GUINA-ANG BONTOK PUBLISHED TEXTS

The Karang Wedding Ceremonies¹ (Text C07)

- 1. Omey nan aman nan fafa-i winno si inana et ena ifakha as nan am-ama ay laychencha, ay mangifangon si nan laraki.
- 2. Mo ninfakhacha as nan maschem wenno oray sino ay arkhew va laychena, chey mawi-it omey nan am-ama as nan ab-afongan fangonena nan laraki ay ifangona.
- 3. Mo inmona-angcha ya ma-id lifo-o as nan ili wenno nan filig ay mamadmang si nan ili, foma-archa as onga wenno fab-aro as i mangifakha as nan afong nan fafa-i ay as omeycha, ya ta il-ilancha nan asocha, mo wad-ay.
- 4. Oray nan afong ay la-osancha ay omey, khawis nan ma-ifakha ta il-ilancha nan asocha tay nan inngongowancha.
- 5. Omawid nan fina-archa, ngetchan nan am-ama nan sareng ay ine-egnana.
- 6. Ngetchana nan sareng, sachat 6. He lights the torch, and then he inforeg³ si nan fab-aro et omeycha.
- Omeycha et somkhepcha as afong.
- 8. Isa-adcha nan apoy as nan le-em, sachat aran nan tafako et koma-ancha ay omey si nan na-isasag-en ay to go to the nearest ward house. ab-afongan.

- 1. The father of the young woman or her mother goes and tells the old man whom they want, to accompany the young man (to their house).
- 2. If they told him in the evening or whatever day and he likes, the next morning the old man goes to the ward house and et wakes up the young man.
 - 3. If they have looked around and there is no rainbow over the village or the mountain that can be seen from the village, they send a child or a young man to the house of the young woman to tell them that they are going (there), so that they will watch their dog,² if they have one.
 - 4. Even the houses that they pass on their way, it is good to tell them to watch their dogs because of their barking.
 - 5. When the ones they sent return, the old man lights the pitch pine torch that he had been holding.
 - proceeds with the young man behind him.
 - 7. They go and enter the house.
 - 8. They put the fire down in the eating area, and then they get tobacco and leave

- 9. Faken masapor nan chev narpowancha ay ab-afongan ay afat nan laraki nan omayancha.
- 10. Chinmakarcha chi ay inmey si nan ma-isasag-en ay ab-afongan, sa-et omisog-ed nan inan nan fafa-i as makan ya watwat.
- 11. Mo maroto, omeyna ayakhan chicha as nan ab-afongan ay inmayancha.
- 12. Nan mangayakhana an chicha, fakena kinnali, ay aped inwag-is nan che-ey ab-afongan et omeycha ay mangan.
- 13. Omeychas chi, mapayad nan makan ya nan watwat.
- 14. Ngem ad-icha mangan, ay aped songsongan⁴ nan che-ey am-ama, ay kanegna lowarowan.
- koma-ancha kasin et 15. Narpas, omeycha as nan ab-afongan ay afat nan fab-aro.
- 16. Osto ay koma-ancha, aran nan inan nan fafa-i nan makan av pinayadna as nan ninsongsongan nan am-ama, et tapiyanas nan makan et ponowena nan akiyak,⁵ ya ipa-eyna as nan fanga nan watwat ya nan chanomna, sanat eney si nan afong nan che-ey am-ama ay nangifangon si nan laraki.
- 17. Nan che-ey am-ama ya nan ninfangona, apedcha pomatong as nan ab-afongan et engkhana ay ma-isoyaw.
- masapor ma-aarop ta ad-i katkatey,

- 9. It is not necessary for them to go to the ward house that they came from which is the usual meeting place of the man.
- 10. After they have come out and gone to the ward house that is near, then the mother of the woman places over the fire rice and meat.
- 11. When it is cooked, she goes to call them from the ward house that they went
- 12. When she goes to call them, she does not shout, she just beckons them at the ward house and they come to eat.
- 13. When they go there, the rice and the meat are set out.
- 14. But they do not eat, that old man just performs a songsong ritual over it, it is as though he prays over it.
- 15. After that, they again leave and go to the ward house which is the usual meeting place of the young man.
- 16. After they have left, the mother of the woman gets the rice that she had set out for the old man to perform the songsong ritual over, and adds rice to it to fill an akiyak basket, and she puts the meat and its broth into a pot, then she takes it to the house of the old man who accompanied the young man.
- 17. That old man and the one he accompanied, they just sit at the ward house until early afternoon.
- 18. Nan apoy si nan ab-afongan, 18. As for the fire at the ward house, it must be continually made up so that it oray as nan afong nan sin-asawa, tay does not ever die out, also at the house of

panyew kano.

