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**Language, culture, and society in a Kallahan community,  
northern Luzon, Philippines. (Volumes I and II)**

**Afable, Patricia Okubo, Ph.D.**

**Yale University, 1989**

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**Language, Culture, and Society in a Kallahan  
Community, Northern Luzon, Philippines**

**Volume I**

**A Dissertation  
Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of  
Yale University  
in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

**by**

**Patricia Okubo Afable**

**December 1989**

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ABSTRACT

Language, Culture, and Society in a Kallahan  
Community, Northern Luzon, Philippines

Patricia Okubo Afable

Yale University

1989

Delineating linguistic, cultural, and social boundaries in the Cordillera of northern Luzon requires intensive ethnographic and interpretive approaches. Locally significant criteria for distinguishing 'peoples' and languages among Kayapa Kallahan reveal an ascriptive scheme which assigns them to a sociolinguistic and cultural community that encompasses all of the indigenous peoples of the southern Cordillera. Historical research in this region shows the relatively recent rise of ethnic boundaries based on regional, administrative, and ecological considerations, and supports this cognitive grouping, called *Igullut*. Patterns of bilingual interaction in this region also indicate adaptive communication strategies across linguistic lines which promote high levels of linguistic diffusion and the sharing of rules for conducting and interpreting speech.

Determining the social and cultural underpinnings of this socio-linguistic entity called for a survey of Kallahan evaluations of speech and a contextual study of verbal interaction. Local explanations of speech characterize it as social action that is subject to wide-ranging norms for maintaining solidary interpersonal relations. My ethnographic investigation, which discloses patterns of speaking common to the whole range of Kallahan speech activities, focuses on the components of speech events, including settings, participation, and code-structuring; and the constitution of communicative contexts.

An intensive description of 'invocations', 'sung poetry', 'oratory', and informal communication establishes social and cultural functions of speech that reflect Kallahan categories of speaking. These meanings project a fundamental tension between "directive speech," in which regulative functions are dominant, and "conversational speech," in which metacommunicative functions have priority. Kallahan norms of nonconfrontation favor communicative conduct that allows for dissimulation of authoritative intent through discursive and interactional means. This ideal is expressed formally in traditional festive dialogic performances of 'sung poetry'. The cultural dimension underlying the opposition between directive and conversational patterns constitutes a semantic basis for the areal perspective embodied in Kallahan ethnological classifications.

## PREFACE

This dissertation is a study of the social and cultural aspects of language in a rural upland community in northern Luzon, Philippines. Two types of evidence--ethnohistorical and ethnographic--make up the substance of this research. The ethnohistorical material, which charts the changes in the boundaries of social, political, and linguistic units in the southern portion of the Cordillera Central where this study was conducted, forms an essential part of the contextual description of the ethnolinguistic groupings of this region.

The ethnographic section of this thesis, based on field work in the Kayapa region, Nueva Vizcaya, Philippines, describes the linguistic resources of a community of Kallahan-speakers, and the social categories and kinds of participation involved in verbal interaction. It examines Kallahan theories and practices of speaking, while stressing the local distinctions they make in talking about their speech behavior and in relating it to general communicative goals in their society. Using this sociolinguistic material as background, this work presents ethnographic analyses of the formal and informal speech events of this community. The contexts, participation, code-structuring, and the social and cultural meanings of the performances of ceremonial speech; and the patterns of speaking that underlie the full range of Kallahan speech activities, form the major foci of this ethnographic exploration.

Field research for this dissertation was conducted in Nueva Vizcaya, Benguet, and Ifugao provinces. The major portion was conducted over a total of eighteen months in 1969 and 1970, as a resident of the hamlet of Balat, a multilingual community of twenty-four households in the Kayapa valley, western Nueva Vizcaya. Subsequent brief visits to Kayapa were made in 1975, 1977 from the Universiti Sains Malaysia in Penang, and in 1982 and 1987 from Perth. Visits to western Benguet localities; to Agno River settlements from Dalupirip in the south to Loo in the north; to Tinek and Tukukan in southwestern Ifugao; to Imugan and Santa Fe in southern Nueva Vizcaya, and to Bayninan, in central Ifugao, provided comparative data from territories in which Ibaluy, Kankana'ey, Ifugao, I'uak, and northern varieties of Kallahan are spoken.

Unless otherwise indicated, the "ethnographic present" for this work is 1970 and the ethnographic data refers primarily to Kallahan speech and to the society and culture of Kallahan-speakers of the Kayapa region.

The field research on which this dissertation is based consists of long interviews and conversations, tape recordings, and observations of people speaking in a wide variety of contexts. Some comments on my own language-learning situation in Kayapa are appropriate here, for they have some relevance to the understanding of language-culture-society relationships in this part of the Philippines. I was born in Baguio City, spoke Ilokano, Tagalog, and English in childhood, and was passively bilingual in Ibaluy, actively using it only as an adult. Inevitably, my perceptions of Kayapa life and culture as well as local reactions to my arrival and to my

research goals were influenced by my background as an urban, educated, multilingual, Ibaluy-speaking female from the Baguio area. A brief discussion of the possible influences on this work of my perceptions and their reactions is warranted here.

Perhaps the most persistent problem in my field work stemmed from the prestige attached to Ibaluy language and culture in Kayapa and my association with them. Not long after I moved into a house in Baiat hamlet, older people whom I met in both Kallahan- and I'u'uwak-speaking areas asked me about my kinship relations and some took the opportunity to show how their genealogies were connected, however tenuously, with my own. While such bonds were a source of great advantage to me, they also posed a problem for my work, for they meant that in acknowledging me as someone "like them," many people sought to emphasize the similarities of their culture to the prestigious Ibaluy models that they expected me to possess. Thus, on many occasions, people would dismiss my queries with, "It's the same as you have it where you live" (*Ingehtud ma kad'anyu*), or, even more uncompromisingly, "You know, that's the way it is" (*Amtam, gandattu*), thus invoking the knowledge that they and I were presumed to share about life in general because of my background.

I now believe that people would generally have been more forthcoming with their explanations about their culture had I been a total stranger to them, socially and culturally. As it happened, many of my questions had to be prefaced with protestations of my ignorance, which I could justify with accounts of my own marginality and my urban background. However, such rationalizations were not always acceptable to my informants, basically because it was

difficult to understand how one could possess Ibaluy speech and not possess the culture that was associated with it.

I arrived in Kayapa with Aurora Totanes, an Ibaluy-speaking nurse who stayed with me for four months. We both used Ibaluy and Ilokano in our interactions for the first two months after our arrival: she speaking an eastern variety of Ibaluy from the Bokod area, and I a western variety from the Baguio-Tublay area.

A gradual shift to Kallahan was made possible with the help of half-a-dozen pre-school children, whom I provided with a large room, blackboard, chalk, newsprint, and several boxes of pencils and crayons, so that I could be assured of hearing Kallahan speech continually. At the end of a year, some people described me as "still speaking like a child," although some kindly pointed out that it was mainly because I asked too many questions. My desire to learn Kallahan speech was appreciated by most of my consultants, although there was a small number of people who insisted in according me prestigious outsider status and continued to address me in Ibaluy or Ilokano long after I had completely changed my speech to Kallahan.

My interactions with I'uak speakers in the Kayapa valley involved another kind of dilemma. In conversations with them, I'uak-speakers made a slight shift to Agno Valley Ibaluy which was similar to their own speech. That made it extremely difficult for me to learn the differences between I'uak and Ibaluy speech. My efforts to overcome this problem had little success, since traditionally, I'uak interaction with Ibaluy-speaking outsiders has always involved I'uak-speakers shifting to Ibaluy. In addition, I'uak residents of Kayapa are quite aware of the negative

stereotypes that Ibaluy and Kallahan people have of them. Thus, any interest that I, an Ibaluy-speaker residing in a nearby Kallahan community, showed in I''uwak language and culture, was considered intrusive by many I''uwak and patronizing by most.

On my return trips to Kayapa with a family after the first long research stint, my friends there told me that my speech had become more "fluent." I knew this not to be true in a linguistic sense, since I had forgotten a large amount of vocabulary during my absence and always felt awkward and incompetent during the first days of a visit. However, the fact that I was now able to speak of children, families, working life, and other subjects important to older adults, even with the more frequent use of Ilokano loanwords, functionally brought my speech to a closer approximation of their own. During my more recent visits to Kayapa for example, I have often been asked to explain the biological basis of reproduction and contraception to gatherings of adults of both sexes. In the course of my first field work, my attempts to explain this technical topic in informal gatherings with groups of teen-age girls were often regarded by older adults with mild amusement, for in their eyes, I could not speak authoritatively on these topics until I had children of my own. However, my informants described the process of my becoming a "better speaker" of their language, not in terms of changes in status with marriage and childbirth, but in terms of speech and the knowledge associated with it. For them, I had learned to "converse" (*tabtabal*) with people on such sensitive matters in the course of gaining competence in these topics; while in the past I had merely "discoursed" (*tebal*) on a technical matter as a "speaker" to an

audience. This contrast between communicative exchanges in dialogic and in monologic form receives much attention in this dissertation, and my own learning of its centrality to Kallahan ideas of speech and its practice parallels my experience of it in Kayapa.

#### Orthographic Notes and Conventions

The orthography used for Kallahan texts is based on a phonological inventory for Kayapa Kallahan that consists of 16 consonants and 4 vowels:

##### Consonants:

p	t	k	'(glottal stop)
b	d	g	
m	n	ng(velar nasal)	
	(r)		
	(s)	h	
	l		
w	y		

##### Vowels:

i	u
e	
a	

There are 4 unvoiced stops: bilabial, /p/; alveolar, /t/; velar, /k/; and glottal, '/'; and 3 voiced stops: bilabial, /b/; alveolar, /d/; and velar, /g/.

The nasal sounds are bilabial, /m/; alveolar, /n/; and velar, /ŋ/ (ng).

r represents an alveolar flap. It is a variant of /d/ in intervocalic position; in all other positions, it occurs only in loanwords. (Phonemes in parentheses occur only in loan words). Thus, radyu 'radio'.

/s/, a grooved alveolar fricative, is frequently but not always in free variation with /h/.

/l/ is an alveolar lateral.

/w/ and /y/ are voiced semivowels.

Geminate consonants are written as double symbols (geminate velar nasal appears as ngng, and geminate glottal stop as '').

/e/ is a short, mid-central vowel; the rest of the vowels are long. /a/ and /e/ are in free variation in syllables in other than ultimate position. /e/ never occurs in word-final position.

Phonemically, there are no vowels in word-initial position, and a capitalized vowel in sentence-initial position or in place or personal names stands for 'V. Thus, ['idya'i] //idya'i/ 'it's here' is written as *Idya'i* at the beginning of a sentence.

Phonemically there are no initial or final consonant clusters except in loan words. There are no intervocalic clusters of more than two consonants.

The canonic syllable forms are CV and CVC.

Stress is not phonemic in Kayapa Kallahan. The vowels /a/, /i/ and /u/ are lengthened following a consonant cluster or a geminated consonant, and when occurring as the first vowel in a three-syllable word with no consonant clusters. Thus, [ba'li:w] 'sung poetry'; ['alla:w] 'to move over'; [ma:lukun] 'pregnant'. But, [malukku:n] 'to become pregnant'. In a two-syllable word with no consonant clusters,

the penultimate vowel (but not /e/) is always slightly longer. /e/ is never lengthened.

Place names. Current spellings of place names on maps and in the literature are the result of Spanish, American and more recent Philippine conventions, with the last arising from attempts to conform to standard orthography as established by the Institute of National Language. In northern Luzon, the prestige of Ilokano and the use of Ilokano interpreters by Spanish and American administrators influenced the patterns for writing Cordilleran languages.

All place names in this work are capitalized, and with some exceptions, will represent current Kayapa Kallahan usage. For place names which are found in most detailed modern maps of northern Luzon, I use common, well-known orthographic representations, and disregard Kayapa usage. Thus, I write Baguio and not Bagiw; and Benguet and not Binggit. Names of rivers will also be retained in the original in which they appear in maps, for Kallahan do not have proper names for watercourses of any kind. In Chapter Three, there is a large number of names which, for reasons of documentation, are written in the original in which they occur in historical documents.

Whenever I cite a place name and it is a representation of current Kallahan usage, the first citation will be italicized. Any common variants of spelling, especially those found in maps, historical sources or newspapers, will be enclosed in parentheses following this first occurrence. For example, *Tinek* (Tinok, Tinoc), shows Kayapa pronunciation in italics and two orthographic variants in parenthesis.

There are three kinds of situations where I enclose place names in double quotation marks: one, when speaking of historical entities whose referents are different from those expressed by the place names at the present time. Thus, the "Cagayan" of the Spanish records of the 1800's differs in extent from the Cagayan of modern times. The second situation is when place names are used as the name of a region. Thus, in Kayapa folk history, "Tinek" refers to a regional entity whose geographical extent is much wider than the settlement of the same name. The third kind is when a place name is used as the name of a social grouping. For example, in Chapter Five, "Balat" is the name of the meat-sharing group that includes the hamlet of Balat.

Other Conventions.

- 1). Slash marks, /.../, enclose phonemic transcriptions, except when used in charts in Chapter Six.
- 2). Square brackets, [...], enclose phonetic transcriptions; and enclose interpolations in a quotation or text.
- 3). Single quotes, '...', enclose glosses of a linguistic citation; thus, *belbel* 'pine' (*Pinus insularis* Endl.).
- 4). The most common abbreviations used outside of the translations of texts are the following. Other abbreviations used in the translations appear in the Appendix.

lit., literally

Eng., English

Ilk., Ilokano

Sp., Spanish

Tag., Tagalog

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I count myself solely responsible for any errors of fact or judgment in this work.

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## **Chapter One**

### **Introduction**

#### **Aims and Orientations of the Study**

This dissertation focuses on the social and cultural aspects of language in an upland community in northern Luzon, Philippines. It represents ethnohistorical and ethnographic research in a predominantly Kallahan-speaking region of Kayapa, in Nueva Vizcaya province, and aims to contribute to anthropological studies of the Kallahan and of communication in Philippine cultures and societies.

The southern Cordillera, the setting for this investigation, offers numerous opportunities for the examination of a variety of sociolinguistic relations. The National Museum map of "The Filipino People" (Fox and Flory 1974) shows six "ethnolinguistic groups"--*Ibaloy*, *Kankanai*, *Ifugac*, *Ikalahan/Kallahan* (*Kalanguya*), *I'wak*, and *Amuntug-Atipulu Ifugao*--for this region.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the regionally-based indigenous languages associated with these groups, there are three *linguae francae* spoken in this highland area: Ilokano, Tagalog, and English. Ilokano originated in northwestern Luzon and is today the principal language of lowland northern Luzon as well as of the highland city of Baguio. Tagalog is the language of most of central and southern Luzon in addition to being the basis of Pilipino, the national language. English, the major language of instruction in schools, was introduced at the beginning of the century with the establishment of American rule. One more language, Spanish, although

never spoken extensively in the Cordillera, is the source of numerous word borrowings in all northern languages.

