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RITUAL AND CEREMONY IN MOUNTAIN PROVINCE

Two Articles by

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A GUINAANG WEDDING CEREMONY

DANCING & MUSIC
A GUINAANG WEDDING CEREMONY

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

1. The cost of performance of the initial ceremonies, plus the lopis ceremony, usually requires several years before the necessary supplies of rice, chickens, pigs and carabaos can be built up.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. SIWAG, or the Beginning of Restrictions.

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

1. They had to be old men,
2. Of good reputation,
3. From a leading family line,
4. Whose wife and children were still alive,
5. And had strength and ability to perform the tasks required of them.
The appointed leader of these men, comeb-aw, first must go to the house of one of the previous chono leaders to collect the ceremonial basket and stone desired by the pomango. These two objects are known as a topil. The basket, termed cholauw, consists of a circle of finely woven rattan about three inches deep, open at both ends, about 6 inches in diameter at the base, and 9 inches at the top. From a series of loops on the outside of the basket rise a number of lengths of fine rattan (about 9 inches long) to which are attached numbers of chicken feathers.

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

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

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

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

a. The First Day.

Before daybreak, the pachipad are removed from the house, and each of the maniwag goes to his own house to get his gong, meat bag, and ceremonial dress for the occasion. They reunite again at the central barrio ab-afongen (men's gathering and sleeping place called ato in Bontoc) called Chatal. 3 Here, as many people gather to watch, the leader dons a necklace made of a string of boar tusks, the base of each enclosed in a rattan casing, signifying his office. The vice leader, displays his office by taking a woven white loincloth called chinangtal, and either winding
it about his forehead, fonglo style, or hanging it around his neck, kelkel style, the loose ends are draped down his back. Each of the men then takes his gong and performs a three-part ceremony. First, the gongs are beaten slowly, solemnly for about one minute. This is the tachek. Three of the men then sit while a fourth shouts a kind of challenge, falos. Following that, all sit while a short song is sung, weel, which is the word used upon which the tune is based.

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

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

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

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

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

Because the pomapatay are restricted from even washing their hands during the whole of the chono period, a helper will get a pig from the pigpen, clean it a little and it on to them. A smaller pig is used than that killed by the maniwag earlier in the day. One of the men places the pig on his shoulder, while the other takes with him a slaughtering knife, tadyok, a pot for the blood, and a bamboo tube, folas, containing fayas. Then they proceed to the sacrificing place, papatayan, located beneath a large pine tree just to the east of the village, at a place called Paliwak. Here the pig is slaughtered. A small fire is built to burn off the hair and
outer skin of the pig, and it is cut below the ribs in order to remove the liver and examine the gall bladder for an omen. The gall bladder is then removed and left hanging from a branch at the papatayan.

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

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

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

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

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

b. The Second Day.

On the second day of siwag, the same restrictions are observed, but to a lesser degree. The morning sees the maniwag playing the tachek complex at the pomango's house before performing the siwag next at a relative's house and then at any house where the occupants intend to participate in the chono. Because they are sent from house to house in the manner of servants, maniwag are also respectfully termed mafaal. These men, still wearing the insignia of their office, and each clad in a once-white chinangtal, go from house to house announcing their coming by one of the men beating his gong as they pass along. A sense of awe pervades the village, and children and even adults fear to come close to the maniwag for fear of the anito. On this day participants may eat after the siwag has been performed but never before, or never with the maniwag. After a sufficient number of homes has been visited, and the maniwag know that they will be able to complete this part of their work on the following
day, they return to eat at the pomango’s house. The pomango and his family and father-in-law may also eat without company. From now until the end of the chono, the father-in-law will live and eat at the house of the pomango, but he is never allowed to eat from the normal plate, ciyag; his food is always served in a topil basket. He is never allowed to get his own drinking water, from the water jar. It must always be drawn for him.

This second day of siwag is also the first day of infayo, rice pounding. Tongyofen, with his helpers, is the first to go to his granary to get rice. A dozen or more young men and women may go and get the initial loads of rice, and these are taken back to the house. A mortar is taken outside, and immediately, stripping, pounding, winnowing and sorting begins. Although pomango leads the way to the granary he is not allowed to carry home a load; he carries with him a coconut shell with tapey as a fen-ag⁴, and on his return home carries also a few stalks of rice as a token load. It is believed that by carrying the fen-ag for the spirits, they will be inclined to miraculously increase the depleted store in the granary. After pomango has taken his rice, any of those who had siwag on the first day may also get their rice.

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

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

c. The Third Day.

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

As each participating family receives the maniwag a set of rigid restrictions, the afig, are placed upon the members, which must be adhered to if the success of the chono for that family is to be assured. Afig restrictions may be divided into two sections; those which are adhered to during the period of the chono or for a short time after, and those which must be adhered to for a full season. In the case of the pomango, afig is even more severe, imposing restrictions right through until the next chono, several years later.
The first type of afig includes the following restrictions:
1. No bathing.
2. Eating no vegetables. Only rice and meat may be consumed.
3. No visiting any other barrio.

The second type of afig includes the following restrictions:
1. No cutting of growing trees or green leaves.
2. No wall building.
3. No house repairing.

3. KOSKOS or the Stripping of Bark.

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. SALAG, or the First Carabao killed.

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

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

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

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

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

Feguew, feguew, mafegwawan si nowang sina, ya chinomno.

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

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

Not until after the head is hung can fayas be brought out. All participants will then drink and certain portions of the stomach will be cleaned, cooked and eaten. This first food and drink is termed felkas. However
"pomango" and his family must fast till the next day, as "songsong" has been performed.