- 19. Nan papatongancha nan as ab-afongan, il-ilancha nan chaya mo atinfongaren wenno faliwengweng, oray nan khayang, lafa-an ya nan koling, mo way intat-ayaw ya way e-egnana as kinyog wenno owar, panyew et ad-icha itorey.
- 20. Ngem oray way intat-ayaw ya ma-id itatangarna as kinyog wenno owar, mafalin ay itoreycha ay in-karang, ay masiyancha as chi ay awni ta mat-awan, sacha kasin nomanen.
- 21. Pay mo na-isoyaw nan arkhew ya ma-id nga-ag si inilacha, omey nan am-ama as afong nan fafa-i, mo ma-id nga-ag si ma-ikkan, inlotochat si makan et nan fab-aro, omey omara as ka-ew ay awitna, as nginemngem si ma-iloto.
- 22. Eneyna as afongcha asawana sa-et kasin koma-an.
- 23. Ikhad nan inloto ay mamasek.
- 24. Maschem, omey omila nan laraki as aroyosna as nan ib-ana ay fab-aro ay omafat si nan ab-afongana.
- 25. Mo inayakhana nan aroyosna omeycha ara-en nan kintong ya nan finkhew, sachat sakfaten ay mangney si nan afong nan asawana ay inkarangcha.
- 26. Awiten nan aroyosna nan kintong, ay nginemngem ay ka-ew ay na-ad-achasan, sa-et awiten nan chey omafong nan finkhew, sareng ay

the couple getting married, because it is forbidden they say.

- 19. While they are sitting at the ward house, they watch the sky (to see) if there is a rainbow or a halo around the sun, even a crow, a hawk or an eagle, if there is one flying and if it is carrying a chick or a snake, that is forbidden and they will not continue (the *karang* ceremonies).
- 20. But if there is something flying without holding a chick or a snake in its beak, they can continue the *karang* ceremonies, they will disperse until some time has elapsed, then they will again resume (the ceremonies).
- 21. But if it is early afternoon and they have not seen anything bad, the old man goes to the house of the young woman, if nothing bad has happened, they cook rice and the young man, he goes to get a load of wood, which is one unsplit section of a tree trunk to be used for fuel.
- 22. He takes it to the house of his wife and leaves again.
- 23. It is up to the (people) cooking to split up the log.
- 24. In the evening, the man goes to look for a helper from his fellow young men who usually meet at his ward house.
- 25. When he has called his helper, they go to get the ceremonial *kintong* and *finkhew* loads of wood, and they carry them on their shoulders to take them to the house of his wife, since they are having the *karang* ceremonies.
- 26. His helper carries the *kintong*, which is a single section of a trunk of a tree that has had plane surfaces shaped on it, while the one who is getting married carries the

na-ad-achasan. va an-ancho fanfan-ig.

- ay finkhew, which is a (section of a) pitch pine log which has also been shaped with plane surfaces, and is long and narrow.
- 27. Nan na-aycha ay awitencha, na-icholin ay narango ay khawis.
- 27. These loads that they carry, they have been kept aside to become properly dried.
- 28. Ngem mo ad-i makasakfat nan aroyosna as nan kintong, nan omafong nan mangawit si nan kintong ya awiten nan aroyosna nan finkhew.
- 28. But if his helper is not able to carry the kintong (log), the one getting married will be the one to carry it and his helper will carry the *finkhew* (load).
- 29. Enevcha isa-archa et pomatongcha as chi.
- 29. They take them back to the house and sit down there.
- 30. Nan akhes fafa-i, omey omila as nan che-ey pangfegna as san kafab-arasangna as aroyosna.
- 30. As for the young woman, she goes to find a helper from among her sleeping hut companions when she was still without a child.
- 31. Na-amongcha as chi sad-encha nan manganancha.
- 31. They gather there and wait for the time to eat
- 32. Nan lotowencha, pay-ancha nan sangchar as makan sa-et nan waron ekep wenno simporon ekep ay watwat ay lotowencha as nan sangchar met la-eng.
- 32. What they cook, they put rice into a vat and they cook eight or ten double slices of meat in the vat also.
- 33. Nan omey makikarang, wad-ay nan eneycha ay tanfocha ay ma-inom, tafako wenno kisporo.
- 33. The people who go to join in the karang, they take their gifts of drink, tobacco or matches.
- 34. Nan tapina, watwat nan eneycha ay tanfocha.
- 34. As for the others, they take meat as their gift.
- 35. Siya nan watwat ay itanfon nan ipokhaw nan mafalin ay itob-ongcha, ay itapicha as nan epchas na-itob-ong.
- 35. This meat that the people bring as gifts can be put into the water (for cooking), they add it to the meat that has already been put in.
- **36.** Wacha nan parparencha⁶ ay esa 36. They kill a chicken. ay manok.
- nan amoro.
- 37. Naroto chi, wa nan mangapya as 37. When it is cooked, someone says the amoro ritual prayer.