There are about 40,000 speakers of Kallahan, the majority of whom live in small, well-dispersed settlements over approximately one thousand five hundred square kilometers of high mountain country, primarily in the provinces of Nueva Vizcaya, Benguet, and Ifugao. Small numbers of Kallahan-speakers live in the provinces of Nueva Ecija, Pangasinan, and Quezon, to which they migrated in the post-World War II years. Low population density (approximately 27 persons to the square kilometer), modern trade routes associated with national highways, provincial-level administrative affiliations and the isolation created by difficult mountainous terrain result in large sections of the Kallahan-speaking population having limited interaction with each other today. This isolation is such that the northern and southern areas of Kallahan speech are separated by two to three days of travel on foot.

Although the generic name "Igorot" has been the most familiar designation for the various congeries of people in this region, historical records yield a large number of regional and "tribal" names. The Kallahan language is most closely related genetically to Ibaluy, I'uak, Karaw, and to one lowland language, Pangasinan. Among the alternative names for "Kallahan," those with the widest currency are "Kalanguyya," "Kalanguttan," and "Kihhang." The perspective presented here is primarily from the vantage of a predominantly Kallahan-speaking cluster of 24 households called Balat (population 140 in January 1970), which is located in the Kayapa region, in southwestern Nueva Vizcaya province. Brief visits to Tinek

(Tinok, Tinoc) and Tukukan (Tocucan), in southwestern Ifugao, and to Kabanglahan (Cabanglasan), Pingkiyan (Pingkian), Imuggen (Imugan), and Hantapi (Santa Fe) enabled me to make comparisons of the language and culture of the northernmost and southernmost territories inhabited by Kallahan-speakers.

In the southern Cordillera, interaction among groups of people of different linguistic backgrounds takes place frequently and continually in diverse kinds of contexts and for a wide variety of reasons. Bilingualism is widespread and most adults know and actively use at least one other regional language besides their own or are at least passively bilingual in the trade language, Ilokano. However, the geographic, demographic, and administrative conditions that have separated Kallahan-speaking populations have also resulted in the linguistic components of bilingualism differing from one Kallahan-speaking area to another. Thus, the use of Kankana'ey and Ifugao as second languages is generally more common among northern Kallahan. On the other hand, more intensive contact with Agno River Ibaluy, and with Ilokano- and Tagalog-speakers in the eastern lowlands have shaped the bilingualism in the southern areas differently.

Because neither sharp geographical barriers nor easily defined language differences are always present here to distinguish peoples of varying ethnic affiliations, linguistic boundaries and related aspects of social interaction pose problems of definition and interpretation. Current political boundaries, themselves the products of ecological and historical considerations, often bear little relationship to cultural divisions. Initial surveys showed that distinctions regarding linguistic and cultural groupings often varied according to

the area in which they arose. In general, such differentiations depended on the kinds of contact with other groups, the length of the contact, and the prestige associated with this interaction. Clearly, the role of local attitudes and values in assessing cultural and linguistic discontinuities needed to be established as well.

My attempt to find social and cultural correlates for the Kallahan language thus ran into difficulties from the outset. The lack of congruence between linguistic boundaries and cultural or social-interactional units suggested two broad strategies. The first led me to examine the external relations of Kallahan-speakers and aspects of ethnicity in this part of the Cordillera Central. Two cognitive problems received specific attention in this regard: one had to do with how Kallahan-speakers classify themselves and those around them, and the other concerned the extent to which their neighbors view them as an ethnic and social entity. A review of the popular ethnic label "*Igullut*" and the system of category names in which it occurs, forms part of this ethno-ethnological investigation. Kallahan evaluations of interethnic relations, especially the role of these in establishing and maintaining communicative links, needed to be clarified as well.

A second strategy involved a search for the historical conditions that fostered the rise of ethnic identities in the southeastern Cordillera. One of the puzzles that appeared in the beginning of this work was the late emergence of Kallahan as an ethnic entity. It was clear that demography, ecology, and such geographical features as location and elevation provided only some of the background to these processes. In the historical survey that constitutes Chapter Three, I

present a survey of "peoples," local groups, and political divisions as they occur in both traditional accounts and in the historical record for this region. This is designed to explore the roles, in this particular context, of such factors as lowland-hinterland relations, ecological adjustments, demographic factors, Spanish and American administrative policies, and recent political movements in shaping communicative patterns as well as in the formation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries.

The problematic character of socio-cultural and linguistic boundaries on the Cordillera is demonstrated many times over in the ethnohistorical literature for this region. Keesing's (1962) work first set forth the historical and ecological bases for ethnic divisions in northern Luzon. Both his and Scott's (1974) accounts of the Spanish exploration and administration of the peoples of the Cordillera provide a massive array of documentary evidence for the frequency and ease of communication within the Cordillera and between highland and lowland peoples at the time of the Spanish arrival. This points to cultural and linguistic diffusion on a scale that calls into question any simple equation between cultural features and the distribution of ethnic groups and casts doubt upon explanations of the rise of ethnic boundaries through cultural contrasts.

The issue of ethnic processes in the southeastern Cordillera must also be seen against the background of multilingualism that characterizes this region. One of my initial assumptions in this regard was that language needed to be examined not only as part of the cultural content of social identities but also as the medium for communicating these identities and maintaining them. The Kallahan

case, however, presents a paradox here that occurs repeatedly in this highland area. It is that while language, in the Kallahan view, constitutes the primary distinguishing feature that separates the "peoples" of their social world, differences in language or other observed cultural differences actually present only minimal barriers to inter-ethnic communication. Sociolinguistic studies elsewhere of groups in frequent contact<sup>2</sup> also show that there is no necessary link between the congruence of linguistic and group boundaries on the one hand and the role of language in organizing and maintaining those boundaries.

Speech community. Implicit in the exploration of this paradox and, more generally, of ethnic processes and their relationship to language, is the task of delineating a social group, a *speech community*, associated with the Kallahan language. Along with *speech area*, *speech field*, *code repertoire*, and *speech network*, the notion of *speech community* is highlighted in Hymes' (1968) and Gumperz' (1971) ground-breaking work for the ethnography of communication. The relationships among these five terms are summarized in the following paragraph by Hymes (1968:37):

I would tentatively define the basic notion of *speech community* in terms of shared knowledge of rules for the interpretation of speech, including rules for the interpretation of at least one common code. Common rules of use but not of code would imply a *speech area* [...]. Common rules of code, but not of use, might be taken to imply one aspect of *speech field*, that range of settings in which one's knowledge of rules makes communication potentially possible. For a given person or group, one would have to investigate empirically the variety of settings in which the personal (or group) repertoire of codes and rules of use would permit communication. [...] One might want also to distinguish *speech network*, as the particular linkages of communication actively participated in by a person or group.

Here, I will describe a *speech community* as a local aggregate of persons which is held together by frequency of social-interactional and communicative links. The main emphasis in the definition falls on communication as culturally-significant pattern, particularly in the sense in which it implies the sharing of the conventions for the conduct and the interpretation of speech. This goes hand in hand with a fundamental concern with language in use among individuals, in groups, networks, and communities, rather than with the abstract grammar of a language. Both concerns with the norms and evaluations of the conduct and interpretation of speech and with the functions of speech in social settings provide a major focus for the ethnographic research in this work.

In the literature of the anthropology of communication, the speech community is viewed as inherently heterogeneous, employing a variety of linguistic resources, a "verbal repertoire" (Gumperz 1968), including all languages, dialects, varieties, styles, or registers (Halliday et al. 1964) available to members of a community to draw from in the performance of communicative tasks. The situation in the southern Cordillera suggests a model of linguistic diffusion involving members of contact communities with a diversity of communicative resources. Different functions associated with these resources relate directly to specific types of social contexts, some involving same-language speakers, and others involving speakers of outsider languages. The pattern of bilingualism found here, which includes high rates of the passive learning of languages with varying degrees of genetic distance, assumes the sharing of rules regarding the use of speech over a wide area. In this thesis, I present the

case for considering the southern Cordillera as a multilingual "speech area" or *Sprechbund* (Hymes 1968:33, Neustupny 1971:116), characterized by common patterns of speaking, irrespective of the genetic relationships of the different languages in use.<sup>3</sup> This sociolinguistic areal perspective is supported by the historical conclusions regarding a common ecological base for the cultures of the southern Cordillera, and by Kallahan conceptualizations of a maximal social and cultural entity called *Igullut* to which they belong. I suggest that these linguistic and communicative patterns developed as a major component of the social adaptations of the small, swidden-cultivating groups that inhabit these highlands.

In the second part of this work, I illustrate how Kallahan evaluations of speech activity as well as studies of the cultural and social functions of ceremonial speech events yield two contrasting patterns that dominate Kallahan verbal exchange. I call these patterns "directive speech" and "conversational speech." My contention is that these communication styles and the cultural dimensions underlying them are also shared across cultures in the southern Cordillera, and further confer salience upon the sociolinguistic area proposed here.

There are then two aspects of a speech community--the geographical, areal, and historical aspect on the one hand and on the other, the sense in which it is conceived of as comprising patterns of speech activity or "ways of speaking" (Hymes 1974a:45)--that constitute the broad framework for this study. The second aspect is dealt with in the final six chapters, which constitute the primarily ethnographic portion of this dissertation.

In their interest in language in use and in seeking to relate patterns of speech to its immediate and its wider sociocultural background, recent sociolinguistic studies expand on the direction of Malinowski's (1965 [1935]) effort, most elaborately illustrated in his *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (Volume 2), where he establishes the centrality of the context of situation to the interpretation of linguistic activity. The second half of this work presents an ethnographic investigation into aspects of the context of speech use, first through a characterization of Kayapa Kallahan evaluations of speech and their norms for communicative interaction; and second through a description of the settings, participants, interactional sequences, and linguistic characteristics of both informal, everyday speech activities and formal speech events.

In this work I employ terms, methods, and analyses that are central to the ethnography of communication as elaborated in the work of Gumperz (1971), Hymes (1974a), and their students.<sup>4</sup> A further discussion of this terminology and these methods appear below. In addition to the speech community introduced above, this presentation revolves about the speech event, a term which refers to "activities or aspects of activities that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech" (Hymes 1974a:52). Kayapa Kallahan speech events are introduced in the course of explicating local evaluations of speech, the norms for communicative interaction, and the categories of participants in speech activity.

Folk descriptions of speech behavior. In summarizing evaluations of speech behavior and categories of speech activity, I pay close attention to informants' conceptualizations of their

linguistic behavior. Folk linguistic descriptions of the category 'speech' (*tebal*, *tabtabal*) and informants' discussions of the metaphorical extensions of the affixed forms of *tebal* yield a fundamental opposition between speech characterized by maximal emphasis on goal, and speech characterized by minimal emphasis on goal. The semantic dimension underlying this contrast is social-interactional and strategic, and is inherent in the grammatical minimal pair of *tebal* 'to speak to' and its reduplicated form, *tabtabal* 'to have a conversation with'. It opposes focused, deliberate action to unfocused, less deliberate or depreciated action. In seeking to describe the interplay of goals of performers with meanings communicated in speech events and with Kallahan ideals of speech behavior, it became clear that this was a pivotal cultural distinction reflected at several levels of interaction in Kallahan culture. In a number of places in this study, I elaborate on the relationship of this semantic dimension to Kallahan values of nonconfrontation and indirection, to the contrast between regulative and contact functions of speech, and to the application of conversational models to formal speech.

The concern with culturally significant patterns of speaking labels this work as ethnographic (Conklin 1962, Frake 1962, 1980). This task has been enhanced greatly by Kallahan interest in their own speech, in its functions, its goals, and in its outcomes. A wide array of metalinguistic statements, both within and without performances, presented no mean difficulty in sorting out. However, all the "talk about talk," and particularly the references to "good speech," contained an irony which I did not anticipate. Hoping to

record and study a diverse range of ritual speech genres in Kayapa, I found few esoteric formal texts and a relatively small variety of ritual speech. The large feasts at which such texts were recited were rare, and specialists were not inclined to enunciate them outside of the contexts of offering performances. With the few exceptions of myths known only to a small number of religious specialists, Kayapa Kallahan have no examples of the extensive use of ritual or literary language such as those recorded elsewhere in the Philippines and nearby regions.<sup>5</sup> Religious invocations are relatively short, stereotypical and predictable, and few people have any interest in their form or content. There are no long storytelling sessions involving traditional tales; in fact, 'storytelling' is not considered a separate speech event, although 'stories' ('ihtudiya, Sp. *historia*) are an important part of conversation. There is one indigenous ceremonial genre performed at feasts besides invocations, a kind of sung poetry called *ba'liw*. Although it is pointed to as verbal art that is quintessentially Kallahan, it is itself frequently described as "being like conversation." This apparent paucity in the more conventionally-described "epic" genres<sup>6</sup>, and the seeming lack of variety and complexity of ritual genres eventually forced me to explore the "functional load" (Hymes 1974b:440) that conversational contexts and patterns carried in the determination of Kallahan communication styles. This direction has largely been justified by other studies (see Bloch 1975, Brenneis and Myers 1984) which demonstrate the constitutive role of language in small, relatively undifferentiated, non-industrial societies.

Moreover, the volume of comments on language led me to realize that, at one level, my informants were not only expressing their gratification over an outsider showing interest in their language, but they were also engaged in asserting the relationship of their language to their cultural identity. Two themes that evolved from my interest in metalinguistic commentary--the stress on conversational dialogue as an ideal interactional pattern and the relevance of formal speech to expressions of group identity--are central to my explanations of the meanings of formal events, and are taken up at a number of points in this study.

The terminology and methods of the ethnography of speaking. The terms and methods used in the analyses of speech events are further described in this section. In this work I follow Hymes' (1974a:59; 1974b:440) use of *style* to refer to "any and all organization of linguistic features in relation to a social context." Employed in this neutral, unmarked sense, *style* implies "selection of alternatives with reference to a common frame or purpose, and so can be applied at any level of analysis," so long as the context of application is made clear. His distinction between styles "associated with social groups," which he calls *varieties*, and styles "associated with recurrent types of situations," or *registers*, parallels that made by Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1964:77) between user-based language variation involving *dialects* and use-based language variation involving *registers*.