The body of the carabao is apportioned out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body Part</th>
<th>Owner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head, legs</td>
<td>Maniwag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart, liver &amp; stomach</td>
<td>Owner's father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half of the ribs</td>
<td>Reserved by owner for a relative in need.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intestines, blood, kosol (part of the neck), tail with part of the backbone, 'short' ribs, spleen, kidneys &amp; lungs.</td>
<td>These are all shared by the killers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breast bone</td>
<td>Close relatives of the owner's wife.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. KEDKECHAG, or Spearings.

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

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

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

6. CHALLATEY, or the Vat Stand.

As on "koskos", "pomango" will take the lead in going to the mountains for the cutting of the logs to make the vat stands. As before, he will
carry onon, the symbol of life, and will not participate in the cutting. On returning home the songsong is again performed, and fasting continues till the next morning.

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

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


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

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

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

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

7. TOTTOOD, or the Erection.

At daybreak the nafaal, assisted by able-bodied men, have the logs for the structures called fansal and fawel brought home and erected at the house of pomango.
The fansal consists of four corner posts about fifteen to twenty feet high and six to eight feet diameter at the base, and forked at the top. These are set into the ground immediately in front of the sagaipik, each post leaning slightly inwards. Cross pieces are fixed through the forks and a platform of sturdy branches placed across the crosspieces. On top of this is secured a mat made of reeds and tied together with rattan.

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

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

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

Inlos-okko sik-a ay saki, malor-ok si ongong-asna, fotog, manok ya pacey.

"I thrust through you, house eaves, may children here, pigs, chickens and rice be thrust forth."

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

Mataktaked si ongong-asna, "May the children here, pigs, chickens & rice be bound (that they be not dispersed)."

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

Intoodko sik-a ay sanchac, "I erect you, sanchag, so that children here, pigs, chickens and rice here may stand erect."

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

Above the losong a shelf is also built and a mat of reeds, atag, is placed on it. This will be used to receive meat. In many houses this shelf is already there and has been used earlier for other purposes. What-
ever the case, the nafoal takes another stick of lanipew wood and binds it to the outer edge of the shelf.

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

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

Sanlag and sagcikpik only, indicate a lopis chono of either tejek, kinagkocong or finicat standard. A sanlag alone indicated that a pig had been substituted for the carabao sacrifice, and that the participant was either of low class who had not performed a lopis chono, or a chomno participating in his third chono, whose child was at the same time performing his first chono. It is common practice for parents not living with their children, who have completed their own chono feasting, and who have children participating at any stage or degree, to kill a pig and display the sanlag.16

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

When the four nafoal have completed their duties erecting sagcikpik, they meet again at the house of the pomango where a pig is brought and sacrificed. No prayer is said at this stage. When it is known this pig is dead, each family who has a sagcikpik kills a medium sized pig, removes its tail (to prove it is dead) and binds together the four trotters with
rattan; one strip of rattan is passed from these to the lower jaw binding it grotesquely open. It is then shouldered and carried to the house of the pomango. When all of the pigs have been laid in a pile around and beneath the fansal at this house, the father-in-law of the pomango emerges and says a prayer, liniweng (see Appendix 6). Each man immediately takes his own pig to his house where its hair and outer skin are burnt off and it is butchered. The following set distributions are made:

**CHART 1**


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

*Tonpok* carabaos — approximately 15

Total Number of carabaos taken — approximately 100

- **sakab** diaphragm
- **fongaw** under side of stomach
- one-fourth of the ribs, **tadlang**
- one slice, **sinfetek**, of skin from the side,
- **tekling**, a portion of meat from the rear of a back leg.

This is all called the **tachok**, the gift to the father or the father-in-law.

The gall bladder, **akco**, is examined and hung from the under surface of the roof overhang, near the doorway. The bladder is emptied,
inflated and tied, and hung with a length of inflated intestine on the sanchag to dry. In the evening these are taken down, filled with blood and cooked to be eaten the next day by relatives who will come to feast. After pigs have been killed the nafaal once again go to each of the houses where earlier in the day they had erected the sacepik. Now, each with the aid of helpers they proceed to build a kol-ob box in these houses of the same style as the one placed in the house of pomango on the day before siwag started.

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

Faloska ay kol-ob, manaloob si ongong-as na, fotog, manok, ya pacey.

Faloska ay fosag, in-ilosacanchas loweb si kaomiliyencha.

Faloska ay nono, intinimonos canak sina fotog, manok, pacey sina.

Faloska ay pange, somisiyayas fotog, manok, pacey sina.

“Be challenged kol-ob, let children, pigs, chickens & rice break forth (as waters from a dam).”

“Be challenged, matured wood of the pine, let them possess through maturity the inherited possessions of the fellow villagers.”

“Be challenged, reed mat, let the offspring here, pigs, chickens & rice here, be continually produced (i.e. graduated in size, from tall to short.).”

“Be challenged, branch, let the children here, pigs chickens & rice here branch out in all directions.”

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

Chinpap apos Oyaan si Olchocan ay alincacanaken, alinosfolocen, alimamanoken.

“My grandfather caught Oyaan at Olchocan, who was rich in children, pigs and chickens.”

