

Wards and Working Groups in Guinaang, Bontoc, Luzon*

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Contents:

1. Introduction
2. The Village
3. The Ward
4. The Girls' Dormitory
5. Working Groups
6. Ward Activities after Headtaking
7. Acculturative Changes

1. Introduction

Although a considerable amount of work has been done on Bontoc ethnography¹ a search of the literature revealed that little has been written on the working groups which form a very significant part of the culture of Bontoc.

The purpose of this paper is to fill this gap by describing the various types of working group, particularly those that are formalized within the context of the ward, and to discuss their functions in the society.

As a background to this discussion it will be useful to review some of the material that has already been published on Bontoc social organization, and to give a different picture of the ward than has to date appeared. JENKS (1905) was the first ethnographer to publish a full account of the Bontoc people. His

* The details presented here of social organization and of the working groups are those of Guinaang, a village of around 400 households, situated some twelve kilometers north by foot trail from the municipal (and provincial) capital, Bontoc. Data for this paper have been gathered during periods of extended residence in Guinaang between 1959 and the present, mainly under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

¹ SHIRO SAITO (1968: 268-275) lists one hundred titles in his section on Bontoc.

work gives an excellent picture of Bontoc life as it was established in the Philippines shortly after American jurisdiction. However some of his statements, especially in relation to the function of the wards in village life tended to be inaccurate. KEESING (1949) after eight months in Bontoc reviewed JENKS' data and presented a much more balanced picture of the ward and its functions in relation to other aspects of the social structure. However, both KEESING and JENKS were apparently hampered in their research by an inability to speak the language, a fact which appears time and again in incorrect representations and translations of Bontoc words and in statements made about the language². No other work of significance has appeared since KEESING's, directly related to the social structure of Central Bontoc, although much of the excellent material that has been written on Sagada in the Western part of Bontoc is true also of Central Bontoc (particularly EGGAN 1941, 1954, 1960, 1967, and EGGAN and SCOTT 1963 and 1965).

2. The Village

The largest social group to which a Bontoc person holds allegiance is the village, *qili*. The group of people inhabiting a village are the *sinpangili* literally, one-unit societal-group village. One's home village is his *babléy*, or *babaléy*.

JENKS' view of the village as merely an aggregate of politically independent units (wards, Bontoc *qáto*) was brought into proper perspective by KEESING who established the village itself as an integral social unit. He states,

"The unity of the village is perhaps most clearly seen in an elaborate system of community rituals (*kanyau*) ... Above all, the villagers are held together by an elaborate network of kinship connections and neighborly associations, by the needs until recently of common defence, and by the sense of identity so real in a little community with a common tradition and the intimacies of daily contact and gossip" (1949: 583-584).

His statement, however, that "the Bontoc language itself appears to have no generic word for such a community unit, so that the people have adopted the term *ili* from Iloko speech ..." (1949: 580) would tend to reinforce a view first suggested by COLE (1945: 142) and discussed by KEESING that historically, at least, the Bontoc village is just about what JENKS said it was.

² KEESING, for example (1949: 582) implies a formal "council" of the old men by labelling it *intugtukan*. This probably represents the verb *qintogtógon* "to be advising" which is what old men in the wards spend much of their time doing. His *olag* (p. 584, and also in EGGAN and SCOTT 1963: 51) is Bontoc *qolog* "girls' dormitory". He notes correctly that *b* and *f*, and *d* and *ch* are variants but errs in giving *efgan* as a variant of *ebgan* (*f* only occurs syllable initial). *Ebeg* means "bedboard" not "bedfellow" and so on.

The Bontoc sound system contains the following units *a*, *i*, *o*, *e*, (*/i/*), *p*, *t*, *k*, *b*, *d*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *ng* (*/ŋ/*), *l*, *w*, *y*, glottal stop, and stress. Glottal stop is represented in this paper by *q*. Stress is represented by acute accent over the vowel of stressed syllables which are lengthened. *b*, *d*, and *g* have voiceless variants respectively [*f*], [*č*], and [*kh*] occurring syllable initially. The voiced stop variants occur syllable finally. [*l*] and [*r*] are variants of *l*. For a full description see REID 1963.

KESING noted the alternate possibilities of the village as an aggregate of independent *qáto*'s joining for common defence purposes as opposed to a possible *qáto* elaboration from a former more unified system, and indicated that the problem needed further study. He restated the former position as a possibility in KESING (1962: 321) "The community organization of the Lepanto and Bontoc, based on a series of wards or neighborhoods (*ato*) each with its own ceremonial center or 'men's house,' could derive from consolidation of any formerly scattered hamlets."

The fact that the term *qili* "village" is also used in Ilocano is, however, no indication that the word is a borrowing from that language and that therefore Bontoc has no "native" term for village. Its occurrence in most if not all of the languages which with Ilocano form the "Cordilleran Hesion" (DYEN 1965) would indicate that the term has been inherited in these languages rather than borrowed from one of them.

For further evidence on the nature of the village historically, one can look into the oral literature, particularly prayers recited during the sacrificial ceremonies which are such a characteristic of Bontoc village life. Many of these prayers recite the circumstances under which the ceremony was supposedly originally performed. From them much can be inferred of the early economic life of the people and of their social institutions. They tend to support the theory that the present system developed from an earlier bipartite division of the village. This dual division is discussed by EGGAN in describing the Sagada social structure. He says,

"Sagada proper is composed of two geographical divisions, Dagdag and Demang, which are separated by the streams used jointly for the irrigation of their rice fields. Each division has its own sacred grove (*patpalayan*) with its guardian spirits (*pinading*), and each has its own sacred spring. It is probable that at one time they considered themselves as separate villages, for the inhabitants generally refer to themselves as belonging to one or the other, but for a considerable time they have been integrated into a single community.

In certain respects these geographical units act as 'dual divisions,' though they do not control marriage in any important way. They are ceremonial rivals to an extent, alternating in the performance of certain rituals for village welfare; and the two sides are opponents in the annual 'rock-fight' of the boys of the village. More important, there is recent evidence that they formerly buried each other's dead ... Each of these major divisions is further divided into a series of wards ..." (1960: 27).

In the prayers in Guinaang ward names are rarely mentioned, however the dual division of the village is consistently referred to. The prayers usually relate a tale regarding *Lomawig*, the culture hero; this tale is then said to have been taken from village to village until finally it is taken to Litangban (the name used in prayers for Guinaang). There it is presented to the families who live in the upper part of the village, who are the rich, the owners of rice fields at *qambagiwan*, probably today's Bágiw, an area of choice rice fields near the village, which has its own ceremonies and in which the annual cycle of work begins (see p. 549). They are also said to be the ones who marry close relatives, a practice among rich families to avoid dispersal of inheritances. From there the prayer-tale is taken to those who dwell in the lower part of the village, who are

not characterized as poor, but as the brave or strong ones (*kegsel*). These are the ones who say the prayer for the rich people above and thereby get a chance to drink of their wine and share in the sacrifices they perform. The prayer is then ended by a supplication to the spirits who dwell in the village sacrificial places. In Guinaang, as in Sagada, there are two such groves (*papatáyan*)³. The upper one (a pine tree) considerably separated geographically from the village, is called Paliwak. The spirits (*pakdel*) who inhabit this tree have the qualities of *sikal* increase, and *kegsel* strength, and are implored to impart these qualities to the beneficiaries of the prayer. The other grove is a clump of bamboo Bagang, at the lower edge of the village in the region known as Papattay. Its *pakdel* spirits have the *tengnen* quality. This form is an archaism in Guinaang meaning "cool". This quality is also implored for the beneficiaries of the prayer.

An example of the close of a prayer is the following, taken from the *gamólo* prayer said during certain wedding ceremonies⁴.

Qayya kedeng, qinbasqangna dadlos san Litangban. "Qayya manadqáwet ya qanggay si qamólos na, nan dadlo qinatagqey ay banengdad Qambagiwanay. Qadi-da kaqolqoldasanay, siqagqida qesádat masinsingeb. Qayya qesádat katkatáwan nan gágeb nan qamólo, qawniyet maqamólo san kitongda san banengda, san qagámangda, san kógongda, maqamólo."

Qayya kedeng kano payyay. "Pepqengentako man nan gágeb nan qamólo man. Qayya sino man nan manadqáwat sinan gágeb nan qamólos na? Ayyana dadlo qinatagqey ay gomagalinsagébanay. Siya dana nan siqagqay ya maqasqasáwada."

Qayya qesádat qipaytok sinan qinagowábay, qindáwat nan qapqon Bawqíngan qapón Lagáyoday, qapón Sakbótay. "Siya dana nan qingabgabqendas qamólo, qelegda makikkikanan, qelegda makiqinqinoman sinan tápey nan kakadangyan."

Sikqa pay ay Paliwak ay kegsel, qinkekegsel nan gabgabqanmis na. Qayya pakdelmis nan Baqang ay tengnen, intetengnen si gabgabqanmis na pay.

After that, he took it (this prayer-tale) to Litangban. "They have just received the *gamólo* here, the ones who live above whose terrace paths are at Qambagiwan. They have no time, they are relatives and they marry each other. They repeat the saying of the *gamólo*, and soon their foreheads, their ricefields, their granaries and their chicken coops are benefited by the *gamólo*."

That was that. "Let's finish the saying of the *gamólo*. Who will receive the saying of the *gamólo* here? Those who live above who control the village entrances (?). These are the relatives who get married to each other."

Then he took it down to those who live below. It was received by the descendants of Bawqíngan, Lagáyod and Sakbot. "These are the sayers of the *gamólo* prayer, who thereby share in the feasting and rice beer drinking of the rich."

You moreover, Paliwak who is strong, strengthen those for whom we are saying this prayer. And you spirits at Baqang who are cool, make them also cool.

³ Guinaang and Bontoc are the only places in the Central Bontoc area that now have two *papatáyan*. All the other villages have only one.

⁴ Taken with revised spelling and translation from REID 1961a: 52. Other examples of prayers in which similar statements are made may be found in the same article.

In Guinaang the sacrificial groves, though "upper" and "lower" are not at the present time directly related to the upper and lower divisions of the village. Their separate functions in relation to the village *pátay*, or sacrificial system, will be discussed below. The dual division of the village is however clearly seen in the prayers and is still evident in a few of the village activities. Such activities are mentioned in the following account of the origin of the Guinaang people. This account states that the dual division originated from the unification of parts of three separate hamlets, and implies that the present six wards system in Guinaang is an elaboration of the dual division.

