the village, the *nafaal* ceremonially break down the *sanchag*, *sagcipik*, *fansal*, and *fawel* by cutting the bindings with a head axe, and saying the following short prayer:

<i>Ofachek sik-a ay tinaked si amam-aet maofad si anan-ak sina, fotog, manok pacey ya kangonon.</i>	“I unbind you who have been bound by the old men, so that children here, pigs, chickens, rice and everything may be loosed.”
---	--

In the evening after each household has eaten, again the *nafaal* go to each of the houses with *challatey* and remove the pegs. Water is then brought from the house and poured on the site where the *challatey* had been. The following prayer is said:

<i>In-ikelwagmos anan-ak, fotog, manok, pacey ya kangonon.</i>	“You spill forth children, pigs, chickens, rice and everything.”
--	--

Husbands and wives are once more allowed to sleep together. They have been separated since the beginning of *siwag*.

13. CONGFO, Cooking of Bones.

Early in the morning the logs which had been used for the *challatey* are split for firewood. Each *chomno* then takes a share of meat and bones, plus a plate of rice to his *ab-afongan* for sharing with his co-members. When eating is finished each of the *chomno* will leave the village to take their first bath since the *siwag* started their *afig*. There are four set places for such *afig*-breaking bathing. Men on this occasion bathe separately from women.

14. FAKFAKAWAT, or First Outing.

Early in this day, each *chomno* leaves the village to go to the mountains to bring home a load of wood. The wood he collects must be dry, and he must on no account strip the bark from it as is usually done before bringing home firewood. In some cases loads of wood were prepared beforehand by unrestricted relatives, and the *chomno* only had to go, shoulder it, and bring it home.

The parents of *chomno* have their first outing on this day, as this is their first bathing day since *siwag*.

In the evening a feasting known as *ekkan* takes place in each the *chomno* households, intending to participate in the events of the next day. Relatives and co-carabao owners are invited to join in the feasting.

15. OMAPOY, Taking of Fire.

For the next week and more, each day sees a group of men with dozens of small children going to the carabao pasture lands for what to the children seems just like a picnic, but for the men involved, a serious ceremony upon which the increase of the carabaos depends. Each of the pasture lands are divided according to ancient family inheritance, and each section is now inhabited by a spirit called *panad*. It is to this spirit that these field sacrifices are offered. For each of the twenty or more *panad* there is a small fireplace consisting of three large rocks, called *chalikan*. These cooking places are termed *fangngaan* or *aapoyan*.

The *pomango* is the first to take his group to the *fangngaan* which once belonged to his ancestors. About midmorning the assembled group files out, the leader carrying the lighted *onoon* from which the fire will later be started. The *onoon* will be completely burned at the field, as it is not necessary to bring it back home. Other men carry pots with water, rice, and *tofo*. Others carry eight *ekep* of pig meat. It is a treat for the children who like to carry the eight flapping chickens for the sacrifice.

On arrival the fire is built, water is placed to boil and then the chickens are beaten to death, and quartered. Following this, the pig meat is sliced into small portions with one of the older men repeating the *angal* prayer. (see Appendix 9).

As the food cooks, a bundle of reeds are brought and cut to two lengths—the main portion is about five feet long, the rest about three feet long. A series of slits are cut in the reed in the top nine inches, and in each of these a little bundle of feathers is placed. These are

called *nalongnong*. The shorter reeds are distributed to each of the pasture lands where the *chomno* has carabao, and are tied in the tree which usually shades the *fangngaan*. The longer reeds are taken home, where they are placed in bundles, one on either side of the entrance to the house, to signify that the requirements of *omapoy*, have been fulfilled. On arrival home, having eaten at the field, a minimum of eight more chickens are killed, and another eight *ekep* of pig meat are sliced and cooked. The *angal* prayer is again repeated.

Those *chomno* who cannot afford the complete *apoy* ceremony, may have *consod*, which is only half the expense. It consists of only the home sacrifices, and no visit to the pasture lands.

For the poorer families who can neither afford *apoy* or *consod*, they can either join a richer relative having *apoy*, or combine their resources with those of several other families, and thus have *apoy*. Each participating *chomno* will take home a bundle of *nalongnong*.

16. TELWAD, or a Completing Sacrifice.

Having completed the *apoy* a family is free on the following day to have the *telwad* sacrifice. *Pomango* again leads the way. The *fansal* and/or *fawel* which had been taken down on the morning of *Ketketad* are first cut into pieces and split, then a pig is brought for killing. The *nafaal* are called and they are the ones whose job it is to kill the pig and perform the following ceremony. Above the *losong* rice mortar is hung a flat basket called *akiyak*. This has an open weave and is normally used for snail collecting in the rice fields. Upon this is fastened a cross-piece of wood.

One of the *nafaal* then takes the head of the pig in his two hands, and standing so that the mouth of the pig touches the swinging basket recites the prayer, commonly called *fegwew*, but referred to on this occasion as *taladyo*. He starts the prayer by saying:

Taladyo, taladyo, natat-aladyo nan "May offspring here and wealth be
canak sina ya loweb. benefited by the saying of *taladyo*."

(For *fegwew* prayer see Appendix 5.)

From this pig, the *kinmeb-aw* receives the tenderloin, plus one *ekep* of other parts of the pig meat. His *nafaal* companions, and the *pomapatay* receive one *fotol*, a single slice of meat, each. This distribution of raw pig meat is called *ilang*. Following this *koleng* takes place—the eating of the ears, and other portions of the pig, by the old men. Wine is drunk, and a three fold *tachek* complex is performed. They then disperse. In the evening relatives gather to feast. This is called *fab-aleg*.

The following morning relatives gather to eat and when they have finished the old men, including *nafaal* and *pomapatay* gather to eat. This is called *safosab*, as one of the old men will say the *safosab* prayer, a generic term which includes the *kitib* prayer, said on this occasion. (See Appendix 4). The evening feasting on this day, to which relatives are invited is termed *palagpag*. On the following or third day, all close and distant relatives gather in the evening to eat. A chicken is killed. On the fourth day, also termed *fakfakawat*, the husband and wife once

again go to their designated bathing places, for another bath. The fifth day, again *fakfakawat*, sees the husband going to the mountains for a load of firewood, while his wife is allowed to go to kaingans to get a small load of camote vines for the pig. That evening relatives once again gather to feast and the *Telwad* is finished off with a chicken sacrifice called *acifoy*; its accompanying prayer is *senga*.

As each family completes their *apoy* or consod ceremony they are free to begin the *Telwad*, as described above, for the *pomango*. However there is one significant addition. Before the *telwad* pig is killed, the *chomno* will go to the house of *pomango* and take to his own house either the sacred stone *moling* or its accompanying basket, *cholaw*. Once the *taladyo* is said it is free to be taken by any person desiring it for the same purpose. Likewise, after five days, when it is time to perform the *acifoy*, he will again bring home either the *moling* or the *cholaw*, whichever he had used for the pig sacrifice. After eating, one *eksep* of pig meat, plus a chicken leg, or half breast, plus two pieces of *tofo*—the share of the *moling* or *cholaw*, are taken to the house of *pomango*, also known as *linmebwa*, the one who forces out.

17. IPLAT, or the Finishing Sacrifice.

When every *chomno* has completed his *telwad*, and the *moling* and *cholaw* have been returned to *pomango*, he is free to kill his *iplat* pig. Old men gather, and after the killing and saying of the *inliweng* prayer, (see Appendix 6), they each receive a *fotol* of the raw sliced meat. *Ayyeng* is sung and feasting takes place. Relatives gather on the following night to take part in the *acifoy* chicken sacrifice and resultant feast, which ends the *iplat* ceremony.

Through the next three weeks the other participants are free to have their *iplat* whenever it is convenient. For three days after the *pomango* has completed his *iplat*, a three day village holiday, *teel*, is called, during which no person may leave the village under pain of a fine from the village council, and failure of crops and health, caused by the *anito*.

18. IYAG SI FELWAY SI CHONO, or Finishing of the Chono season.

An *iyag* is a ceremony in which a group of men from an *ab-afongan* go to the mountains to listen to the calls of the *ichew* bird, from which omens are received. One or two old men who are adept in hearing and analysing these calls, go to a place termed Pinola very early in the morning to get a call. Later a group of men carrying spears, beating shields and wearing back baskets file up to the old battle grounds on each side of the village to listen for another call. Upon the advisability of the omen will rest the decision they came to the mountains to make. In this case it is *Felway* a proceeding from one "season" to the next. It has been variously described as changing the village air, and purifying it.

Having received an omen, the men who had left with only the noise of rhythmically beaten shields, now return with a series of high-pitched ceremonial shouts, *ke-e-ew*. Back baskets, spears and shields are piled up at the *ab-afongans*, and the men either go to catch crabs or mudfish, or spend the rest of the day sitting with their companions in the *ab-afongan*.

The following day is called *chaw-es* and during each meal, all members eat at their *ab-afongan*, their evening meal usually consisting of fish that has been caught, or canned sardines bought in Bontoc.

The third day is termed *fokal*, meaning dispersal. This takes place about midday, when each of the members involved takes home his spear, shield, and back basket.

19. SACAP-OT, or Bringing together (Termination).

This is the final village holiday, *teel*. It culminates the entire *chono* period, and from the following day, all villagers, apart from those with specific *afig* restrictions, may return to their work in the rice fields which was brought to a stop close to two months before. The *Sacap-ot* also celebrates the final pig killed by the *pomango* on the previous day. This was also *iplat*, but was considered the finishing sacrifice of all the *iplat* which had been sacrificed by villagers during the previous three weeks.

20. CONCLUSION.

As far as the village is concerned the *chono* is now a thing of the past, but there are yet two ceremonies which remain to be fulfilled before the burden of certain of the *afig* restrictions can be removed from the participants. The first, termed *felkas si makmakan* is the breaking of the food *afig*. This is accomplished by the cooking of *antak* black beans. From then on green vegetables can be eaten, although in some cases they are cooked outside the house. The second of these ceremonies is called *felkas si faat*, the first visiting to another village. This is accomplished by going to Bontoc, usually in company with a group of other men performing the same *felkas*. On arrival there, a clay pot is purchased by each man, placed on his shoulder, and immediately taken back to the village.

Each family can decide for itself which day is the most auspicious for the performance of the above *felkas* ceremonies, and they usually take place within a few weeks after *Sacap-ot*. However *pomango* and his household, *nafaal*, and *pomapatay*, must keep within the confines of the village area for at least one year before he can perform the *felkas si faat*, and only then one the most auspicious occasion possible.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Until about five years ago only two existed, but a man named Amcidid, who had the wealth to lead, but was not in one of the two leading families, had a new *topil* made, led the *chono*, and created the third leading line. A man named Lamay holds the other *topil* now.

² This *topil* named *pot-el* is said to bring about a long dry season each time it is used, thus accounting for the dry spell of December 1960 - February 1961.

³ During the course of the *chono* any feature which must be discussed, or any meeting which must be held in relation to the *chono*, always takes place at Chatal. No other of Guinaang's six *ab-afongans* have this privilege.

⁴ This man, Benedict Omellag Sibfay, was of invaluable assistance as an informant during this period, explaining many features which could not be witnessed by the writer.

⁵ This container is used in preference to other types; in the event that the carrier stumbled, the container would not break and the wine be spilt.

⁶ In *papatayan* sacrifices not connected with a *chono*, *tapey* rice wine is the drink taken. Some is left for the spirits at the *papatayan* and some remains in the container for passing spirits on the trail. This spirit portion is termed the *fen-ag*.

⁷ Guinaang is a relatively poor barrio, and although the total number of killings was over one hundred carabaos, the individual tallies were low. In Mainit, just north of Guinaang in a *chono* performed February, 1961, there were only five participants but there were twenty-five carabaos killed, the leader taking eight. The leader of their previous *chono* had killed ten.

⁸ In past *chonos*, old men have often died with the rigors of fasting, staying awake for several nights on end, and the added danger of disease, with no bathing allowed, miriads of flies, and rotting meat on every hand. In the event of such a death, the body is covered and hidden and the death is not announced until the *chono* is finished, to prevent it becoming a bad omen.

⁹ This is a soft, light wood. The fruit of this tree is used for fermenting sugar cane wine.

¹⁰ Benedict Sibfay, (see Note 4) performed the following wedding ceremonies. Initial ceremonies—*kalang*. Even although he belongs to a family of high social prestige, he married after the death of his parents, and was unable to afford any of the higher ceremonies.

Lopis Chono — *finicat*.