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

7. PATPATAY, or Killings.

On this day, every participating family from sanchag level up is expected to kill a large pig. Pomango is the leader, as usual, with the nafaal killing his pig. When the squealing of his pig has subsided, the rest of the participants are free to get their pigs and kill them. The
same procedure is followed in tying the pigs as on the previous day and each is then shouldered and carried to the house of pomango where they are piled high. While waiting for all to arrive, the men get out the gongs and dance in a space left clear for this purpose. When all are there, pomango's father-in-law emerges from the house and repeats the kitib and jeguwe prayers (kapya), and then each man is free to take his pig back home for butchering. In the Guinaang chono of September and October 1960, because of the large number of participants, over one hundred fully grown pigs were brought to the house for the prayer.

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

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

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

On this day the in-awid or guest callers leave the village to invite relatives from all the surrounding villages. Any one who can claim relationship through a common ancestor, even four or five generations removed, is invited to attend the feasting on the following day. 41

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

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

Because of the 'spiritual' danger of having such a large number of people from other villages about to enter, it is necessary for the pomango to provide another pig for a village sacrifice at the papatayan or sacrificing place. The pomapayat are called and the same procedure is followed
as on the first day of siwag when a village sacrifice was taken to the paapatayan at Paliwak. On this day, however, it is taken to the other paapatayan, commonly known as Papattay, but referred to in the prayers as the paapatayan at Faang. The meat of the pig is divided between the pomapatay and the naafal.

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

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

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

Older men, however, seem to mix more freely with men of other villages. Sitting on their heels in groups around pitch pine fires, with plenty of fayas to drink and tobacco to smoke, these men wholeheartedly join in the singing of a song called ayeyeng, usually sung after pig sacrifices. The extemporaneous words may relate a story or in often highly metaphorical language express desires of fruitfulness to the chomno who is their host. Frequently, as the fayas effects the tempers of the singers, men from different villages will begin heated arguments over who should lead the song, or over something that was said in the song. Such arguments are usually killed by someone calmly squatting between the two opponents and leading off the song again as though nothing was amiss.
Food is served again in the evening. (Normally dancing would begin again and continue through the night hours, but there had been earlier in the afternoon a fracas between men from two villages over which group would take the gongs next. Throwing of sticks and stones preceded a knife fight in which three men were badly slashed about the head. The police who had come up from Bontoc to keep peace, promptly vetoed all night dancing.) The old men kept singing their ayyeng. The old women kept exchanging tales with old acquaintances, while the young men and women joined themselves into groups and wandered through the village stopping here and there where other groups had formed to sing a lefek song, characterized by its vigorous chorus, soweey. Other young men and women paired off to seek the solace of some dark corner, while others, tired by the day’s activities just wrapped themselves in their brightly coloured woven blankets and settled down under the eaves of a nearby house to pass the night in slumber.

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

**FOKAL SI MANGILI**, or Dispersing of Visitors.

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

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

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

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

Early in the morning, one of the remaining heads is taken down, split, placed in a vat and cooked. Old men then go from house to house,
usually in the company of one of the nafaal, to scrape meat from the bone, eat as much as they desire, place a portion in their meat bags, and move on again.

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

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

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

11. COMANGSA, or Gong Owners.

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

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

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

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

The elwa themes are as follows:

1. Inmali nan incomangsa. "The participants in the comangsa ceremony have come.
2. Incanakchas lapona. "This has produced offspring from the beginning."
3. Inlowebchas lapona. "This has given wealth from the beginning."
Certain of the older men are assigned the task of cutting the cooked meat into smaller pieces, cceced, while others distribute it on large winnowing baskets. Each man present receives at least two cceced, older men, dividers, and the distributors getting larger portions, as well as the pieces of the chicken. The chicken that was killed inside the house is kept, to be distributed later in the day. Each man places his meat in a topil basket. Fayas wine, and tobacco are shared by all. Everyone is also entitled to eat of tofo, a confectionary made of sticky rice chayket, boiled in a woven sugar cane leaf covering.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Following the visit of the somafosab, another small group of men, led by the three pomapatay are free to come. This group is called the fomocinney, the singers of the fociinney. As soon as they arrive they proceed to sing the fociinney, (see Appendix 2, page 73) a song which on other occasions is sung after ayyeng, and just before the eating of a sacrificed pig.
These men receive for pomango two legs of a pig (i.e. the lower leg and trotter only), plus a handful of fokay mixture of rice, blood and brain. For themselves, one ekep of pig meat — usually ribs, is cooked in the inside vat and divided evenly. Fayas and tobacco is passed around before departing.

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

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

12. KETKETAD, or Cutting of the Bindings.

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

_Ofachek sik-a ay tinaked si amani- aet maofad si anan-ak sina, fotog, manok pacey ya kangoon._

"I unbind you who have been bound by the old men, so that children here, pigs, chickens, rice and everything may be loosed."

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

_In-ikelwagos anan-ak, fotog, manok, pacey ya kangoon._

“You spill forth children, pigs, chickens, rice and everything.”

Husbands and wives are once more allowed to sleep together. They have been separated since the beginning of siwag.
13. CONGFO, Cooking of Bones.

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

14. FAKFAKAWEAT, or First Outing.

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

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

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

15. OMAPOY, Taking of Fire.

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

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

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

As the food cooks, a bundle of reeds are brought and cut to two lengths—the main portion is about five feet long, the rest about three feet long. A series of slits are cut in the reed in the top nine inches, and in each of these a little bundle of feathers is placed. These are
called nalongnong. The shorter reeds are distributed to each of the pasture lands where the chommo has carabao, and are tied in the tree which usually shades the fanggaan. The longer reeds are taken home, where they are placed in bundles, one on either side of the entrance to the house, to signify that the requirements of omapoy, have been fulfilled. On arrival home, having eaten at the field, a minimum of eight more chickens are killed, and another eight ekep of pig meat are sliced and cooked. The angal prayer is again repeated.