Nan qiGinaqang, nakatlóda ay polok, qiYommad, qiyOpóqop qiyAkkang. Namaqid nan qokol nan qiYommad ket qinánapda. Qinonodda, qindanandad Ka kqayang ay qinpopokópok ay qinmanak. Sádát qinmali ay qomilis nan náay ay Ginaqang, tay ninpangpangon nan qokol ket gas magánakda tay qinmanak nan qokol ay qinonodda.

Qinmonod nan tapin nan qiYommad ya nan tapin nan qiyOpóqop. Nan nataynan ad Yommad ya ad Qopóqop, qinmeydas Kamanleqem. Qinmilida, qadida layden. Qinmeydas Magayyepyep. Qinmilida. Qadida layden. Naligwatda, qinmeydad Qampinaqang.

Kedeng ay qinmilidat genggána qadwáni. Kinmaanda di nan sowak nan qiYommad ya qiyOpóqop. Qinonod nan qiyAkkang nan qinmális na.

Qisónga qadwani, nan qiGinaqang nakadwáda. QiyOpóqop ya nan qiYommad makwánida en qiyAlqal si qiGamóyo, nan qiyAkkang makwánida en qiKayyápa ken qiDatal sinan kaqolbo ay maqangqangnen qadwáni. Wa nan daway qamamqa ay mangobqob sinan qiGamóyo ya qiyAlqal. Wa nan daway qamamqa ay mangobqob sinan qiKayyápa ya nan qiDatal.

Sinqalgew, naligwat da Malókan, Gíngan, Ngóláb, Dinalpan, Gedyam, Qabóli ya si Qamángan. Qinmeydad Qamginaqang, Lobwágan ay mangaqeb sinan peden qas san qistáqim. Singepdas Baggas ay qaman Waqílan, si Malonghay ya si Balósa.

The Guinaang people are composed of people from three hamlets, Yommad, Qopóqop, and Qakkang. A sow of a Yommad man disappeared and they searched for it. They followed it and came upon it at Kakqayang. It had made a bed and given birth. Then they came to live here in Guinaang because the sow had led the way and they would have many offsprings since the sow had given birth.

Some of the Yommad and Qopóqop people followed. The rest of the Yommad and Qopóqop people they went to Kamanleqem. They dwelt there but didn't like it. They went to Magayyepyep and dwelt there but didn't like it. They started and went to Qampinaqang (Guinaang, Lubuagan). So they dwelt there, even until now. After the division of the Yommad and Qopóqop people had gone, the Qakkang people followed those who came here.

That is why now, the Guinaang people are divided in two. The people from Qopóqop and Yommad are called the people from Qalqal and Gampoyo, while those from Qakkang are called the people from Kayyápa and Datal during the *kaqolbo* ceremony which is performed now. Two old men collect contributions toward the sacrifice from the Gamoyo and Qalqal people, and two collect from the Kayyápa and Datal people.

One day Malókan, Gíngan, Ngóláb, Dinalpan, Gedyam, Qabóli and Qamángan set out and went to Guinaang, Lubuagan to make a peace pact during the "peace-time". They entered the house of Baggas, the father of Waqílan, Malonggay and Balósa.

Natotqoyáda, ginágebda nan peden ay mo qomeykamis di ay qiGinaang ya way matey qomibálesda ay qiyAmginaang. Qas kaqapowanmi qinábatdas Lamángen ay qiyAmginaang ad Bontok et qinogqógodna nan ninkáqobda qay gámeng ya qapóngoy qad Yommad sinan liyang ya qinogqógodna nan táwid nan payewnaqas Bawdan ay wádan Ngalígo qadwáni. Qinmáli nan páyas, pinayew nan qipogaw qad Qopóqop. Maqikatlo qadwánis qábo, wáda nan talowan ay qindanandad Qopóqop et wáda qadwáni ay maqilqila ay táwid qan Sayqókang Penney.

After discussing it, they made a peace pact, so that if Guinaang people go there and someone gets killed, the people from the other Guinaang will revenge the death for us. During our grandparents' time, they met Lamángen, a person from Guinaang, Lubuagan and he told how they had buried wine jars and head beads in a cave at Yommad, and he said he had an inheritance of a rice field at Bawdan, which is now the possession of Ngalígo. When the irrigation canal was built (1932), rice terraces were built at Qopóqop. This is the third generation that a wine jar that was discovered at Qopóqop has been inherited. It can now be seen as the inheritance of Sayqókang the child of Penney.

In Guinaang today, the names Gamóyo and Kayyápa are neither place names nor ward names. Datal and Qalqal are village regions and ward names. Although this story does not identify the two divisions as those who live above, versus those who live below as occurs in the prayers, it is possible that Datal was the first of the lower wards and Qalqal the first of the upper wards. Datal is in the flat, lower area of the village, and would have been logically one of the best places for early settlement. Qalqal is adjacent to Datal but at a slightly higher elevation. The geographical area called Gowab meaning "below" or "the lower area", is not and apparently has never been a ward.

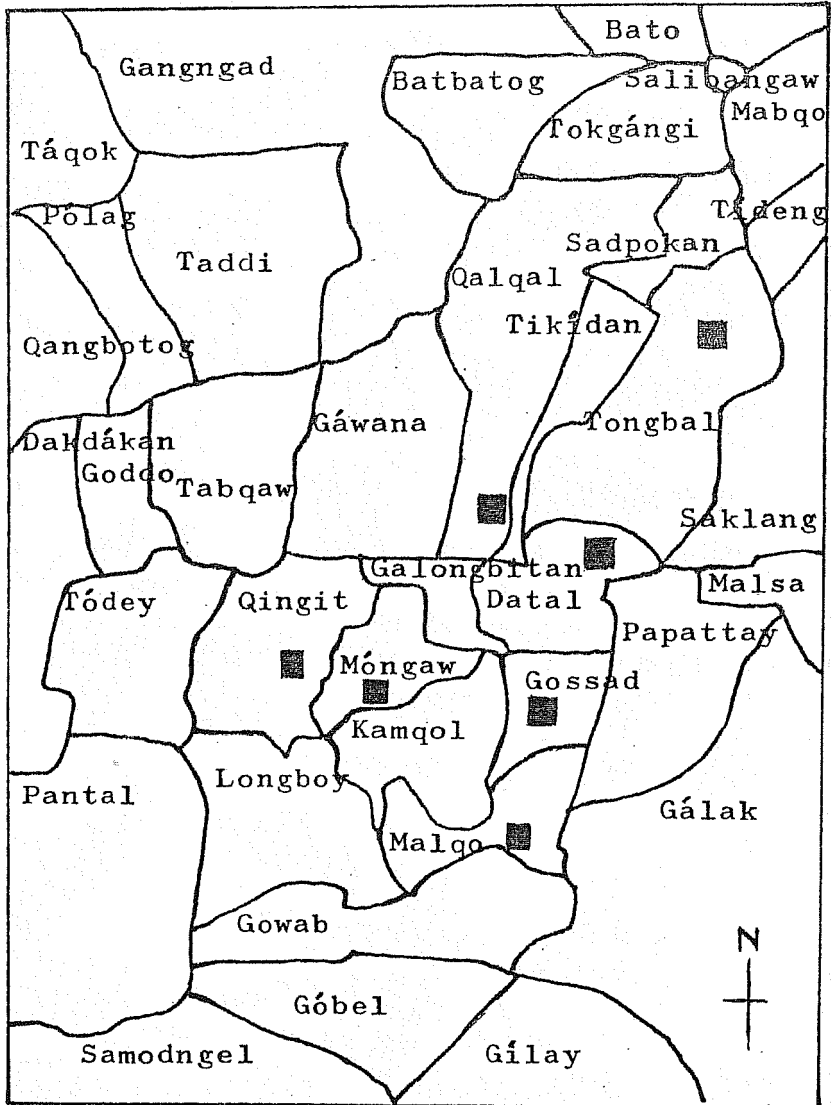
3. The Ward

The village of Guinaang currently has six wards, (*qátol*, Bontoc *qáto*) named Qíngit, Móngaw, Malqo, Datal, Tongbal and Qalqal. An attempt was made in 1966 to revive a seventh ward which became defunct one generation ago. Collection was made from all homeowners in the village and the ward house was reconstructed. However no one has yet begun to associate with it. The ward's name is Gossad.

Each male from the time he is old enough to play independently with his age mates becomes affiliated with a ward and retains this affiliation throughout life⁵. His choice is influenced by several factors, e. g. the location of his home — he is more likely to associate with a ward whose group house is in the vicinity

⁵ Cases of changing of ward affiliation after childhood are rare. It happens only in cases of severe incompatibility with one's ward mates. The person transferring to another ward is accepted only after having done the chores expected of a young child upon first associating with the ward. He must bring home loads of sticks and runo reeds for the ward house fire, carry messages for the older members and perform other menial tasks.

Map of Guinaang



■ Ward House

of his home than one in a different section of the village; the ward association of his playmates – this factor is related to the preceding factor in that a child's playmates are likewise usually from the vicinity of his own home; the ward affiliation of his father and brothers. Parents often advise their children as to which ward they should affiliate with. Frequently a child is advised to affiliate with his father's ward, but the other factors mentioned above often take priority over the parent's wishes. Where there are several sons in the same family various advice is apparently given. Many parents advise their children to

affiliate with different wards, so that in the event of need, the help of a number of wards is assured. There is also a general belief that it is not good for two brothers to sleep together. This is indicated by the fact that where two brothers do affiliate with the same ward they do not sleep on the same sleeping bench, one sleeps on one side of the dormitory, the other on the opposite side. On the other hand numbers of instances occur where two, three and in one family, four brothers have affiliated with the same ward, in order to form a power block in the politics of that ward.

A census in 1970 of the ward affiliations of 356 Guinaang men and their fathers revealed the information displayed in Table 1. There has been approximately a one third increase in the male population of the village over one generation, but this increase has not been evenly distributed through the wards. One has become defunct, two (Móngaw and Malqo) remain relatively static, while the others show increases from approximately one third to double their former memberships.