Fayas Chono 1 & 2 — *fansal*.

Fayas Chono 3 — *fawel*.

Being the fifth child in a family of nine children, he could not erect both *fansal* and *fawel* (in the first two *Fayas Chono* ceremonies), but was entitled to the *fawel* on performing the third *Fayas Chono*.

¹¹ One group of *in-awid* left Guinaang on the day of *Totlood* to invite relatives from Sadanga, who, because of a head taking foray against Guinaang and consequent revenge killings in 1945, had not been invited to participate in the feasts from then on. The gesture of friendship was accepted and a small group of relatives arrived in Guinaang on the appropriate day.

¹² A chicken is always divided into four set portions:

1. The legs.
2. The head, neck and backbone and upper ribs with heart, lungs and liver attached.
3. The breast and wings.
4. Crop and intestines.

Appendix I

A brief survey of the wedding ceremonies which must take place before a *Fayas Chono*, will serve to illustrate the complexity of social division, which is manifest in the varying degrees of participation in the *Fayas*.

1. The initial ceremonies.

a. The Kom-o.

Normally in Guinaang a child is born to a couple before any wedding ceremony takes place. Although no stigma is attached to such a birth, it is necessary for the parents to perform this ceremony for cleansing before any other ceremony can take place. The requirements for the *kom-o* are the same through all classes of society.

b. The Kalang.

This is the only ceremony held before *lopis* for the low class members of society. Its sacrificial requirements are one chicken, the actual *kalang* sacrifice, a pig for the following sacrifice, termed *iplat*, and a finishing pig sacrifice, termed *tongol*. Each pig sacrifice is also followed by its own finishing chicken sacrifice, termed *acifoy*.

c. The Singil.

This is the initial ceremony for middle class couples. Its main requirements are one carabao, or a large pig, with a "following" pig sacrifice *onod* and its *tongol*, each of the latter having its *acifoy* chicken sacrifice. After a lapse of about one year *kalang* will also be performed.

d. The Kalon.

This is the initial ceremony for upper class couples. Its main requirements are two carabaos, *onod*, *tongol* and their respective *acifoy*. *Singil* and *kalang* will be performed with a lapse of approximately one year between each.

The *kalang* is the actual uniting ceremony; a man is not allowed to sleep with his wife from the birth of their child until this uniting ceremony. In the case of child betrothal, sometimes practised in high class society, the *kalon* may take place at the age of 8-10 years, with the other ceremonies timed so that the couple are united by the *kalang* at adolescence.

2. The Lopis Chono.

The lower class, that is, those who only had the *kalang* in their initial ceremonies, may be divided into two groups: those who are unable to participate in the *lopis* ceremonies, and those who are able to do so. This latter group may again be divided into those who are able to perform the *lopis* termed *tefek*, and those who can perform the *lopis* called *kinogkocong*.

a. The Tefek.

This requires a main pig sacrifice (one pig only), with two "following" pig sacrifices, *onod* and *iplat*, plus the "completing" sacrifice, *tongol*, each with its finishing chicken sacrifice, *acifoy*. There is no ceremonial rice pounding, *lefek*; neither is there a vat stand, *challatey*.

b. The Kinogkocong.

This requires three pigs for the main sacrifice, plus the *onod*, *iplat* and *tongol* mentioned above and their respective *acifoy* chicken sacrifices.

This ceremony has the *lebkan* or long mortar for the ceremonial rice pounding and related song called *lefek*. It also has the wedding song *chaing* and the *pangafong* ceremony, in which the young man's dormitory friends procede in line to his house for eating, each one carrying a flaming torch. They likewise return to their dormitory with the torches, before dispersing. The *kinogkocong* does not have the vat stand, *challatey*.

c. The Finicat.

This *lopis* ceremony could possibly be held by a person who has only performed *kalang* in the initial ceremonies, but more frequently only persons who have also performed *singil* could afford to hold a *finicat* ceremony. Four pigs are required for the main sacrifice plus the usual *onod*, *iplat* and *tongol* pigs and *acifoy* chickens. In addition to the ceremonies mentioned above—the *lefek*, *chaing* and *pangafong*, a *challatey* is also used. This *lopis* is so called because the logs for building the vat stand are cut early in the morning. Two vats may be used for cooking the rice.

d. The Inalcew.

Only persons who have performed *singil* in the initial ceremonies can hold this *lopis* ceremony. The sacrifices and ceremonies mentioned for the *finicat* are the same for the *inalcew*. However a full day is set aside for the cutting and placing of *challatey* and for collecting of firewood, *koskos*. Upwards of six vats may be used for cooking rice.

e. The Winalo.

This is the highest class *lopis* ceremony and only persons who have performed the *kalon* in the initial ceremonies may hold this *lopis* ceremony. The minimum number of pigs for sacrifice is the same as in *inalcew* and *finicat*, likewise, the ceremonies are the same. However one full day is set aside for *koskos* and another full day for cutting and placing the *challatey*. *Winalo* is so named as eight vats will be used for the cooking of rice to feed the guests.

Appendix 2

CEREMONIES	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS
	WITH CHILD	W/OUT CHILD	WITH CHILD
KOM-O	CLEANSING CEREMONY		
KALON	INITIAL CEREMONIES		
TOPIL	MINOR CEREMONIES DEPENDENT UPON THE KALON		
LABLAFED			
SINGIL			
KALANG	UNITING CEREMONY		
LOPIS CHONO	PIG FEASTS		
	WINALO	INALCEW	FINICAT
			KINOGKOCONG
			TEFEK
			CEREMONIE BELOW NEED NOT BE COMPLETE
1ST FAYAS CHONO	FANSAL & FAWEL	FANSAL ONLY	SAGCIPIK ONLY
	CARABAO FEASTS		SANCHAG ONLY
2ND FAYAS CHONO			
3RD FAYAS CHONO	FAWEL ONLY	SAGCIPIK ONLY	SANCHAG SA ONLY
			THIS LINE MAY BE FOLLOWED ONLY WHEN THE PARTICIPANT'S CHILD IS PERFORMING FIRST FAYA CHONO.

Appendix 3

Calendar of events in the Guinaang Chono
September and October, 1960.

Sept. 4th	Calling of the <i>Maniwag</i> .	" 23rd	"
" 5th	<i>Siwag</i> , and <i>Teel si Sikhod</i> .	" 24th	"
" 6th	<i>Siwag</i> , beginning of <i>Infayo</i> .	" 25th	<i>Ketketad</i>
" 7th	"	" 26th	<i>Congjo</i>
" 8th	<i>Koskos</i>	" 27th	<i>Fakjakawat</i>
" 9th	<i>Salag</i>	" 28th	<i>Apoy</i>
" 10th	<i>Kedkechag</i>	" 29th	<i>Telwad of Pomango</i>
" 11th	"	" 30th	<i>Telwad</i>
" 12th	"	Oct. 1st-8th	"
" 13th	"	" 9th	<i>Iplat of Pomango</i>
" 14th	<i>Challatey</i>	" 10th	<i>Teel</i>
" 15th	<i>Tottood</i>	" 11th	"
" 16th	<i>Patpatay</i>	" 12th	"
" 17th	<i>Alin si Mangili</i>	" 13th	"
" 18th	<i>Fokal si Mangili</i>	" 14th	"
" 19th	<i>Kik-ilis si Olon si Nowang</i> .	" 15th	<i>Iyag si Felway si Chono</i> .
" 20th	<i>Kik-ilis si Olon si Fotog</i> .	" 16th	<i>Chaw-es</i>
" 21st	<i>Comangsa</i>	" 17th	<i>Fokal</i>
" 22nd	"	Nov. 1st	<i>Sacap-ot</i> .

Appendix 4

KITIB

In-aliwidcha Faglakayan kan Kaficat. Ayya kecheng kanowettay, cab-encha nan anakcha. Ayya ket infacana, "Way tinanemyo, way fafoyyo?" "Sana." "Ayya mo way anoka pay? Esatako mampay injen-ag." "Sana pay sinan falok nan ili." Ayya ket sincholna nan sin-aci. Ayya ketchat inmey, pinatpatcha. "Natod-awan tet-ewa nan tinanem apotako. Siyana nan mamem-agtakos chono."

Ayya ket insawingcha, inyesechat pinatpatcha, inwakascha. Inmonod san kafafaiyancha. Kaman inkamanay mangwak. Intinep-alena. Ayyan ket chat aces insawingay sin-acis san chamacanacha. Ayya ket chat chowa ladhachan. Ayya ket chat chowa iltang nan tongachanacha. Ayya inligwat nan esa. "Ayya ket inmaafaya nan tongachantas na." Insacong kan kafafaiyancha, "Focawam nan kafayfaytako, ta infaceyfeyyos anoka sokotako." Ayya ket anoka finocawancha san kafayfaycha. Amancha pay ces inkakching. Ninsacongcha. Nginauweyancha nan ninsaknitancha. Malikes nan ngonon, ananak, pacey, fotog, omat nan manok. Ayya ket infakelfelchad Cafel. Ayya ket inpaeycha, insiningalencha, nalpakan nan fakayfayen, tinmocawi.

Ayya ket ab-afoyanacha, "Tomocawi tet-ewa anan-ak sina, Ayya aset mangastantanko kayet." Ya sanas olitaocha ay Lomawig, "Naay san anoka pay lebbkan apoyo ay nalaetan." Inacamidcha, inil-ilil-in san inlefek. Chowan mapayokong san chanomna. Alancha san chalaycha, chowanacha taoken. Ayya ket kano insacongcha, nacotong nan chalaycha. "Aset pay mangastantas nan cipistas na."

Ayya ket inacamidcha nan felfel. Inkemachanacha, manangalcha. Ayya ket in-

Faglakayan and Kaficat are becoming related through the marriage of their children. He said, "Do you have a sugar cane plantation, do you have pigs?" "There are." "Do you have wine?" "Let's also have drinks for the guests." "It is there in the valley of the village." He sent the brothers and they went and cut the cane. "The cane fields of our ancestors are well matured. This will be our drink supply in the feast."

They stood one on either side of the field, bent down and cut the cane. They worked day and night. Their sister followed them. She speedily stripped the bark, and threw the pieces aside. They stood one on either side at the base of the mill. They began to clean it. They made a canal in the wall for their *tongachan*. One of them started. "Our *tongachan* is leaning out of position." He turned to his sister, "Shout to our neighbours to transfer our milling place." They shouted for them. They each took a load. They looked back. They planted tender shoots in the place where they stripped cane. May everything be rounded up, children, rice, pigs and chickens. They carried it on to Cafel. As they put it down everything was in a jumbled pile & filled the milling place, like a *tocawi* rain protector.

They commented, "May our children truly become as this mound. What shall we do about the mill." And here comes their uncle Lomawig, "Here is the long mortar of your ancestors, it is sooty." They brought it, they moved together as they pounded. The juice of the cane begins to gather. They get their wine jar, and ladel the juice into it. They look behind them, their wine jars were multiplied as stones in a rocky place. "What about the milling of the pounded pith here?"

They brought a young pine tree, cut and set it in its place. However it didn't

cadcached. Inwal-inchas san afoyowancha. Ayya ket inischon olitaocha nan cholochogna ay pangalin-awin. Ayya ket kano lawa, iniyalicha kem-achancha, manangalcha ay sikchochencha. "Ayya ig inyadyachang," ab-afoyancha. Yomma-chan tet-ewa ay anan-ak ya, fotog ya kangonon.

Ayya kecheng kano payyay kinwanina, "Ayya naay aces nascetan nan cipistakos na ya. Isaalmo kafafaiyan nan inamong-takos na ya, ta engka chaicha manganen, ta akonenmi nan chalaytako ta eneymis afoyowantako."

Ayya insaal kafafaiyancha nan inamong-cha. Ayya ket wagwacena nan faloncha ya nan fofolcha, walacana chaicha. Simemetchacha nasawalan. Ab-afoyancha "Masawalan singonon."

Ayya ket kanan ces olitaocha ay Lomawig, "Ay ta eyak od ilan san sin-acyay mangafoyos san anoka liniwestako." Ayya ya inmey. "Ayya mo man nal-oto sa?" Kanancha, "Ayya igkami man nasolapan si walon alcew, walon lafiyan, ya igkami lawa nasolapan, tay sik-a nan segsegchenmi. Aka od man ta isoblim ta faokem ta..." Ayya ket alana san chalaychat inchemangena finawekna.