According to Hymes' (1972:59ff.) provisional schema for identifying and contextualizing speech events, there are sixteen

components of the communicative event, based on an earlier exploration by Jakobson (1960). These are:

1. message form
2. message content
3. setting
4. scene
5. speaker or sender
6. addressor
7. hearer, or receiver, or audience
8. addressee
9. purposes (as outcomes)
10. purposes (as goals)
11. key
12. channels
13. forms of speech
14. norms of interaction
15. norms of interpretation
16. genres

These features are grouped into eight descriptive categories, for which the mnemonic *SPEAKING* is provided (Hymes 1972:65): *S* (situation: setting/scene); *P* (participants: speaker/sender, addressor, hearer/receiver, addressee, audience); *E* (ends: outcomes, goals); *A* (act sequence: message form, message content); *K* (key); *I* (instrumentalities: forms of speech, channels); *N* (norms of interaction and of interpretation); and *G* (genres) (see also Saville-Troike 1982 and Duranti 1988). The meaningful relationships among these components in Kayapa Kallahan verbal activity are illustrated

in the presentations of individual speech events in Chapters Seven to Ten.

In this work, setting is considered one aspect of the total situation in which an event occurs, and denotes the locale and time in which the interaction occurs and other physical characteristics of the surroundings. Scene, the other aspect of situation (Hymes 1974a), involves types of occasions as they are defined by the culture.<sup>7</sup> Types of participants in speech events include superhuman as well as human interlocutors; and often involve audiences (including recognized audiences and bystanders) in addition to speaker/performer and addressee. A genre, which refers to the product of speech behavior, is analytically separate from a speech act, which refers to the behavior itself. I refer to verbal genres in the way that Sherzer (1987b:98) defines them, as the "culturally recognized, routinized, and sometimes though not necessarily overtly marked and formalized forms and categories of discourse in use in particular communities and societies."

Formality and informality. The distinction between "formal" and "informal" is a major issue in sociolinguistic studies and the ethnography of communication that evolves from the contextual descriptions of verbal interaction. A survey of ethnographic studies of speech and their uses of the concepts of "formality" and "informality" is most adequately presented by Irvine (1979). Irvine (1979: 724) points out that "formality" has been used in various and ill-defined ways in the anthropological literature; and that it has been applied to properties of communicative code, of situations, and of the observer's descriptions, with little attempt to separate these

senses analytically or to describe their relationships. She isolates four aspects of formality: increased code structuring, including linguistic and nonlinguistic codes; code consistency, as expressed through co-occurrence rules; the invoking of positional identities, and the emergence of a central situational focus. Through a comparison of speech formality in three different societies (Mursi, Wolof, and Ilongot), Irvine illustrates how speech communities may differ in which aspect of formality is emphasized or elaborated on, how these variable features are related or combined, and what reflections in social or political organization may be found for different characteristics of formality.

In Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine, I explore Kallahan expressions of formality through the presentation of three speech events: *bunung* (or *baki*) 'invocations to supernaturals', *ba'liw* 'sung poetry' and *palawag* (or *dihkulhu*) 'address, speech, oratory'. These names label genres and registers as well, and involve three ideal categories of speech that Kallahan distinguish from '*ehel* (or *hapit*) 'everyday colloquial speech'. I also describe these events as "ceremonial" because of their special association with formal observances and conventional procedures on scheduled occasions.

Kayapa Kallahan formal registers are defined by a combination of the structuring of the linguistic code and of nonlinguistic features of the speech situation. The structuring of nonlinguistic components involves the metacommunicative "framing" (defined below) of the event itself, particularly with respect to four closely-related factors: a) the situation, including time, place, and scene; b) the rules or procedures of interaction; c) the boundaries of the

speaking interaction; and d) participation and the identities and social categories of participants in the interaction. Ordinary everyday speech is unmarked with respect to these characteristics.

Anthropologists' use of "metacommunication" principally owes its direction to Goffman's (1974) work, who adapts Bateson's (1973 [1955]) study on play and on the thought and language of people labelled as schizophrenics to a situational perspective. Culturally-defined "frames" (Goffmann 1974:46) address the question of "What is it that's going on here?" in regard to an ongoing activity. This is accomplished by "keying" conventions, which Bateson calls "metacommunication," that indicate how communication within the frame is to be interpreted.<sup>8</sup> In this work, the term "metacommunication" will be used for "keying" devices in the way Bateson (1973 [1955]:152) meant them, to include the more limited sense of verbally-encoded communication about communication, i.e., talk about talk, as well as non-verbal components of interaction that signal a frame.

Formality and "performance". The formality of 'invocations', 'sung poetry', and 'speeches' connects directly with their participation in what Bauman (1977) calls a "performance" frame. This he describes as one which commits the performer to a display of knowledge and competence in communicating in socially appropriate ways. At the same time,

it gives license to the audience to regard the act of expression and the performer with special intensity (Bauman 1977: 11).

Any component of speech in Kayapa Kallahan verbal performance may be the subject of metacommunicative comment, with the most ex-

plicit focus possible being that on the speech act itself. In addition to verbally-encoded markers, (i.e., "metalinguistic" cues), there are spatial and temporal restrictions, paralinguistic and proxemic features, variations in channel and in "tone", and other non-discursive means of focusing on the speech event and setting it apart for critical consideration by an audience. Although brief mention of proxemic and paralinguistic phenomena are made here, this study is primarily one of verbal interaction.

In this analysis of Kallahan formality, I treat Irvine's (1979) first aspect of formality, additional code structuring, in two parts. I consider language structuring separately and discuss nonverbal code structuring along with the three other kinds of formality which she isolates (code consistency, positional identities, and situational focus) in terms of the keying of performance. All Kallahan registers make use of one phonological system, that described in the Preface. The main exceptions to this occur in quoted speech and in code-switching. In public addresses that use Ilokano loans or in storytelling that involves quotations from speakers of other languages, phonemes from Ibaluy, I'uak, Tagalog or Ilokano are often heard.

'Invocations', 'sung poetry' and 'oratory' share a number of "formal" features involving "increased attention to speech" (Labov 1972:209), including special lexicons, parallel constructions and a high proportion of repetition and of metaphorical speech. However, in distinguishing these three speech events, it is lexical differences that informants point to as primary. Each of these registers employ a number of lexemes that are specific to their performances and which

do not always have equivalents in colloquial discourse. Kallahan use the term *bulikahan* 'linguistic expression' (Ilokano *balikas* 'to enunciate') to refer to these diagnostic linguistic features, especially formulaic phrases and clauses. A discussion of relevant phonological, grammatical, lexical, and semantic correlates of formality is included for each of the formal speech events.

From the Kallahan participants' point of view, what most immediately set formal events from the ordinary are their being scheduled and their venues being allotted and prepared for their performance. This spatial and temporal "bracketing," both within the immediate proximate contexts of speech events and within the larger settings of feasts and public observances, depends on times and spaces being defined as appropriate or necessary for particular speech events. Privacy is relatively defined and there are no strictly private places in Kallahan culture. While the association between formality and publicity (Besnier 1986:44) holds for some Kallahan 'invocations', this is not true for all invocations, and is more true for some speech performances than others.

Kayapa Kallahan formal speech events are not only well delimited with respect to time and physical space, they also occur within culturally well-defined 'occasions' or 'scenes' (Hymes 1974:55) which are named and about which judgments of appropriateness are commonly made. These evaluations take the form of prescriptions regarding what may or may not occur within these scenes and how. In general, procedures are more explicit and more rigid in formal events than in informal exchanges. This greater demand for attention to procedural steps (part of Irvine's (1979) "code consistency") also

relates to the more conscious marking of the boundaries of interaction described below and contributes to an overall "emic perception of the event type" that Besnier (1986:45) regards as a mark of formality.

Highlighting the formal character of a speech event and its status as a performance is achieved most immediately by talk about speech itself. Verbal framing, including all messages that signal how to interpret the speech event that is taking place, may occur immediately outside of the speech event or within it. These bracketing devices consist of commentary about the speech event or any of its components, including its participants, setting, purposes, tone, and the norms of its performance. As Bauman (1977:16) points out, remarks about one's own speech act often consist of disclaimers of performance or may constitute appeals to tradition, especially to standards of evaluating performance itself. It is common in formal situations, although not obligatory, for a speaker to announce that he (or someone else) is about to perform (*Man'eh'ellak* "I am going to speak"), or to preface a performance with an explanation or a call to attention (*Higed nem hudhudenu* "It is good that I should say this"). Alternatively he may announce the end of a performance or comment on it briefly with an interpretation or some historical remarks. Proof of the salience of this particular kind of metacommunication is that in parodies of oratory by both children and adults, reflexive statements of this kind are most commonly imitated.

A final aspect of formality has to do with participation in speech events. In the ethnographic and sociolinguistic discussions of formality (for example, Rosaldo 1973, Irvine 1979, Besnier 1986)

participation is shown to relate to formality in the following ways: first, the categories of persons who enter into verbal interaction and the social distance between individuals affect how formally the interactants will define the situation. In general, the presence of outsiders and strangers, and the interaction between people who are socially distant from each other, calls for greater attention to appropriateness of speech.

Second, formality is also marked by the more intense involvement of participants, and by the "respect" they show towards the situation and the focal participants (Besnier 1986:42). This makes up the interpersonal component of what Irvine calls a "central situational focus" (Irvine 1979:779) and parallels the verbal framing and the topical centering of the speech event.

Finally, a major concomitant of formal events related to their participation is the tendency to invoke public positional identities and the social categories to which individuals belong (M. Rosaldo 1973, Irvine 1979). In Kayapa Kallahan society, this is most explicitly displayed in public speeches and primarily reflects regulative functions of speech. M. Rosaldo (1973:210) writes that in Ilongot oratory, "speakers refer to themselves and to others exclusively in terms of the categories which they occupy; relational descriptions are preferred to proper names."

She (1973:212) uses the term *categorization devices* from conversation analysis, and explains such usages in the following terms:

The special and elaborated use of address and categorization devices in oratory provides for the repeated and explicit identification of actors in terms of relevant roles and relationships, and it highlights

the norms and behavioral expectations (the resources and constraints of such actors) that these roles and relationships entail.

All formal occasions in Kayapa Kallahan society call for statements of group goals and communal values, and social category names are an important stylistic feature of these expressions. It is in formal contexts that such culturally-important distinctions as old and young, male and female, supernatural and human, outsider and insider, kinsman and nonkinsman, public official and layman, and hosts and guests are highlighted in speech through the use of titles (such as kinship terms and official titles) and category labels (such as "offspring," "parent," "male," "female," "elders" or "young people").

Expressions of formality commonly relate to ideals about the relations among participants in an interaction. In Kayapa Kallahan culture, the increased attention to appropriate behavior that partly determines the "tone" of formal occasions, is closely tied into notions of 'esteem' (*dayaw*) and of deference (i.e. as the 'bestowal of esteem'). Speaking conventions and other careful, thoughtful speech distance it from everyday circumstances and ordinary statuses. They 'confer prestige' (*padayawan*) on the participants of the event as well as heighten their commitment to the goals of communicative activity. A good proportion of this careful speech consists in talk about the speech act itself, about the role identities of its participants, about its emotional mood, its goals and the circumstances in which it is situated.

There are no lengthy discussions of "types of speech" among Kallahan; neither is there a consistently held idea of what

"formality" is in speech or in life in general.<sup>9</sup> Apart from the public, scheduled aspects of their performance, other contextual features that differentiate ways of speaking from each other must be inferred from practice and from informants' casual evaluations. It is important to point out that formality is not a single continuum in Kallahan speaking. Combinations of the attributes of the social situation or of stylistic features, whether linguistic or nonlinguistic, vary across instances of formal speech by different speakers. There are also "tight" or "loose" situational frames (Goffman 1963:199), depending on the explicitness and intensity of interactional focus, the definition of positional identities and the explicit marking of beginnings and ends of speech events. The possibility of additional structuring of discourse as well as of other components of the speech situation is of course constantly present in everyday interaction.

Thus, there are other, less well delineated and often unnamed speech activities in Kallahan culture for which rules for interaction are not so easily stated, but which qualify for the description "formal" in that both linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects of their performance receive increased elaboration from their participants. Public meetings and litigation always invite long stretches of carefully worded speech, even if they may not involve any sung poetic compositions, prayers or speeches. This is also true of less public occasions in which strangers or distant kinsmen are received or in the course of which delicate matters, such as marriage proposals, requests for loans or for loan payments are raised.

My decision to consider the nonlinguistic aspects of formality within a discussion of "metacommunication" stems from Kayapa Kallahan evaluations of speech behavior and its goals. Their notions of formality have much in common with the analytical concept of performance as discussed by Bauman (1977), although they do not have a lexeme denoting 'performance' as a unitary concept. In calling for a commitment to competence in performances of invocations, sung poetry and public addresses, informants also imply the construal of the special nature of formal speech events which subject them to increased attention and critical judgment. Some speak of their informal preparation and rehearsing for participation in public speaking activities, and of their apprehensions about being criticized for inappropriate speech. A few people, among them teachers, are known to write down and memorize *ba'liw* before a feast. Thus, the aspects of formality that Irvine (1979:215) labels "increased code structuring" with respect to nonverbal behavior, "cooccurrence rules," and the "emergence of a situational focus" may be described in terms of the extent to which they key performance for Kallahan interlocutors.

In a discussion of the issue of formality as part of a wider treatment of the definitions of register, Besnier (1986:46) points out that social perception and individual intention about how formal or informal a situation is to be judged is a factor that has been neglected in discussions of criteria for defining formality.<sup>10</sup> In presenting formality of speech events as a product of "keying" conventions, I seek to underline the role of individual and group definitions and strategies in achieving the goals of speech events.

In my discussions of formal speech in the ethnographic section of this dissertation, the most strongly highlighted aspect of the performance concept is the contribution of performer-audience interaction to the overall meaning of a speech event. This contribution is central to the construction of the communicative context itself as well as to its formality, and is rooted in the metacommunication engaged in by performer and audience, in interaction. Each of the analyses of formal speech events presented in this work underscores this emergent quality of performance, and works on the assumption that, as forms of social action, performances develop within exchanges of textual and extratextual messages conveyed in the speech event. The character of performances as sociolinguistic resources unfolds within the social events constituted through the joint interaction of participants, including audiences, in their pursuit of implicit or explicit social goals.

Cultural ideals of solidarity and reciprocity underlie the constitution of these goals and therefore pose the fundamental dilemma of all Kallahan formal speech. This dilemma stems from the fact that formal events are primarily interpreted in terms of social control functions, with 'invocations' involved with the regulation of 'supernaturals', and 'sung poetry' and 'speeches' with the direction of humans. The contents of their texts define them as expressions of authority, and the statuses of their performers and their temporal and local settings further mark them as such. However, in traditional formal events in Kallahan society, a balance must continually be sought between the authority residing in speech and a cultural emphasis on consensus and the avoidance of confrontation. In "good

speech" as Kallahan describe it, the pursuit of this balance takes place at many levels in the speech event, in discourse, in the cognitive context, and in the social events created through speech. In this thesis, comparisons of the three formal speech events in Kallahan culture will undertake to show how this contradiction between regulation and a demand for nonconfrontation is resolved: by showing how the use of special lexicon, parallelism, and other forms of code structuring achieves this; by examining referential and textual meanings for what they disclose about local categorizations of the event taking place; and finally, by describing the interpersonal functions of the speech event. From the Kallahan point of view, the underlying tension between "solidary" and "nonsolidary" relations (Brown and Gilman 1960) as expressed in speech is resolved most satisfactorily in performances of 'sung poetry' and least in modern oratorical performances. To a large extent, this explains the status of 'sung poetry' as a powerful symbol of Kallahan cultural identity.