Table 1

Ward affiliations of two generations of male population in Guinaang

	Qíngit	Móngaw	Malqo	Datal	Tongbal	Qalqal	Gossad	Total
Fathers	45	23	44	58	39	39	8	256
Sons	90	21	49	74	54	68	0	356

Table 2

Distribution of sons' ward affiliations in relation to that of their fathers'

Sons	Qíngit	Móngaw	Malqo	Datal	Tongbal	Qalqal
Fathers						
Qíngit	43	3	4	7	4	6
Móngaw	4	9	4	4	2	5
Malqo	11	1	22	10	3	13
Datal	11	3	5	42	15	8
Tongbal	8	1	5	8	28	9
Qalqal	12	3	8	3	0	22
Gossad	1	1	1	0	2	5

Table 2 indicates the relationship between father and son ward affiliations. It is evident from comparing the numbers of sons who followed their fathers' affiliation to those who chose another ward that the principle given by KEESING (1949: 587) for Bontoc ward affiliation does not, at present anyway, hold true for Guinaang. He states that for Bontoc, ward affiliation is based typically on a patrilineal principle, and that males ordinarily adhere throughout life to the ward of their fathers' lines. Examination of the affiliation of only sons compared to the affiliations of families with several sons reveals nothing in Guinaang which might indicate a preference for one's father's ward in either group. Of 184 fathers with only one son each, 87 sons affiliated with their father's ward, 97 went elsewhere.

Descriptions of the ward by KEESING, EGGAN and SCOTT state that the ward is a geographical unit, that it has territorial boundaries. In Guinaang this is not so, the ward is a social unit which takes its name from the geographical location of the ward house which is the center of ward activities. There are many territorial areas in the village which do not have and, as far as is known, have never had a ward house. The male residents of these areas are all affiliated with one of the six wards mentioned above. Within the geographical areas which do have ward houses, male residents may or may not belong to that particular ward. Table 3 which classifies the ward affiliation of the residents of the different village regions indicates that there is no tendency to residential clustering around the ward houses with which the men are affiliated.

Table 3

Residence distribution in relation to ward affiliation

Wards	Qíngit	Móngaw	Malqo	Datal	Tongbal	Qalqal
Village-Regions						
Qíngit	8	2	1	2	0	3
Móngaw	1	0	4	2	0	1
Malqo	5	0	1	3	1	1
Datal	2	2	0	6	4	5
Tongbal	1	3	0	5	8	2
Qalqal	9	0	3	7	5	3
Saklang	3	0	2	3	2	7
Malsa	1	0	2	6	0	2
Dakdákan	7	3	3	2	3	3
Tídeng	2	0	1	3	4	1
Mabqo	3	0	0	3	4	0
Salibangaw	0	0	0	0	1	0
Tokgángi	3	0	0	1	3	1
Sadpókan	2	0	0	0	1	1
Tikídan	3	1	2	1	0	2
Qóbel	2	0	0	1	1	3
Gowab	5	2	5	1	0	4
Gossad	2	0	1	0	0	1
Papattay	3	0	0	6	2	2
Galongbitan	3	0	3	2	4	4
Tabqaw	1	1	1	3	1	1
Gáwana	8	0	1	3	1	3
Goddo	2	0	1	1	0	1
Taddi	4	2	5	4	2	3
Angngad	7	4	12	9	7	11
Kamqol	3	1	2	0	0	2

Assuming that KEESING correctly characterized the Bontoc ward system, the question arises as to why the Bontoc and Guinaang systems differ. KEESING states that in Bontoc a patrilocal residence pattern prevailed. However, in Guinaang a situation prevails which is closer to that described by EGGAN

for Sagada in which an uxori-local residential pattern is more common. In Guinaang the great majority of traditional homes⁶ are owned by women, the bilateral social system (see EGGAN 1960, 1967) allowing home ownership to be passed from mother to daughter on her marriage. The only formal relationship a woman has with a ward in Guinaang is when she is unmarried as is described below in the context of the working groups. When she marries, the husband generally moves to the residence of his wife regardless of its position in relation to the ward with which he is affiliated. The wife does not become formally affiliated with the ward of her husband, even though she will contribute to feasts held at the ward house and will on occasion join the feasting. If her husband dies and she marries again she will assume the same type of association with the ward of her second husband. With such a situation prevailing it is difficult to see how the ward could possibly be maintained as a discrete territorial unit.

It can be seen then that Guinaang has developed beyond the stage of "decentralization" or proliferation of wards within the ancient dual division framework. In Guinaang, in addition to Gossad, one other ward has become defunct since the beginning of the century, and it seems from the data in Table 1 that Malgo and Móngaw may also be on the way out. With the ward tied to a section of territory there were physical limitations to its growth, a larger population meant the hiving off of new wards as described by KEESING for Bontoc (1949: 584). With the territorial restrictions removed however, as has occurred in Guinaang, the ward has unlimited growth potential.

The group of men affiliated with a ward are the *sinpangátol*, literally one-unit societal-group ward. A person's ward affiliation is elicited by the question *Qad ne nan qábatmo?* Literally, "Where is your meeting place?" The use of the root *qábat* "meet" in this context, however, refers exclusively to the ward house with which one is affiliated. The ward house itself is called *qabqa-bóngan* from *qábong* "house".

The ward house is a longhouse with a fairly low roof, its eaves extending almost to the ground. It is completely sealed and has access by a single low, and very narrow doorway, through which an adult must pass sideways. Within, on either side of a center aisle is a raised sleeping platform, about four feet wide and extending the length of the house. A round pole slightly higher and parallel to the platform serves as a footboard. Hooks hung from the ridge support posts are used to hang loin-cloths and basket hats, the traditional men's clothing. Certain ceremonial objects are also hung from these hooks⁷.

⁶ By traditional homes is meant thatched roofed houses of the type described in SCORR 1961. They exclude the houses made with sawn lumber frames and floors and galvanized iron sheets for roofs and walling built with money from working in the mines of Lepanto and Baguio. These homes are generally owned by the men who earned the money.

⁷ Such ceremonial objects include an ancient backbasket, on which has been applied the feathers of chicken sacrifices, and which is only brought out during the *dawges* ceremony at the ward house (see p. 554).

In a small open space near the doorway a fire is built at night to provide warmth. Since there are no smoke outlets, everything, apart from the sleeping boards is liberally coated with soot⁸.

The ward house serves as a dormitory for children, unmarried young men and widowers. A married man may sleep there also during village ceremonial holidays or on other occasions when he is not working.

Outside the ward house and partly covered by an extension of the roof is a paved stone platform with several large stones placed on end as leaning posts. In the center a fire is kept burning from which the men who gather there can keep their pipes burning and also keep warm in cold weather. A lower platform shaded by a tree is found at some of the ward houses having a large membership. Children and younger men usually gather on the lower platform. A fire is also often burning there, over which corn is roasted when in season.

On shelves beneath the roof extension which partly covers the upper platform are stored the wooden dishes, bowls, meat boards, dippers and other utensils utilized during ward feasts. Found there also are the skulls of pigs and dogs, the horns of water buffalo and feathers and gall bladders from chickens that have been sacrificed there. Surrounding the paved platform is a cleared area which serves as a dancing ground during village ceremonial festivities. (For a description of these activities see REID 1961*b*.)

The functions of the ward have been adequately described in the writings of KEESING, EGGAN and SCOTT. In summary, the ward functions as a social unit giving cohesion within the village across descent groups and specific family lines. It serves as the focal point for the transmission of much of the oral tradition from the older to the younger men, and for the education of the male children in village custom. It is a political unit responsible for maintaining peace between villages and (rarely now) conducting revenge when one of the ward members has been killed. With the imposition on the village of government rule and the need to participate in the politics of the municipality, province and country, the responsibility for village council membership is usually kept within a given ward, the leadership of the village council shifting to a man from a different ward at each election time. The ward is also the focus of numerous religious activities, either for the benefit of the village, or the ward as a whole, or for one of its members who may be sick or who has participated in a killing, etc. But perhaps the major function of the ward is the part it plays in regulating the sequence of rice growing activities and the forming of working groups which build and service rice terraces and prepare the soil for rice planting. These activities will be described in full below.

⁸ The continual exposure to smoke, both in the ward house and in the traditional Bontoc house (which likewise has no smoke outlet for the cooking fire and pitch pine torches used for lighting), leads to a high incidence of eye disease and respiratory problems.

4. The Girls' Dormitory

A social group which is relevant to this paper in that it plays an active role in the working groups is the girls' dormitory group, *qebeg*. This term also means "sleeping board". The group of girls associated with a girls' dormitory are the *sinpangbeg*, literally, one-unit societal-group girls'-dormitory. Where a girl sleeps may be elicited by the question, *Qas qan ne nan qebegmo?* "At whose place do you sleep?" The reply would specify the owner of the house which is serving as a girls' dormitory as *Qas qan Banqay* "At Banqay's place". The dormitory itself is called in Guinaang *pangis*, and is equivalent to Sagada *qebgan* and Bontoc *qólog*. In Guinaang it is usually a house in which no family is in residence. All the paraphernalia of the home is removed, leaving only the sleeping boards of the girls who sleep there. The cooking area is left open, as the girls on occasion need to cook as a group for the men who work with them.

A girl becomes associated with a dormitory when she is considered old enough (about six or seven years of age) to sleep away from home. She will usually go to the dormitory of her playmates. Change of dormitory association is not infrequent in childhood, but decreases as the child builds firmer friendships and approaches puberty. The dormitory functions as a site for the so-called trial marriage system. Young men gather in the dormitories to socialize with the girls in the evenings. Liaisons are formed and the couple sleep together in the dormitory until their first child is born. The trial marriage system is not as described by KEESING (1949: 585) a "test of congeniality". Its purpose ideally is to find the person with whom one can produce children. Failure to get pregnant within a reasonable period is evidence that the union is not a "good" one, this statement having religious implications. It is believed that having children is evidence of the spirits approval of a union. Once a child is born there is no further need for the man and woman to sleep together. The woman returns to her parents' home, and her "husband" is not allowed to sleep with her again until after the marriage is formalized. This belief provides the foundation for stable monogamous marriage. Fear of spirit retribution is the sanction against separation from one's spouse while the couple have living children. On the other hand, should their only child die, this is evidence that the spirits have for some reason withdrawn their approval, and in such cases the couples are often advised to seek new partners. Failure to produce children is the only valid reason for divorce.

In the event the child dies before the marriage of its parents, the mother returns to sleep in the dormitory.

Sisters usually sleep in separate dormitories; however, there are instances where two sisters are sleeping in the same dormitory. Girls' dormitories are not associated with a particular ward as KEESING indicates for Bontoc. Their ward relationship is annually renewed in the manner described below.

Other social units are the descent group and the family. Since these units do not have direct relevance to the working groups to be described here, and since they are already well described in the literature no further discussion is needful here.

5. Working Groups

The remainder of this paper will be concerned with a description of the working groups which are reorganized annually, and consist of married and single men working with single girls and which function within the context of the ward. These groups are commonly called *qobbo*. This is also a general term for any working group in which the participants work the fields (or otherwise assist) each member of the group in turn⁹. The groups formalized in the ward are also called *dalqang*, a term which has been extended to include informally organized groups of unmarried men and women more often called *kababallo* (from *baballo* "young unmarried men").