Ayya ket inalana san edpay, inlom-ognas nan esa. Inpaykatna nan langas, mangalobna. Ayya ket in-okatna nan chinochokawna ay mema, inlom-ognas na esa. Ayya keckengay intangad sisan sofan san acamangcha. Intatayon san panikiyay paykatena. "Siyana nan mangalobko tay kamfonyanak. Mafengchaan nan folan, esaak segchen." Nafengchaan nan folan, nakanalisang nan cayangnas nan molingan. Ayya ket tet-ewa anoka, ig inwigwicamig nan cayang olitaocha. Ayya ket inmalis san acamangcha.

Inmeyet tinangtangana, iniskepna nan inaacipitna ay tailna, lokifena nan kalobna. Ayya ket simsimancha nan likesna, nasaschaal. "Engkayot manallatey." Naligwat nan sin-aci, yinachangcha nan wasaycha, inmeychad Fotfotto.

move freely. They laid it aside at the milling place. Their uncle showed them a pole of *pangalin-awin* wood. They brought it, cut it, set it in place and pushed it. "It freely moves up and down," they commented. May our children here, pigs, and everything move freely.

"He said, "Our pounded pith is squeezed completely dry. Sister, take home the people we have gathered here in order to feed them, as we will be carrying our jars to the cooking place."

Their sister took the gathered people home. She served out their food and stew, and served them. Each was more than satisfied. "There is more than enough of everything," they commented.

Said their uncle Lomawig, "I'm going now to see the brothers who are cooking our cane juice." So he went. "Is that not yet cooked?" They said, "We are tired out, for eight days and nights we have tired waiting for you, come now and dip out the juice so that..." So he straightway took their wine jars, placed one on each side and dipped it out.

He took some fruit of the *edpay* tree, and put it in one of the jars. He tore off a *langas*, and covered it. He took out what he had placed in his hip bag—betel nut, and put it in a jar. Then he looked up to the side of his granary, a bat was hanging there. He tore off the wings. "This is what I will use as a cover, as I am all-powerful. At half moon you can expect me to return." When it was half moon, there was the nose of his spear as it embedded itself in a stone. Truly their uncle's spear vibrated. He came to their granary.

He went and knocked out the door stop, took inside the gourd, which he had carried under his arm, and removed the jar covers. He tasted the contents, it was good hard wine. "Go and make the vat stand." The brothers started, and holding their axes across their shoulders, went to Fotfotto.

Inmonod si olitaocha, "Ayya keyyo ig aped ab-afoyaan nan apapa ay felfel. Cheey kay nan nafosacan, namokonan ya, naofananya, ta igkayot maofananay ipocaw." Ayya kecheng payyetay, inmey nan sin-aci inatopakancha, napoyo, inatopakana nan chowan pangomaan. "Pelakancha nan loweb." Ayya ket kanatayencha. Salngenchana nan poona. Chalateychas cawana, tangenchana nan ochona, pachekcha nan pangana. Ayya ket insaalchas san Kamaligcha. Cawis nan nangicheplatancha. Ayya kecheng payyetay, "As et etacentasna ya." Ayya ket sifochancha nan ason kafafaiyancha. Ayya kechenggetay inmeychad Finayowan. Ayya ket inpayebyeb nan asocha. Ayya inmeycha.

"Ayya key faken sa tay inyafayab nan kolengua, incinasil nan sakcodna." Ciniyakcha nan asocha, infaakcha san anoka faakna. Ayya ket kano ig inpayebyefay inngongo nan asocha.

Inmeycha, liksenchana, inelsfana nan solfonay anoka atimolangen. "Siya sa nan paalan olitaota, tay inngitangil." Ayya ket alanchat kano san panafa. Ayya ninchosnocancha.

Ayya kecheng payyetay anoka, finakonachana nan chowan pangomaan.

"Fakonacham tet-eway loweb." Ayya kecheng felyacanchad finayowan. "Mamalonta tet-ewas nan lopis." Ayya kecheng payyetay, "Aset fatawiltas na." Alaencha nan kayafas, mamatawilcha. In-iptit, infachengcha. "Naay kay chadlo nan anoka, anaychosay cawis si ifatawilta." Ayya ket namatawilcha. Innatociil. Insaalchas nan Kamaligcha. Ayya ket kano lawa mangayyengcha. Ayya key ig achi incangesna. Ayya kanaanet nan kafafaiyancha, "Ayya kechenggetay, engkayot ona fegwawan nan anoka chonos na."

Ayya kechengay, alancha nan afongot kafafaiyancha inmeychasa Layocan. Ayya ket kano lawa aces, amancha nanifid nangipol. "Mangipol tet-ewa nan anokatas na, chonowenta." Ayya kecheng

Their uncle followed them, "Oh you're just considering a young pine tree which isn't worthwhile. Over there is a well developed tree, with cones and grey lichen, so that you will become very grey headed." So the brothers went and chopped it, it fell to the ground and filled two kaingans. "May they acquire many riches." They walked along it. They used the base for pitch pine, the middle for their vat stand, the top for the base of their vat stand, the branches for pegs. They took it home to Kamalig. The setting up of it was good. "And now to get our meat supply." They put a lead on their sister's dog and went to Finayowan.

The dog began to bay. They went. "That's not the one because it flaps its ears, and its horns are curved." They called off the dog, and went over to the other side of the mountain. The dog again began to bay.

They went, and encircled it, the dog had cornered a *solfon* which was *atimolangen*. "This is what our uncle sent us to get because it is *inngitangil*." They got a piece of *panafa* wood, and beat into it.

It filled two kaingans.

"May you block all wealth coming your way." They butchered it, and found rice inside. "This will truly be our food supply in the feast." "Let's get our carrying bar now." They got wood from the guava tree, and made a carrying bar. It smelled badly, so they laid it aside. "Here is some *anaychos* wood, which is good for a carrying bar." They made one. It was bowed with the weight. They took it home to Kamalig. They sang the *ayyeng*. It didn't ring out at all. Their sister said, "Go first and say the *fegwew* for the feast."

They took their sister's *afongot*, and they went to Layocan. They also proceeded to make thread and roll it into a ball. "May the ones we are marrying be 'wound'—as a ball." They went to the

payyetay inmeychas nan fafadngancha. Ayya ket namatangcha. Ayya ket tinmakwad, inmeychas nan esachancha. Ayya ket pinagpacancha nachekyang. Ayya ket finmaakcha. Ap-apongolan nan ichewcha nan alimocawen. Ayya fegwasen nan tapina, lafayen nan tapina, chaecen nan tapina. Ayya ket kinmay-atcha. Ayya ket namifiligchas nan Chalimono.

Ayya kechengetay, inmeychas nan anak si Imasla. Fenyakencha chaicha, ayya ket kano naikolit ad tag-ey san mamegweewchas anoka lopus. Ayya kecheng payyetay anoka pay.

"Cichowena nan afongtako."

"Naay tet-ewa ay finegwawancha ya, chomakalcha ya, somaalcha ya." Mafokalcha. "Esam sacongen nan chono." Inmalichad anoka Giwang. Ayya ket nangiyagcha. Ayya ket cichowena nan atolcha. Ayya ket kano lawa anoka abafayaan kafafaiyancha chaicha, "San mamegweewchas nan chono." Ayya ket sinmaalchas Layocan. Ayya kechengetay saejencha nan finakalcha.

Ayya ayacancha nan kafafaiyancha. Mamaaongencha ya mangapngoyenchas nan maolyong. Sinilong nan kaomiliyencha chicha. Iyammacha nan fatokalcha ya nan fowayacha. Insilongcha nan kaomiliyencha. "Ayya kecheng pay naay nasaeb. Sinaebta nan finakalta, sacongenta chadlo san chonoita." Ayya ket pay inmeychas san afongcha. Ayya ket mangayyengcha, inpayayeng. "Siya na nan ilweb nan ipocaw." Ayya kecheng payyetay anoka.

"Entat mangil-iliyen nan caeb nan anokas na, caeb nan kitib." Eneynas nan Ifaney, Ifatad. Eneynas nan Lobwacan. "Ay ne man nan iwaswasm?" "Kitib." Ayya kecheng iyalinas nan Tenglayan, Saklit.

"Ay ne pan sa?" "Kitib nan iwaswasako." Maktifan nan fangacha, alotencha, kangonon. Ayya ket anoka inmalis nan Masici.

place where they normally put their loads. They put down their things, and they were piled up. They went to their hunting place. They hit their prey with a piece of wood and it burst open. They then went to the other side of the mountain. Their omen birds were flocking a huge rock. Some gave the *fegwas* omen, some the *lafay* omen, and some the *chaeg* omen. They climbed up and followed the ridge of Chalimono.

They went to the children of the Masla people, and drew their attention by shouting. The saying of the *fegwew* left a mark in the air.

"It will vibrate our house." "This is truly the saying of their *fegwew*, they have gone out and gone home." They dispersed. "You get back to the feast." They came to Giwang, and shouted. It vibrated the walls of their resting place. Their sister commented about them, "These are the ones who say the *fegwew* at the feast." They came home to Layocan. They fulfilled the requirements for the enemy they had taken.

They called their sister, and placed on her shoulders the *jayaong* blanket; on her head the *olyong* head beads. Their fellow villagers pressed about them. They made their arm bands and necklaces. The villagers pressed in to see. "Now we have completed the ceremonies for the enemy we took, let's get back to the feast." They went to their house and sang their *ayyeng*. The sound of it carried afar. "This is valuable as people's wealth."

"Let's go and take the *kitib* from village to village." He took it to the people of Faney, Fatad, and then to Lobuagan. "What is this that you are taking from place to place?" "*Kitib.*" He brought it to Tenglayan and Saklit. "Whatever's that?" "It's the *kitib* I'm taking around." Their pots, split wood, and everything were benefited by the *kitib*. He came to Masici.

"Masigsici nan anan-ak kanos na ya nan fotog, nan manok, nan pacey." Eneynas nan anoka Ablot. Makionotchias nan kegsel, makionotchias nan ipocaw, maki-onotchias nan fotog, makionotchias nan manok, kangonon.

Eneynas nan Chomaleg, maid cetken nan Chomalecay, igchat iskal nan kakinegselcha ya kafinakangcha. Ikay-atnas nan Aafatan. Oschongona pay nan anoka apon Fookan ad Patyayan. Payew nan Kayongyongan nan mafefegwawan. "Esami pan anoka kakataw-an nan caeb nan kitib, iyak-aklobmis nan anoka fegwew."

Ayya kecheng anoka inmalis nan Finakal. "Isaichingkos nan palotan, achiyak katocing sinan kangonon. Ayya ket samit anoka iyakleb nan anoka kitib sinan fegwew. Mafefegwawan nan ngonon. Ayya ket maktifan nan acamangcha alo-tencha."

Ayya inmalichat sinan Lalanfan.

"Sino pay nan manawat sina?"

"Ay tay pet nan aap-on Madney, aap-on Licho, aap-on Wakwak, siya chana nan aap-on Chacomay." "Chakami pay nan mangipacagcaeb sinan fegwew. Payewmid Amfaciwanay achikami kaplosan. Siya nan mangipacabcab-anmis nan fegwew."

Fegwew an kitib maktifan nan acamangmi, mafegwawan nan payewmi, nan con-gomi, nan anan-ak."

"Eneymi kayyet sinan inacowab. Ay ig man kano ces kegsel nan cha anoka Kafab, ancha anoka Faw-ingan, ancha anoka Chinalpan, ancha anoka Micingan, ig cha makekegsel."

"Inkekegsel nan anan-ak, nan afongcha ya nan kangonon." "Ay intinawidta na."

Pakchelmis nan Paliwakay sikal, insikikal nan ngonon, kegsel, inkekegsel nan anan-ak. Pakchelmis nan Faangay teng-

"May the children here, pigs, chickens and rice be as the undulations of rice on the sorting tray. "He took it to Ablot. They draw their strength towards them, they draw their people, they draw their pigs, they draw their chickens and everything.

He took it to Chomaleg. They don't know anything at Chomaleg, they just boast of their wealth and their bravery. He took it up to Aafatan. He looked down upon the descendants of Fookan at Patyayan (Mainit). The fields of the people at Kayongyongan are continually having fegwew said for them. "Let's say right now the prayer of kitib to pair with the fegwew."

He came to Finakal. "I will lean it against the lime stone. I will not succumb to anything. Let us pair the kitib to the fegwew. May everything to benefited by the fegwew. May their granaries and split fuel be increased by the kitib."