Other orientations of this study. In addition then, to stressing folk categories of language and linguistic behavior, and to ethnographic concerns in the delineation of its units of analysis, this study may also be described as partaking of four closely related traditions within the study of culture. In its interest in the nonreferential meanings of speech events, the analysis of ceremonial speech in this thesis falls well within those which Silverstein (1976:20) calls "pragmatic," in the sense that it involves "the study of linguistic signs relative to their communicative functions." Through specifications of the goals of a speech event, the "socially-

shared system of purposive functions" in which it resides, the sequence of speech behaviors that constitute it, and finally, the cooccurrent events that serve as communicative media, I attend to the main features of his (1976:13) definition of the speech event.

Within this broadly conceived field, my analysis would also be described as *sociolinguistic*, in that it is motivated by the assumption that significant functional explanations can be offered for linguistic facts. In this presentation, I have depended on the scheme proposed by Jakobson (1960) and expanded by Hymes (1974a) for an exploration of speech functions.

In its interest in the analysis of symbols communicated and created in social contexts, this work may be described as interpretive (Geertz 1975a). A major focus in my study of formal speech falls on the communication of cultural and social meanings that are interpreted and articulated by actors in speech activities, as they seek to fulfil the goals they come into a social exchange for. Here, I employ the broad meaning of "symbol" that Geertz (1975b:45) proposes, which is "anything that is disengaged from its mere actuality and used to impose meaning upon experience." This work may be looked at in terms of how it weds ethnographic concerns about local concepts of appropriate speech to "thick" cultural interpretation.

Finally, as have all recent anthropological descriptions of small group interaction, the description in this work of the aspects of speech events that make them "focused activities" and mutually coordinated interactional episodes depends heavily on the models in Goffman's work (1963, 1974). His (1974) attention to the importance of boundaries of social interactional units and the "framing" of dis-

course motivated the descriptions of metacommunicative marking of speech events presented in this work.

#### The Contributions of This Study

The contributions of this study evolve from its application of the theoretical and methodological orientations outlined above to an intensive study of speech behavior and speech variation in a small, rural upland community in northern Luzon, Philippines. The forms of this contribution to anthropological studies in the Philippines relate to a) its being a study of aspects of language in actual use and b) to its location in the northern Luzon Cordillera.

The ethnographic concerns of this work center on discovering culturally-relevant distinctions in its characterization of speech and its social context. As a sociolinguistic study, it seeks to specify the cultural and interactional aspects of speech events, taking it as given that language use goes beyond the communication of cognitive content and involves various social activities. It benefits from similar work in the Philippines, such as that of Conklin (1959, 1962, 1964), Molony (1969), Pallesen (1977), M. Rosaldo (1972, 1973, 1980, 1982, 1984), Frake (1980), and Hall (1988); and includes works that have dominant ethnographic concerns although they do not primarily focus on language (Conklin 1980; R. Rosaldo 1975, 1980; Frake 1980).

A recent sphere of inquiry in Philippine cultural studies, the vast majority of published sociolinguistic research on the Philippines has been written by linguists.<sup>11</sup> Very broadly, it has been of two kinds: studies of the cultural and social background of bilingualism and code-switching phenomena, and macrosociolinguistic studies. The first have primarily involved the interaction between

Tagalog and other major Philippine languages on the one hand and English on the other, and they have been conducted in Manila and other urban areas of the Philippines (see, for example, the bibliography in Marasigan 1983). The second group has included issues in national language policy, language nationalism, and the nature and status of Filipino English, for which recent representative surveys are Sibayan and Gonzalez 1977, Llamzon 1979 and Gonzalez 1980.

In its emphasis on social and cultural aspects of speech and performance, this thesis also diverges from the other major language-focused research on minority cultures in the Philippines, namely that of the study of folklore texts. These studies have tended to concentrate on particular oral literary genres, especially collections of tales and epic poetry, and have mainly dealt with literary or philological aspects of their texts and their general cultural background, but not with the immediate social context of their oral performance.<sup>12</sup> On the Cordillera, the best-known examples of these studies have been Lambrecht's work on Ifugao *hudhud*<sup>13</sup> and Billiet and Lambrecht 1970.

This dissertation also makes a contribution to regional studies in the Cordillera of northern Luzon in two ways. First, as an anthropological study of Kallahan language, culture and society,<sup>14</sup> it is the first full-length study of its kind for this region.<sup>15</sup> Second, it brings together material on the social and cultural aspects of multilingualism, the cognitive categories used in defining "peoples", and the historical background of the formation and maintenance of ethnic entities in this upland area. In arguing for the "speech community" as an interactional and communicational unit, and for the recognition

of the heterogeneous character of communicative resources in speech communities, I am able to relate the functions of these resources to ethnic processes and to Kallahan folk ethnological classifications.

In proposing an areal perspective to account for the regional distribution of common patterns of conducting and interpreting speech in the southern Cordillera, I present an alternative to previous ethnological syntheses for the region that are based on the distribution of "cultural traits" and social institutions (Eggan 1941, 1963; Dozier 1961; also see Antolín 1789 and Más y Sans 1843 for earlier statements). Such a perspective is consistent with the findings of ethnohistorical work (e.g. Keesing 1962, Scott 1974) regarding the problematic character of cultural and social boundaries in this region, and is supported by the historical overview presented in this work as well. Finally, I demonstrate, through analyses of cultural and social functions of speech events, how Kallahan evaluations of speech behavior project an overall semantic basis for the sociolinguistic area proposed here.

#### Organization of the Study

Following this introductory section in which I describe the locale, the administrative framework, and a folk history of Kayapa, I present, in Chapter Two, the geographical distribution of the Kallahan language, its linguistic affiliations, and the political membership of various segments of the Kallahan-speaking population. Here, I briefly describe the position of Kallahan within the Southern Cordilleran subgroup of Cordillera languages, and provide details of how it has been classified by linguists.

The remainder of the chapter centers on the problem of defining a "Kallahan people." I begin this presentation with the etymologies, geographical provenance, distribution, and contextual use of the diverse list of names used to refer to Kallahan language and its speakers. It is followed by a discussion of Kayapa Kallahan labels for the "peoples" of their greater social world, and the relationships of these categorizations to *Igullut*, a concept widely associated in the southern Cordillera with local ascriptions of ethnic status and evaluations of ethnic relations.

The main historical presentation appears in Chapter Three. As I explained earlier, the impetus for an historical survey of the Kallahan area originated in my attempts to determine the maximal social unit that correlates with the Kallahan language. This chapter begins with a history of the area where Kallahan is spoken today, with a major emphasis on the beginnings of the Spanish exploration of this region. This overview is followed by contextual descriptions of the various ethnic units and ethnic names in the southeastern Cordillera as presented in the records of the Spanish and American explorations. The administrative and political entities associated with these ethnic aggregates in modern times and through the Spanish and American periods receive attention in the second half of the chapter.

Finally, in an extended historical commentary, I bring together historical, ecological, sociolinguistic, and ethnological data from folk historical accounts, the written record and ethnographic research. Using data about population movements, settlement patterns, and the ecological and economic basis of ethnic identities, I offer

an explanation for the late emergence of ethnic entities in this highland area and show how these factors support informants' thinking about the cultural unity of southern Cordilleran peoples. In this chapter, I also venture speculative sketches of the role of Isinay in the lowland-hinterland relations in the southeastern Cordillera before the nineteenth century and of the demography of the Ibaluy and Kallahan language areas during its early settlement.

Chapter Four concentrates on delineating speech and language in Kallahan culture and society. Here, I describe the Kayapa "communicative repertoire" (Gumperz 1962), with particular emphasis on three issues: the functions of the different languages in active use in Kayapa society, as these arise from the contexts in which they are employed and from the history of Kallahan interaction with their speakers; the phenomenon of dual-lingual communication as an aspect of bilingualism in this region; and code-switching behavior in Kayapa. A brief note on language diffusion and loanword flow into Kallahan is included here. I conclude this chapter with a summary of the main social, cultural, linguistic and geographical factors that have influenced the languages of this region and that support an areal perspective in the study of communication in this highland zone.

Chapters Four and Five bridge the primarily contextualizing effort at the beginning of this work and the ethnographic investigation that makes up the second part of this study. In Chapter Five, I discuss Kayapa Kallahan kinship, kinship terminology, descent, and social organization, first, as part of the description of the categories of participants in speech behavior. Secondly, I provide back-

ground on the groups and aggregates into which Kallahan classify their society: the household, the local group, 'relatives' and a 'meat-sharing group.' Finally, this chapter presents a history of the settlement of Kayapa from the point of view of the ritually-defined meat-sharing descent categories into which the population is divided. I propose this as the pattern of local kin-based group formation, interaction, and fusion that characterized the process of settlement of the southern Cordillera.

Apart from kinship and descent, the other social dimensions determining speech variation in relation to participation in speech activity are age, gender, regional or ethnic origin, divinity, and specialization. Regional and ethnic origin is treated in Chapter Two and Four; and Chapter Six deals with age and gender as part of a broad discussion of evaluations of speech. Chapter Seven, which is about communication with supernaturals, includes divinity and the specialization of ritual specialists in its discussion of the personnel of 'invocations'. Modern specialist roles, such as those associated with government office and education, fall within the scope of a discussion of 'speeches' and speechmakers in Chapter Nine.

The second five chapters of this work focus on Kallahan speech activity, including speech events and speech situations, and on the relationships between these patterned "ways of speaking," their components, and the evaluations of speech behavior against which they are judged.

Kallahan evaluations of speech and communicative behavior in general are introduced in Chapter Six. In this chapter, I seek to identify the organizing principles that govern Kallahan speaking

interaction and communication in general. I begin with a survey of local terms referring to 'speech' and 'language' and detail the cultural and social contexts in which metaphorical extensions of the concept of 'speaking' arise. Kallahan characterizations of their norms for communicative interaction, including examples of how these are revealed in discourse, are combined with the metalinguistic data to arrive at a statement of Kallahan ground rules for speech performance. At the end of this discussion, I show how a contrast between focused, goal-oriented speech and unfocused, indirect speech underlie Kallahan values of mutual coordination and solidarity as these are expressed in conversational exchanges. This chapter concludes the presentation on "appropriateness" in speech behavior with a discussion of how settings, gender and age relate to speech variation.

Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine are devoted to the three Kayapa Kallahan formal speech events: 'invocations' (*bunung*), 'sung poetry' (*ba'liw*) and 'speeches' (*palawag*). In Chapter Seven, I characterize the "formal" aspects, including linguistic and nonlinguistic features, shared by these three ceremonial events. These are: the scheduling of time and place, code structuring, the framing of boundaries of the speech event, and the emphasis on social categories and on positional (as opposed to personal) identities.

Each of Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine is introduced with a survey of these formal characteristics as they apply to the speech event involved. For each, I specify the times, places, and social contexts in which these events occur, the procedure of a performance, and aspects of linguistic and discourse structuring, including

special lexicon, verbal formulae and routines, and parallel constructions. For each of these speech events, I attend to details of the interaction among participants, including main performers and the audience, and provide textual examples to illustrate the content, internal structuring, and referential and nonreferential meanings of the performance. Each of the three chapters concludes with a discussion of the communicative context created through the interaction of participants, and of the social and cultural meanings exchanged in the course of the performance. In Chapter Eight, I compare 'invocations' and 'sung poetry' in their role as indigenous forms of public formal speech in Kallahan culture. Then at the end of Chapter Nine, I summarize the functions of the three kinds of formal speech performance, specifically with respect to their roles as sociolinguistic resources in Kallahan culture.

Chapter Ten presents nonceremonial speech, including greetings, leave-takings, speech play, conversation, commands, and requests. Each of these informal everyday speech events are described in terms of their settings, their procedures and linguistic characteristics. In this chapter, I highlight the dominant patterns of speaking that cut across both formal and informal speech, namely, directive speech and conversational speech. In a concluding effort to summarize the cultural dimensions that have emerged in this study of speech, I briefly contrast these two ideal speech patterns from the perspective of the archetypical contexts they are associated with, their formal speech patterning, the goals of interaction, the functions of speech, participant role structure, positional identities, the relative focus on goal, and the nature of social relations that they refer to. For

this analysis, I rely on the material presented in Chapter Six on ground rules of speech performance, and the summaries found at the ends of Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine. The final chapter presents the major conclusions of this work.

#### **Geographical Background: the Southern Cordillera**

Northwest Luzon consists for the most part of an extensive upland commonly known as the Cordillera Central. Elevations in this mountain chain range from three hundred meters at the southern edge to numerous peaks above two thousand meters, producing a display of spectacular mountain scenery over a distance of almost three hundred kilometers to the northern seacoast. Heights are over 2500 meters in its south central sector, with the highest ridges and inclines located in the border area shared by the provinces of Benguet, Ifugao and Nueva Vizcaya. These include Mount Pulog (2929 meters), the highest point in Luzon; Mount Tabayoc (2842 meters), Mount Kapiligan (2709 meters) in western Ifugao, and Mount Panotoan in Kabayan (2684 meters) (See Cleto et. al. 1986 and Conklin 1980, Plates 2a and 4). With the exceptions of narrow strips of land along river courses, the plateau on which the city of Baguio was built and a few wide valleys (principally in La Trinidad, Loo, Buguias, Daklan, Dalupirip, Pingkian, Antipolo, and Kayapa), terrain in this region is rough and slopes steep and often uninhabitable.

Together with its tributaries, the Agno River basin comprises the major watershed in this southern section. The Agno headwaters arise in the heart of the Cordillera, near Mount Data, in whose vicinity the Amburayan, Abra, and Chico Rivers have their origins as well. From there, the Agno flows through eastern Benguet province to

Lingayen Gulf in Pangasinan. Smaller river systems drain other sectors south of Mount Data, some flowing west to the South China Sea (the Galiano, Naguilian and Amburayan Rivers), others flowing east into the Magat River (the Hapao, Ahin, Taoang, Matunu and Santa Cruz Rivers), which eventually joins the Cagayan in the north.

Among these southern heights live the ethnic minorities considered in the present work. The Kallahan, the main subject of this study, inhabit a north-south span of dispersed settlements east of the Agno River and west of the Magat River and its southwesternmost branches. Here they share boundaries of varying geographical, linguistic, and social complexity with a number of ethnolinguistic groups occupying adjoining areas in the provinces of Benguet, Ifugao, Nueva Vizcaya, Nueva Ecija, and Pangasinan.