Other *qobbo* groups are those which are formed by small groups of young unmarried men and their girl friends from another village, who work together alternately in the village of the young men and the village of the young women. This mutual visiting and associated activities is called *gagáyam*.

Married women form their own *qobbo* groups generally called *qinqinqininqa*¹⁰. A married women's group is also called *bokboki* or *qolqolyon*.

Family groups who have shared in a common inheritance, such as married brothers and sisters, also may organize themselves into working groups, particularly during harvest.

Throughout the rest of the paper the term *qobbo* will be restricted to the formally organized groups described at the beginning of this section.

These groups are organized at the beginning of the soil preparation season (*samal*) and usually do not disband until the following harvest. There is only one main harvest (*qáni*) a year in Guinaang, occurring during the months of July and August. Following harvest is a feasting period (*qagqágom*) lasting several weeks, during which time preliminary activities take place which culminate in the formal organization of *qobbo* groups on the first day of the soil preparation season in September. Soil preparation continues through till December when sowing seed for the new rice crop begins.

a) Preliminary activities

Several activities precede formal organization of the *qobbo*. The first takes place midway through harvest when the old year's groups have already disbanded. It is called *kaykay* "preparation of digging stick forms".

⁹ The term *qobbo* is probably related historically to *qóbo* a term used in Bontoc and other languages of Northern Luzon (SCOTT 1957, VANOVERBERGH 1956) to describe an activity in which a task is performed piece by piece, such as the carrying of rocks for the building of terrace walls, or the transferring of harvested rice from the fields to the granaries. The same root occurs in the name of a small rice scavenging bird, *qobowan*. In Guinaang the verb *qóbo* has been replaced by *qákon*.

¹⁰ From *qinqinqa* "married women" with reduplication of the first syllable and the addition of the verbal prefix *qin-*.

Boys are sent from one of the ward houses by the old men to notify the ward members that the following day their group will lead in the cutting and preparing of the wooden forms (*kaykay*) that will later be shaped into digging sticks (*kamey*) and distributed to the girls of the working groups ¹¹.

Three days are needed to complete the cutting of the curved pine branches and their rough shaping in the mountains. On the first day, only the leading ward goes to the mountains. On the second day other wards follow. The young men do the tree climbing and cutting of limbs, the older men do the rough shaping, while the boys collect vines for tying the loads together. Each evening the loads are carried back to the village and left just outside the village boundaries where they will later be set up to dry. In 1967, the last time *kaykay* were cut, a count was made of the number brought home by two of the wards. The Qingit ward with around 60 members participating, brought home over 200 forms. The Tongbal ward with around 30 members participating brought home about 60 forms. The fourth day after the first cutting, the leading ward makes the drying racks and ties to them the forms they have made. This whole activity is known as *sadang*, the name also of the drying rack. The rack consists of two raised parallel poles, one lower than the other and supported by forked posts set in the ground. The curved forms are laid across the poles and fastened to them with vines. The following day other wards prepare their drying racks and tie up their forms. On this same day the leading ward performs the *káyew si kamey* "omen gathering for the digging sticks". Early in the morning, three of the old men who are able to recognize and interpret the calls of omen birds and are called *mamanggal* "hearers" (*dengel* "to hear") go to either Pinóla or Okiki, bush areas to the west and east respectively of the village to listen for the call of a small reddish bird called *qidew*, but also referred to as *banbanqig* "the small one". The going to listen for a call at these locales prior to the main *káyew* activities is known as *binigat*, literally "early style". If the *qidew* bird is heard giving a call which is interpreted as a bad omen, the three men return to the village and after a day will again go to listen for calls. If on the other hand they hear a call which is interpreted as a good omen, one man returns to the ward to notify the ward members. The other two old men proceed to the destination of the group who then follow from the ward house.

Upon receiving word that a good call has been heard, married and unmarried ward members go out to the ward house wearing a backbasket in which cooked rice is placed, and carrying in their hands shield and spear. An old man takes a lighted bundle of rice straw (*qonóqon*) and a spear, and leads out on to

¹¹ Formerly an annual activity, *kaykay* occurs now only once every four or five years because of the introduction of metal digging tools. However, *kamey* digging sticks are still commonly used in the rice terraces. They retain a continuing function in relation to birth and death. After a woman gives birth, a hole is dug beside the house in which is placed the placenta. The paddle of a *kamey* is chopped from its handle and placed across the hole. The mother stands on the paddle to perform her daily ablutions. After a person dies the paddle of a *kamey* is used as the seat in the death frame to which the body is tied during the wake.

the trail. He is followed by the ward members. Their shields and spears are gripped together in one hand, while in the other they hold wooden clappers with which they set up a regular clacking by beating in unison the base of their shields. This beating continues from the time they leave the ward until they arrive at one of the old battle grounds high in the mountains where they will listen for another bird call omen ¹².

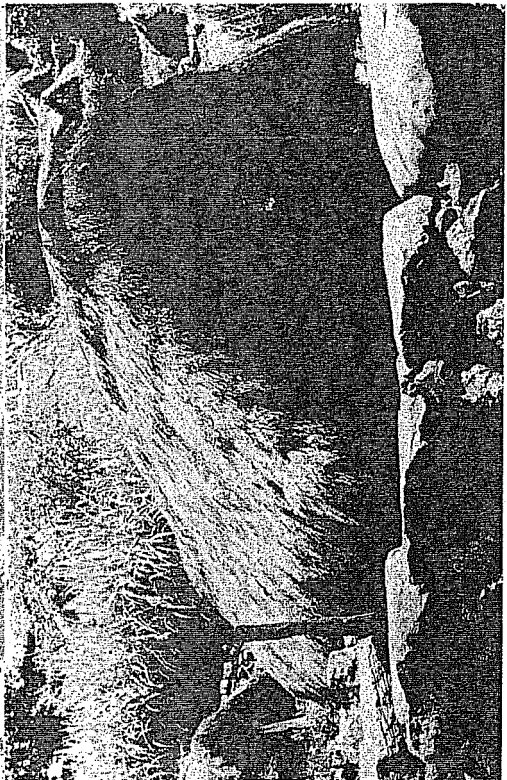
Since in former times the *káyew* preceded head-taking forays against enemy villages and there was always a risk of ambush from enemies in these areas, many of the activities of the *káyew* reflect the state of readiness which the ward members had to be in when performing the ceremony. However many of these activities are now changing. Some men will even go without their shield or spear. On arriving at their destination fires are lit and the men gather around them. Formerly no one could sit, crouching only was allowed, and spears had to be kept either in hand or thrust into the ground directly in front of its owner. Men were advised to stay directly opposite one another so that no one could be surprised by an attack from behind. Most men remain silent: some subdued conversation may however take place.

After the fires are lit some of the young men go to springs in the area to bring back crabs. Two crabs are roasted over one of the fires while the men eat the rice they have brought with them. After eating, sticks are thrust through the two crabs and then stuck upright in the ground, as an offering to the *qanlto*, the spirits of the men formerly slain in that area.

This accomplished, the *mamannigel* "hearers" accompanied by five or ten others move out into the wooded area nearby to listen for bird calls again ¹³. When those who have been *qinlabey* "listening for bird call omens" return with the reports of what they have heard, a decision is reached as to their significance. If the omen is good, the group proceeds with what is called *gawgaw*, the gathering of fish and crabs from the river (or mudfish from the rice fields) after an omen hunt. Whatever is caught is taken back to the ward house to be cooked and eaten that evening. The spears are placed together just outside the ward house entrance and the back baskets are hung from the shade tree or from a post with water buffalo horns attached to it (Pl. *a* und *b*). The young men are

¹² There are four sites around Guinaang where omens are listened for at such a time. Anyone may be chosen by the old men of the ward as the destination of a given occasion. The factors that influence the decision are not yet clear. The sites are at Bilig, Palótan, Qowakan and Nangalbeb.

¹³ The *qldew* bird has three distinctly different calls. The *labey* call, is described by Guinaang men as sounding thus: *piitpipipipipit*. The *dáqeg* call is described as similar to the sound a hen makes when a hawk appears. The *qebat* call is described as a type of whistling sound. The significance of the calls changes according to where and when they are heard, and the combination of calls. Thus the only good omen at the early call listening (*binigat*) is *labey*. Any other call that is heard at that time will negate the *labey*. During the *káyew* however either *labey* or *dáqeg* are good omens, unless the *káyew* is being held after planting of rice for a *belway* or village cleansing ceremony, in which case *dáqeg* is a bad omen. The *qebat* call is always a bad omen and will cancel out other calls otherwise interpreted as good omens.



a) Backbaskets at the ward house after a successful *háyew* (Photo by L. A. Reid); b) Spears at the ward house after a successful *háyew* (Photo by L. A. Reid); c) Performing the *dayyo* dance (Photo by Don Hesse); d) Ward house at Datal (Photo by L. A. Reid)

then sent with a wooden tray to the houses of the ward members, to collect cooked rice which will be eaten at the ward house with the fish and crabs that had been caught during the *gawgaw*. If no fish are caught cans of sardines are now used as a substitute. If one of the ward members needs the work of the group for the afternoon, they may work for him. Payment for the work is used to buy several cans of sardines. This work is also referred to as *gawgaw*. The following morning cooked rice is again collected from each ward member's house and the members eat together at the ward house.

Rice that is collected for eating at the ward house is called *talonton*. Immediately following the meal, each man collects his shield, spear and back basket and returns it to his home. This is called *bókal* "dispersion". In the event a bad omen is received in the mountains, the group returns home to try again after the lapse of one day. As each ward completes the placing of the digging stick forms on their drying racks they will also, on the following day, perform the *káyew si kamey* described above.

b) Choosing of working group partners

Following the completion of harvest and the ceremonies attendant upon it, the feasting season begins. It is during this period that the various wards make arrangements for their working group partners for the coming working year. This activity is called *kena*. This form is homophonous with and possibly semantically related to the term used for trapping birds.

Early in the feasting period one night is decided upon as the time for *kena*. On this evening the unmarried men from each of the ward houses visit around the girls' dormitories seeking the group or groups with whom they will work during the coming year. The girls have usually decided beforehand with which ward they will work. The decision is usually based upon the ward membership of the current boyfriends of the girls. Conflict is common between competing men's groups, as they in turn seek to influence the girls to work for their ward. Some girls' groups work for the same ward for several consecutive years and build strong working relationships with the men of that ward. Other girls' groups change their ward association from year to year.