They came to Lalanfan. "Who will receive it here?" Ah, it will be the descendants of Madno, Lichey and Wakwak, these are the descendants of Chacomay." "We are the ones who will have the fegwew said. We do not lose a single crop from our terraces at Amfaciwan.

That is why we keep having the fegwew said. Fegwew and kitib, benefit our granaries, terraces, pig pens, and children."

"Let's take it also to the ones who live below, who are brave. The families of Kafab, Faw-ingan, Chinalpan and Micingan, are the strong ones."

"May our children, houses and everything be strong." "May this serve as an inheritance."

Our pakchel spirits at Paliwak who give increase, increase everything, who are strong, strengthen our children. Our

nen, intetengnen nan anan-ak ya intetengnen nan fangacha, acamangcha.

Ayya sik-a payyay folan, alcew, ad Lacod ya ad Aplay si in-ek-ekanam. Sik-a pay saefanmid Fato, ad Saklang sina ya ad Ponggad, ad anoka Ciwang, mamefeyafeykayo ta anoka incacacab-an si cab-cab-anmis na.

pakchel spirits at Faang who are cool, make "cool" our children their jars and their granaries.

Moreover moon and sun, may your devouring places be to the West and to the East. You also, spirits at the village entrances at Fato, Saklang, Ponggad and Ciwang, erect your barriers against intruders, that what we are saying here may be fulfilled.

Appendix 5

FEGWEW

San sin-aci ay ipocaw, inpatanedcha nan an-akcha. Pay-encha nan chonodno. "Enta man anokas sa manallatey." Isalcha nan challateycha. "Aset etacentakos sa." Iligwatcha nan asocha. Inmeychas nan ponchagchad Finayowan. Inpayebyeb nan asocha, fomeskal nan anopan nan asocha. "Faken sa tay ngilangil nan fab-ana." Akiyencha na asocha, ifaakchas nan faakna. Inpayebyeb nan asocha, fomeskal nan inanopan nan asocha. "Siya sa nan paalan olitaota, tay inyafayab na ingana, inmoliyek nan matana, inkimakim nan sakcodna.

Nal-os inkay-atnas nan Panafal. Losochana, finmakonad. Finakonachana nan sinpanalolocan. Linnmayogchay sin-aci ta fekfekench. Foksacancha, finayowanet, "Siya sa ta way mamalontas nan chono." Inkelwagcha nan etagcha. Sinnmikag nan etagcha, pinnona nan sinpanalolocan. In-anapchas fatawilcha, sigfatencha nan kayafas. "Faken sa tay incheklas." Sigfatencha nan anaychos. Inligwatcha nan fatawilcha ay anaychos, nayoos nan anaychos. "At mayoos nan canak ya nan loweb." Et infatawilcha nan etagcha, finayocha. Insaalchas nan choksolcha.

Infachengcha nan etagcha finayocha mangayyengcha, achi incanges. Kechengay kanan inancha, "Engkayot fegwawan na." Kechengay maligwat nan sin-aci, paykatencha nan afongos kafafaiyancha. Alaencha nan lomyangcha, ichakalchas Layocan. Kechengay manifidcha, naipol nan pinkelcha. "Nganoya maipol nan chonowenta." Pagpacancha nan chalitangtang, nachekyang. Inmeychas nan fafadngancha, namatangcha, tinmakwad nan pinatangcha. "At to-makwad nan canak ya nan loweb."

The two brothers, began the wedding ceremonies of their children. They started the *chono* feasting. "Let's go and bring home the vat stand." They brought home the vat stand. "And now for our meat supply." They began with their dog. They went to their grazing ground at Finayowan. Their dog began to bay. The animal which their dog routed came out. "It's not that, because it has tusks." They called off their dog and went to the other side of the mountain. The dog bayed, and the animal it routed came out. "That's what our uncle sent us for, because its ears are flapping, its eyes are bright and its horns are curved.

It went away and climbed to Panafal. They killed it; it collapsed. It occupied one whole valley. The brothers climbed down to butcher it. They opened the inside and it was full of rice. "This will be our rice supply for the feast." They laid out their meat supply. It increased until it filled the whole valley. They looked for their carrying bars. They downed a guava tree. "Not this because it's smooth." They felled an *anaychos* tree. They started with their carrying bars bent with the load. "May they be 'loaded down' with children and possessions." They carried home their meat and rice supply and placed it in their house.

When it was set down they sang the *ayyeng*, but it did not resound. Their mother said, "Go and say the *fegwew*." The brothers started, tore off the *afongos* of their sister. They made thread and rolled it into a ball. "Those whom we are wedding will probably be 'rolled.'" They beat their *chalitangtang* and it split open. They went to the place where they usually set down their loads, and placed them down. They piled up. "May their children and possessions be piled high." They viewed the

Cholyongancha nan ichewcha, lafayen nan tapina, chaecen nan tapina, fegwasen nan tapina. Komay-atchas nan eelsachancha. "Nakna nan tinakchegta. Nganoya makna nan canak ya na loweb."

Comchangchas nan Chalimono. Echasanchas olitaöcha, "Sak-en chiyay makilafeyak an chakayo, inlafeykayo, ya inlafeyak. Engkayo ta lalanyo nan fosolyo." Inmeychas nan faakna, lalayancha nan fosolcha, ay Imachengla. Isopichakcha nan falescha. Kecheng mangelyacha. Naikolit ad tag-ey, mateltelecy nan lota. Inmalichad Chalimono, nangelyachad Chalimono, maikolit ad tag-ey, mateltelecy nan lota. Inmalichas Patok, nangelyachas Patok, naikolit nan elyachad tag-ey, makiskisol nan atol.

Linmayogchad Saklang, nangelyachad Saklang. Makiskisol nan atol, nateltelecy nan lota, maikolit ad tag-ey. Kankanan inacha, "Sanacha tet-ewa nan sin-acyay mamegwew sinan chono." Somaalchas Layocan. Iniyammacha nan lawicha, linmongchawi nan lawicha. Iniyammacha nan fakwalcha, sinmilet nan taklaycha. Iniyammacha nan fowayacha, cinomtang nan kekkeg-ewcha. Infayaongecha kafafaiyancha. Sisilongena nan kaomiliyenchacha. "Nakna nan fegwew sisa, namakaltakos sa. Sacongentakot san chono." Omeychas san afongcha, mangayyengcha. Incanges nan ayyengcha. "Ay entakot mangil-iliyen san caeb san kitib."

Eneychas nan Ifaney. Iyalichas nan Ifatad, iyalichas nan Ichomalig. Omalis nan Lobwacan, omalis nan Itenglayan, omalis nan Isaklit, omalis nan Masici. "Masigici nan canak ya nan kangonon." Omalichas na Abnot, omonot chanas nan canak, ya omonot chanas nan loweb. Ikay-atchas nan Chomaleg, iibtaad chatona kachinakelcha, iibtaad chanan kakinegselcha. Komay-atchas nan Afatan, oschongana nan Chontocan sinan Patyayan. Igchangnas nan ap-on Angciyaw

omen birds. Some were giving the *lafay* omen, some the *chaeg* and some the *fegwas* omen. They climbed to their shouting place." Our standing here is sufficient. The children and possessions will probably be sufficient."

They went along to Chalimono. Their uncle reached them. "It was I who shouted with you. When you called out, I called out. Go and arouse your enemies." They went to the other side and aroused their enemies, the people of Machengla. They laid flat the enemy taken for revenge. They shouted their victory call. It made a mark above, the earth shook. They came to Chalimono. They shouted at Chalimono, it was marked above, the earth shook. They came to Patok, shouted at Patok. It marked above, the stones of the wall knocked against each other.

They descended Saklang. They shouted at Saklang. The stones of the wall knocked against each other, the earth shook, it was marked above. Their mother said, "This is truly the brothers who are saying the *fegwew* for the feast." They came home to Layocan. They made their arm bands. They fitted tightly. They made their necklaces, they sat well on their chests. They placed the *fayaong* blanket on their sister. She was an attraction to their fellow villagers. "The *fegwew* there is sufficient, we have taken our revenge. Let's get back to the feast." They go to their house and sing the *ayyeng*. It rings out. "Let's take the *kitib* prayer from village to village."

They take it to the people of Faney. They bring it to the people of Fatad, and Chomalig. It goes to Lubuagan, and to the people of Tenglayan, and Saklit. It goes to Masici. "May the offspring and everything be as the undulating of the rice-sorter's tray." They go to Abnot. These are they who pull back their offspring, and their possessions. They take it up to Chomaleg. These here are they who are proud of their wealth, and proud of their strength.

sinan *Fatyangan*. *Saichingna nan palotana ay napacatan ya naofanan.*

"*At maofanan nan chonowenyo.*" *Somopang sinan Lalanfan. Sagsacangena nan langeb.* "Sino san manad-awat sinan caeb nan fegwew ya na kitib?" *Tomfal chadlo nan apon Madney, nan Licho nan Sacomay, "Chakami nan comacalinsaechan ay kakachangyan, chonchonowenmi nan an-akmi kakataw-anmi nan caeb nan fegwew, ya nan caeb nan kitib."*

"*Mafegwawan nan anan-ak, mafegwawan nan fotog, mafegwawan nan payew, ya mafegwawan nan acamangcha. Minkitim nan acamangcha, minkitim nan congocha. Masol-efan nan congocha, omanet-et nan kocongcha.*"

Ipaytokmos nan Inacowafay mamakeg-sel." *Tinomfal nan Pacawed, nan Chinalpan, nan Faw-ingan.* "Chakami nan mamakegselay, incagcaebkamis nan fegwew sinan inatag-ey." "Pakchelmis nan Paliwakay kegsel ya sikal, somikal nan megmecan si anan-ak sina, macanak si anan-ak sina. Pakchelmis nan Faangay tengnen. Intetengnan nan kangonon."

They go to Afatan, and look down on Chontocan at Patyayan (Mainit). He takes it to the descendants of Angciyaw at Fatyangan. He leaned against a piece of lime stone with projections covered in lichen.

"May the ones you are feasting become grayheaded." He goes over to Lalanfan. He faces towards Cangeb. "Who will receive the *kitib* and *fegwew*?" The descendants of Madney, Licho and Sacomay answered, "We are the ones who are the *comacalinsaechan* of the rich, we feast our children and say the *fegwew* and *kitib*."

"May children, pigs, ricefields and their granaries be benefited by the *fegwew*. May the boards of their granaries and the stones of their pigpens fit tightly together. May their pens be filled with pigs, and their coops with chickens."

"You take it to those who dwell below, the strong ones." The families of Pacawed, Chinalpan and Faw-ingan answered, "We are the strong ones who continually say the *fegwew* for those who live above." Our *pakchel* spirits at Paliwak, who are strong and give increase, the things fed by the children here, and the offspring of the children here. Our *pakchel* spirits at Faang, who are cool, "cool" everything.

Appendix 6

INLIWENG

Sin-aciway ipocaw chinokawcha nan laegcha, inmeychas natimochan chanom. Ayya inmalichad Faliwen, finog-isancha. Inmoskok nan fotog, inmalokiyek nan manok. Inmalichad Cawa, finog-isanchad Cawa. Inmoskok nan fotog nan Imaliyokan. Inmalokiyek nan manok nan Imaliyokan.

Inmalid Paling finog-isancha. Inmoskok nan fotog san Icensachan. Inmalokiyek nan manok san Ipaingan. Ifat-ilnas san Kalawitan, oschonganas inanad Sacapa. Ayya pinmaytok infacana, "Ayki way fotogyo. Ayya sanas fotogmiyay napaw-ingan. As pay manokyo, sanas manokmi ay nasangcicitan. As pay onasyo, sanas onasmis nan falok nan oma-miyay natod-awan."

Inacipit san sin-aci nan siniwangancha enchat chinolyongan. Ayya key natod-awan tet-ewa. Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Inyesen san sin-aci patpatencha. Inmonod si kafafaiyancha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, chowa naowakan ya kachinniwakal nan inowakana. Ayya inwakascha kano payya. Insacongcha, nasengwel nan inlingsawayancha. "Masengwel san afan san anan-ak sina."

Pinmatongcha, igtangcha san chama-cancha, lادلachancha. Insacongcha inmafaya san linadlalachancha. Finocawan-cha nan kafayfaycha. Inatoteycha, Inneychad Cafelay socon apocha. Infachengcha. Linamagna nan ingan nan amocawen. "Lamlamacen si anan-ak ya kangonon." Ayya kecheng kano payyay. "As pay inlebkantakos sa." Ayya inacamidcha nan lebbkan apocha nalaetan. Penpenanchas nan onas. Ayya kechengay inchothallicha ay inlefek. Ayya ket chowa mapayyokong. Ayya chowachat taoken. Chowan mapno nan chalaycha.