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

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

16. TELWAD, or a Completing Sacrifice.

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

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

*Taladyo, taladyo, natat-aladyo nan, canak sina ya loweb.*

"May offspring here and wealth be benefited by the saying of taladyo."

(For fegwey prayer see Appendix 5.)

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

The following morning relatives gather to eat and when they have finished the old men, including nafaal and pomapatay gather to eat. This is called safosab, as one of the old men will say the safosab prayer, a generic term which includes the kitib prayer, said on this occasion. (See Appendix 4). The evening feasting on this day, to which relatives are invited is termed palagpag. On the following or third day, all close and distant relatives gather in the evening to eat. A chicken is killed. On the fourth day, also termed fakfakawat, the husband and wife once
again go to their designated bathing places, for another bath. The fifth day, again jakjakawat, sees the husband going to the mountains for a load of firewood, while his wife is allowed to go to kaingans to get a small load of camote vines for the pig. That evening relatives once again gather to feast and the Telwad is finished off with a chicken sacrifice called acifoy; its accompanying prayer is senga.

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

17. IPLAT, or the Finishing Sacrifice.

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

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

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

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

Having received an omen, the men who had left with only the noise of rhythmically beating shields, now return with a series of high-pitched ceremonial shouts, ke-e-euw. Back baskets, spears and shields are piled up at the ab-afongan, and the men either go to catch crabs or mudfish, or spend the rest of the day sitting with their companions in the ab-afongan.
The following day is called chaw-as and during each meal, all members eat at their ab-asongan, their evening meal usually consisting of fish that has been caught, or canned sardines bought in Bontoc.

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

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

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

20. CONCLUSION.

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

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

FOOTNOTES

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

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

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

4 This man, Benedict Omellag Sibfay, was of invaluable assistance as an informant during this period, explaining many features which could not be witnessed by the writer.
This container is used in preference to other types; in the event that the container stumbled, the container would not break and the wine be split.

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

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

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

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

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

Lipu Chono = fincat.
Fayas Chono 1 & 2 = fansal.
Fayas Chono 3 = fawel.

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

One group of in-awid left Guinaang on the day of Tattood to invite relatives from Sadanga, who, because of a head taking form against Guinaang and consequential revenge killings in 1943, had not been invited to participate in the feasts from then on. The gesture of friendship was accepted and a small group of relatives arrived in Guinaang on the appropriate day.

A chicken is always divided into four set portions:
1. The legs.
2. The head, neck and backbone and upper ribs with heart, lungs and liver attached.
3. The breast and wings.
4. Crop and intestines.

1 Amlcid, miles, had
2 A man each time, 1961.
3 ed, or any at Chatal.
4 as an in-witnessed
Appendix I

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

1. The initial ceremonies.

   a. The Kom-o.

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

   b. The Kalang.

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

   c. The Singil.

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

   d. The Kalon.

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

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

2. The Lopis Chono.

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

   a. The Tefek.

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

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

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

c. The Finicat.

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

d. The Inalcew.

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

e. The Winalo.

This is the highest class lopis ceremony and only persons who have performed the kalon in the initial ceremonies may hold this lopis ceremony. The minimum number of pigs for sacrifice is the same as in inalcew and finicat, likewise, the ceremonies are the same. However one full day is set aside for koskos and another full day for cutting and placing the challatey. Winalo is so named as eight vats will be used for the cooking of rice to feed the guests.
Appendix 3
Calendar of events in the Guinaang Chono
September and October, 1960.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Calling of the Maniwag.</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; 5th</td>
<td>Siwag, and Teel si Sikchad.</td>
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<td>&quot; 6th</td>
<td>Siwag, beginning of Infayo.</td>
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<td>&quot; 7th</td>
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<td>&quot; 8th</td>
<td>Koskos</td>
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<td>&quot; 9th</td>
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<td>Tottood</td>
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<td>Oct. 1st-8th</td>
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<td>&quot; 9th</td>
<td>Iplat of Pomango</td>
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<td>Teel</td>
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<td>&quot; 15th</td>
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<td>&quot; 17th</td>
<td>Fokal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 1st</td>
<td>Sacap-ot.</td>
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</table>

EREMONIES
BELOW
REED NOT BE
OMPLETED

'THIS LINE
MAY BE
FOLOWED
ONLY WHEN
THE PARTIC-
PTANT'S
CHILD IS
PERFORMING
FIRST PAYAG
CHONG.


Ayaa ket inacamidcha nan feifel. Inkemachancha, manangalecha. Ayaa ket in-

Faglakayan and Kaficat are becoming related through the marriage of their children. He said, “Do you have a sugar can plantation, do you have pigs?” “There are.” “Do you have wine?” Let’s also have drinks for the guests.” “It is there in the valley of the village.” He sent the brothers and they went and cut the cane. “The cane fields of our ancestors are well matured. This will be our drink supply in the feast.” They stood one on either side of the field, bent down and cut the cane. They worked day and night. Their sister followed them. She speedily stripped the bark, and threw the pieces aside. They stood one on either side at the base of the mill. They began to clean it. They made a canal in the wall for their tonge-chan. One of them started. “Our tonge-chan is leaning out of position.” He turned to his sister, “Shout to our neighbours to transfer our milling place.” They shouted for them. They each took a load. They looked back. They planted tender shoots in the place where they stripped cane. May everything be rounded up, children, rice, pigs and chickens. They carried it on to Cafel. As they put it down everything was in a jumbled pile & filled the milling place, like a tocawi rain protector.