When agreement is reached between the young men from a ward and one of the girls' groups, one of the girls will give the young men a wooden bowl full of salt which will be taken to the ward house for use in feasting there. This gift of salt is called *pankenqan*, the reward or seal of the agreement. During the following year, whenever salt is needed at the ward house, the girls from that dormitory will take turns providing it.

The larger men's groups will later divide into several working groups, each of which will work with a separate girls' group, so on the night of the *kena* young men from these wards must reach agreement with as many girls' groups as there will be working groups in that ward.

From that night on the young men will feast in the dormitories of the girls' groups with whom they have made a working agreement. The girls take turns in providing the food. If one of the girls' relatives is feasting on that

evening she will take two rice cakes to the dormitory from the relative's house, with mudfish or sardines, and share them with the young men. If however it is her own immediate family that is feasting¹⁴, she will take to the dormitory ten rice cakes besides a pot of *qítá*b beans as a side dish for the rice, and a pot of rice beer. Each evening some of the food is sent from the dormitory to the house of one of the married members (often one of the poorer members) of the men's ward, since except on certain occasions married men are not allowed entry into the girls' dormitories.

There is a great deal of playing around, joking and singing in the girls' dormitories on these occasions. It is not infrequent for the young men to go off and hide before the food is brought out. When this happens the girls must find them and bring them back to the dormitory to eat. One informant described the activities thus:

"Every night the young men and women take a long time before they go to sleep, because they go to call the boys to eat of those things they have taken to their dormitory. They go hunting and hunting because sometimes the young men hide, and so, if you think about it, it is hard on the girls. But it really isn't, because they all take it as a joke, and everything they do is like playing. All they do, every night until the end of the feasting period, is play."

This period of nightly feasting in the dormitory is called *panqehqekan sinan pangis* "time when all eat in the girls' dormitories".

The feasting season (*qagqágom*) is completed and the soil preparation season (*samal*) is introduced by a three day village ceremonial holiday called *pátay sí qagqágom* "sacrifice of the feasting season". It is during this period that the making of the digging sticks is finished.

c) The sacrifice of the feasting season

The *pátay* "sacrifice" described here is identical with the *pátay* which are held at other times of the year for the benefit of the village. On the evening preceding the first day of ceremonial holiday, one of the old men proclaims from his ward house that the following day is *téqel* "ceremonial holiday". During such holidays villagers are required to stay within the bounds of the village. The ward groups take turns in policing this restriction. People who are caught going to the fields, or going to cut wood are fined. Such a fine is called *lápat*. A fine may be anything from one peso up, depending upon the solemnity of the occasion. *Pátay* which are performed during the growing rice crop have more serious restrictions than others, and the fines are consequently more severe. Such "frightening" village ceremonial holidays are called *ngílin*. If the person

¹⁴ During the feasting season, each household sets aside one night in which all relatives gather and feast. A chicken sacrifice (*heleng*) is made and everybody eats the rice cakes that have been prepared. These rice cakes are made from glutinous rice that has been cooked in small woven sugarcane leaf bags. They are called *tóbo*, but in distribution, or when being counted each piece is called a *bowa*, thus *sinbowa* "one piece of *tóbo* rice cake".

cannot pay, the men who enforce the fine (the *qinlápát*) may confiscate the load of wood or whatever the culprit has collected from the fields. They may even go to the person's house and help themselves to whatever they want – rice, wood, a cooking pot, etc.

On the first day, the main sacrifice, a pig, is made. The pig is bought from funds procured from a village-wide collection (*qobqob*). There are three or four old men who are called *pomápátay* "sacrificers". They belong to various wards, and are chosen for their respectability in the village, the fact that their children are married and have produced good families, etc. The sacrificers get the pig for the sacrifice and take it to the house of a man named Gíngan. It is in his house that the pot is kept which must be carried to the sacrificial place whenever a sacrifice is taken there. As indicated earlier in the description of the village, there are two sacrificial places in Guinaang, called *papatáyan*. One is a rock beneath a large pine tree on a ridge north of the village, at a place called Paliwak. Gíngan is the guardian of the pot taken with any sacrifice made at Paliwak. The other is a rock beneath a clump of bamboo below, on the south eastern edge of the village, in the region called Papattay. A man by the name of Ayyowan is the guardian of the pot taken with any sacrifice to Papattay. The pots are said to have been kept in these houses from "the beginning", and are very ancient. It is also said that if they were broken it would be a very bad omen.

Arriving at the house of Gíngan, the sacrificers take a drink of wine with him, get the sacrificial pot, a bamboo tube sheathed in woven rattan in which rice beer is placed, and a lighted bundle of rice straw. They then proceed to the sacrificial place at Paliwak. One man carries the pig, another carries the pot and rice straw bundle, the third man carries the wine container.

Arriving at the sacrificial place, the pig is killed by cutting into its jugular vein. The blood is collected in the sacrificial pot. As soon as the pig is dead, the tail is cut off and left hanging from the bark of the tree. The pig's abdomen is then opened above the liver and the gall bladder examined. If it is protruding from the liver this is interpreted as a good omen. The gall bladder is then removed, stuck in a small split reed and left hanging from the tree.

Rice beer is then sprinkled upon the sacrificial rock ¹⁵ (*bogqis* "to sprinkle rice beer for the spirits") and a brief supplication is made to the *pakdel* spirits in the tree, thus: *Bogqisanmi sikqa, qinbegasem nan móla* "We give you rice beer, make the sweet potatoes produce, make the plants produce". To make a brief prayer of this nature is called *qinqáboy*. During these activities the sacrificers listen for bird call omens (*qinlabey*). They then return to the house of Gíngan, where the pig is divided and cooked. After cooking, the liver is placed on a woven bamboo plate, and a bowl of rice beer is placed on top of it. One of the sacrificers then says a long prayer (*kapyá*) called *kitib*. After the prayer the meat is divided into eight piles, one for Gíngan, one for each of his married children, and one for each of the sacrificers. They eat there, but they do not sing the *qayyeng* sacrificial song.

¹⁵ If the *pátay* is being made to break a drought, the rice beer is poured out on the rock.

On the following day the sacrificers get a chicken which has been procured from the proceeds of the village collection and go to the house of Ayyowan, the guardian of the pot used in sacrifices at Papattay, the sacrificial place below the village. After drinking in his house, they take the pot, the bamboo tube containing rice beer, some chips of pitch pine for a fire, and the chicken and go to Papattay. The chicken is there beaten to death with a small stick (*palpal*) the usual method for making a chicken sacrifice. Some feathers are pulled off and stuck in a crevice of the rock, then the body is completely cleaned of feathers by burning them off in the fire built there. The abdomen is opened and the gall bladder is examined as an omen, but it is not removed from the body. No bird call omens are sought at Papattay because it is not surrounded by bush, and consequently no *qidew* omen birds may be heard there. Rice beer is sprinkled on the rock, and the brief supplication made on the previous day at Paliwak is repeated. The sacrificers then return to the house of Ayyowan where the chicken is divided into its set portions and cooked. The cooked meat is then dipped out of the pot and the portion called *kimot* consisting of the backbone and attached organs (heart, liver and lungs) is placed with a bowl of rice beer in a woven bamboo plate. One of the sacrificers then repeats the *kitib* prayer over them, as on the previous day, and food is then served.

On the third day, the young men from each of the wards collect meat and a chicken for the evening sacrifice. This is called *panmanok nan qabqabongan* "all wards' chicken sacrifice". The meat is cooked and the chicken sacrificed in the manner described above. Anyone may do the actual killing. A prayer (*qinsenga*) for the well being of the young men is said by one of the old men over the killed chicken. It is then prepared for cooking, cut into its portions and cooked. Only the children, young unmarried men and the very old may eat of the chicken ¹⁶.

d) Making of the digging sticks

On the first day of the *patay si qagqagom*, the sacrifice complex described in the preceding section, the young men from each ward bring home to their ward houses the roughly hewn digging stick forms from their drying places on the outskirts of the village. On this day both married and single men begin the shaping of the forms into digging sticks. All work is done at the ward houses. During the morning the girls gather rice and beans from the houses of the men with whose ward they will be working, and from their own houses, and cook them in their dormitory. That afternoon all the men, married and single, eat in the girls' dormitories the food that has been prepared for them. Rice that is left over (and there is usually a lot) is placed in baskets (either the *qakiyak*, an open weave basket usually used for collecting snails from the rice fields, or a *talaka* head basket) and distributed with pots of beans to the homes of the

¹⁶ Some portions of a chicken can only be eaten by women, or old men. The "parson's nose" is one of these portions. It is believed that a man who eats this part will not be able to hide properly while waiting to ambush enemies.

young men who collected the wood used in cooking. That evening the partly finished digging sticks are placed in as many piles as there are girls' dormitories associated with the ward, and they are then distributed to the dormitories. During the next two days, the young men finish the digging sticks at the girls' dormitories, the girls cooking for and feeding them there. Married men can take a digging stick home to their wives, and the single girls can choose for their own the stick they prefer. During the working season good care is taken of the sticks, since to break one while working in the fields is considered a bad omen. They are returned each night to the homes of the girls who have claimed them.

e) The beginning of the soil preparation season

The day following *parmanok nan gabgabongan*, the evening chicken sacrifice at the ward houses, is called *qonod* "follow" since it is on this day that the men follow the girls out to the fields for the formal formation of the working groups.

Early in the morning, the men from each ward file out to either Pinóla or Qokiki to listen for bird omens. These are the places where the *mamamngel* "hearers" go to get omens prior to the *káyew* omen getting described above. When associated with the *káyew*, the listening for an early call is called *binigat*, however, on *qonod*, as on other occasions during the year when all the men from a dormitory go to listen for a call at these locations, the activity is called *wasiwas*¹⁷. An old man will take a lighted rice straw bundle with him and men may carry spears, but shields and backbaskets are not taken out, and there are no fires lit. As soon as someone hears the *labey* good omen call of the *qidew* bird, he will shout the word *géw*, and the group of men will return to the village. The shout by the hearer of the omen is also called *qinqáboy*, a different use of the term than that described above; where it applies to a brief prayer said at the sacrificial place. The term also applies to any brief supplicatory prayer, as might be said by a woman to the spirit of her garden when planting beans, etc.

Following *wasiwas*, the ward must participate in work which results in fish eating at the ward house (*gawgaw*). On *qonod* the work that is performed is the cleaning of trails and irrigation canals leading to the rice terraces. Each ward has certain areas which they traditionally clean. The younger boys go from house to house to collect a bowl of rice or other commodity from the people who receive benefit from this work. Early in the afternoon the girls gather in their dormitories with their *hamey* digging sticks. They then go out to Bágiw, an area of rice terraces to the east of the village, where soil preparation always begins. They proceed to a terrace belonging to the family of one of the girls in the group and begin turning the soil.