The two brothers put their *laeg* in their hip bags and went to the gathering of the water. They came to Faliwen, and sprinkled wine. The pigs grunted and the chickens clucked. They came to Cawa and sprinkled wine, the pigs of the Malyokan people grunted and their chickens clucked.

They came to Paling and sprinkled wine. The pigs of the Censachan (Bontoc) people grunted and the chickens of the Paingan people clucked. He branched off to Kalawitan, and looked down on his mother at Sacapa. He descended and said to her, "You don't have any pigs do you? There is our pig with well developed tusks. What about your chickens? There are our chickens with well developed spurs. What about your sugar cane? There is fully grown sugar cane in the shaded part of our field."

They put the necessary tools under their arms, and went and viewed it. It was definitely fully grown. The brothers bent down and cut the cane. Their sister followed them. The bark of the cane was becoming stripped off and the prepared cane was lying in jumbled heaps. They worked day and night. They looked back, the place where they had been working was cluttered. "May the carrying blankets of our children here be crisscrossed."

They sat down and fitted together the base of their mill.

They began crushing. They looked back, the crushed cane was piled up. They shouted for their neighbours, and transferred it to Cafel, their ancestors cooking place. They put it down and it rose to the top of the huge rock. "May children, here and everything be continually rising." "What about a pounding place here?" They went to get the long mortar of their grandparents which was dirty through disuse. They filled it with sugar-cane, and swayed together as they pound-

Ayya kinwanina kano pay ces, "As pay-yet inastantas sa."

Ayya inacamidcha nan felfel inkem-adcha. Sinikhodcha ya inkached. Ayya inlaw-incha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, inacamidcha nan cholochochog apocha ay pangalin-awin ya. Ayya siya san ikemadcha ya. Ya kecheng kano payyay. Ayya sikchochencha kano pay ya inyadyachang. "Ayya yomachang si anan-ak sina ya kangonon."

Ayya nanangacha kano pay ya titinyaak nan chanomna. Chowan mapno nan chalaycha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Kinwanina kano pay ces, "Engkayot manganen nan inamongtakos sa, ta engkami naafoyowen. Engkayo manet manganen nan inamongtakos sa."

Ya kasi memetcha nan inamongcha. Faloncha ay inakad, san folfolcha nasa-walan. Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Ayya inmalialinebnebcha. Sanas alitaocha. "Ayya nal-oto man sa, enyo ad-i faoken?" "Aka mampay ta isoblim ta faokem tay nasolapankamis nan walon alcew, walon lafiyan." Ayya kecheng alan olitaona, ya faokena.

Alana san inacipitna ay edpay, ilomognas nan esa. Kalofean chadlos nan falat. Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Alana san mema, ilomognas nan esa ya. Ayya intangad sinan acamang apocha. Ayya intatayon nan paniki. Ayya inpaykatna nan payakna. Siya san mangalobnas na esa. Kinwanin kano ces Kamfonyan, "Achiyo man ces simsimsiman ta mafengchaan nan folan." Ayya nafengchaan nan folan, sana kano ces si Lomawig. Ayya nakanalisang nan cayangnas nan moling. Ayya napapket kanos nan molingan. Kamfonyan pet na tay pomket nan cayangnas nan moling, inwikiwikawik.

"Womikawik si anan-ak sina ya kangonon." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, alanas nan inacipitna ay tailna. Ayya kecheng kano ces lokifena san kinalobna, simsimana, nasaschaal. "Ayya siya manet

ed. The juice began to come out. They began to dip it out. Their jars became full. He also said, "What about our inastan?"

They brought a small pine tree and set it in place. They knocked it and it wobbled. They put it aside and brought a ridge pole of their ancestors, made of pangalin-awin. They put it in position, and pushed it. It moved freely up and down. "May children here, and everything move freely up and down."

They performed the nanga ceremony and the cane juice flowed freely. Their jars became filled. He also said, "Go and feed the people we have gathered here. We are going to boil the juice. Suppose you go and feed them."

The people were easily satisfied. There was much left over of their meal of mixed rice and camote. They were working industriously when their uncle came. "It's cooked, isn't it? Why don't you dip it out?" "Come then and relieve us and dip it out. We are fatigued by working eight days and nights." His uncle came and dipped it out.

He took the edpay berries which he had been carrying under his arm, and he put it in one jar. Covered it with the usual banana leaf cover. He took some betel nut and put it in one. He looked up to the granary of his ancestors and saw a bat hanging there. He ripped off its wings. This what he covered it with. Kamfonyan also said, "Don't you taste this lot till half moon." When it was half moon, Lomawig came. He just knocked his spear against a smooth stone and it embedded itself. This is surely Kamfonyan — he stuck his spear into a rock, it vibrated.

"May children here and everything be vibrant." He took his wine gourd from under his arm. He raised the lid of one he had covered and tasted it. It is good hard wine, "This is what we will use

na nan infen-agtako ta anak-entako nan anaktako. As payyet anakdpay, as payyet challateytako.”

Pinachang san sin-aci san wasaycha, inmeychas san chachallateyancha. Ayya abafoyaancha san apepa ay felfel. Ayya inmonod si oliiaocha. “Ayya faken sa. Cheey sinan naddkongana, nafosacan, namokonan. Siya anoka pay.” “Mamokonan si anan-ak sina. Ifosacanchas loweb si kaomiliyencha.” Inmeycha, inatopakancha. Inmey san sin-acyiet, inatopakancha pinalakana nan simpangomaan. “Pep-elakanyoy kangonon.” Inmonod san sin-acyiet kanatayencha. Ayya kecheng walowencha. Salngencha san poona, challateycha san cawana. Manangenchas ochona. Mamachekchas pangana. Ayya inatoteycha, insaalchas nan pantewcha. Magcew nan nangicheplancha.

Ayya kinwanin kano ces Lomawig, “Engkayot alan nan chinog-anayoy fafoy.” Ayya inloob san sin-aci san chocongcha. Chepapencha san fafoy ay chinog-anancha, intakchangcha pay ya tinelchiyancha. Pinlakana nan piladcha. Sinfotingcanan nan fasana. Ayya inchakalcha, langnancha. Yodyochowena nan fatangay challateycha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, iniskepcha. Fekfekencha, pinmanipanitagcha. Chowan mapno nan talakacha. Chowan maifelyad. Ayya kecheng nanablotcha kano pay. Infay-otna nan sikagcha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, inchakal kalalakiyana nan segyapna, ikem-adna Sinomcep kano pay ces ya, incelmasna nan sinlachang. Inchakalna. Intob-ongna, insaksaktotoy napno. Ayya insongay kafafaiyana nan langcana, walisanas san finayowan. Insaksaktotoy napno. Ayya key taktakhecana. “Naloto man nan etagyo, tay nan makantakot naloto.”

Insacong san sin-aci, ak-akatencha san etagcha. Chowan mangapngapan nan licaocha. Cecechencha, ikensabcha, iwatwatcha. Iyakakopcha nasawaan nan

in the wedding of our child. And now for the vat stand.”

The brothers put their axes over their shoulders and went to the place where they usually put their vatstands. They discussed a small pine tree which was *apepa*. Their uncle followed them. “Not that one. There — in the valley, the one with cones, and well matured.” “May children here be fruitful, may they acquire the most valued possessions of their fellow villagers.” The brothers went and cut it down; it covered one whole kaingan. “May you take all to yourselves.” The brothers followed and walked along it. They cut it into eight pieces. They used the lowest for pitch pine, the middle for the vat stand, the top for the base of the stand and the branches for pegs. They carried them and brought them home to the front of their house. The setting of them was fine.

Lomawig also said, “Go and get the pig that you have reared.” The brothers led their *chocong*. They caught the pig that they had reared, lifted it out of the pen, and killed it. It splashed their thighs. Its blood filled one basin. They took it outside, and burned off the hair. It made the vat stand bump up and down. They took it inside and butchered it. Their knife kept knocking against the bones. Their basket became full and began to give way. They placed it on a shelf, and the shelf sagged. One brother took out the vat and placed it on the stand.

He went inside again and sliced off one piece of meat, and took it out. He put it in the vat, and it became brimming full. His sister brought out a basin and tipped in the rice. It became brimming full. As she was standing there, she said, “Your meat is probably cooked, because our rice is cooked.”

The brothers turned back and took out their meat. Their trays were piled up. They sliced it into pieces, they made big pieces and distributed it, then scraped

etagcha. Ol-olitan, kafafaiyancha nan langcana, chinmalinsak, walacana san inamongcha. Ayya kasimemetchacha san inamongcha. "Ayya kamfonyan pet chana tay, nasawalan nan kangonon." "Enta manet iyawid nan tachok." Inkayatnas nan Kalawitan, paytoknas nan Paling. Inawawan san Ipaling. Ayya anoka pay incelmasna san sinlachang. "Achiyo fangaen sa, ta sangchalenyo. Kechengyo sinpangiliyan."

Ayya inmey ad Cawa, inawawan san Icawa. Incelmasna san sinlachang. "Achiyo fangaen sa. Kechengyo sinpangiliyan." Ayya inmey ad Faliwen. Inawawan san Ifaliwen. Incelmasna san sinlachang. "Achiyo fangaen, sangchalenyo. Kechengyoy sinpangiliyan." Ayya inmey ad natimochan chanom. Mamamchek nan matana ad Falatok Matammok.

Iscepnas nan chakelay powag fan-ecay powag. Ayya inmey ad Macayyepyep. "Inliniwengtas na ya infinasita." Ayya nap-alan ad Macayyepyep sinan inliniwengta ya na infinasita, ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey."

Ayya inmeychas nan Fagwang, nap-alan nan inliniwengcha infinasicha ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey. Ayya inmeychad Chakachag, kinachoychoyanchad Chakachag sinan inliniwengcha, infinasicha, ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey.

Ayya inmalichas nan Malobfan. Nap-alan ad Malobfan, sinan inliniwengcha, infinasicha ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey.

Ayya inmalichas nan Palas. "Achitas na tay inlingsaway nan filig." Pinmaytokchas nan Fangek, ninmanganekngek nan inliniwengcha, infinasicha, ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey. Ayya inmalichas nan Mafaay. Finolcancha nan Mafaay. Finolcancha nan Mafaay sinan inliniwengcha,

together the leftovers. Their sister took some rice and placed it in the basin. The rice increased and served the gathered people. They were easily satisfied. "These people are all-powerful, because there is more than enough of everything." "Let's take back the portion of our parents." He climbed Kalawitan and descended to Paling. The Paling people discussed him. He sliced one piece of meat. "Don't put it in a pot, put it in a vat. That's enough for you, fellow villagers."

He went to Cawa. The Cawa people discussed him. He sliced one piece of meat. "Don't put it in a pot. That's sufficient for you, fellow villagers." He went to Faliwen. The Faliwen people discussed him. He sliced one piece of meat. "Don't put it in a pot, put it in a vat. That's sufficient, fellow villagers." He went to the gathering of the water.

His eyes were attracted to Falatok Matammok. He went inside a big *powag*, and a small *powag*. He went to Macayyepyep. "Let's say the *liniweng* and *finasi* here." These prayers filled Macayyepyep with children, pigs, chickens and rice.

They went to Fagwang, which by the *liniweng* and the *finasi* was filled with children, pigs, chickens and rice. They went to Chakachag. The *liniweng* and the *finasi* caused a cascade of children, pigs, chickens and rice at Chakachag.

They came to Malobfan. Their *liniweng* and *finasi* filled Malobfan with children, pigs, chickens and rice.

They came to Palas. "Not here, because this mountain is easy to pass across." They descended to Fangek. There was the sound of their *liniweng* and *finasi* which brought children, pigs, chickens and rice. They came to Mafaay. They passed through Mafaay saying their *liniweng* and *finasi*. They descended to

infinasicha. Pinmaytokchas nan Palew. Nap-alan sinan inliniweng cha, infinasicha, ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey.

Ayya inmalichas nan Maacob, "Achitas na tay in-angsona ay chanom.

Ayya inmalichas nan Saklalan. Nap-alan ad Saklalan, sinan inliniwengcha, ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey, kasafosafog, kamoyomoyong, kaofiofi.