A major factor in the diversity of this region is a system of relatively well-maintained non-seasonal roads and trails, including the "Halsema Highway", more popularly known as the "Mountain Trail," that straddles the ridge of the Cordillera for a little over a hundred kilometers north of Baguio City. This road descends into the town of Bontoc, where it joins others leading to other administrative centers in the north and southeast. The main road connecting the southern Cordilleran highlands with Magat River communities runs east of Baguio City and crosses the Agno River and Ambayawan River watersheds before descending into the lowlands near Pingkiyan and Arittaw (Aritao) in Nueva Vizcaya. A network of heavily trafficked trails and seasonal roads, the construction of many of which go back to the last half-century of Spanish rule in the Philippines, branch out from many points along the highways.

Access routes today are such that most settlements in the southern Cordillera can be reached by a two hour walk at most from a point where road transport is available. This has been true of many Kallahan-speaking communities only recently, however, and the section of the Cordillera where they live has been more isolated geographically than other adjacent highland areas. The nonseasonal road connecting the Agno River to the Magat and Cagayan River lowlands was built during World War II, in the course of the northeastward retreat of large Japanese Army detachments from Baguio City. There are communities in the upper Ahin and the upper Matunu Rivers (for example, Tinek, Danggu, Kamandag), that are at least five to eight hours walk from the nearest road; and people from the Tinek area need a day's travel on foot to get to the administrative centers of Lagawe and Kiangan to the east. Before the second World War, the nearest sources of trade goods for Kayapa people were northern Pangasinan or Arittaw, at least 8 hours away, or Baguio, which took two days. A number of small airstrips built in the 1960's by Protestant missions on the Matunu and Ahin Rivers have eased this isolation for people in these areas to some degree.

Baguio City (population 119,000), the main terminus for the road network to the highlands, is located in the southwestern corner of the Cordillera, some two hundred fifty kilometers north of Manila. It is the principal market town for the province of Benguet (from which it is however administratively separate) and although Ilokano speakers form the bulk of its population today, it has been the most important economic and cultural center for the ethnic minorities of this southern part of the Cordillera since the turn of the century.

In addition to elevation, relief, drainage and road systems, broad differences in plant cover, rainfall, and temperatures provide one kind of context for the variety in principal forms of economic activity and in settlement patterns. Here a temperate vegetation zone supports three locally-recognized types of plant communities in addition to cultivated crops: broad-leaved evergreen montane forest (*bel'ew*), pine (*belbel*: *Pinus insularis* Endl.), and grassland (*paway*) (Kowal 1966: 389). This region has the highest rates of precipitation in the Philippines: 21 millimeters to 1135 millimeters from February to August in Benguet, with an average rainfall figure of 4489 millimeters (Cleto et. al. 1986; see also Conklin 1980: Plate 2d). Also, the lowest average annual temperatures in the country occur here, with 17.9 degrees Celsius recorded in Benguet (Cleto et. al. 1986).

The majority of Kallahan settlements are located between 700 to 2200 meters above sea level, with the more populous high valleys (Tinek, Tukukan, Danggu) located between 1200 and 1600 meters. In the wider valleys, the cultivation of at least one crop of irrigated rice is the central agricultural activity, with swidden cultivation of root crops being largely supplementary.<sup>16</sup> The shifting cultivation of sweet potato ('ubi: *Ipomoea batatas*) is the main source of year-round subsistence in many small communities at higher elevations (e.g. Kabayu, at 2200 meters) or on steeper slopes (e.g. Amillung, 1400 meters, Ansipsip, 1300 meters) in the Agno River watershed and along the Ambayawan, Matunu and Santa Cruz Rivers. At lower elevations south and east of Pingkian, rice is cultivated in swiddens on a small scale. Although taro ('aba: *Colocasia esculenta*) is a significant

root crop all over the Cordillera, there are only a few localities (e.g. Buyasyas, east of Kayapa) where this ritually important food is grown as the principal staple.

In addition to subsistence crops, cattle, water buffalo, horses, pigs, dogs, ducks, and chickens are raised for food, trade, and ritual purposes throughout the southern Cordillera. Cattle production has been a dominant part of the economy of the high grasslands of Benguet west of the Agno River since the eighteenth century.

Following World War II, the growth in the demand for temperate latitude vegetables in the Baguio and Manila markets brought about a rapid development of commercial vegetable production along the Halsema Highway. Here, extensive areas of the tropical montane forest have been burned and cleared to make way for cabbage, Irish potato, and pea gardens. These products are now grown to the exclusion of traditional food crops. Market gardens, the gold and copper mines south and north of Baguio, lumber mills, and road construction are the most important sources of temporary and permanent wage employment for the populations of the surrounding highlands.

#### Kayapa

"Kayapa" is the traditional name for a small mountain valley located at approximately 16° 17' No. Lat., 120° 52' E. Long., in the southwesternmost part of the present province of Nueva Vizcaya. It is drained by small streams that flow eastwards into the Ambayawan River at a point some ten kilometers south of its source near the Benguet-Nueva Vizcaya provincial boundary. The Ambayawan River is the major eastern tributary of the Agno River, which empties into Lingayen

Gulf, in western Pangasinan. Elevations in the Kayapa valley range from eight hundred to one thousand meters above sea level; and the settled and cultivated portion of the valley bowl is about one hundred hectares in area.

Locally, the name "Kayapa" may refer to any one of three entities. The first is the region traditionally known as "Kayapa" (also Cayapa, Caiapa, and Kaiapa on maps before 1950). Until 1968, the population of this region was officially part of, but not entirely contiguous with, the barrio called "Kayapa Proper." The use of the qualifier "Proper" indicates primacy of the regional name in time, and the two other units described below were named after it. Although now used to designate the entire valley, "Kayapa" is known to have replaced "Kalebaw" (the name for a species of *Citrus*) and "Dangatan," former names of habitation sites in the eastern and western ends of the valley.

In 1968, the Kayapa population came within the jurisdiction of two barrios, Kayapa Proper East (population 694 in 1970) and Kayapa Proper West (population 966 in 1970) (Census of the Philippines 1972). In the reorganization of local governments in 1974 which instituted the "barangay" as the administrative unit below the municipality, the people of the Kayapa region, along with a number of outlying communities not traditionally regarded as part of Kayapa, became part of four barangays: Kayapa Proper East, Kayapa Proper West, Alang-Salacsac, and Kabalatan-Alang.

The second entity called "Kayapa" is the Municipality of Kayapa, one of 18 subdivisions of the province of Nueva Vizcaya and, since 1974, comprising 30 barangays. When people are in Nueva Vizcaya

lowland towns or other distant areas and identify themselves as originating from "Kayapa," they are usually referring to this political unit.

The third is the settlement traditionally known as *Pangpang*, whose official name is now Kayapa Central and which is the administrative center for the Municipality. It is also variously known as "Sintral (Sp. central)," "Publasyun (Sp. poblacion)", and "Upisina (Sp. oficina)," for it is the main site of government offices for the municipality. On modern road maps of the Philippines, the point on the Benguet-Nueva Vizcaya highway labelled as "Kayapa" refers to this capital town.

In this work, locally significant place names will be used, except when it is necessary to refer to administrative units as such. Thus, "Kayapa" will refer to the region traditionally known by that name and "Pangpang" will denote the settlement now known in official records as Kayapa Central. "Kayapa Municipality" will be used to refer to the administrative unit of that name.

The majority of the Kayapa population live in the following settlements (see Map 4):

*Balat* (24 households, including *Kuartil*, with 6 houses).  
*Gangha* (19 households)  
*Baliyu'yu* (4 households)  
*Balangngabang* (5 households)  
*Tuyyungan* (19 households)  
*Li'bawwan* (28 households)  
*Killet* (14 households)  
*Aluppat* (22 households)  
*Talibung* (7 households)  
*Bulu* (20 households).

There are 869 people in these nine settlements and an average household size of 5.5 persons. A total of 126 persons (in 25 households) live in small isolated house clusters of one to five households located in dispersed sites in various parts of the valley.

All settlements except *Bulu*, *Talibung*, and *Balangngabang* are located along the valley slopes and are for the most part visible from each other. No two settlements are more than thirty minutes walk from each other, either by a trail along the valley bowl or paths through the rice fields and gardens that form the valley floor.

Smaller groupings of houses are occasionally distinguished within a settlement. These may be named after geographical features (e.g. *Ha'pat* 'above, the upper part'), former residents (e.g. *Pulinadyu*) or a historical site (e.g. *Kuartil* (Sp. cuartel); *Kural* (Sp. corral)). Fences, ditches, stone walls, trails, irrigation troughs, and springs are the most common markers of these divisions.

In general, patterns of house visiting, children's play groups, exchanges of food, and of babysitting are most predictable within these smaller sections of settlements.

Kayapa is most accessible from the highway town of Pangpang, from where it is possible to travel by public transport, to the Agno River and to Baguio City in the west, or to Pingkiyan, Arittaw, and other Magat River towns in the east. Since 1971, it has been possible to reach Kayapa from Pangpang over a 17-kilometer dirt road that was constructed by a lumber company. Before then, travel from Pangpang took three hours on foot. Traffic is heaviest on Saturdays, which is market day in Pangpang.

Travel south of Kayapa is primarily to the Nueva Vizcaya settlements of Imuggen and Hantapi (Santa Fe) and to northern Pangasinan. Imuggen is five hours on foot and Hannikulah (San Nicolas), the Pangasinan town most familiar to Kayapa people, is at least eight hours away. Imuggen has a Friday market to which Kayapa residents occasionally take ginger, maguey rope and peanuts to sell. Travel to Pangasinan today is connected mainly with the cattle trade.

A trail to eastern Benguet to the gold mining town of Ituggun (Itogon) goes through Dumulpuh (Shumulpus) and Pitikkan (Pitican). In the 1920's and 1930's, Baguio replaced Pangasinan and Arittaw as the commercial centers for people in the western Nueva Vizcaya highlands, and small groups of people from Kayapa would travel to Baguio two or three times a year, using the trail through Ituggun in a two-day journey. Today, traffic to and from Ituggun on foot also mainly involves cattle.

### Local History.

The following description, while necessarily sketchy and selective, presents a range of political and economic events which Kayapa adults consider to be diagnostics of the various "eras" into which they divide their history. It also portrays a cross-section of the experience by means of which various sectors of the Kayapa population phrase and evaluate their social lives with others within and beyond the Ambayawan watershed.

Kayapa people characterize distant historical events as falling within the following chronological frame:

- a). the "Spanish period" (*timpun Kahtil*), before 1900;
- b). the "American period" (*timpun Mirikanu*), also known as *pistaym* (from 'peace time'), roughly between 1900 and 1941
- c). "the war" (*timpun gubat*), also called *timpun Diyapan* ("Japanese time"), roughly between 1941 and 1945.
- d). "recent times" (*ni hayya la*), the post-World War II years (*nakdeng 'i gubat* 'the end of the war').<sup>17</sup>

#### The "Spanish Period"

Events belonging to "Spanish times" occur in the last two or three decades of the nineteenth century, during the lifetimes of the parents of the oldest Kayapa informants. These happenings generally merge into a "remote past" (*nunta bayag la*), the time associated with origin stories of basic components of local culture, including rice (but not sweet potato or taro), gold, rice beer, marriage, and meat-gift exchange patterns. Legendary figures possessing great height and strength, and capable of powerful witchcraft hunted along the whole length of the Agno and Ambayawan watersheds. Other, more ordinary

humans, waged wars, took heads and sold people into slavery. Malignant forces such as these, in addition to locust plagues and cholera and smallpox epidemics are said to have driven ancestors of the Kayapa people out of their homelands in the north.

The first arrival of people in Kayapa occurred, according to local accounts, in this vague long period that involved, in its later stages, the Spanish presence in the Cordillera. Old people speak of a series of migrations into the Ambayawan region begun by people called *I'allagut* and *Ibbumangi*. Potsherds, pieces of broken porcelain, charcoal and a small axe head, presumed to be from their hearths, were discovered during the construction of rice fields in the early part of this century in the western part of the valley. It is said that spirits of these early inhabitants have remained in Kayapa, and in all propitiatory rituals held in the rice fields, they comprise one category of spirits to whom offerings are made. Little else is known of their fate, except for an isolated story about "wars" with "Ilongots" from the southeast, who are said to have come up the Ambayawan River to take heads at some remote period.<sup>18</sup>

The speculation is that the *Ibbumangi* moved further downriver, and today, small scattered populations near the Pangasinan and Nueva Ecija borders are described by Kayapa people as "remnants of the *Ibbumangi*" (*baya ni Ibbumangi*). These descendants, according to the only Kayapa Kallahan stereotype about Bumangi culture, butcher pigs on a matting made from the leaves and branches of a tree called *liwliw* (*Ficus*). In contrast, other people in the southern Cordillera normally use cane grass (*Misanthus*) for this purpose.

The subsequent arrivals of people in Kayapa involved acknowledged descendants of contemporary populations. The I''uwak make up the third group. I''uwak genealogies show that they had ancestors living in the Agno and Ambayawan river basins seven generations ago and their folklore suggests that they are related to populations that extended as far north as the Agno headwaters, as far east as the Cabanglasan River, and as far south as the Carranglaan area in northern Nueva Ecija over a century ago. Old people in present-day Kankanay-speaking areas like Lu'u (Loo), Buggiyah (Buguias) and Bakun used to speak of I''uwak settlements in the vicinity of Lu'u, about a day's journey north of where they are located today. It is generally believed in the Kayapa region that some people called I''uwak today are descended from Ibbumangi.

The "wild men of Kiapa" encountered by American officials in the 1900's in Kayapa and reported by Jenks (1950) were most certainly ancestors of Kayapa I''uwak. The abandoned "rice fields" noted by these officials in the Kayapa valley (Keesing 1962: 318, 323) had, according to I''uwak residents of Kayapa, been pond fields for taro owned by people who fled the valley when the Spanish garrison was established there in the 1890's. Beyer's suggestion (in Keesing 1962: 323) that Kayapa was one of the routes into the highlands for the diffusion of wet rice agriculture appears to have been based on the report of these terraced fields.