Around the middle of the afternoon, after the men have finished their *gawgaw* work, they return to the village, get their spears and go out to Bágiw.

¹⁷ *Wasiwas* with following *gawgaw* is held on *qonod*, on the third day following a *dawges* ceremony, following the death of one of the old men in the ward, after the *lópis* marriage ceremony of one of its members, and on other occasions as well.

They gather there at a wide grassy area called Lapaggay and divide into the same number of groups as there are girls' groups which have contracted to work with that ward. Division of married men occurs first. Unmarried men are divided last. In dividing, an attempt is made to mix married men with single men, hard workers with those who are not so strong and so on. Brothers will not work with brothers or brothers-in-law. Neither may a man work in a group with his sister, unless he is married. Sometimes there is dissatisfaction if a young man is told to join a group where he has no friends. Grumbling and arguing result, and groups must be reorganized. There are usually between fifteen and twenty men to a group, and between five and ten girls in a group. The whole group is called *sinpangobbo* "one-unit societal-group working-group", *sinpangólog* "one-unit societal-group dormitory-group" or *sinpamóleg* "one-unit societal-group people-following-in-line-along-a-trail". Although the term *qólog* is used in Guinaang in the word *sinpangólog*, it is not used for the dormitory itself (see p. 541).

Young men who are joining a working group for the first time bring with them a bunch of tobacco leaves tied to their spear shafts. After the division, this tobacco is shared amongst the married men of his working group. The group then goes to join the girls at the fields where they are working. Girls who are working in the *qobbo* group for the first time likewise have brought tobacco for the married men. The girl whose field is being worked has brought with her a small clay pot with a lid in which has been placed rice beer, a lunch basket containing cooked rice, and one "stick" of tobacco containing about five leaves. This is given to the oldest man in the group who then opens the lunch basket, smells (*songsóngen*) the cooked rice and closes the basket. He then says a prayer (*songsong*, also called *qáboy*) similar to the following:

Songsóngak sikqa ay bálonmi

I say the *songsong* prayer over you our lunch.

Qinkekegselkami ay mabobóleg

Let us be hard (strong) who are followers (in the same group).

Maqid matmallad an dakami

Let there be no inconsistent workers among us.

Ta qidagosmi nan samal

So that we will finish the soil preparation.

Qinbegaska ay qisamalmi

You that we are working on, bear fruit.

After the men have performed some token work with girls, they begin to file home, back to the village. They are led by the old man carrying the pot with rice beer, the lunch basket and the stick of tobacco. On the way a careful watch is kept for omens. Silence is maintained by the group as they go home. Watch is kept for rats, snakes and flying birds that may be bad omens. The barking of a dog, or the call of certain birds are also bad omens. On arrival at the village, the leading old man takes the objects he is carrying and places them on a shelf in his house. They may not be touched again till the following day, when the rice is eaten, the beer drunk, and the tobacco may be smoked. Some of the group return to their homes, others go straight to the ward house. In the evening all the ward members gather and discuss omens that have been received.

If someone has received a bad omen, he must change to another working group within the ward. If the omen is very serious, the whole group may change to another girls' group. If a married man does not wish to change his group even though he has received a bad omen, he must be careful, it is said, to never bring home frogs, snails or other edible creatures from the field to feed his children. A man who has received a very bad omen may decide not to work in the *qobbo* group for that season for fear of sickness or death.

f) Activities during the soil preparation season

Starting from the day after *qonod* and continuing through till the end of the soil preparation season (*samal*), the *qobbo* goes to work every day, apart from village ceremonial holidays. The group works for one day in the fields of each of the members (*kanpango* "one who leads the working group for a day") until all have had one turn, and the cycle begins again. There is no set order for leadership of the group. Each day agreement will be reached as to who will lead on the following day. Since the leader provides food and drink for the whole group at the fields, preparation must be made. (It usually takes at least five days for the making of rice beer, for example.) So the decision as to who will lead usually depends upon who has made preparation.

Sometimes the decision as to who will lead is not made until the day when the work is to be done. Each girls' group has a gathering place, sometimes outside its dormitory, more often close to the ward house, where they meet each morning after eating at their homes. They can discuss there or at the ward house with the young men gathered there, who will lead. A girl may be sent to the house of one of the married men to inquire whether he is ready to be the *kanpango*. If he agrees he will tell the group where they will work and the type of work they will do, so that they can get the necessary tools.

A large covered basket of cooked rice, a pot of beans or other vegetable, and a pot of rice beer are taken to the field. Each day young men and women for whom this is the first working season take tobacco for the married man.

On arrival, they commence work straight away. Men take a break of around thirty minutes in mid-morning to smoke and have a drink of rice beer. This break is called *doglan si towed*. The word *dogla* has the basic meaning of "smoke tobacco", but it also refers to occasions on which beer is drunk and tobacco smoked. It can also refer to the beer drunk on these occasions. *Towed* means "bucket", but also refers to the pot in which rice beer is taken to the field. The phrase, literally "smoking of the bucket" is an idiom meaning, "smoking break of the rice beer pot". They take around thirty minutes for their break and begin again to work. Young men may start work at the same time or join the older men in smoking. After smoking they join the girls till mid-afternoon, when the men again take a smoking break, called *doglan si delwas*. (The meaning of *delwas* is uncertain.) The girls do not stop work. During the longer days early in the working season, a fourth break in the afternoon is sometimes had, called *doglan si lomqod*. (*Lomqod* is also the name of a pig or chicken sacrifice late in the afternoon after a death.) Following this break the

group proceeds to places along the trails where they bathe before filing home. It is the custom for the girls to take only a lunch break. Even during bad weather when the men go to take shelter, the women continue to work. The older men frequently remove their loincloths when working, but younger men and the girls remain clothed.

The first work that is done in the *samal* season is *kamey*, the turning of soil with the *kamey* digging sticks. After the soil is turned in a field it is left for several weeks to allow the old rice stubble time to rot. Other fertilizers used are the refuse from the pig pens (*loboweg*), the leaves and stalks of sunflowers, and rice husks. Commercial fertilizers are rarely used.

Another major activity during the *samal* season is *kaqot*, the making of new rice terraces. The term *kaqot* has the primary meaning of shifting dry soil by hand. (*Káqot*, with penultimate stress, means the shifting of wet soil or mud.) Associated with this activity is *toping* "wall building". This term has the primary meaning of a rice field rock wall. Rocks are broken out of quarry areas with crowbars, and carried to the new terrace site on the heads of the girls or the shoulders of the men. The actual wall building is done primarily by the older married men, although younger men may also participate. The girls do not do any wall building. They do however help in the breaking and shifting of soil, often using the heavy soil-carrying basket *goddo*. Another method of shifting soil is hydraulicking (*goyógoy*). With this method a stream of water is channeled to the rice terrace and is used to scour out and carry away excess soil, to be deposited in the area being built up by the wall.

Towards the end of the *samal* season, the work called *pakpak* is performed. This refers primarily to the packing of the dikes with mud to stop water seepage. It also refers to other work which is performed at the same time, mainly *kemngen*, to turn mud by hand, in order to make the mud the right consistency for planting and to destroy any weeds which may have taken root since *kamey*. The term *kablóyan* means to work the mud prior to planting in order to destroy weeds.

After the turning of soil by digging stick or by hand, the group will often perform a soil dance called *dayyo* (Pl. c). This is done late in the afternoon, just before the group returns to the village. The group joins hands, and one person is chosen to lead. Then to the accompaniment of short, hissing exclamations, the group rhythmically stamps backwards and forwards across the field, following the actions of the leader. Sometimes penalties are placed on anyone who will not take the lead, or upon one who releases the hand of his partner. The penalty may consist of providing rice beer or sugarcane wine for the group. For someone who cannot provide these or the money to buy them, he may forfeit his shirt, or a girl a dress to someone who can provide the drink in exchange.

Following the *dayyo* soil dance, the group frequently sings a *daggay* song, usually called *wesséqey*, the chorus word. The *wesséqey* may also be sung when there is a large rock to be carried. A group gathers around the rock, the song is sung, the women (and some men singing falsetto) providing a counterpoint to the others. As soon as the song is finished, the rock is lifted by the group

on to the shoulders of the young man who is to carry it. Such singing is believed to make the rock lighter to carry¹⁸.

Work which is performed late in the *samal* season is *dalos* "cleaning", referring here to the weeding of rice terrace walls, and the paths (*baneng*) which traverse the tops of the dikes.

Frequently, when most of the work is completed in Guinaang, the groups will go to Bontoc for a week or two to contract soil preparation and wall building there. The groups will sleep out in the open on the outskirts of Bontoc, and work from dawn till dusk to complete the task as soon as possible. With the payment (*labbo*) for the work a water buffalo is purchased to be taken back to Guinaang to be killed and divided among the members of the group. Such killing and division of an animal is called *tonpok*.

It is the duty of the girls in the group to provide clothes for the married men. They buy lengths of red cloth from Bontoc to be made into loincloths for them. They may take from the young men their shirts, which after wearing, they may give to the married men or return to the owner.

g) *Qobbo* activities within the village

Various activities within the village are directly related to the *qobbo* groups. One such activity is the feast provided by the wealthier families for their son or daughter who has joined an *qobbo* group for the first time. Normally, the feast (called *ngongqo*) is given on the evening of the new member's first leadership of the group, but may be held at any time during the *samal* season, and on rare occasions during the following planting season when the group, already disbanded, will unite again for the feast.

If it is a young man who is giving the *ngongqo* feast, it is the custom for the girls of the group to run off and hide. They must be hunted down by the young men and brought to the house of the youth before eating can begin. The girls demand and are provided with pig fat (more often nowadays, pomade) as a hairdressing. Rice beer is shared around, although it is customary for the women not to participate. No sacrifice is made. After eating, food is taken to the houses of all members of the group.

If it is a young lady who is giving the *ngongqo* feast the men get four or five loads of wood (these are called *nginemngem*) and gather at the house of one of the group members. The girls of the group come to the house with lighted pitchpine torches and light their way to the house where the feast will be given. The loads of wood are given to the family of the new member. It is customary on such an occasion for young men and married men from different *qobbo* groups (but the same ward) to "party-crash".

They force entrance into the house, often getting smeared with soot by people inside trying to keep them out. They "capture" one or more of the girls and drag them off to the girls' dormitory where they are kept until their ransom

¹⁸ For a fuller description of the *dayyo* and *wesséqey* see REID 1961b.

is paid with rice beer from the feasters. When they are released and returned to the house, the eating can begin. Food will also be sent to the girls' dormitory for the *qinlayaw* "the takers away", to eat. Food is also distributed to the houses of the group members.