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

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

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Ayya kecheng kano payay kinwaniwa, “Ayya nay aces nasaeto nanchipitakos na ya. Isaacmo kafajyahna an inamong-takos na ya, ta engka chaicha mangans, ta akonenmi ran chalayta to enyemis afjoyowantako.”

Ayya insaal kafaiyancha ran inamong-ch'a. Ayya ket wauucaena ran faloncha ya ran fofolcha, walahasa chaicha. Simemetachacha nasawalan. Ab-afoyancha “Maisawulan singonin.”


Inmeyet tinangtangana, iniskepna ran inuacipitina ay tailia, lokifena ran kalobna. Ayya ket simimencha ran likana, nasaschaal. “Engkoyot manallatey.” Nuligwata ran sin-aci, sinachangecha ran wasaycha, inmeychad Fototto.

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

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

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

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

He took some fruit of the edpay tree, and put it in one of the jars. He tore off a langas, and covered it. He took out what he had placed in his hip bag—betel nut, and put it in a jar. Then he looked up to the side of his granary, a bat was hanging there. He tore off the wings. “This is what I will use as a cover, as I am all-powerful. At half moon you can expect me to return.”

When it was half moon, there was the nose of his spear as it embedded itself in a stone. Truly their uncle’s spear vibrated. He came to their granary.

He went and knocked out the door stop, took inside the gourd, which he had carried under his arm, and removed the jar covers. He tasted the contents, it was good hard wine. “Go and make the vat stand.” The brothers started, and holding their axes across their shoulders, went to Fototto.
Their uncle followed them, "Oh you're just considering a young pine tree which isn't worthwhile. Over there is a well developed tree, with cones and grey lichen, so that you will become very grey headed." So the brothers went and chopped it, it fell to the ground and filled two kaingans. "May they acquire many riches." They walked along it. They used the base for pitch pine, the middle for their vat stand, the top for the base of their vat stand, the branches for pegs. They took it home to Kamalig. The setting up of it was good. "And now to get our meat supply." They put a lead on their sister's dog and went to Finayowan.

The dog began to bay. They went.

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

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

It filled two kaingans.

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

They took their sister's afongot, and they went to Layocas. They also proceeded to make thread and roll it into a ball. "May the ones we are marrying be 'wound'—as a ball." They went to the
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Ayya kechentey, imneychas nan anak si Imasla. Fenyyencha chaicha, ayya ket kano naikolit ad tag-eu san mameg-wewuchas anoka lopis. Ayya kecheng payetay anoka pay.

"Cichowena nan afongtako."


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

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

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

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

"Let's go and take the kitib from village to village." He took it to the people of Faney, Fatad, and then to Lobuagan. 'What is this that you are taking from place to place?" "Kitib." He brought it to Tenglayan and Saklit.

"Whatever's that?" "It's the kitib I'm taking around." Their pots, split wood, and everything were benefited by the kitib. He came to Masici.
"May the children here, pigs, chickens and rice be as the undulations of rice on the sorting tray. "He took it to Ablot. They draw their strength towards them, they draw their people, they draw their pigs, they draw their chickens and everything.
He took it to Chomaleg. They don't know anything at Chomaleg, they just boast of their wealth and their bravery. He took it up to Aafatan. He looked down upon the descendants of Fookan at Patyayan (Mainit). The fields of the people at Kayongyongan are continually having feguwe said for them. "Let's say right now the prayer of kitib to pair with the feguwe."
He came to Finakal. "I will lean it against the lime stone. I will not succumb to anything. Let us pair the kitib to the feguwe. May everything to benefited by the feguwe. May their granaries and split fuel be increased by the kitib."
They came to Lalanfan. "Who will receive it here?" Ah, it will be the descendants of Madno, Lichey and Wakwak, these are the descendants of Chacomay."
"We are the ones who will have the feguwe said. We do not lose a single crop from our terraces at Amfaciiwan.

That is why we keep having the feguwe said. Feguwe and kitib, benefit our granaries, terraces, pig pens, and children."
"Let's take it also to the ones who live below, who are brave. The families of Kafab, Faw-ingan, Chinalpan and Micingan, are the strong ones."

"May our children, houses and everything be strong. "May this serve as an inheritance."
Our pakchelet spirits at Paliwak who give increase, increase everything, who are strong, strengthen our children. Our
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nen, intetengnen nan anan-ak ya intetengnen nan fangacha, acamangcha.

Ayya sik-a payyay folan, alcew, ad Laco'd ya ad Aplay si in-ek-ekanam. Sik-a pay saefanmid Fato, ad Saklang sina ya ad Pongngad, ad anoka Ciwang, mane-feyafeykayo ta anoka inacacab-an si cab-cab-anmis na.

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

Moreover moon and sun, may your devouring places be to the West and to the East. You also, spirits at the village entrances at Fato, Saklang, Pongngad and Ciwang, erect your barriers against intruders, that what we are saying here may be fulfilled.
Appendix 5

FEGW EW

San sin-aci ay ipocaw, inpatanedcha nan
an-akcha. Pay-encha nan choronodo.
"Ena man anokas sa manallaye." Isaa-
lecha nan challayeha. "Aset etacen-
takos sa." Iliguwatcha nan asocho. In-
meycha nan ponchachad Pinayowan.
Impayebey nana asocho, fomeskai nan
anopan nan asocho. "Faken sa tay ngila-
gnil nan fab-ana." Akiyencha na asocho,
ifakachas nan faakna. Impayebey nan
asocho, fomeskal nan inanopan nan aso-
cha. "Siya sa nan paalan oltaoet, tay
inyafayab na ingana, inmoliyek na ma-
tana, inkimakim nan sakcodna.