Ayya kecheng kano payyay, insinalangayencha. Kaw-en nan esad Mafofolong. Kaw-en nan esad Alongan. Afatchas nan Chegchecan. Ayya key inmalichas nan Chegchecan. Ayya kasitotokey as afongcha Pichap ad Chongliyan, Ayya kecheng kano payyay, pinmaytokchas nan isiisan, inchananacha nan inkofokfotan nan lamot nan kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey, kaofiofi, kasafosafog, kaangsaangsan kano.

Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Inmalichas nan Lammag. Nap-alan sinan inliniwengcha infinasicha ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kaangsaangsan.

Ayya omalichas nan Wachawwad, insalangayencha. Kaw-en nan esad Nagwa. Kaw-en na esad Cattin. Afatchas nan Taktakanaw. Nap-alan sinan Taktakanaw, sinan inliniwengcha, infinasicha ay kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kaangsaangsan.

Ayya kecheng inmalichas nan Amfayyekan. Finolcancha nan akop ad Amfayyekan sinan inliniwengcha, infinasicha, ay kaanaan-ak, katotofotog, kamanomanok, kaangsaangsan.

Ayya omalichas Fotfottowan, "Achitas na tay in-acob nan tain nan inacag nan kakachangyan ad Cinaang."

Ayya omalicha pay sinan Kafatto ya anamlengen nan anak si Icinaang, chai-cha. "Into nan nalpowanacha tosa tay inlinang nan poton nan anan-ak poton nan fotog ya kapacepacey, ig fecasna kano." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, insalangayencha. Kaw-en na esas an Fal-

*Palew, which by their *liniweng* and *finasi* was filled with children, pigs, chickens and rice.*

They came to Maacob, "Not here because the water has a bad smell."

They came to Saklalan, which by their *liniweng* and *finasi* was filled with children, pigs, chickens, rice, millet, beans, and camote.

They parted company. One went via Mafofolong, one went via Alongan. They met at Chegchecan. They came to Chegchecan. Everyone in the house of Pichap at Chongliyan (Mainit) was talking. They went down to the place where the water drips, and came upon the establishing of the root of children, pigs, chickens, rice, millet and many other things.

They came to Lammag. It was filled by their *liniweng* and *finasi* with children, pigs, chickens and many other things.

They came to Wachawwad and parted company. One went via Nagwa, the other went via Cattin. They met at Taktakanaw. It was filled with their *liniweng* and *finasi* with children, pigs, chickens and many other things.

They came to Amfayyekan. They passed along the retaining wall saying their *liniweng* and *finasi* for children, pigs, chickens and many other things.

They came to Fotfottowan, "Not here, because it smells badly of the excrement of the employees of the rich people of Guinaang."

They came to Kafatto, and the children of the Guinaang people began to speak scornfully of them. "Where did these come from, because their children's and pig's stomachs are shiny, and it is said that their rice plants produce much grain." They parted company. One went

nod Tongfal. Kaw-en na esas an Chakkoyan ad Al-al. Ayya kasi kano totokey nan inliniwengchas nan afong Falnod Tongfal. Napnocha kano pay nan kangono sinan afong Falnod Tongfal. "Ayya pep-engentat nan caeb nan inliniweng, infinasis na. Ayya sik-a pay ama, ya sik-a ina, kananyo pay nan kaamaanyo ta kapkapyanyo nan inliniweng, infinasis na ta canakentakot nan anan-ak sina, ta way kaisiksikomanyo nan ag-acom nan ipocaw. Wad-enyoy fotogcha, manokcha, infecasenyoy isamal si anan-ak sina bay. Ayya sik-a pay Tomaak, ya sik-a Kang-it, kananyo nan kaam-aanyo, ya kain-aanyo ta kapkapyanyo nan inliniweng ya infinasis na ta, canakentakot nan anan-ak sina, ta wachaenyoy fotog, manokcha, infecasenyoy isamalcha. Ayya sik-a pay ces Wangchali, ya sik-a Kapo ayya kananyo nan kaam-aanyo ya kain-aanyo ta kapkapyanyo nan inliniweng sina, ya infinasis na pay tay canakentakot si anan-ak sina pay, tay chowak chakayo aw-awacan, chakayo pay.

Ayya chakayo pay Chayawen, an Angyap, kananyo man nan kaam-aanyo kain-aanyo, ta kapkapyanyo nan inliniweng sina, ya infinasis na, ta canakentakot si anan-ak sina, tay maiwed nangotok sina, canakentakot manet, si anan-ak sina pay. Wachaenyoy si fotog, wachaenyoy manokcha infecasenyoy paceycha, ta ig infolingling si isamal si anan-ak sina. Sik-a pay aces Fiyachang, ayya kanam si amam, ya si inam, ta kapkapyanyo nan inliniweng, sina pay, ya sik-a pay ces Fay-ed, iyag-acacawmo nan apacamos na tay, ta waschin at-atowanana nan afong si anan-ak sina, esa, chowa, tolo, epat, lima, enem, pito, walo, siyam, po, saksaktoto napno.

to the house of Falno at Tongfal. One went to the house of Chakkoyan at Al-al. There the *liniweng* was said. Everything was filled at the house of Falno at Tongfal. "Let's end here, the saying of *liniweng* and *finasi*. You father, and you mother tell your fathers to say the *liniweng* and *finasi*, so that we will make children here fruitful, so that there will be invitations to you in the feasting of the people. Make there be pigs and chickens. Make the toil of the children here fruitful. You also Tomaak and you Kangit, tell your mothers and fathers to say the *liniweng* and *finasi*, so that we will make our children here fruitful. Make there be pigs and chickens and make fruitful their toil. You also Wangchali, and you Kapo, tell your fathers and mothers to say the *liniweng* and *finasi* so that we will make our children here fruitful, because I am calling on each of you.

You moreover, Chayawen and Angyap, tell your fathers, and your mothers to say the *liniweng* and *finasi* so that we will make our children here fruitful, because we don't know anything here, let's make our children fruitful here. Make there be pigs, and chickens, make fruitful their rice, so that their toil will be seen in full heads of rice. You also Fiyachang, tell your father and mother to say the *liniweng* and you also Fay-ed, help yourself to your coconut shell; each one of you guard the house of the children here. One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, brimming full.

Appendix 7

ALAWIG

San sin-aciyyay ipocaway. Ikamem-anay encha omilas chaw-ayencha. Ayya ke alaencha kano lawa san songkayogchaet ninchaselcha ya. Alanchat san cayangchat ninpad-angcha. Alancha san segyap kafafaiyancha, ninsalichongcha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, namiligchat, inmeychad Kalawitan. Oshonganchas anak Focan ad Kay-ang. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, pomaytokcha, asaw-enas iyon-ana.

Ayya kecheng kinwanin naochina, "Ayya enta kano, enta man ces omilas anoka pay. Entat inchaw-ay sissak inkowa." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, omalichas Nangafengya. Ayya ke oschongancha. "Ayya ke inkapaengan chana ay anak si Itofeng chana."

Ayya ke in-awidchas san Cadcad ya. Ayya ke oschonganchas anak Fatangalay matalatong ad Kafellaw.

Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Ay ke imalicha san sin-aci. Ayya ke alancha kano san sinlem-angay falatong ya inpagpagna kano pay, ya sinkaong. Alancha san sinlem-angay itab, ya inpagpagcha ya sintayaan. Ayya kinwanin san sin-aci, "Ayya saaltako manet ta satakot maas-asawa," kinwanin nan sinaci. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, mafolegchat, somaalcha ya kinwanin san sinaci, "Sosom-edkayos na ta engkami toyaen si amami."

Ayya kecheng kano payyay, sasad-encha tet-ewa ya. Insodsodchan amacha ay Fatangal. "Ayyo ke kay nan inomchanay, ipagpagcha san sinlem-ang ay falatong, ya sinkaong. Ipagpagcha san sinlem-ang ay itab ya sintayaan. Ayya ke cha kanaan, "Maas-asawakami." Ayya kinwanin amacha ay Fatangal, "Engkayo ayacan man ta somaalkayo." Ayya kecheng kano payyay inmeycha san sin-aciyyet, ayacancha ya sinmaalcha. Ayya kecheng kano-way, kinwanin Fatangal, "Ayya esakayo

The two brothers of Kamem-an went to look for a village, into which they could marry. They took with them a small Chinese jar, as an indication of their inheritance. They took their spears and carried them across their shoulders. They took the vat of their sister, and one carried it over his head. They followed a ridge that took them to Kalawitan. They looked down on the child of Focan at Kay-ang. They descended and the elder brother married her.

The younger brother said, "Let's go and look for mine." They came to Nangafeng. They looked down. "These the children of the Tofeng (Talobin) people here are black with soot."

They returned to Cadcad, and looked down on the children of Fatangal who were collecting pods of black beans at Kafellaw.

The brothers came. They got a bundle of the pods and struck them and the beans filled one *kaong* basket. They took a bundle of *itab* beans and they filled one *tayaan* basket. The brothers said, "Let's go home, so we can get married." They followed one another home. The sisters said, "You wait here while we go talk it over with our father."

So they waited. They (the sisters) related what had happened, to their father Fatangal, "Wow, the ones who came to us, they beat one bundle of black beans and there was a *kaong* basket full. They beat one bundle of *itab* beans and there was a *tayaan* basket full. Then they said, 'Let's get married.'" Their father Fatangal said, "Go and call them to come home." The sisters went and called them, and they came home. Fatangal said, "Go ahead and marry if you love each

maas-asawa mo masilayadkayo." *Ayya kecheng kinwanin anoka pay, sin-aci* "Sakami maas-asawa."

Ayya kecheng kano payyay sakfen Fatangal chaicha ya. Ayya kecheng kano pay ilaenchaet, insinsinaladsad kano san canakchad Kafellaw. Ayya inmalialiwen. Ayya ket kinwanin nan inapon Fatangalay Lomawig, "Ayya satako manet pay-en si chono." *Ayya kinwanin Fatangal, "Ayya sino man nan satako idno?"*

Ayya kinwanin nan inapona, "Ayya cididna man sa." *Ayya kecheng kano payyay, in-alan san iyanoka pay, inapona san soldkodna, chotchot si manok ya in-alana ya pay-enas nan kocong. Alanas san chotchot si fotog ya pay-enas nan congo.*

Ayya ilana kanowet kasingengeknek nan fotog. Ilana kano san manok assan kocong ya kasiaalokiyek.

Ayya kecheng kano payyay, inmey kanos san ponchagcha ya, inyoka. Ayya fomeskal kano pay ya ngilangil. "Ayya faken sa tay inatakchag nan pay-enmi." *Ayya kasi kano pay inyoka ayya chomakal kano pay. Inyafayab nan ingana ya. Ayya inkimakim nan sakcodna ya in-oliyek nan matana. "Ayya siya sa nan idnomi tay inatakchag nan pay-enmi."* *Ayya kecheng kano payyay, insaalcha ya.*

Ayya kecheng kano payyay, aces kinmayat sinan Cabcab. Inlingsawana san esa ay felfel, tep-alna ad Kafellaw. Kasina inlingsawan san esa ya intep-alna kayyet. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, pinmaytok ya. Ena kano ilaen nan cheklican, intangiangana ya. Ayya ketna kano pafochosen nan kasangchasangchal.

Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Ayya inpaeycha san chonoya. Ayya ilancha kano payyet anoka pay, chekatencha san acicha. Ayya esachat cabcab-an san alawig.

Ayya ilancha kano payyet naal-alawican nan anan-ak ya. Ayya ilancha kano paypay maal-alawican nan fotog, nan paceycha, manokcha. Ayya nalpaschi san chonocha ya. Ayya ket kinwanin kano ces Lomawig, "Ayya in-eskantako manet nas jalay."

other." The sisters said, "We will get married."

Fatangal performed the necessary wedding ceremonies for them. Their offspring at Kafellaw came one after the other. After a long time passed Lomawig, the son-in-law of Fatangal said, "Let's perform the *chono* feast." Fatangal said, "What shall we use for our *chono*?" His son-in-law said, "Don't worry about that". The son-in-law got his staff, and some chicken feathers which he put in a coop. He got some hair of a pig and put it in a pig pen.

He saw that there were grunting pigs there. He saw in the coop that there chickens were clucking.

He went to their grazing grounds and called. Out came a *ngilangil*. "Not this because we will be having a ceremony with standing posts." He called again, and it came out. Its ears were flapping, it had curved horns, and its eyes were bright. "This is what we will use for our *chono*, because we are having a ceremony with standing posts." They took it home.

He climbed again to Cabcab. He lopped off the branches of a pine tree, and threw it to Kafellaw. He lopped the branches from another pine tree, and threw it. He descended then. He went to see his granary, and knocked the door peg out. He handed out his vats.