- 38. Marpas mangancha.
- 39. Narpascha ay mangan, khowachencha nan makan, ipa-eycha as nan taraka, sachat pay-an nan fanga as lemchang, et iyosonchas nan makan nan watwat nan am-ama ay mangifangon si nan fab-aro, et enevcha as afongna.
- 40. Pay-ancha khes nan akiyak si makan ya nan fanga wenno choyo ya nan watwat nan aroyos nan laraki et eneycha as afongcha.
- 41. Siya met la-eng nan eneycha ay kowan nan aroyos nan fafa-i.
- 42. Sachat akhes pay-an nan taraka as makan, nan fanga as lemchang, ya nan watwat ay nowang, ya nan choyo ay ma-ipay-an nan watwat ay fotog, sachat eney si nan afong nan laraki ay omafong.
- 43. Mo iforeg nan am-ama nan manok ay marpo as nan afong si fafa-i ay mangney si afong nan laraki, mawi-it esana ara-en ay mangney si afongna, ngem mo faken, eneyna kannay si nan maschem, tay siya chi nan kanegna labfo.
- 44. Nan che-eycha sin-asawa, maseyepcha as nan tod-i ay lafi as nan afong nan fafa-i, ay ninkarangancha.
- 45. Nan che-ey inneycha ay makan ya watwat ay kanancha en cho-or as nan afong nan laraki, encha iyayag as nan wi-it si nan akhicha ya nan sagkhongcha, et encha kanen nan che-ey makan.

- 38. After that they eat.
- 39. After they have eaten, they scoop out rice, put it into a head basket, then they put broth into a pot, and place on top of the rice the meat shares of the old man who accompanied the young man, and take them to his house.
- 40. They also put rice into an akiyak basket, and (broth) into a pot or a wooden bowl and (get) the meat shares of the helper of the young man and take them to his house.
- 41. That is also what they take as the share of the young woman's helper.
- 42. Then they place rice in a head basket, broth in a pot, and the meat of water buffalo, and a wooden bowl in which is placed meat of a pig, then they take them to the house of the young man who is getting married.
- 43. If the old man had taken with him the chicken from the house of the woman to the house of the young man, the next morning he gets it and takes it to his (own) house, but if not, he takes it straight away in that evening, because it is like payment for his services.
- 44. The husband and wife, they sleep on that night at the house of the young woman, where they are performing the karang ceremonies.
- 45. That rice and meat which they call cho-or that was taken to the house of the young man, they go to announce in the early morning to their relatives and and they (relatives neighbors, and neighbors) go to eat that rice.
- 46. Tay ad-i omanay chi nan narpo as 46. Because that rice which came from the

afong nan fafa-i ay makan, wa nan isog-edcha as afong nan laraki ay itoptopcha.