Nal-os inkay-atnas nan Panafal. Loro-
chana, finmakonad. Finokokhaki nan
sapanalocan. Linmayogchay sin-aci ta
fekfekenchah. Fokakancha, finayowanet,
"Siya sa ta way mamalotas nan chono." In-
kelwagecha nan etegcha. Sinnikak nan
etegcha, pinonan nan sapanalocan.
In-anapchas fatawilecha, sigfatencha nan
koyas. "Faken sa tay inchekil." Siga-
fatencha nan anaychos. Inligwatcha nan
fatawilecha ay anaychos, nayoos nan
anaychos. "At mayoos nan canal ya
nan loweb." Et infatawilecha nan etag-
cha, finyayocha. Insaatchas nan chokso-
cha.

Infachengecha nan etegcha finyayocha
mangayengecha, achi incanges. Ke-
chegay kanan inanchea, "Engkayot jeg-
waawan na." Kechengay maliguwat nan
sin-aci, paykatencha nan afongos ha-
faifyancha. Alanchea nan lomyangcha,
ichakalehas Layocan. Kechengay nan-
fidecha, naipol nan pinkelcha. "Ngamoya
mairopol nan chowenton." Pagpacancha
nan chailtingtang, nachekyang. Inmey-
chah nan fajadganancha, namatangcha,
tinmakud nan pinatangcha. "At to-
makud nan canak ya nan loweb.

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

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

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


omen birds. Some were giving the lafay omen, some the chaeq and some the fegwa omen. They climbed to their shouting place.” Our standing here is sufficient. The children and possessions will probably be sufficient.” They went along to Chalimono. Their uncle reached them. “It was I who shouted with you. When you called out, I called out. Go and arouse your enemies.” They went to the other side and aroused their enemies, the people of Maanchengla. They laid flat the enemy taken for revenge. They shouted their victory call. It made a mark above, the earth shook. They came to Chalimono. They shouted at Chalimono, it marked above, the earth shook. They came to Patok, shouted at Patok. It marked above, the stones of the wall knocked against each other.

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

They take it to the people of Faney. They bring it to the people of Fatad, and Chomaig. It goes to Lubuagan, and to the people of Tenglayan, and Saklit. It goes to Masici. “May the offspring and everything be as the undulating of the rice-sorter’s tray.” They go to Abno. These are they who pull back their offspring, and their possessions. They take it up to Chomaileg. These here are they who are proud of their wealth, and proud of their strength.
sinan Fatyangan. Snichingna nan palotana ay napacatan ya naofanan.


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

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

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

"You take it to those who dwell below, the strong ones." The families of Pacawed, Chinalpan and Faw-ingan answered, "We are the strong ones who continually say the fegweu for those who live above." Our pakchel spirits at Paliwak, who are strong and give increase, the things fed by the children here, and the offspring of the children here. Our pakchel spirits at Faang, who are cool, "cool" everything.
Appendix 6

INLIWENG


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

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

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

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

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


"Ayya nal-oto nan sa, enyo ad-i faoken?" 
"Aka mampay ta isiblim ta faokem tay naalapankamis nan valon alee, valon lefy yan." Ayya kecheng alan oltaoana, ya faokena.


"Womikawik si anan-ak sina ya kangoona." Ayya kecheng kano payay, alanas nan inacipitina ay tainla. Ayya kecheng kano ces lokifena san kisalobna, simsimana, nasachaa. Ayya siya manet ed. The juice began to come out. They began to dip it out. Their jars became full. He also said, "What about our inistant?"

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

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

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

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

"May children here and everything be vibrant." He took his wine gourd from under his arm. He raised the lid of one he had covered and tasted it. It is good hard wine, "This is what we will use
They became ut our and set it wob-ought a ade of osition, and every-
ny and dir jars io and d here. suppose

There mixed working e. "It's dip it us and working e came he had he ith the k some looked rs and bbed off it with. a taste it was e just one stone surely r into

ing be l from of one s good ill use

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

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

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

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


Ayya inmeychasa nan Fagwang, nap-alan nan ininiwenga ininaichia ay kanaanan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomason, kapacepacye. Ayya inmeychaad Chakachag, kinachoychoychand Chakachag sinan ininiwenga, ininaichia, ay kanaanan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomason, kapacepacye.

Ayya inmaliyeha nan Malobfan. Nap-alan ad Malobfan, sinan ininiwenga, ininaichia ay kanaanan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomason, kapacepacye.

Ayya inmaliyeha nan Palas. "Achitas na tay intingsaway nan filig." Pinnaytokchas nan Fangek, ninmanganabek nan ininiwenga, ininaichia, ay kanaanan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomason, kapacepacye. Ayya inmaliyeha nan Mafaay. Finalcancha nan Mafaay. Finalcancha nan Mafaay sinan ininiwenga, together the leftovers. Their sister took some rice and placed it in the basin. The rice increased and served the gathered people. They were easily satisfied. "These people are all-powerful, because there is more than enough of everything." "Let's take back the portion of our parents." He climbed Kalawitan and descended to Paling. The Paling people discussed him. He sliced one piece of meat. "Don't put it in a pot, put it in a vat. That's enough for you, fellow villagers."

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

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

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

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

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

The sister took the basin, 
and the gathers were satisfied, 
"ah, because everything." 
of our parents and 
dating people's piece of 
put it in you, fellow.