The I''uwak claim to primacy in Kayapa is embodied in a well-known folktale. Two Kallahan-speaking men, Gummangan and Agpuyuh, find their way to Kayapa while hunting. They come up to the house of Mallun, an I''uwak, to ask for a drink of water. There they are told

of the disappearance of Mallun's son, Kalli'ih, whom Mallun says has been kidnapped and taken to the southern lowlands to be sold. Gummangan and Agpuyuh head south and in time are able to rescue Kalli'ih and take him back to Kayapa. Mallun offers the two men pigs in gratitude, but they refuse these and ask instead to be allowed to settle in Kayapa.<sup>19</sup>

Although Kayapa was abandoned in the late 1890's during the tenure of the Spanish garrison (established in 1894) in the eastern end of the valley, by the time Kallahan- and Ibaluy-speaking peoples began to arrive there in the first two decades of the century, small communities of I'u'uwak were found in Tuyyungan and Li'bawwan, in settlements on ridges above the Ambayawan River north and east of Kayapa (Lebeng, Amillung, Hayudding, Bihung, Dumulpuh, Bayabbah, Unib, and Ben'et) and in settlements west and south of Kayapa towards northern Pangasinan (Tali'ti, Alimurung, Bulu, Lawiggen), where they are located today. Their subsistence, as that of the newcomers, was based on the swidden cultivation of sweet potato and millet and on the cultivation of taro in flooded fields.

Today, people point to the settlement site called Kuwartil (from Sp.cuartel) on a ledge above the Ambayawan River as the best known relic of Spanish times in Kayapa. The garrison built there was burned down by Filipino soldiers in 1899 during the Revolution, and all that remained were a few stone walls which settlers in the 1920's tore down to use in their own housebuilding. Other reminders are the former site of the chapel for the garrison, now called Kumbintu (Sp.convento) and the "Spanish trails" (kalhadan Kahtil, Sp. calzada), built by Spanish soldiers and missionaries in the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to connect the upper Magat valley with Pangasinan. These are the same routes used today for the cattle trade with the lowlands to the south.

One of the more prominent memories of this period is that of a millenarian movement called *tugun* ('advice'), which gained popularity in late Spanish times between the Agno and Magat Rivers and was based in Taplew, in the heights west of Pingkiyan. It was headed by a man named Ban'ug and incorporated such traditional elements as pig offerings and prolonged feasting and dancing. These were to prepare for the day when a deity called *Kabuniyan* would descend from the upper world with enormous quantities of pigs of extraordinary size. The movement was suppressed by government authorities in early American times.

Ancestors of the Kallahan-speaking people of Kayapa first came into the Ambayawan region, which they called "Uwak" or "Bay'angan" ('east, where the sun rises') during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. The area was well known to people to the north and west before that time, for it was on a trading route to the Pangasinan lowlands and was also known for its gold-panning potential. Genealogies collected among Kallahan-speakers in the southern Kallahan areas indicate that their ancestors lived in a generalized region called "Tinek," often described cryptically as "in the vicinity of Pulag (i.e., Mount Pulog)," some three to seven generations ago. Among the place names associated with this northern homeland, the best remembered among people in the south are "Tinek," "Tukukan," "Ahin," "Tebuy," "Danggu," "Ganaba," "Balliti," and "Tu'yak." Most of these are now only names to the informants, being

known solely from genealogical accounts, folktales and myth recitations, for few living Kallahan in the Kayapa area have ever been this far north.<sup>20</sup>

There are no stories of a large migration. The picture is that of a slow trickling of population southwards from the Tinek and Agno headwaters areas. Transfers of residence between widely distant areas at least once every generation appeared to have been fairly common in the last century, and were made by groups no larger than a nuclear family or of families of two siblings and perhaps their parents. Once a move to a new settlement site was made by a group of people, it presented an opportunity for kinsmen to join them there or to explore sites nearby for hunting and for new swidden clearings.

The most compelling reasons for moving away were disease and enemies. Epidemics of cholera (*kulida*) and smallpox (*gultung*) caused the scattering of people all over the southern Cordillera in the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early part of this century. As part of the accounts of these plagues, people today would refer to the limestone caves that became mass burial sites during epidemics.

Older Kallahan speak of *bungkillew*, attacks from parties of bandits who would come to raid villages for pigs, carabaos, household goods (copper utensils and iron tools), and for people, especially children, who were often subsequently sold into slavery. Such raiding parties, usually associated in legend with headtaking, were attributed to people called *buhul* (also, *busul*, Ilokano *kabusur* 'enemy, contender').

All the way down the Agno River to the Ibaluy-speaking communities of *Kabayan*, *Lutab* and *Bukut* (*Bokod*), the names of *Ahin*, *Pallatang* and *Habbangan* (*Sabangan*) are singled out as the sources of this brigandage. Predictably, every region had its own source of bandits and headtakers, and in the Tinek area, the main perpetrators of raiding parties are said to have been "*Ibunne*," 'people of Bunne (Burnay, in Ifugao).'<sup>21</sup>

In addition, there were the *kahtil* (Sp. *Castilla*), as the Spanish were known in this region. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, they maintained a small garrison in *Lu'u*, and military officials using Lepanto as a base built a horsetrail (*kalhada*, Sp. *calzada*) to connect the upper Agno valley with the mission and garrison in "*Sapao*" (*Hapao*) in western Ifugao. The fear of being impressed as *puliktas* ('forced laborers,' from Sp. *polistas*) in the constructions of these trails led people to abandon numerous upper Agno valley settlements in this period.

At various times, people were invited, if not coerced, into moving to the eastern lowlands to live near the missions. A vaguely known period, called *tabug* ('a forced coming together of a large group of people,' also, applied, for example to the concentration of populations during World War II), is remembered by older people, who say that numerous people now residing in Ilokano or Isinay areas in the eastern lowlands trace their ancestry to highlanders who went down to live in the lowlands in Spanish times.

Kayapa genealogies indicate two major groupings of migrants in this early period. One came directly from the upper Agno valley, predominantly from Patappat, Lutab, *Lu'u*, and the border area of *Attuk*

(Atok), Bukut, and Kabayan; and were Ibaluy-speaking. They settled in the area around *Anhiphip* (*Ansipsip*) and *Wagan*, northeast of Kayapa and only descended into the valley after 1900. Because of the strong Ibaluy component in the language and culture of this group, their descendants are often described today as "mixed Kallahan" (*mihtihun Kallahan*), even though they speak Kallahan as a first language today.

A second group is descended from migrants from points east of the Agno watershed. *Ikip*, *Palanha*, *Balluy* (*Badduy*), *Lu'u*, all now in Benguet province; *Tinek* and *Danggu* in Ifugao province, and the *Binalyan* area in Nueva Vizcaya are the more easily remembered places of residence before the arrival in the Ambayawan region. This second group founded settlements among the heights east of the Ambayawan, in *Amillung*, *Bihung*, *Hayudding*, *Talibung*, *Alang*, where they lived in close proximity with *I''uwak* populations, west of the *Pingkiyan* area. In contrast to the "mixed Kallahan" of the rest of Kayapa, descendants of this second group are referred to as "pure Kallahan" (*purun Kallahan*). It is said that their 'blood' (*dala*) and 'heritage' (*puli*) were not "diluted" through intermarriage with Ibaluy in the Agno valley, and that they retained the speech and culture of the *Tinek* homeland.

This three-part division in the Kayapa valley among descendants of a) *I''uwak*, b) *Patappat-Lutab* people and c) *Tinek-Ikip* people continues to be reflected today in ceremonial, marriage, other patterns of social interaction and to some extent in language. The southern Cordillera furnishes many similar examples of histories of settlement involving the expansion of a number of small descent-based groupings into ecologically attractive zones, and the maintenance of social and

cultural boundaries between these groups over many generations. Some social organizational aspects of these processes are discussed further in Chapter Five.

#### The "American Period"

The "time of the Americans" roughly includes the years between 1900 and the early 1940's. For the first half of this period, Kayapa was administered from Benguet as one of its "townships," with offices located at *Bayabbah* (*Bayabas*), about an hour's walk north of Kayapa. For many older men, the specific location of events in this time span are referred to in terms of the name of the leading township official (*prisidinti*) who was in office in Bayabbah at the time.

For Kayapa history, the most momentous events of early American rule centered on the introduction of large herds of cattle into the Ambayawan region. The local lore is that the Benguet governor "Apak" (William Pack) saw the potential of this area for cattle production early in his term (1901-1908). Sometime in the second decade, large numbers of cattle belonging to a wealthy Ibaluy of western Benguet known as Ura or Akinu (Juan Oraa Cariño)<sup>22</sup> arrived in the Kayapa area. These came from ranches on the Agno River (Binga, in Ituggun) and from Tublay, in western Benguet. Akinu engaged a number of men from Tublay and various Agno River communities to care for the cattle in Kayapa, in addition to entering into herding arrangements with local residents. The in-marriage of Ibaluy-speaking men from the Binga-Ambuklaw (Ambucelao) area of the Agno River into I'u'uwak communities in the eastern watershed of the Agno River goes back to this period.

It is estimated that by the 1920's, there were as many as two thousand cattle in the environs of Kayapa as a result of this venture. Moreover, government documents had reported that in 1907, Benguet province (of which Kayapa was then part) had almost sixteen thousand registered cattle ([U.S.] Philippine Commission 1909:278). Only a few dozen of the cattle remained in Kayapa at the end of World War II.<sup>23</sup>

A sizable vocabulary of Spanish-derived words having to do with horse and cattle husbandry, including anatomy, coloring, and the processes of branding, training, herding, butchering, and trading of cattle attests to the vitality of this early period. Today old people point to two sites in the valley which were fenced areas for the confinement of cattle and horses. They are now mainly planted to rice, and still bear the name "Kural" (Sp.corral).

Cattle provided an impetus to the settlement of the Kayapa valley. Previous to its clearing, the valley is said to have been hot and steamy and not fit for habitation. Prolonged grazing by cattle cleared the valley floor of the thick growth of high grasses and displayed its potential for irrigated rice agriculture to the people who had experienced this in the Agno valley. By the end of the second decade of the century, the grandparents of older Kayapa residents had descended into the valley from the Ambayawan watershed to supplement their sweet potato farming with wet rice cultivation. Plows were obtained from Daluppidip, together with varieties of dry season crop rice (*kintuman*). Three short term varieties of glutinous rice were brought in from the Tublay-Kapangan area by men engaged in the cattle trade. Again through Akinu's influence, men from Habbangan in

southern Bontoc and from the Ahin-Tukukan area of southern Ifugao who had constructed rice fields in the upper Agno valley, came to Kayapa to seek employment. They were paid either in cattle or water buffalo or in ceremonial textiles obtained from Aritao Isinay.

A second, wet-season crop called talun, planted in August and harvested in December and January, was planted on a small scale at the lower end of the valley in the early thirties, with rice seed brought upriver from Pangasinan.

Along with such ecologically important changes in their economy, significant opportunities for travel and trade opened for the Kayapa people in American times. A few men gained employment in the construction of the Benguet road linking Baguio to La Union along the Bued River. Public works in the building of the city of Baguio through the 1920's and 1930's involved a large number of men from various parts of the southern Cordillera, including the Ambayawan region. Generally improved peace-and-order conditions led Baguio to supplant San Nicolas, Pangasinan, as a source for salt, sugar, oil, woven cloth and cattle. A number of people from Kayapa also remember having attended the Northern Luzon Exposition (1915-1916) at which representatives of various Cordillera peoples were brought to Baguio to "exhibit" along with artifacts of their cultures.

American officials established a primary school of four grades in Bihung (Bisong), upriver from Kayapa, about 1918. This is responsible for the slight knowledge of English found among people in their seventies in Kayapa today. The Kayapa Proper elementary school was established in a one-room building in Killet in 1936.

A block of time remembered quite distinctly in Kayapa was the operation of a sawmill by Benguet Consolidated in Luhud (Lusud), about one hour hike northwest of Kayapa. This was "timpun Luhud," ('the time of Luhud'), approximately 1932 to 1940. A handful of Kayapa men were employed there and three marriages between Kayapa women and employees at the sawmill took place in this period. Three Ibaluy-speaking men from the Attuk (Atok Central) area who were employed in the sawmill in the early 1930's found kinsmen in Kayapa and subsequently settled there. Women from Kayapa made the journey to the sawmill every fortnight, on pay day, to sell rice, fresh vegetables, rice beer and coffee.

Missionaries of Christian spiritist cults began to arrive in the Ambayawan area from western Benguet at about this time. Kayapa members trace the establishment of their church, a part of the *Union Spiritista Cristiana de Filipinas*, to Ilokano-speaking missionaries who came from the Tuba area south of Baguio City in the mid-1930's. Today, the Spiritist movement claims a membership of between 50-60 families in the central Kayapa region, and have a chapel in the hamlet of Killet. Members of other Spiritist churches, especially in the Arittaw-Bambang area, make occasional visits to Kayapa; and small groups of the more active members from Kayapa make yearly visits to communities in the area around Hantapi-Malikku area. Known to many people outside of the church as pulipul (Ilk. pulipul 'to wind', from the circular hand motions involved in laying-on-of-hands), Spiritism is the principal form of Christianity known in Kayapa.

Although a number of missionaries from the United Church of Christ, the New Tribes Mission, the Baptist, and Catholic Churches

visited Kayapa in 1950's and 1960's, Kayapa remained isolated from proselytizing activities of other Christian organizations until fairly recently. A full-time resident missionary from a second organization, the Baptist Church, arrived there in the early 1970's. In contrast to the Spiritist movement, whose members are mainly Kallahan-speakers, the 30-50 people who attend the Baptist church are primarily I'uak-speakers or Ibaluy-speakers, probably because the missionary is an Ibaluy-speaker from the Agno River. A Catholic mission has existed in Pangpang since the 1930's, but its work did not extend to Kayapa until very recently. A Catholic chapel was built in the western end of the valley in 1987.

#### "Wartime"

World War II put an end to the long period also called *pistaym* (English *peace time*), which described the first forty years of this century for Kayapa. From 1943 to the end of the war, Kayapa valley was occupied on a number of occasions by small groups of Japanese soldiers, who took over a few houses and appropriated rice and cattle from the residents. About a dozen men from upper Ambayawan communities joined the underground guerilla movement in the southern Cordillera. In early 1945, some five hundred Kayapa people were evacuated to Santa Maria, Pangasinan, where they lived in quonset huts set up by the American army till the end of the war. This is the period known to older people as "*timpun bakwih*" ('evacuation time'). It is remembered primarily for the American tinned food rations as well as for the fairly sustained interaction with Ilokano lowlanders in Pangasinan. More rice seed varieties were carried back to Kayapa after this experience.

In people's ways of speaking of their history, the Kayapa "past" appears to end with World War II. For old people, anything that happened in the post-war years is characteristically described as "just recently" (*ni hayya la*). If greater specificity is required about the placing of an event in time, it is common to cite the name of a national president or of a local mayor within whose term the circumstances may be related. Other "diagnostic" events of this post-war period include the construction in the 1950's of the hydroelectric dams on the Agno River and the beginning years of the government surveys of land in the Kayapa valley.