He then started the *chono*. They saw it and invited their relatives. Then they said the *alawig*.

They saw moreover that their children were benefited by the *alawig*. When their *chono* was finished Lomawig said, "Let's plant a gourd plant here."

Ayya kechang kano payyay, pay-enad Aplay na esa ya pay-enad Lacod na esa ya. Ayya noknokena, san nalpod Aplay nangafolanay. Noknokena nan nalpod Lacod. Ayya ke nafalatey nan kaanaananak, nan kafotofotog, nan kamanomanok nan kapacepacey.

"Ayya ked-eng pan tay, mafalatey si kaanaananak, kafotofotog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey." Ayya kinwanina kano ces, "Ayya akayo manet ta moyangawenyo mo sino nan chinomno."

Ayya kecheng kano payyay kinmay-atchas nan Pokis ya. Ayya moyangawencha kano pay ad anoka pay, Litangfan pay. "Fakencha nan chinomno". Moyangawencha kano pay ad Chalikan, "Fakencha nan chinomno." Ayya sacangenchad Patyayan ya, "Chicha pet nan chinomno." Esachat chekaten nan kafecaangcha ya. Esachat cabcab-an nan alawig, awnit malawican nan anan-ak ya, maal-alawican nan fotog, nan manok, nan pacey ya. Esachat inomen san chanomcha ya ilab-caycha, ilamningcha. Kanencha san makancha, ilabsaycha. Kanencha san ischacha ya, ikegselcha. Ayya inomencha san fayascha ya. Ayya kechat ikegsel. Ayya ked-eng payyay, ilig-idchat madkat-cha san acicha ya. "Ayya kecheng kano payyay, esachat cabcab-an san alawig asan fenget san ilicha. Awnit maal-alawican nan kangonon sina pay."

He then put one child in the West, and he put one in the East. He went to see the one in the West, it was unfruitful. He went to see the one in the East. Children, pigs, chickens and rice had produced prodigiously.

"Well, children, pigs, chickens, rice are producing prodigiously." He also said, "Come and look about to see who is performing a *chono*."

They climbed up to Pokis. They looked around on Litangfan (Guinaang). "They are not having a *chono*." They looked over to Dalican. "They are not having a *chono*." They turned to face toward Patyayan (Mainit). "These are the ones having a *chono*." Then they called the surrounding villages to visit. Then they said the *alawig*. Soon the children, pigs, chickens and rice were benefited by the *alawig*. They then drank of their water, and it made them healthy, it refreshed them. They ate of their rice and it helped them. They ate of their meat and it strengthened them. They drank of their sugar cane wine and it made them brave. Then they stood aside so that their relatives could enter the village. "Then they said the *alawig* at the edge of the village and soon everything was benefited by it."

Appendix 8

AMOLO

Ayya ke inmeychad Kamem-an sinifochancha nan asocha ya. Ayya ke inmeychachan nan Fato, namokatcha. Ayya chinigchig san asocha. Ayya nal-os ad Iyol. Ayya inmonodcha, nal-os ad Langtacan. Ayya inmeychad Langtacan ya, nal-os as An-amsengseng, ayya ke inmeycha as An-amsengseng ya. Ayya ketchat palengen nan asocha ya achi polos machakol san asocha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Naaminanchas faloncha ya kinwanin iyon-ana, "Ayya enka manet omalas falonta tay as mafayedtaad Kamem-an." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, socholena nan naochinaet omalid Kamem-an ya. Ayya kinwanina, "As falonmi man tay anoka pay, achi polos kachakol nan asomi." Ayya anoka sadsad-enas kafafaiyana. "Ay into man mo anoka inano-pan ya nan isaalyo ya? Chanenat ces ya falonyo." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, inligwat kalalakiyana san falonna, idanas nan iyon-anas Amsengseng ya. Ayya insodsod sinan iyon-ana. Ayya ke pet kano lawa, inchagchaceng kano lawa san anoka pay kafafaiyancha ay kana-naen into mo inano-pancha san isaalcha ya, chanena ya, ayya ke fales aces nan encha iyocod. Ayya ket sana kano ces, olitaocha kinwanina, "Ya sino pay nan chokchokolenyo?" "Ayya nan asomi man tay achi polos machakol." Ayya kinwanin olitaocha, "Maid machakol man tay chaan ay yapyap nan chaca. Ayya awni kayyet ta esatakot folochan nan anoka pay, ta mapep-eng nan inliwatan nan asoyo, inliwatan nan anoka ipocaw."

Ayya kecheng kano pay, kinmay-at sisan Kalawitan. Ayya kecheng nintopakena, pay-enad Pamcasan na esa ya. Ayya pay-enad Palas na esa. Ayya kecheng kinwanina, "Ayye pan ta pokitantakos natimochan chanom, ta siyay anoka pay, maanok-an nan chaca ta mapep-eng si inliwatan si ipocaw ya inliwatan si asoyo."

Ayya kinwanin san sin-aci, "Ya nan man kafafaiyanmi?" "As icadna man sa," in-

They went to Kamem-an and tied a lead on their dog. They went to Fato, where they loosed it. They followed it, it passed by Langtacan. They went to Langtacan and it had gone to An-amsengseng. They went to An-amsengseng. They called their dog to rest, but it didn't even put in an appearance. They became short of food. The older brother said, "Go and get some food, as we will be staying longer than we expected at Kamem-an." He sent his younger brother, who came to Kamem-an. He said, "How about some more food, because our dog hasn't shown up, even once." He waited for his sister. She said "Where is the animal you went to hunt out and bring home? Now again you're just asking for food." The brother started with his food and took it to his older brother at Amsengseng. He then told his brother how, unfortunately, their sister was reluctant, and wanted to know where the animal was that they had gone to hunt out and bring home, and said that they were just out hunting for a revenge killing. Then their uncle came and said, "What are you here for?" "It's our dog, it hasn't shown up even once." Their uncle said, "It doesn't show up, because all the world is still flat. Wait and we will break it up, and that will end the roamings of your dog, and of the people.

He climbed up to Kalawitan. He placed one on each side. One was put at Pamcasan, and one at Palas. He said, "And now to block the gathering of the water, so that the world will be broken up, and the wanderings of the people and your dog will be ended."

The brothers said, "And what about our sister?" "Never mind about that," said

kanan olitaocha. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, pokitanas natimochan chanom. Ayya ke insacongcha kano pay, naseksekanan chaca ya. Ayya ilanchna kano pay, naponas san apoycha. Inoschongchas Am-seng-seng, naponas san apoycha ya. Ayya kecheng kano payyay. Ilanchna kano ces si Palas ya. Ayya ka inmoliyek nan apoy.

"Ayya key cheey tet-ewa nan apoy as Palas. Sino mangngen nan socholentakos sa?" Ayya ke inmali kano pay san fanomog ya, socholena kano ya ig aped tomotokanog. Ayya omali kano pay san fanawel ya, socholena ig aped inpetpetwel. Ayya omali kano pay san kingking ya, socholena ilanchna kano payyet intikityapay ome. Ayya aw-awni kano payyet, sana ay intatangalna nan fala. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, chawatenchat, iyalopcha ya. Ayya kecheng finmichang.

Inafoyanchna, "Ayya matakotako tet-ewas sa, tay finmichang na apoytako." Ay aye kay ta esatakot sikachan natimochan chanom. Siyay makolochan nan chaca ta matikchan nan iliwtan nan ipocaw, iliwtan nan asoyo." Ayya kecheng kano pay sinikachanas natimochan chanom ya. Ayya ke nacagwaak. "Nacagwaak si ananak sina ya, nacagwaak si kangonon." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, kinwanin olitaocha, "Ayya engkayo payyet moyangawen nan anoka kafafaiyanyo."

Ayya kecheng kano payyay, maligwat san sin-aci ya. Ayya inmeychas Nangafey. Ayya oschongana kano pay ya. Ayya key anoka pay, anak si Itofeng nan fofomyon sina ya.

Ayya omalichas san anoka pay Kalawitan ya. Ayya ke anak kano pay si Iyalab na. Ayya omeychas san Pangcatan. Ayya ket si fofotag, si anoka fofomyon sina pay. Ayya inmeychas nan anoka pay Aayacan. Ayya anak pet si anoka pay Iloko pay, fofomyon sina, omeychas nan Tongil.

Ayya anak si Imaleng nan fofomyon sina ya anak si Ipidlisan, omeychas nan Palas. "Ayya key cofotako nan wachas na." Ayya omeychas nan Lanipew. Ayya anak

their uncle. So he blocked the gathering of the water. They looked back and all the land was submerged. They saw moreover, that their fire was quenched. They saw also that there was a fire twinkling at Palas.

"There's definitely a fire at Palas. What do you think we should send there?" An eagle came. He sent it, but it just perched hunched up. Then came a fanawel bird, and he sent it, but it just shook its head. Then came a kingking bird, he sent it and it flew off. In a little while it returned holding in its beak a glowing coal. They received it and built a fire with it. It blazed.

They commented, "Now we shall be saved, because our fire is blazing." "And now we'll push the gathering of the waters. That will break up the land and terminate the wanderings of the people and the wanderings of your dog." He pushed the gathering of the waters and there was the sound of a rushing torrent. "May children here and everything be as a rushing torrent." Their uncle said, "You go and look around for your sister."

The brothers started and went to Nangafey. He looked down and it was the children of the Tofeng (Talubin) people who were crowding together here.

He came to Kalawitan. It was the children of the Alab people here. They went to Pangcatan. The people gathered here were staring at each other. They came to Aayacan. It was the children of the Loko people gathered here. They went to Tongil.

It was the children of the Maleng people gathered here, the children of the Pidlisan people. They went to Palas, "The ones from whom we are descended are

si Iyawwangan ya anak si Ichoyngaan, nan fofomyon sina. Ayya omalichas nan Amfonatngol. Ayya anak si Ichongliyan ya anak si Ichalkongan nan fofomyon sina."

"Ayya napokaw tet-ewa nan kafafaiyantas na tay anoka pay." Ayya kecheng omalichas nan Pokis ya. Ayya anak si Ilitangfan, fofomyon sina ya anak si Icensachan. Ayya inchaghaceng tet-ewa san sin-aci, "Napokaw tet-ewa san kafafaiyantas na. Enta manet insodsod a olitaotad Amsengseng."

Ayya kecheng inmeychad Amsengseng kan olitaocha insodsodcha, "Ayya key payyet kanam lawan isapsapalingmo nan kafafaiyanmi. Cheeyet napokaw tay maiwed." Ayya kinwanin olitaocha, "Ay enman maichay."

Okfosna nan cayangna, "Akayo ta entako ayacan sinan Pananoman." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, folcena san sin-acyet, omalichas san Fato ya, inpagsekna. Ayya kinwanina, "Engkayot ayacan sinan Pananoman." Ayya inmey tet-ewa san sin-aci ya, wacha tet-ewa san kafafaiyancha. Ayya kinwanin san kalalakiyancha, "Into man nan kad-am si laosanmi nad Kaalcawan, maidka ay."

Ayya kinwanina, "Maichak man tay wachaak sinan Fikiyanay makifininalakalay, mangikidkid-eng sinan chanom." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, folcenchat id-anchan olitaochad Fato.

Ayya kecheng kano payyay, tikcachana nan kitong nan iyon-ana ya. Ayya inmelweg. "Ay ki maid asimay maas-asawa ay sin-aci?"

Ayya tikcachana nan poseg nan naochina ya. Ayya ilana kano pay ya naasisyekcha. Ayya ket kinwanin olitaocha, "Siya tet-ewa chana nan esak insinakfen ta, esa way incofowek sinan facinlolota. Ayya kecheng kano payyay, inpaytokna chachas nan Kafellawet sakfena chaicha.

Ayya kecheng ilana kano payyet, insininaladsad kano lawa san canakcha. Ayya

here." They went to Lanipew. It is the children of the Awwangan people and the Choyngean people who are gathered here. They came to Amfonatngol. It is the children of the Chongliyan people and the Chalkongan people who are gathered here.

"Our sister definitely isn't here." They came to Pokis. The children of Litangfan (Guinaang) people and the Censachan (Bontoc) people are gathered here. The brothers were really feeling uneasy. "Our sister definitely isn't here. Let's go and tell our uncle at Amsengseng."

They went to their uncle at Amsengseng. "If only you could say that you would lead our sister to a safe place. She is lost, because we cannot find her." Their uncle said, "No, she's not lost." He took up his spear.