Iwa people's piece of 
not. That's 
gers." He 
people's piece of 
put it in the villagers.

the water.
alatok Magua, 
to Mayi 
and filled Ma- 
s, chickens
ich by the 
filled with rice. They 
iweng and 
of children, kachag.

ir iweng 
h children,
re, because 
as across." There 
and finasi, 
chickens 
ay. They 
their 

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infinsiccha. Pinumtoytochaa nan Palew. 
Nap-alan sinan ininiweng cha, infinsiccha, "ay kaanaan-an, kafohtotog, 
kamanomanok, kapacepacey.
Ayya inmalichas nan Maacob, "Achitas nan na in angina ay chanom.
Ayya inmalichas nan Sakalalan. Nap-
alan ad Sakalalan, sinan ininiwengcha, 
ay kaanaan-an, kafohtotog, kamanom-
omanok, kapacepacey, kaofototog, kamo-
yomoyong, kafohfi.

Ayya kecheng kano payay, insalang-
Kaw-en nan esai Aongan. A'atchas 
nan Cheghechean. Ayya key inmalichas 
nan Cheghechean. Ayya kafohotovee a 
aongha Pichap ad Chonglian. Ayya 
kecheng kano payay, pinumtoytochaa nan 
issian, inchanecha aay inkofoh共青团 
nan lamot nan kaanaan-an, kafohto-
tog, kamanomanok, kapacepacey, kafohfi, 
kaofototog, kaangsaangin kaso.

Ayya kecheng kano payay. Inmalichas 
nan Lamag. Nap-alan sinan inini-
wencha infinsiccha ay kaanaan-an, kafohtotog, kamanomanok, kaangsaang-
san.

Ayya omalichas nan Wachawud, insa-
Kaw-en na esai Cattin. A'atchas nan 
Takstcanaw. Nap-alan sinan Takst-
canaw, sinan ininiwencha, infinsiccha ay 
kaanaan-an, kafohtotog, kamanom-
ok, kaangsaangin.

Ayya kecheng inmalichas nan Amfay-
yekan. Fiohlecha nan akop ad Am-
fiyekan nan ininiwencha, infinsiccha, 
ay kaanaan-an, kafohtotog, kamanom-
ok, kaangsaangin.

Ayya omalichas Potfottowan, "Achitas 
nan na in-acbo nan tain nan inacbo nan 
kapachangyan ad Cinaang."

Ayya omalicha pay sinan Kafatto ya 
amamlenge nan anak si Leinaang, chaj-
cha. "Into nan napuwencha ta to 
inlang nan poton nan anan ak poton 
nan fotog ya kapacepacey, ig jecana 
kano." Ayya kecheng kano payay, in-
salang-ayencha. Kaw-en na esai en Fal-
Palew, which by their liniweng and finasi 
was filled with children, pigs, chickens 
and rice.

They came to Maacob, "Not here be- 
cause the water has a bad smell."

They came to Sakalalan, which by their 
liniwen and finasi was filled with chil-

They parted company. One went via 
Masofolong, one went via Aongan. They 
met at Cheghechean. They came to Cheg-
hechean. Everyone in the house of Pichap 
at Chonglian (Mainit) was talking.

They went down to the place where 
the water drips, and came upon the estab-
lishing of the root of children, rice, milk, beans, 
and camote.

They came to Lamag. It was filled 
by their liniweng and finasi with chil-

They came to Wachawud and parted 
company. One went via Iloguwa, the 
other went via Cattin. They met at 
Takstcanaw. It was filled with their 
liniwen and finasi with children, pigs, 
chickens and many other things.

They came to Amfayekan. They passed 
along the retaining wall saying their lini-
wen and finasi for children, pigs, 
chickens and many other things.

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

They came to Kafatto, and the children 
of the Guinaang people began to speak 
scornfully of them. "Where did these 
come from, because their children's and 
pig's stomachs are shiny, and it is said 
that their rice plants produce much 
grain." They parted company. One went
to the house of Falno at Tongfal. One
went to the house of Chakkoyan at Al-al.
There the liniueng was said. Everything
was filled at the house of Falno at Tong-
fal. "Let's end here, the saying of lini-
ueng and finasi. You father, and you
mother tell your fathers to say the lini-
ueng and finasi, so that we will make
children here fruitful. There will be in-
vitations to you in the feasting of
the people. Make there pigs and
chickens. Make the toll of the chil-
dren here fruitful. You also Tomaak and you
Kangit, tell your mothers and fathers to
say the liniueng and finasi, so that we
will make our children here fruitful.
Make there pigs and chickens and
make fruitful their tool. You also Wang-
chali, and you Kapo, tell your fathers
and mothers to say the liniueng and fi-
nasi so that we will make our children
here fruitful, because I am calling on
each of you.

You moreover; Chawawen and Angya-
p, tell your fathers, and your mothers to
say the liniueng and finasi so that we
will make our children here fruitful, be-
cause we don't know anything here, let's
make our children fruitful here. Make
there be pigs, and chickens, make fruitful
their rice, so that their toll will be seen
in full heads of rice. You also Fiychang,
tell your father and mother to say the
liniueng and you also Fay-ed, help your-
selves to your coconut shell; each one of
you guard the house of the children
here. One, two, three, four, five, six,
seven, eight, nine, ten, brimming full.
Appendix 7

ALAWIG


Ayya ka in-awidchae san Cadcaid ya. Ayya ke oschonganche onak Fatangalay malalatoy ad Kafellaw.