Another activity of the *qobbo* group within the village is *qindawsen*, eating the evening meal at the home of the leader of the group for the day. The term *dawsen* has the primary meaning of "to go straight to". When the leader of the group after the day's work requests his fellow workers to carry home loads of wood for him, it is usual for him to provide food for them since they have gone straight to his house. After eating, the married men will go home, while the young men stay to pound rice and drink wine. Young men from other working groups, but the same ward, often go to join their companions in pounding. The *deyyasa* "pounding song" is sung both by the rice pounders, and by the young men and women gathered outside the house.

After the pounding is finished, food and wine is again distributed and then the girls go to their dormitories. The young men may go with them and socialize in their dormitory before going to visit in other dormitories. This activity is called *makibalásig* and occurs on any night of the year, not just following the activities described here.

The girls are expected to provide rice beer (*tápey*) and tobacco (*dogla*) for the young men who visit in their dormitories. The *dogla* is considered to be payment for the young men's singing in the dormitories. Where a girl has taken a boy's shirt either for her own use or to give to one of the married men of the group, he may demand *dogla* in the dormitory as payment for his shirt.

The *dawsen* meal is also provided on occasions when the group does not proceed straight to the house of the leader, as described above. On such occasions the members may go to their own homes first, and then gather for eating. On such occasions married men do not normally gather, only the young men will eat and then pound rice.

Another *qobbo* activity in the village takes place after the completion of a new rice terrace, or the building of a terrace wall. A sacrifice called *sognad* is then performed to "settle" the work. It is sometimes also performed to make a poorly producing field more productive.

The *sognad* is usually a pig sacrifice, although it may be a dog or a chicken. Only the men of the working group gather to join the ceremony. The pig is sacrificed, and the men sing the sacrificial song, *qayyeng*. The girls of the group bring rice beer to the house but do not stay. After the pig is cooked the *kápya* prayers called *makegsel* and *salanqot* are said. Two small slices (*gêged*, the width and length of about three fingers) of the pig's skin with fat are pushed on to a sharpened stick for each girl of the working group, and are delivered by the young men to their homes. About the same amount of meat is distributed to each of the men present, to be eaten with their rice and vegetable.

At any time during the year the ward members may perform a *dawqes* ceremony for the general benefit of the ward members. It may also be performed at the instigation of a sick ward member whose sickness has been divined as being caused by the spirit of an ancestor who was killed. In this case the *dawqes*

is called *qinpaligwat* "to cause to begin". Other reasons for having a *dawges* are to cure a disease (*ligib*) which periodically afflicts growing rice, or to halt an epidemic in the village.

The *dawges* ceremony begins with the *káyew* omen getting ceremony described above (p. 543). Three old men listen for bird calls early in the morning and then the ward members file out to the mountains with spear, shield and backbasket to listen for further calls. If the call is unsatisfactory the group will proceed with *gawgaw* work. If the calls are all good omens, the men return running to the village, shouting *géw, géw* in high pitched voices. The shouting of this call following a *káyew* omen getting is called *qomelya*. A *káyew* followed by a return to the village shouting is termed *qiyag*. Only following an *qiyag* can dancing occur in the village.

In the late afternoon a small chicken is sacrificed at the ward house. This sacrifice is called *seldak*. The backbasket of the ward house is taken from its place inside the dormitory and placed outside on the platform. From it is removed a small plugged bamboo tube called *tóbong*. Inside the tube are three small slices (*géged*) of pig meat, called the *páding si qabqabóngan*, the ward house meat share for the spirits. The three slices are placed with the chicken in a pot, cooked and then replaced in the *tóbong*¹⁹.

The chicken when cooked is placed in a *giyag* plate, and one of the old men points his finger at the meat, the tip of his forefinger just touching the meat. He must stay like that until a fly lands on the upper part of his hand and walks down his stretched out forefinger on to the chicken. This activity is called *pátik* and must be performed before the *kapya* prayer is said. The prayer is called either *pátik* or *seldak*. The chicken is not eaten but is placed in a backbasket (not the backbasket of the ward house) and left until the following day.

The next morning, early, a chicken is taken by a group of old men of the ward to the sacrificing place at Paliwak. They take with them also the pot from the house of Gíngan. They are followed from the village by a group of children from the ward, repeatedly shouting *géw, géw*. The children do not go all the way to the sacrificial place but spread out into the grassy areas to get loads of reeds to keep the cooking fires burning at the ward house. Having cut and tied their bundles of reeds they wait for the return of the old men and accompany them to the village.

At the sacrificial place, the men kill the chicken, examine its gall bladder for an omen, and also listen for bird call omens. The chicken is then divided into its set portions and cooked. While cooking, the men sing the sacrificial song *qayyeng*, and follow it by the *lawlawwi* song (see REID 1961b: 75).

After it is cooked the chicken is dipped out, a short supplicatory prayer is said, and then it is distributed to the men present. The *kimot* portion is replaced in the pot to be given to Gíngan as his portion. The men take their portions home where they are eaten by children. No adult may eat of them.

¹⁹ When the meat eventually disintegrates or is eaten by maggots, it is replaced from the meat share of one of the old men in the ward. A *páding* meat share for the spirits is kept in a small pot in every house.

They return to the ward house and a dog or a pig is then killed and cooked. This is the first *dawqes* sacrifice. The liver is taken after cooking and the *pátik* is performed, as described above. Once a fly reaches the liver by the right route, the *pátik* prayer is repeated. The animal is then cut up into small pieces and distributed to the members gathered for eating. Cooked rice has been collected from members' houses by the young men for the feast.

That evening only the young men eat at the ward house. The intestines of the animal killed in the morning are cooked and shared; they eat what is left over from the morning's rice and vegetables.

If the *dawqes* is being held before the *qobbo* groups have disbanded, the girls of the *qobbo* groups on that same evening collect rice and beans from their houses which they will cook the following morning. The rice and beans will be cooked together (a mixture called *binolbol*), placed in a head basket and carried by one of the girls to the ward house.

The next morning, another animal, pig or dog, is sacrificed at the ward house. This is the second *dawqes* sacrifice and procedures are the same, with *pátik* pointing, and the associated prayer being said for the third time. There is no sacrifice however taken to the village sacrificial places as on the previous day. The sacrificial song *qayyeng* and the accompanying *lawlawwi* are sung at the ward house following the second *dawqes* sacrifice. All ward members eat together again of the sacrificed animal and the *binolbol* rice and beans brought by the girls of their *qobbo* groups.

Following eating *bókal* "dispersion" takes place, and the *dawqes* ceremony is complete.

In exchange for the rice and beans brought by the girls, it is the custom for the young men to take to the girls' dormitories on the night of the dispersion, split logs for future use in their cooking fires. The log is provided by each of the young men in turn from one *dawqes* to another. The log is split to provide at least three sections for each girls' dormitory. The girls in turn are expected to bring rice beer and tobacco for the young men.

On many occasions dancing is allowed during a *dawqes* ceremony. A *dawqes* which is being performed to clear the village of bad influences will have dancing, unless a "bad death" occurred in the period following the preceding *dawqes* for the same purpose. Such a *dawqes* is called *belway* and generally occurs after rice planting, after sugarcane harvest, and after rice harvest.

Sometimes a *belway* will be held during the *dolqok* rainy season while the rice is developing but no dancing will be allowed, since the festivities would be premature. The rice must be harvested first before dancing is allowed.

If there has been a marriage ceremony (of the *lópis* or *bayás* type²⁰), at a house in the immediate vicinity of the ward house, and the house owner is still under ceremonial restrictions (*qinqábig*) no dancing is allowed at that ward house.

On the final day of a *dawqes* ceremony held before the *qobbo* groups disband, the girls associated with the group may gather at the ward house to sing

²⁰ For a description of the *bayás* ceremonies see REID 1961a.

the *doygos* song with the men. If there is singing, the gongs will not be played and there will be no dancing. After the *doygos*, the men eat and then disperse.

When the *dawqes* is initiated by a member of the ward who is sick himself or has a sick child the activities described above all take place, with the addition of the following activities. When the *káyew* omen getting is completed, a *wálit* prayer is said before the men return to the village. In the prayer the ancestor is named and is asked to release the one who is sick, and to make rice, pigs, crops, etc., fruitful. Following each *dawqes* sacrifice at the ward house the men go to the house of the member who has requested the ceremony and sacrifice at his house. Following the first *dawqes* sacrifice at the ward house a pig is killed at the member's house; following the second *dawqes* sacrifice a dog is killed there. These sacrifices are together called *pális*. Ward members, following these sacrifices may dance at the house.

Members of a ward who have provided an animal for sacrifice during the *dawqes* ceremonies at the ward house, will request at any time the labor of the whole ward as repayment. Often a year or more may elapse after the *dawqes* ceremony was completed in which his animal was sacrificed before the group labor is requested. Such group labor is called *dangqas*, and may consist of any kind of work: soil preparation, wall building, pulling grass for thatching, cutting or carrying lumber for housing, etc. Women do not usually join the *dangqas* work but a man may ask his wife or daughter to substitute for him if for some reason he cannot participate.

The person who receives the benefit of the *dangqas* is responsible to provide food and drink for all members of the ward. When it is time to eat, two of the young men return to the village to get the food. They carry it back to the working group in *gimáta* baskets. (The *gimáta* is a shoulder bar with a deep basket attached to each end.) After work is finished, the group returns to the house of the member for whom the work has been performed and they eat again there.

h) Activities after the soil preparation season

At the end of the *samal* season the *qobbo* groups disband for rice planting (*tóned*). The married women have previously prepared and sown the seed beds (*pomanal*).

In Guinaang seed beds are sown by casting the seed. In surrounding villages, they are sown by laying rice stalks with the seed still attached in rows in the seed bed.

Planting is performed only by women. A seven day ceremony called *qapoy* "fire" follows the end of planting. During this period each family sacrifices and cooks a chicken at their newly planted fields.

Immediately after *qobáya*, the last of the *qapoy* ceremonies, the unmarried men from each ward house go out to the mountains to cut down and carry home firewood to be used at their ward house through the coming year. These logs are called the *gabowánan*. Three days are taken in cutting and bringing home these logs. The girls take rice cakes (*tóbo*) and rice beer and follow the

young men from the ward with which they were associated during the preceding soil preparation season.

On the third day the young men bring home the trunk of a tree as heavy as they are able to carry. This log is called the *qollawigan*, and may be anything between 50 to 80 feet long. A soft wood tree is usually chosen (the tree called *pátat* is preferred) since they grow very high, and the wood is relatively light. Branches, bark and outer sap wood are stripped off, then it is carried home to the village where it is erected beside the *gabowánan* logs collected on the preceding days.