- 47. Nan sin-asawa ya nan ar-oyoscha, omeycha ay makikan si nan wi-it, oray nan che-ey am-ama.
- 48. Marpascha ay mangan, eneycha nan khiniyag nan am-ama ya nan aroyos nan laraki ya fafa-i, sa-et nan eneycha ay sinkhiyag si afong nan fafa-i ay ma-ipapay-an nan watwatcha ay sin-asawa.
- 49. Marpas chi nan manganancha as nan cho-or, wa nan omey mamakhey ay nan laraki ya nan aroyosna wenno maka-ey nan fafa-i as arang nan laraki
- 50. Isa-archa as nan afong nan laraki.
- 51. Siya chi nan chonowencha as nan 51. That is their work on that day. tod-i ay arkhew.
- 52. Fayowencha chi ay sin-a-aroyos si nan kag-aw, tay siya chi nan maroto as nan ma-isoyaw ay kanen nan inkarang si nan afong nan laraki.
- 53. Ma-isoyaw, inlotocha as makan, nan fafarro omey manakcho as ma-ichanom si nan maroto.
- 54. Maschem, encha in-ayag nan chicha aroyoscha, oray ya sin-asawa, in-ayag si nan akhicha ya sagkhongcha.
- mo way kan-akhiyancha an chicha ad tives, if they had a relative in the distant

house of the young woman is not sufficient, they cook more at the house of the young man to supplement it.

- 47. The husband and wife and their helpers, they to go to join in the meal in the early morning, and even that old man.
- 48. After they have eaten, the old man and the helpers of the young man and the young woman take (home) what each has put on a khivag rice plate, and they also take to the house of the young woman a plate upon which is placed the meat shares of the man and the woman.
- 49. After they have eaten the *cho-or*, there are those who go to get rice from the granary of the young man, the young man and his helper or the young woman can also go with them.
- 50. They take it home to the house of the young man.
- 52. The young man and woman and their helpers pound it in the middle of the day, because that is what will be eaten in the early afternoon by those who are celebrating the karang at the house of the young man.
- 53. In the early afternoon, they cook rice, the young men go to draw water to be used in cooking.
- 54. In the evening, the helpers go to invite, and even the husband and wife, they can makisiyancha ay omey join in going out to invite their relatives nan and neighbors.
- 55. Oray nan fakencha chagros akhi, 55. Even those who are not their real rela-

solit, mafalin ay ifakhacha en, "Entako makikarang si an tod-i."

- 56. Narpascha ay nin-ayag, kasincha omawid si afong nan laraki.
- 57. Nayomyom nan ipokhaw, parparencha nan manok ya itob-ongcha nan watwat ay sinporon ekep wenno korang.
- 58. Naroto nan watwat, kapya-ancha nan amoro, esacha mangan.
- 59. Mangancha khes, khowachencha nan makan, ya tag-ongencha nan lemchang sa-et met la-eng nan watwat si nowang ay wad-ay si nan fanga, ya nan watwat si fotog ay ma-ipa-ey si nan choyo, wa nan ma-itapi pay ay watwat si manok et eneycha as afong nan fafa-i.
- 60. Nan am-ama ya nan aroyos nan sin-asawa, kaneg met la-eng nan khiyag as nan ninkaranganchas nan fafa-i.
- 61. Nan sin-asawa, omawidcha ay maseyep as nan afong nan fafa-i.
- 62. Ngem nan tapina, maseyepcha kannay si nan afong nan laraki.
- 63. Mawi-it omeycha ay makikan si nan cho-or as afong nan fafa-i.
- 64. Nan am-ama ya nan aroyoscha, omeycha et encha met la-eng iyayag si nan akhicha ya nan sagkhongcha.

past, they can say to them, "Let's go join in the karang ceremonies at the house of that person."

- 56. After they have finished inviting people, they again return to the house of the young man.
- 57. When the people have gathered, they kill a chicken and they put into the cooking water ten double slices of meat or fewer.
- 58. When the meat is cooked, they say the amoro ritual prayer, and then they eat.
- 59. After they have eaten, they scoop out the rice, and they dip out the broth and also the water buffalo meat which is in the pot, and the meat of the pig which is placed in a wooden bowl, and there is added to it moreover some of the meat of the chicken, and they take them to the house of the young woman.
- 60. As for the old man and the helpers of the couple, there is (for them) a khiyag plate (of food) just like when they celebrated the karang at the house of the young woman.
- 61. As for the couple getting married, they return to the house of the young woman to sleep.
- 62. But the rest of them, they sleep where they are at the house of the young man.
- 63. In the early morning they go to eat *cho-or* food at the house of the woman.
- 64. The old men and their helpers, they go and again invite their relatives and their neighbors.
- 65. Marpascha ay mangan, eneycha 65. After they have eaten, the old man and khes nan khiniyaq nan am-ama ya nan the couple's helpers each take (home) what

ar-oyoscha ay sin-asawa.