Ayya kecheng kano payayay, sasad-encheta tet-ewa ya. Insodrodeh anamach ay Fatangal. "Ayyo ke kay nan inomchanyay, ipagpaga sarn sinlem-ang ay falatong, ya sinkaong. Ipagpaga sarn sinlem-ang ay itab ya sintayaan. Ayya ke cha kana- nen, "Maas-asawakami." Ayya kinawanin amachya ay Fatangal, "Engkayo ayacan man ta somaakayo." Ayya kecheng kano payayay inmeychay san sin-aciyay, ayyan-cha ya sinmaalecha. Ayya kecheng kano-way, kinawanin Fatangal, "Ayya esakayo The two brothers of Kamem-an went to look for a village, into which they could marry. They took with them a small Chinese jar, as an indication of their inheritance. They took their spears and carried them across their shoulders. They took the vat of their sister, and one carried it over his head. They followed a ridge that took them to Kalawitan. They looked down on the child of Focan at Kay-ang. They descended and the elder brother married her.

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

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

The brothers came. They got a bundle of the pods and struck them and the beans filled one kaong basket. They took a bundle of itab beans and they filled one tayaan basket. The brothers said, "Let's go home, so we can get married."

They followed one another home. The sisters said, "You wait here while we go talk it over with our father."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Ayya ke-eng pan tay, malafatey i kaanaan-ak, kafotofotog, kamanomok, kapacepacey.” Ayya kinwanina kano ces, “Ayya akayo manet ta moyangaweyo mo sino nan chinomno.”


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

“Well, children, pigs, chickens, rice are producing prodigiously.”

He also said, “Come and look about to see who is performing a chono.”

They climbed up to Pokis. They looked around on Litangfan (Guinaang). “They are not having a chono.” They looked over to Dalican. “They are not having a chono.” They turned to face toward Patyayan (Mainit). “These are the ones having a chono.” Then they called the surrounding villages to visit. Then they said the alawig. Soon the children, pigs, chickens and rice were benefited by the alawig. They then drank of their water, and it made them healthy, it refreshed them. They ate of their rice and it helped them. They ate of their meat and it strengthened them. They drank of their sugar cane wine and it made them brave. Then they stood aside so that their relatives could enter the village. “Then they said the alawig at the edge of the village and soon everything was benefited by it.”
They went to Kamem-an and tied a lead on their dog. They went to Fato, where they loosed it. They followed it, it passed by Langtacan. They went to Langtacan and it had gone to An-amsengseng. They went to An-amsengseng. They called their dog to rest, but it didn’t even put in an appearance. They became short of food. The older brother said, “Go and get some food, as we will be staying longer than we expected at Kamem-an.” He sent his younger brother, who came to Kamem-an. He said, “How about some more food, because our dog hasn’t shown up, even once.” He waited for his sister. She said “Where is the animal you went to hunt out and bring home? Now again you’re just asking for food.” The brother started with his food and took it to his older brother at Amsengseng. He then told his brother how, unfortunately, their sister was reluctant, and wanted to know where the animal was that they had gone to hunt out and bring home, and said that they were just out hunting for a revenge killing. Then their uncle came and said, “What are you here for?” “It’s our dog, it hasn’t shown up even once.” Their uncle said, “It doesn’t show up, because all the world is still flat. Wait and we will break it up, and that will end the roamings of your dog, and of the people.

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

The brothers said, “And what about our sister?” “Never mind about that,” said
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Ayya kechench kano payayay, maliguat san sin-aei ya. Ayya inmeychas Nangafey. Ayya oschongana kano pay ya. Ayya key anoka pay, anak si Itofeng nan fofo-myony sina ya.


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

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

"There's definitely a fire at Palas. What do you think we should send there?" An eagle came. He sent it, but it just perched hunched up. Then came a fanauel bird, and he sent it, but it just shook its head. Then came a kingking bird, he sent it and it flew off.

In a little while it returned holding in its beak a glowing coal. They received it and built a fire with it. It blazed.

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

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

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

It was the children of the Maleng people gathered here, the children of the Pilisian people. They went to Palas. "The ones from whom we are descended are
si Iyauwangan ya anak si Ichonygaan, nan fofoymon sina. Ayya omadichas nan Amfonatngol. Ayya anak si Ichongliyan ya anak si Ichalkongan nan fofoymon sina.


Ayya kecheng kano payay, tikechana nan kitong nan iyon-ana ya. Ayya inmelweg, “Ay ki maid asimay maas-arawa ay sin-aci?”


Ayya kecheng ilana kano payyet, insinaladad kano lauwa san canakcha. Ayya here.” They went to Lanipew. It is the children of the Awwangan people and the Chonygaan people who are gathered here. They came to Amfonatngol. It is the children of the Chongliyan people and the Chalkongan people who are gathered here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He took it across to Ongfeg. “These here are Ongfeg people who are relatives and intermarry because of their fields at Samelwayan. They don’t have any time; brothers and sisters of the same parents marry each other. They just say the
They came to Am-onyan, and faced Patyayan. “These people here are the Patyayan, who have just one strip of a village, they are relatives and they marry because of their ricefields at Kayongyangan which have many posts. They have no time, brothers and sisters, children of the same parents marry each other. They just say the amolo and their foreheads, their fields, their all are benefited by the amolo.”

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

“Let’s end the saying of the amolo. Who will be the ones to receive the saying of amolo here? The ones who live above are the comacalinsafan. These are the relatives who marry each other.”

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

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

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Appendix 9
ANGAL

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