Each night the girls cook sweet potato (*qóbi*) in their dormitories for the young men to eat.

The *gabowánan* logs are gradually used up through the year for cooking fires and also for the warming fires that burn whenever there is an old man sitting there.

The *qollawigan* log however stays put right through the year and is only brought down to provide firewood during a *dawqes* ceremony in the following soil preparation season. The *qollawigan* poles are considered to be ward decorations so that "young women and children will consider the strength and skill of the young men who carried them home". In this sense they may also be considered status symbols, since the aim is to bring home as long a log as possible. The collapse of the *qollawigan* log, as during a typhoon, is a bad portent, and requires the immediate performance of a *dawqes* ceremony.

The period immediately after planting is called *nana* which means "termination", and refers to the end of soil preparation. This introduces the dry season (*daqon*). During this period, *qobbo* groups may start again by mutual consent between a group of girls and one of the men's wards. They are not restricted to working with the ward with which they had been working during the *samal* season. The types of work performed are mainly *káqew* "wood", the collecting of loads of wood for the leader for the day, or terrace wall repair or rebuilding. If there have been no serious village omens, such as "bad" deaths (by accident, in childbirth, etc.) house roofs may be repaired, and the group will participate in *gábot*, the pulling of cogon grass for thatching. The loads of the girls are tied up by the young men and carried home on the girls' heads, or on the ends of a man's shoulder carrying bar.

In March the groups disband again for the cutting of sugarcane (*patpat*) and the making of sugarcane wine. Following these activities nights must be spent out in the fields guarding the supply of water to one's terraces. This activity is called *mananom* (*danom* "water"). Water is in short supply at this time of the year and if one does not guard his share of the water from the irrigation canals his rice crop may fail.

In April the rains return, and the *dolqok* season begins. *Qobbo* groups are again formed during this period. The work performed is either *dalos*, the second cleaning of terrace walls (the first occurs during *samal*), *káqew* the getting of loads of wood, or *siwat*, the cutting of long reeds to be used as stakes for the beans that are planted in dry fields, and along the paths that traverse the tops of the terrace dikes.

The groups disband again when the rice heads are beginning to ripen, in order to make scarecrows for the fields, and to spend time guarding the crop from the rice birds. The latter activity is called *belew*.

Harvest is normally done by family groups; however if an *qobbo* group did not complete its obligations to one of its members, he may call them to aid him in harvest for a day.

6. Ward Activities after Headtaking

Since there does not seem to be in the literature any description of ward activities following the taking of the head of an enemy, it may be useful to include the information here even though it does not directly relate to the working groups.

The sequence of activities followed on the taking of a head are still widely known and are reflected in some of the activities presently performed in the village. Before an attempt was made to kill an enemy, the *káyew* omen getting ceremony was performed. Following an auspicious omen the men proceeded to look for their victim.

Revenge killing (*bákal*) was conducted in one of several ways. The usual was to set an ambush for one or two men in the mountains where they would be likely to pass in order to go to cut wood. Failing this a direct challenge was sometimes called from the outskirts of the enemy village for the men to come and fight. A further method was a night attack right into the enemy village. This was the method of attack followed during the last major raid on Sagada, towards the end of the last century, when a number of Bontoc villages grouped together for the onslaught against Sagada. This type of village alliance was not traditional. It was apparently practised on this and other occasions at the instigation of the Spanish as punitive expeditions. The only other instance recalled by informants was in 1945 when Malegcong men came out to assist some Sagada men following a challenge issued by Guinaang to the latter. (Two Sagada men had been killed in response to a killing of a Guinaang man several days prior to the incident.) This alliance however did not reflect any lasting bond of peace between Sagada and Malegcong. In 1960 an uneasy peace was reestablished between Sagada and Guinaang, and it was the Malegcong men who were challenging the Sagada people to fight.

On the afternoon of the day an enemy head was brought home the young men at the ward house of the victor (*namálbeg*) performed the *séldak* ceremony (see p. 555). The following morning the head was taken to the edge of the village (to a place called Malsa) where the *tóling* sacrifice was performed. This sacrifice is also performed for any "bad" death (death by accident or in childbirth). There was dancing around the head (no women participating) the shouting of *géw* (*qomélya*), and the singing of the *dallógay* victors' song (REID 1961b: 62, 65). The head was then returned to the ward house and a pig or dog was sacrificed at the ward house. This is a *dawqes* sacrifice. On that day also, the *tomo* pig sacrifice for the protection of the victor was performed at his house. The

following days saw the performance at his house of the *pális* ceremony described above (p. 557). After the *tomo* and *pális* were completed the ward members could then proceed to spear and take home one or more water buffalo for feasting at the ward house. A wood or stone post (to represent the person killed) was erected at the platform, a *lebkan* pounding through was brought out, and the *lebek* song was sung (REID 1961b: 69). Dancing and feasting lasted two days at a minimum. The head, minus the lower jaw, was buried beneath the fire place on the platform. The lower jaw was cooked to remove the flesh. The jaw bone was then made into the handle of a gong. After a year or more, during a subsequent *dawqes* ceremony, the skull was dug up from its position beneath the fire, placed in an open weave basket and hung up on the inside back wall of the ward house.

These general details were supplied during conversation with some of the old men. However in 1969 on two occasions, wards performed a *dommo* feast, also called *gaya* to celebrate fights which one of their ward members held with an outsider. Blood was drawn on both occasions. On neither occasion was it necessary for the fighter to perform the *tomo* or *pális* sacrifices since no actual killing was involved, but the opportunity was taken by the old men to honor the bravery of the fighters. The normal *dawqes* sequence of activities was followed, the *káyew* omen seeking, and *seldak* chicken sacrifice on the first day; the killing of a chicken at Paliwak followed by the first *dawqes* sacrifice of a dog, then *gawgaw* collecting of crabs and mudfish that were eaten in the evening of the second day; the chicken *dawqes* on the third morning, followed by *gawgaw* at the river, during which the men collected loads of pitch pine for keeping the fires burning during the following days.

On the fourth day was *kedag*, the spearing of a water buffalo (REID 1961a: 7-9). The killed water buffalo was sprinkled with rice beer before it was quartered and carried back to the ward house, where the meat was piled up by the fire place. The intestines were cooked and eaten at midday. During the afternoon the young men collected uncooked rice from the ward members, proclaiming as they went around, *Qas wákas qinqekantako* "Tomorrow we'll all feast". That evening the young men again ate at the ward house.

The following day rice and meat were cooked at the ward house in the morning and the afternoon and all the ward families, including wives and children, gathered to eat. That day was the *gapon si kakan* "first eating time". The gongs were brought out on this day and played almost continuously with dancing through the day and right through the night. The old men sang the *gayyeng* sacrificial song; the victors' song, *dallógay*, was also sung. During all this the fighter was *fêted*, young women made leis and placed them around his neck, and his deed was repeated in story and song. The following day was a repetition of the same activities. Each ward member was charged ₱10 to help pay for the expenses of the feasting.

7. Acculturative Changes

During the ten year period over which the observations have been made upon which this paper is based, numerous changes have taken place in the village which are affecting particularly the *qobbo* groups.

One of the major causes for the changes is the fact that more children are going to school. In 1959, when the population of the village was around 1,500 no girls had proceeded beyond Grade 2 in the Government elementary school in the village, and relatively few of the boys remained in school beyond the first few grades. In 1963 about 20 children, several of them girls, were enrolled in 1st grade, and 3 boys graduated from 6th grade. In 1967 there were 59 children enrolled in 1st grade, with 12 graduating (including 2 girls) from 6th grade.

Most of the children begin school around seven or eight years of age, and with missing out a year here and there are often in their mid to late teens by the time they graduate from 6th grade, well past the age when they would otherwise have begun working in the *qobbo* groups. School boys will continue to participate in their ward activities but do not join the *qobbo* groups. However they do form informal *qobbo* groups with the school girls and work on weekends.

Another factor involved in the changes, is that more people are leaving the village than before. Many of the young men, especially those who have had a few grades of education are finding work in the gold and copper mines in and around Baguio and Lepanto, and even as far away as Zambales. In 1970 there were approximately 50 Guinaang men employed in the mines. Many teenaged girls have been lured to the market gardens of Baguio and Tabuk to work for ₱ 2 a day.

The result is fewer and smaller *qobbo* groups. The decrease in the number of working groups in each ward from 1959 to 1969 is shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Number of *qobbo* groups in each ward

	Qíngit	Móngaw	Malqo	Datal	Tongbal	Qalqal
1959	4	1	3	4	3	3
1969	3	1	1	3	1	2

One further factor which is causing change in the village in relation to the *qobbo* groups is the introduction of a new housing style. With the availability of relatively large sums of ready cash, many men who work in the mines are having frame houses built in the village. These houses have galvanized iron sheet roofs and walling. They are divided into rooms, often lined with ply wood and have raised sawn boards floors. Many of the girls have found that these houses are more comfortable and warmer than the old style dormitories. They also provide more security since the doors can be locked and only the young men of their choice can be permitted to enter. This is also frustrating the

practice of *gináwa*, in which a young man would enter the dormitory under cover of darkness and either attempt to "steal" relations with a sleeping girl or fake the identity of a girl's boyfriend in order to have relations with her.

The girls who have decided to sleep in these houses are grouped in twos and threes, rather than the large numbers who formerly slept in the dormitories.

In 1959 there were fewer than 10 galvanized iron houses in the village; in 1970 there were about 135 of them as against 275 traditional homes. The number of girls' dormitories has been decreasing from year to year. In 1959 there were around 18. Since 1967 there have only been 5. Many of the old dormitories still exist, and the girls still gather in them to feed and entertain the young men, but they go to the new houses to sleep.

Datal ward had 3 *qobbo* groups in 1969. There were enough men for 4 groups, but insufficient girls' groups. The girls' groups associated with two of the three working groups were old style dormitories. The girls from *qan Góbang* (Góbang's place) number only 6; those from *qan Dóma* are 7. Formerly these dormitories held 10-12 girls each. The third group was assembled from five girls who sleep in various new houses, but who gather at the house of Gána (*qan Gána*) for socializing. Tongbal ward had only one working group in 1969, the women members of which were several widows, unmarried girls whose children had died, and other "old maids". All were sleeping in different galvanized iron houses. During the *dolqok* season of 1969 however, the youths of Tongbal persuaded one of the girls' groups that had been working for Datal during the *samal* season, to join with them for *dolqok* work.

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