- 66. Narpas chi, et mo ma-iwed nga-ag si na-ikkan si nan ninkak-arangancha, ay ma-iwed natektekchag si nan afongcha as ya-angkhay, choyo wenno sino ay matekchag, omey nan laraki ay i infakfakawat ay manga-ew.
- 67. Masapor i-ilana nan charan si nan ena manga-ewan, tay mo soma-ar, sarodsochen nan wad-ay si an cha katokhangena wenno cha amana mo ma-iwed inil-ilana as nan charan, ya nan fetekna, mo ad-i naknaktachan si nan mamtekna as nan awitna.
- 68. Mo ma-iwed inil-ilana as owar, otot wenno nan iniyoran si nangifakas an siya as nan charan engkhana as nan soma-arana, chey kanancha en khawis.
- 69. Maschem, intongorcha as afong asawana ay kakad-ancha.
- 70. Mawakas si nan nintongorancha, maschem inparagpag ay inmanok, wenno pokar, ay pokarencha nan charratey.
- 71. Mat-awan si chowan arkhew, kasincha inmanok, ay kanancha en akhifoy.
- 72. Narpas nan tongor nan fafa-i.
- 73. Mawaksan nan akhifoy si nan afong nan fafa-i, intongor nan aman nan laraki et engkhana ay in-akhifoycha.

they have placed in a *khiyag* rice plate.

- 66. After that, if nothing bad has happened during the performance of the *karang* ceremonies, such as nothing falling in the house, a bowl or whatever that might fall, the young man can leave the village for the first time to go get wood.
- 67. He must watch the trail on his way to go get wood, because when he returns home, those who are at the house of his parents-in-law or his own parents will inquire whether he saw anything on the trail, and the vine he used for binding, that it did not snap as he was binding his load.
- 68. If he did not see any snakes, rats, or birds that would be a bad omen to him on the trail until his arrival home, then they say it is good.
- 69. In the evening, they hold a *tongor* pig sacrifice at the house of his wife where they are staying.
- 70. On the day after they hold the *tongor* sacrifice, in the evening they feast on the *paragpag* chest portion of the pig with a chicken sacrifice, or it is the (day called) *pokar* 'dismantle', that is they dismantle the vat stand.
- 71. After two days have passed, they again have a chicken sacrifice, which they call *akhifoy* 'terminating sacrifice'.
- 72. That is the end of the young woman's *tongor* ceremonies.
- 73. The day after the *akhifoy* ceremony at the house of the young woman, the father of the young man performs a *tongor* pig sacrifice and (other activities) until they hold the *akhifoy* terminating chicken sacrifice.

- 74. Narpas chi nan nintongorancha. narpas et, ay inmafongchat sid-i.
- 75. Ngem mo nan ninfakfakawatan nan laraki ya way inilana as otot, owar, wenno nan intat-ayaw ay kaneg nan tilin, panyew chachi, et marpamarpas nan intongtongorencha, kasin chomakar nan sin-asawa ay insiyancha, ay waschin afongna nan afongna.
- 76. Ad-icha in-a-among.
- 77. Ngem oray way inilana as owar, moket nan chachakker, ay nan che-eycha oreg, faken panyew, ay khawis kano chi tay omegwar kano as fotog.
- 78. Pay mo ngongoy nan ilana, siya chi nan panyew tay taked kano nan sangachil chi, isonga masapor ay kasin chomakar nan sin-asawa ta awni ona sacha kasi nomanen.
- 79. Siya met la-eng nan otot, ay panyew tay etey nan ifakhan tod-i.
- 80. Nan akhes tilin, mo ifakascha nan infakfakawat ya kecheng nan chowa wenno esa, panyew akhes.
- 81. Ngem mo angsan ay tilin, faken panyew manok kano ay nan egwarcha.
- 82. Nan atinfongaren, mo wad-ay si nan kag-aw nan na-ifangonan nan fab-aro, mo achi napopotot ay