The construction of the Ambuklaw and Binga dams on the Agno River, which displaced some two hundred and fifty Ibaluy families, led to the influx of eastern Ibaluy to lowlands near the Magat and upper Cagayan Rivers. Encouraged by news of this resettlement, small groups of Kallahan men from various southern Nueva Vizcaya communities ventured eastwards, especially to areas around Halinah (Salinas), Ka'uku, Dipun (Diffun), Kaliyat (Caliat), and Hantaklara (Santa Clara), in search of new land. There were few positive results of these travels and most of the men came back discouraged by illness and the long distances they had to travel in what were then isolated and hostile areas.

In the late 1950's, upon the representation of Kayapa officials, the first of a long series of visits to Kayapa were made by teams of government surveyors to begin the mapping of the valley prior to the titling of property. The first titles were presented in 1969. As might be expected, numerous controversies arose over land ownership, boundaries, and inheritance; and the litigation that

followed brought even more Kayapa adults into active interaction with government officials at local and provincial levels.

The early 1950's were fraught with difficulties of a new kind. On the initiation of a number of educated Kayapa leaders who were active in the armed forces, Ambayawan valley people became involved in the applications for war damage claims, negotiations for pensions and the litigation involving war crimes and collaboration activities. Demands on people's skills in apprehending the world of documents, signatures and official authority complicated even further the physical recovery from the war. People speak of this period as one full of confusion and of feeling ill at ease, during which they were completely dependent on the few literate and ambitious men who represented them in lowland capitals. It was inevitable that animosities would arise from questioned loyalties and of manipulative activity in general and that the crises that resulted from these tensions would continue to be brought up year after year, in songs, speeches, and conversations, as explanations for behavior among individuals and groups in Kayapa. In describing the turmoil of this period, one man aptly made reference to how "wars of the spirit" (*gubat ni 'ihpiritu*) had followed the physical confrontations (*gubat ni 'angel*, lit. 'wars of bodies') of the second World War.

The context of this local historical sequence will be made clear in the more extensive historical survey in Chapter Three. First however, I will define the Kallahan as an ethnolinguistic entity, by describing the geographical distribution of the language, its linguistic affiliations, and the problems of defining a "Kallahan people." This will be the subject of the next chapter.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The Philippine National Museum map of "The Filipino People" (Fox and Flory 1974) shows a much expanded listing of northwest Luzon Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups compared to those established by ethnologists and government officials at the beginning of this century which were the basis for classifications of Cordillera peoples for many decades (e.g. Jenks 1905, Scheerer 1901, Worcester 1906, Beyer 1917, Barton 1919, and Moss 1920). Among the revisions in the National Museum map are those involving the southern Cordillera, which shows three new entities: "Ikalahan/Kallahan (Kalanguya)," "I''wak," and "Amduntug-Atipulu Ifugao," in addition to the ethnographically better documented "Ibaloy," "Kankanai," and "Ifugao." The geographical distribution of each of these as well as of their ethnographically better- documented highland neighbors appears in Chapter Four.

<sup>2</sup>The literature on the relationship between social and cultural identities and ethnic processes is vast. Works found most relevant to the Cordillera situation and to the analysis here have been Berndt 1959; Frake 1980a, 1980b; Fried 1966, 1975; Moerman 1965; Blom 1969; Dixon 1976; Tindale 1976; as well as Barth's (1969) comprehensive summary of attributes of ethnic groups and their problems of definition. Frake's (1980a, 1980b) works on languages, ethnic categories and the history of ethnic processes on Basilan and in the Sulu archipelago (southern Philippines) provide valuable contrasts to the situation described in this work. The more complex combination of cultural and ecological backgrounds of linguistic and social boundaries in this area includes sea nomadism, piracy, Islam, Christianity, and Arabic and Malay economic and political culture.

<sup>3</sup>The analogous concept, involving the areal distribution of linguistic traits independently of genetic affiliations of the various languages, is *language area* or *Sprachbund* (Emeneau 1964 [1956]: 650). The evidence for the relationship between speech area and *language area* in this region would be a fruitful subject for research, but it is not explored in this work.

<sup>4</sup>Representative work from these students may be found in the works of Sankoff 1980, Saville-Troike (1982), Heath 1983, Sherzer 1983, Duranti (1981, 1983, 1988); in collections in Bauman and Sherzer 1974, Sanches and Blount 1975, Gumperz 1982; and in the journal *Language in Society*.

<sup>5</sup>See for example, Castro et. al. 1983, for a sampling of the range of epics for the Philippines and Fox 1988 for ritual languages in eastern Indonesia.

<sup>6</sup>The Kallahan-speaking people of the Attipulu-Amduntug area chant a long poem called '*alim*' but the genre is not known in Kayapa and in the southern districts where Kallahan live.

<sup>7</sup>See Brown and Fraser 1979 for a different set of definitions for *situation* and *scene*. For them, *situation* represents a relationship among physical setting, participants and purpose (Hymes' *goal*), with the intersection of *purpose* and *setting* determining their concept of *scene* (1979:34).

<sup>8</sup>See also Sanches (1975) for a characterization of "metacommunicative events" and a summary of the use of the term in linguistic anthropology.

<sup>9</sup>Some Kallahan are familiar with the word *purmal* (ultimately Sp. *formal*), and use it to describe events in which careful attention

is paid to behavior, including speech, and the social distance between interlocutors is great.

<sup>10</sup>Besnier (1986) distinguishes three kinds of criteria used in defining register: "rules of language form, rules of language use, and rules of non-linguistic behavior and context." He (Besnier 1986:46) concludes that the interrelations among these criteria have no simple way of being described, and he concurs with other sociolinguistic studies that ultimately, formality must be described as "a relative, rather than an absolute notion."

<sup>11</sup>Publications of members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics since the 1950's have primarily consisted of structural linguistic studies of phonology, grammar and syntax of minority Philippine languages, supported by intensive field work. (Ballard et. al. 1971, Ballard (1974), Hohulin, L. (1971) and Hohulin, R. (1971) present results of linguistic research on Ibaluy and Keley-i Kallahan, two languages closely related to Kayapa Kallahan.) In addition, the society has been involved in translations of Scriptures (see New York International Bible Society 1978, 1980; and Scriptures Unlimited 1970); compilations of dictionaries, and literacy materials production. Moreover, the ground-breaking work on discourse studies on minority Philippine languages (see Longacre 1968) have come from linguist-members of this organization. A recent contribution to this field, employing concepts from linguistic ethnography, is Hall's (1987) study of Subanun formal speech.

<sup>12</sup>However, see Wrigglesworth's (1981) collection of Ilianen Manobo folktales, and the structural analyses of Lorrin-Bona de Santos 1974 and Macdonald 1974 for exceptions.

<sup>13</sup>See Conklin 1968 for a list of Lambrecht's works.

<sup>14</sup>The only other long-term anthropological field work conducted among Kallahan has been by Delbert Rice (1974, 1987; also see bibliography in Rice 1987), a missionary of the United Church of Christ. Linguistic field work and Bible translations for Keley'i Kallahan have been conducted by Lou Hohulin (1971) and Richard Hohulin (1971), members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. <sup>Bob</sup> Ambrosius and <sup>Judy</sup> <sup>A</sup> Ambrosius, members of the New Tribes Mission, produced a literacy primer in 1969, based on work on the Matunu River.

<sup>15</sup>There have been three other full-length studies of the relationship of language, culture and society in the Philippines: Molony's work on Zamboangueño, Pallesen's (1977) work on linguistic convergence between Samal and Tausug dialects, and M. Rosaldo's work on the Ilongot. Hall's (1987) work on the Subanun, while employing ethnographic methods, primarily focuses on formal discourse, and presents only brief descriptions of social and cultural contexts.

<sup>16</sup>Conklin (1980: Plates 2 and 4) indicates that, at this latitude, the maximum elevation for the shifting cultivation of rice is 700 meters; and where irrigation is sufficient, rice may be cultivated up to elevations of 1600 meters.

<sup>17</sup>For a chronology with similarities to the Kallahan's, see R. Rosaldo 1980: 48ff and Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid 1985.

<sup>18</sup>For a historical reference to these conflicts, see Scott 1975:124).

<sup>19</sup>This is the tale as Kallahan-speakers tell it. In accordance with phonemic correspondences with I'uwan speech, the characters in the I'uwan story would be called Gumangan, Agpuyus, Madun, and

Kedi'is. The structure of the tale itself has elements common to other aetiological stories of settlement in the southern Cordillera: e.g., outsiders "getting lost" in the course of hunting and arriving at a settlement, then "negotiating" with earlier occupiers for land. In more elaborate foundation myths, it is usually a lone outsider male, often named, who arrives at a feast, marries a local woman (often unnamed) and becomes an "apical" ancestor to a descent or local grouping. Beginnings of "culture" in southern Cordillera societies appear to be defined by the uxorilocal marriage with a local woman, of a male (or a set of brothers) from the rice-growing areas of the upper Abra, upper Chico Rivers or southwestern Ifugao. "Natural," 'wild' (*hadun*) states are associated with swidden agriculture or hunting and gathering. Thus, the absence of origin myths for sweet potato and taro in this area, and frequent Kayapa Kallahan references to the "absence of government" ('andi gubilnuda) of predominantly swidden-cultivating or hunting groups such as the I'uak or Illogot, respectively.

<sup>20</sup>Most indigenous peoples of the southern Cordillera trace their ancestry to this general region of "Tinek," among the headwaters of the Ahin, Tawwang and Matunu Rivers, in what is now southern Ifugao<sup>provinces</sup>, as well as to migrants from the upper Chico River into the Agno headwaters. For parallel accounts for Ibaluy and Agno River Kankana'ey, see Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid 1985 and Lewis 1987, respectively.

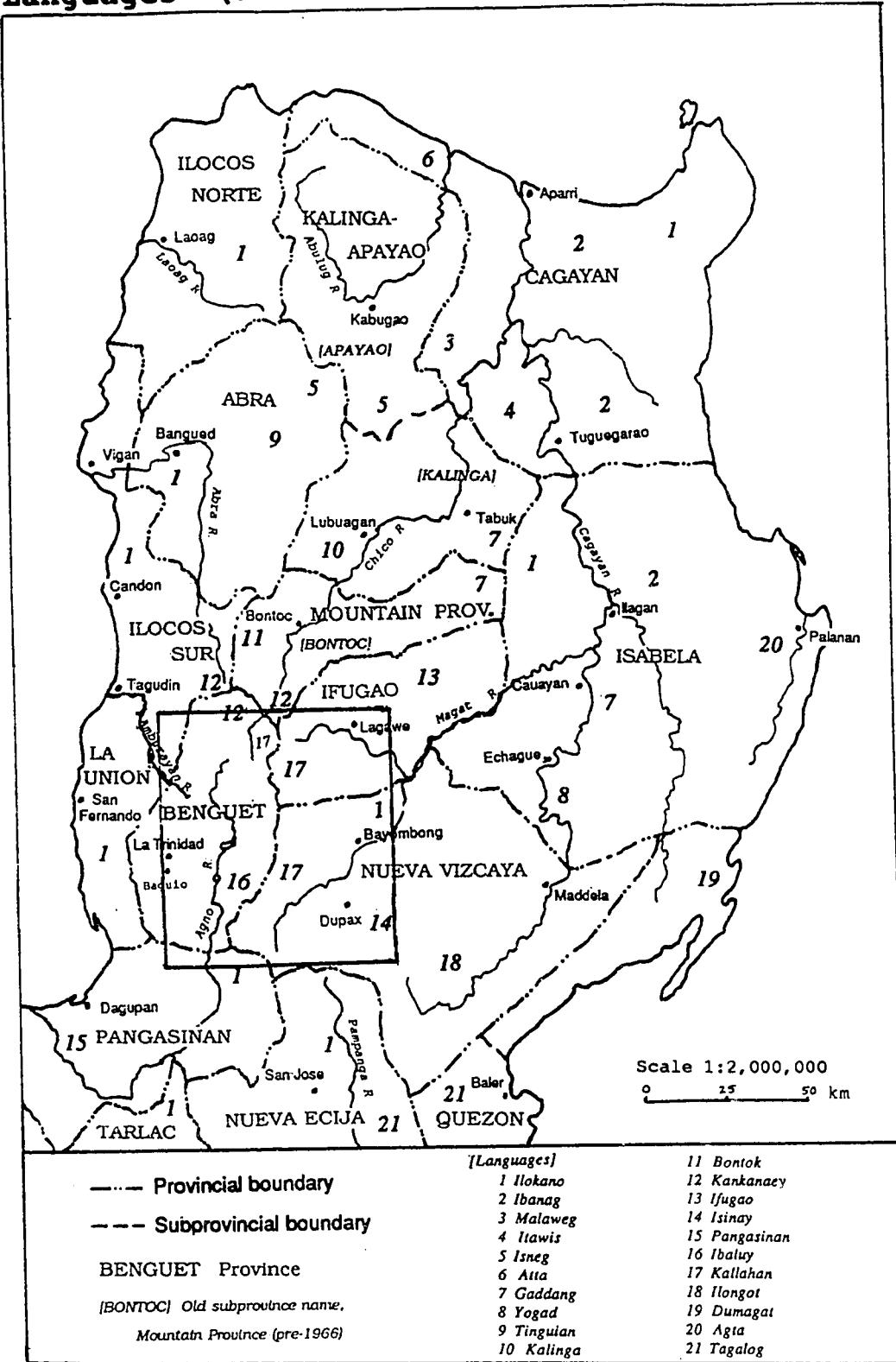
<sup>21</sup>These are the "Bunnayan" of the Spanish records on Ifugao of the last century.