"Come and we'll go and call her, at Pananoman." The brothers followed behind, and they came to Fato where he stuck his spear into the ground. "Go and call her at Pananoman." So the brothers went, and found their sister was really there. Her brother said, "Where were you when we passed by at Kaalcawan, you weren't there."

She said, "I wasn't there because I was at Fikiyan fighting for my life against the pull of the water." They followed each other until they came to their uncle at Fato.

He stroked the forehead of the older brother, who shook his head. "You don't think it proper to marry your sister?"

He stroked the navel of the younger brother. He saw that they smiled at each other. Their uncle said, "These are truly the ones I will marry, so there will be somebody to produce on the earth." He took them down to Kafellaw, and married them. He saw that they had children one after another.

He blocked off one, and put him at Kay-ang. He blocked off the navel of

kecheng kano payyay, pokitana nan esa ya pay-enad Kay-eng.

Pokitana nan poseg nan cawaan ya pay-enad Cawa. Pokitana nan poseg nan naochi ya pay-enad Cheplayan. Ayya kecheng kinwanina, "Engka manet moyan-gawen mo nakanak, nan sinafattas na." Ayya kecheng kinmay-atchas nan Fato. Ayya sacangen nan anoka pay Kay-ang ya inmalinebneb. Ayya chemangenad anoka pay Cawa ya. Ayya inmalinebneb. Inoschonganad Cheplayan, inmalinebneb.

Ayya pinmaytok; "Ayya nad-achak nan inasakmi tay oschongak ad anoka pay Cawa ya inmalinebneb, chemangek ad Kay-ang ya inmalinebneb. Ayya oschongak ad anoka Cheplayan, inmalinebneb. Nad-achak man nan inasakmos na." "Ayya ked-eng man sa. Ayya enta manet anoka mangil-iliyen nan anoka caeb nan amolo." Ayya kecheng kano payyay, incadnas nan Foyayeng. "Ayya Ifoyayeng man chana ay siya chana nan achi kaol-olasan, chaglos sin-ag-i chana ay ya masin-sin-ebcha, maas-asawacha ta cicad nan payewchas nan Kachocenay chinmaneghecay.

Siya nan achicha kaol-olasan. Esachat katkataw-an nan caeb nan amolo. Ayya maamolo nan payewcha ya, maamolo nan cocongocha, kokocongcha, cacamengcha, maamolo nan cichochoa naamolo."

Ayya kecheng kano payyay, igchangnas nan Chakalan. "Ayya siya man nan Chakalanay naay chanan sin-ag-i chana ya, masinsin-ebcha, maas-asawacha ta cicad nan ayawanchad Wakalan ya nan cocongocha ay chinalischisay achicha kaol-olasanay siya chana nan sin-ag-icha ya naas-asawacha, sin-in-acha, sin-am-acha, masinsin-ebcha. Esachat katkat-awan nan amolo, awniyet maamolo san kitongcha ya, maamolo san payewcha, acamangcha ya san congocha, maamolo."

Ayya kecheng igchangnas nan Ongfeg. "Ayya siya man aces Ongfecay naay chanan sin-ag-icha na ya, masinsin-ebcha ta cicad nan anoka pay payewchad Samelyawan, achicha kaol-olasanay sin-ag-icha maas-asawacha, sin-in-acha, maas-asawa-

the middle one, and put him at Cawa.

He blocked off the navel of the youngest one and put him at Cheplayan. He said, "Go and look around and see if the ones we put together have offspring." They climbed to Fato. He looked behind him to Kay-ang, it was swarming. He looked in the distance to Cawa, it was swarming. He looked down on Cheplayan (Bontoc), it was swarming. He descended.

"The ones we placed out are becoming predominant. I looked down on Cawa, and it was swarming. I looked down in the distance to Kay-ang, and it was swarming. I looked down on Cheplayan, and it was swarming. The ones you distributed are predominating." "Let's go and take the saying of amolo from from village to village." They decided on Foyayeng. "These here are the people of Foyayeng, who have no time. These are all close relatives who intermarry because of their fields at Kachocen, all completely terraced.

That's why they have no time (to marry elsewhere). Then they say the *amolo*. Their fields, pig pens, chicken coops, granaries and rice serving ladles are all benefited by the *amolo*."

He crossed with it to Chakalan. "These here are the Chakalan people, who are close relatives, and intermarry because of their carabaos at Wakalan and their paved pig pens. They have no time, these relatives who marry each other, children of the same parents marrying each other. They just say the *amolo*, and soon their foreheads, their fields, granaries and pigpens are benefited by the *amolo*."

He took it across to Ongfeg. "These here are Ongfeg people who are relatives and intermarry because of their fields at Samelyawan. They don't have any time; brothers and sisters of the same parents marry each other. They just say the

cha ta. Esachat katkataw-an nan caeb nan amolo, awniyet maamolo san kitongcha, san payewcha maamolo san cocongcha, aalangcha, maamolo."

Ayya kecheng omalichad anoka pay Am-onyan. Ayya sacangena nan Patyayan. "Ayya siya man nan Ipatyayanay naay chanan sin-agling nan ilin chatona ya, sin-ag-icha, maas-asawacha, ta cicad nan pajewchad Kayongyonganay anoka pay, naposlan, achicha kaol-olasanet sin-ag-icha, maas-asawacha, ayya sin-in-acha, sin-am-acha. Esachat katkataw-an nan caeb na amolo ya, maamolo nan kitongcha, maamolo nan anoka kaam-iam-inay, papa-yewcha maamolo."

"Ayya kecheng kano manay, iyalinas nan anoka pay Afatan. Ayya mangaliyan nan malpod Lacod. "Ayya cotoken chatona ay, fafaley nan cotoken ya angcay chatona." Ayya inmalichas nan Faneng, oschongana nan Ichongliyan. "Ayya siya man nan Ichongliyanay naay chanan sin-in-acha, sin-am-acha, sin-ag-icha maas-asawacha tay icad nan anoka pay fanengchad Chaesanay naposlanay, achicha kaol-olasan, sin-ag-icha maas-asawacha ta. Esachat katkataw-an nan Amolo. Ayya awniyet maamolo san fanengcha ya maamolo san kitongcha ya, san acamangcha maamolo." Ayya kecheng infas-angna chadlos san Litangfan. "Ayya manad-awat ya angcay si amolos na, nan chadlo Inatag-eyay anoka fanengchad Amfaciwanay. Achicha kaol-olasanay, sin-ag-icha esachat masinsin-eb. Ayya esachat katkataw-an nan caeb na amolo, awniyet maamolo san kitongcha, san fanengcha, san acamangcha, san cocongcha maamolo."

Ayya kecheng kano payyay. "Pep-engentako man nan caeb nan amolo man. Ayya sino man nan manad-awat sinan caeb nan amolos na? Ayya na chadlo Inatag-eyay comacalinsaefanay. Siya chana nan sin-ag-icha ya, maas-asawacha."

Ayya esanat ipaytok sinan Inacowafay, inchawat nan ap-on Faw-ingan, ap-on anoka pay Lacayochay, ap-on Sakfotay. "Siya chana nan incubcab-enchas nan

amolo, and soon their foreheads, fields, piggens and granaries are benefited by the amolo."

They came to Am-onyan, and faced Patyayan. "These people here are the Patyayan, who have just one strip of a village, they are relatives and they marry because of their ricefields at Kayongyongan which have many posts. They have no time, brothers and sisters, children of the same parents marry each other. They just say the amolo and their foreheads, their fields, their all are benefited by the amolo."

He brought it to Afatan, the resting place for those coming from the East. "These people have understanding. It is only the village that these people understand." They came to Faneng, he looked down on the people of Chongliyan. "These people here are the Chongliyan people. Brothers and sisters, children of the same parents marry each other because of the paths along their terrace walls at Chaesan, which have many posts. They have no time, relatives marry each other. They just say the amolo. Soon the paths on their terrace walls, their foreheads and their granaries are benefited by the amolo." He brought it to the other side to Litangfan. "They have just received the amolo here, the ones who live above whose terrace paths are at Amfaciwan. They have no time, relatives intermarry. They just say the amolo. Soon their foreheads, their terrace paths, their granaries and their pig pens are benefited by the amolo."

"Let's end the saying of the amolo. Who will be the ones to receive the saying of amolo here? The ones who live above are the comacalinsaefan. These are the relatives who marry each other."

He took it down to the ones who live below. It was received by the descendants of Faw-ingan, Lacayod and Sakfot. "These are the sayers of amolo, their

amolo, elegcha makikkikanan, elegcha makiin-inoman sinan tapey nan kaka-changyan." "Sik-a payyay Paliwakay kegsel, inkekegsel nan cabcab-anmis na. Ay-ya pakchelmis nan Faangay tengnen, in-tetengnen si cabcab-anmis na pay.

opportunity to share in the drinking of the rice wine of the rich." "You also Paliwak, who is strong, strengthen what we are saying here. Our pakchel spirits at Faang, who are cool, may our saying here be 'cool'.

Appendix 9

ANGAL

San sin-acyay ipocaw, inmeychas nan omacha nakaey na asocha. Inpayebyeb na asocha. Omonodchat ilaegcha na etagcha. Iyawidcha na etagcha asnan kachacha. Masnacha ta maniklapcha, tay-nancha nan etagcha. Omawidchas nan kachacha, maiwed nan etagcha. Foma-akchas nan faakna, "Sino nan nangalas nan etagtakos na?" Lomiwetchas nan towidcha, kacolitencha nan siki. Foma-akchas nan faakna, etchaanchas Taloyon. "Sik-a mangnenet nan nangalas nan etag-mi." "Fakenak nan nangalas nan etag-yo. Fomaakkayos nan faakna." Foma-akchas nan faakna, echasancha nan posong. Incacawa na afong. "Sino pan nan nangiyalis nan afongnas nan posong, cawan nan posong?" Sipolencha nan kasatan. Achi makad-an. Sipolencha nan kawayan. Insalangsangana nan fofong. Kanatayencha ta omchancha. Naikokonol nan etagchas nan choksol. "Sino nan kaipocawmo tay inmalika ay nangalas nan etagmi?" "Sak-en si Angalay inmeyak ad tag-ey. Lifacenyoy nan nowang-yo, somaalkayo, ta pakpakenyoy na asoyo, kakataw-anyo sak-enay si Angal, tay si-yay makiangal nan nowangyo, makiangal nan leng-agyo. Alanyo nan etagyo." Alancha pay na etagcha isaalchas na afongcha. Kechengay inconsodcha ta consochancha nan nowangcha. Kakatawan nan caeb nan angal. Encha iwasey, Ifaney, Ifatad, Ichomalig, Ilobwacan, Itenglayan, Isopangnas nan Lalanfan, nan Madney ya nan Licho, nan Sacomay. "Ilayogyoy nan inacowab, nan Pacawed, nan Chinalpan, nan Faw-ingan." "Ya pakchelmis nan Paliwakay sikal ya kegsel, inkekegsel nan cabcab-anmis na. Pakchelmis nan Faangay tengnen. Intetengnen nan cabcab-anmis na."

The two brothers went to their kaingan with their dog. The dog began to bay. They followed it, and got their meat supply. They brought the animal back to their small hut. They desired to press on and hunt further. On returning to the hut, the animal was gone. They went around to the other side. "Who has taken our animal?" They went around to the back of the house, and began to trace the footprints. They went to the other side and came upon Taloyon. You are the one we suspect has taken the animal we caught." "It wasn't me who took it, go around to the other side." They went around to the other side and came upon a lake. There was a house in the middle of it. "Whoever has brought their house to the middle of the lake?" They cut down a length of *kawayan* bamboo and it settled down on the ridgepole. They walked along it and reached the house. Their animal had been placed down on the *choksol* of the house. "What kind of a person are you, because you came and got the animal we caught?" "I am Angal who went up above. You go and see your carabaos, go home, kill a dog and mention me, Angal, and that will make your carabaos and your spirits aggressive and resistant. Take your animal." They took their animal and carried it home. They made the sacrifice for the strengthening of their carabaos. Then they said the *angal*. They then took it from place to place, to the people of Faney, Fatad, Chomalig, Lubuagan, Tenglayan. He then presented it to the families of Lalanfan, Madney, Licho and Sacomay. "You take it down to those who dwell below, the families of Pacawed, Chinalpan, and Faw-ingan." "Our *Pakchel* spirits at Paliwak who give increase and are strong, strengthen the thing we are doign here. Our *pakchel* spirits at Faang who are 'cool', make 'cool' the thing we are doing here."