- 74. After their performing of the *tongor* sacrifice, that is the end of it, they are married there.
- 75. But if when the young man leaves the village for the first time and there is something that he sees such as a rat, snake, or something flying (across his trail) such as tilin rice birds, that is forbidden, and their tongor ceremonies are completely stopped, the husband and wife go out and separate, each returning to their own house.
- 76. They do not live together.
- 77. But even if he sees a snake, as long as they are big ones, such as pythons, that is not forbidden, it is good they say because it will give you pigs.
- 78. But if he sees a *ngongoy* small snake, that is forbidden because they say it is the binding of the death chair, that is why it is necessary for the couple to again go out (from the house where they were to live together) until later when they can again resume (the ceremonies).
- 79. It is the same with a rat, it is forbidden because it portends death.
- 80. Also the *tilin* rice bird, if they give a bad omen to the person when he first leaves the village and there are only one or two, that is also forbidden.
- 81. But if there are many rice birds, that is not forbidden they say because they give chickens.
- 82. As for a rainbow, if there is one in the middle of the day that the young man was accompanied (to their house), if it was not innana-od, khawis chi kano ay kanan broken but continuous, some say it is good

nan tapina tay wanes kano as onga chi, ngem mo napopotot ay atinfongaren, siya chi nan panyew.

- 83. Nan tongor, mo ammon nan sin-aliwid ay wad-ay fotogcha mafalin ay intongorcha ngem mo ma-id ammocha as fotogcha, sangfo ya-angkhay nan ikkancha.
- 84. Tay nan tongor, mo siya nan ikkancha ay kaneg iplatcha, 8 kanan nan ipokhaw en as kasi insangfo, ay aw-ay way sesemkencha as sacha kasin ikag-aw ay insangfo.
- 85. Ngem mo kag-aw nan inkhertancha ay insangfo, ma-id kasincha sesemken, ay kecheng chi, siya chi nan iplatcha.
- 86. Siya chi nan ma-ikkan, ay teken am-in ay inkarang nan intongor, ay mo semkencha ya oray tinnongorcha siya, ngem wad-ay mampay nan kanan nan ipokhaw en at kasi insangfo, siya chi nan sesemken nan sin-aliwid ket mo ma-id ib-an nan fotogcha, isinnangfocha, tay kecheng chi as nan mafalin ay laychencha ay kherten si nan fotogcha.
- 87. Et mo mampay sinnangfo, ammon nan ipokhaw ay et kecheng chi, ay siya chi nan iplat nan che-eycha inmafong.

- because it (symbolizes) the loincloth of a child, but if it is a broken rainbow, that is forbidden.
- 83. As for the *tongor* sacrifice, if the co-parents-in-law know that they have (enough) pigs they can have the *tongor* sacrifice, but if they do not have enough pigs, they just perform a *sangfo* daytime pig sacrifice.
- 84. Because the *tongor* night sacrifice, if that is what they have as their *iplat* pig sacrifice, people say that they should have (in addition) a *sangfo* sacrifice, probably because they think that they should have a daytime pig sacrifice.
- 85. But if it is the middle of the day when they kill a pig as a *sangfo* sacrifice, that will be the end of it, that will be their *iplat* final pig sacrifice.
- 86. That is what is done, all the performances of the *karang* ceremonies are different with reference to the holding of the *tongor*, if they think that they will do it in the *tongor* style, that is what they will do, but there are some people who say that they should have a following *sangfo* sacrifice, and that is what the co-parents-in-law think about if they have no more pigs, they will just do it in the *sangfo* style, because that is the only thing they can do with what they want to kill of their pigs.
- 87. So if they do it in the *sangfo* style, people will know that that is the end, that that is the final pig sacrifice of the couple getting married.

¹ A general account as told by Elizabeth Anongos. A more detailed account of the same ceremonies is given in Text C08. This text is of interest however because of the detail it includes about taboos that are not mentioned in the following text.

² The barking of a dog at such times is considered to be a bad omen.

³ *Inforeg* 'to walk in single file'.

⁴ The term *songsong* means 'smell, odor'. The *songsong* ritual involves lighting a cigar, saying a short *afoy* blessing and blowing smoke from the cigar on the object of the ritual.

⁵ An *akiyak* basket is a flat, open-weave basket, typically used for collecting snails and other edible creatures from pond fields.

⁶ The term *parpar* means 'beat with a small stick' and refers to the usual method of killing chickens.

⁷ The frame for seating a dead person prior to burial is bound with rattan, which has a similar diameter to the *ngongoy* snake (see Texts C13-C14).

⁸ The *iplat* sacrifice is literally that which unites the couple.