<sup>22</sup>Juan Oraa Cariño, also known as Juanchu, Ora, Akinu, was governor of Benguet province during the first Philippine Republic under

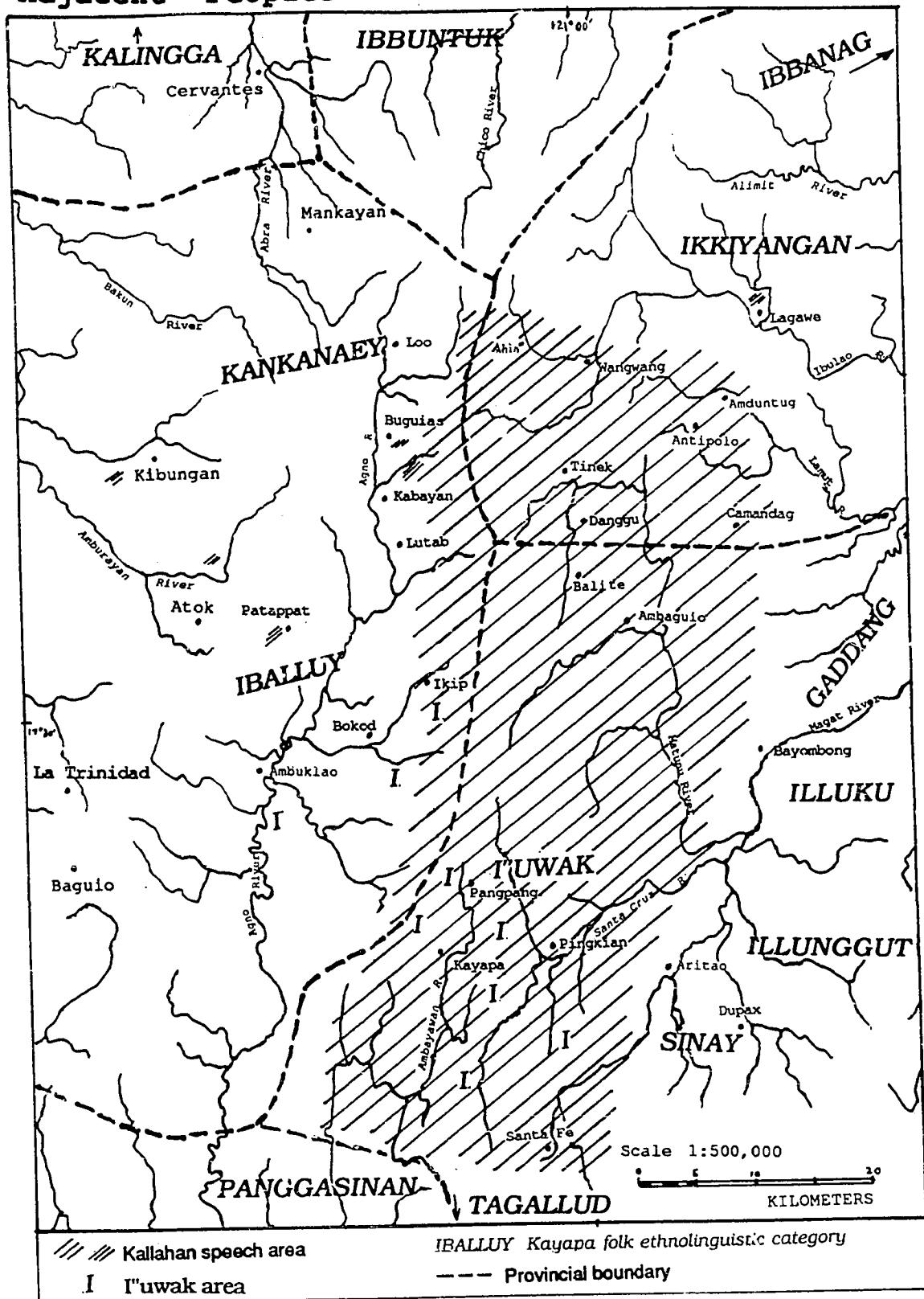
Emilio Aguinaldo. He was shot and captured while fleeing from American authorities near Kabayan in 1900 (cf. U.S. War Department 1900: 297). In 1916, he became the first representative of the Mountain Province to Philippine Congress and served in this capacity until his death in 1923. His first marriage was to a wealthy woman of Kabayan named Milja (Melia) whom he divorced because of her inability to bear children. He subsequently married Dusalja (Rosalia), a woman from Datakan, in western Benguet. Dusalja died in 1971, leaving one daughter and nine grandsons to inherit a substantial fortune in rice land and cattle in Benguet and Nueva Vizcaya provinces.

<sup>23</sup>See Tapang 1985 for an economic study of the Benguet cattle industry of that period and its decline.

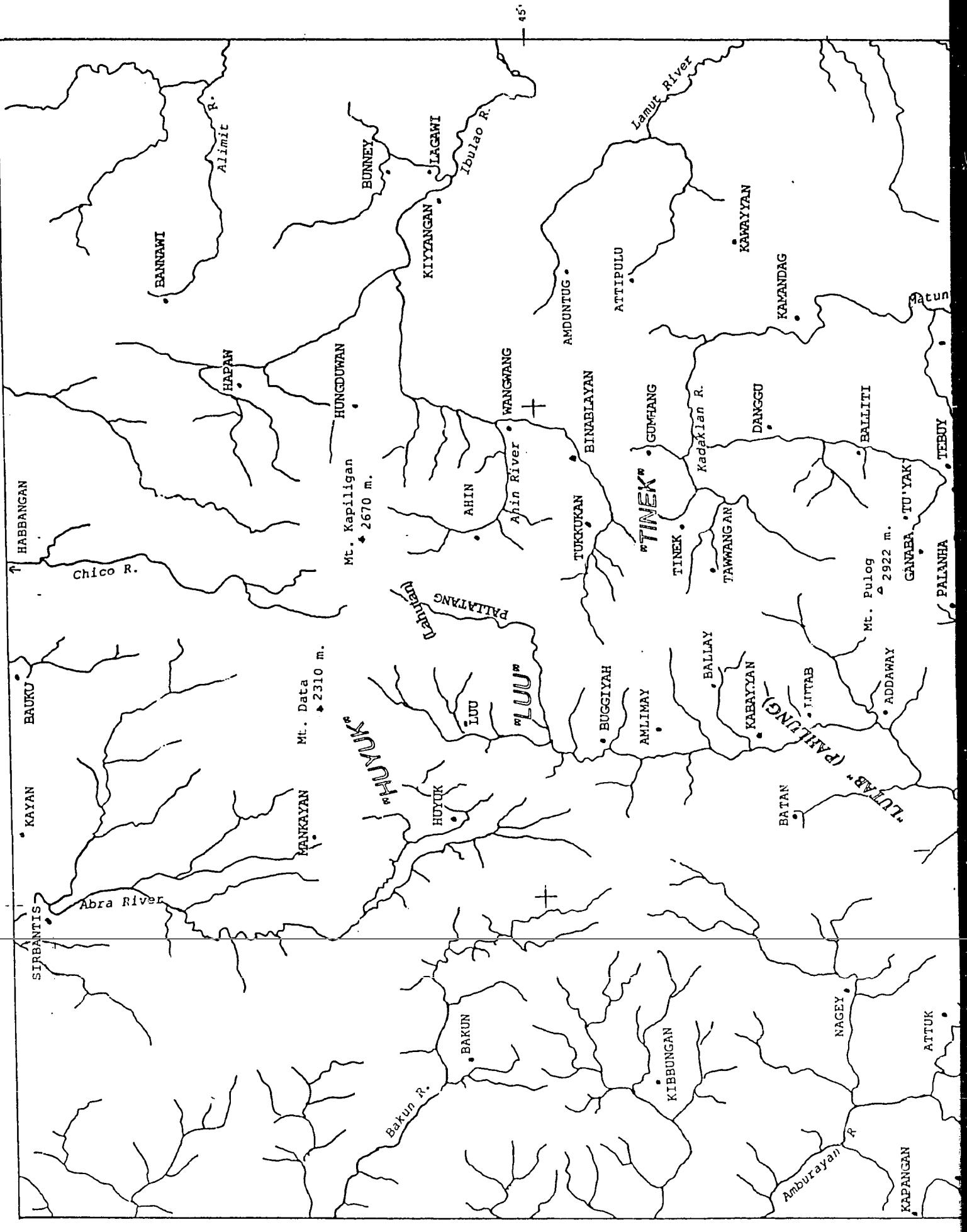
Map 1 Northern Luzon: Provinces and Languages (after Conklin 1980)



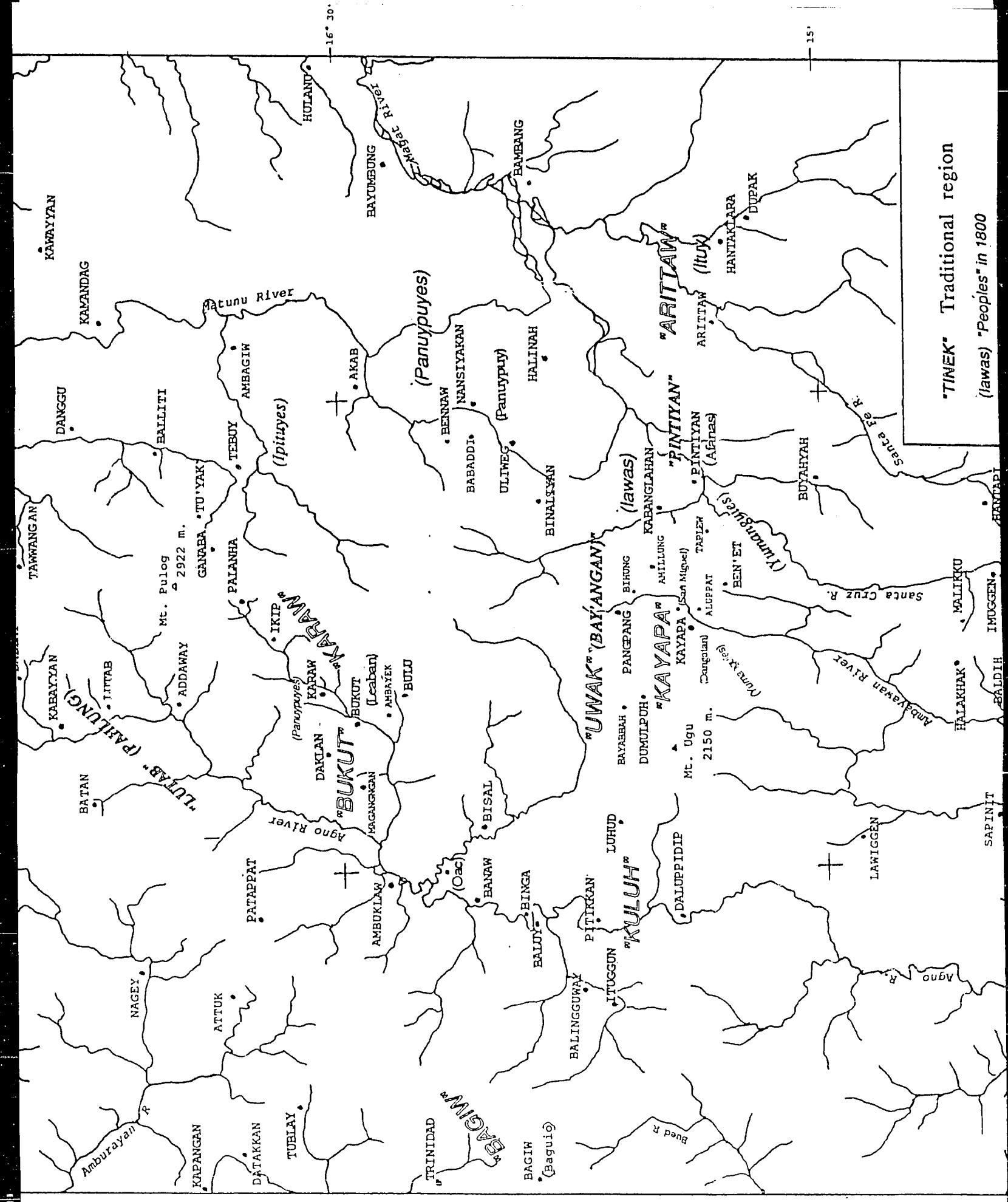
Map 2 The Kallahan Language Area and Adjacent Peoples







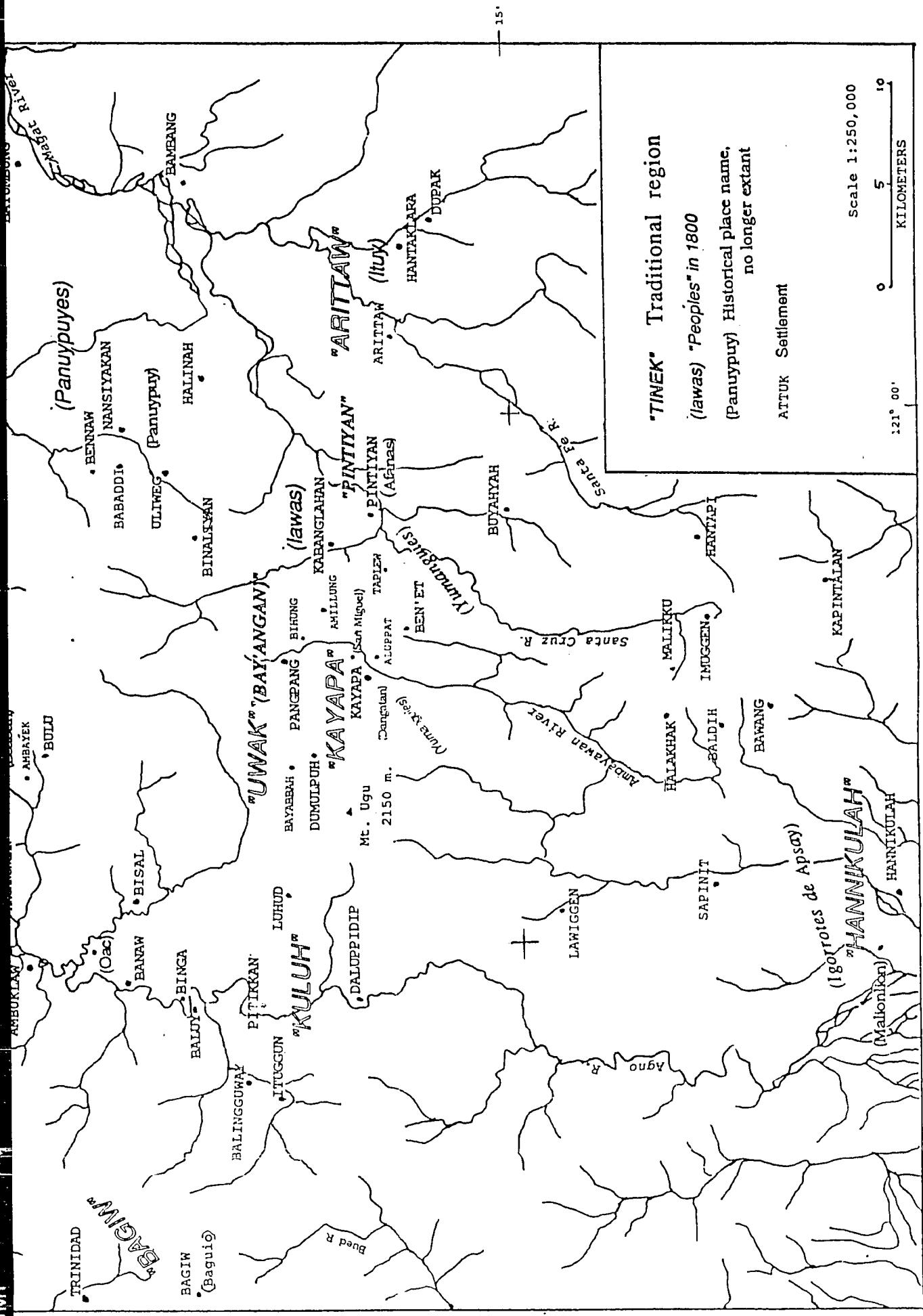




"TINEK" Traditional region

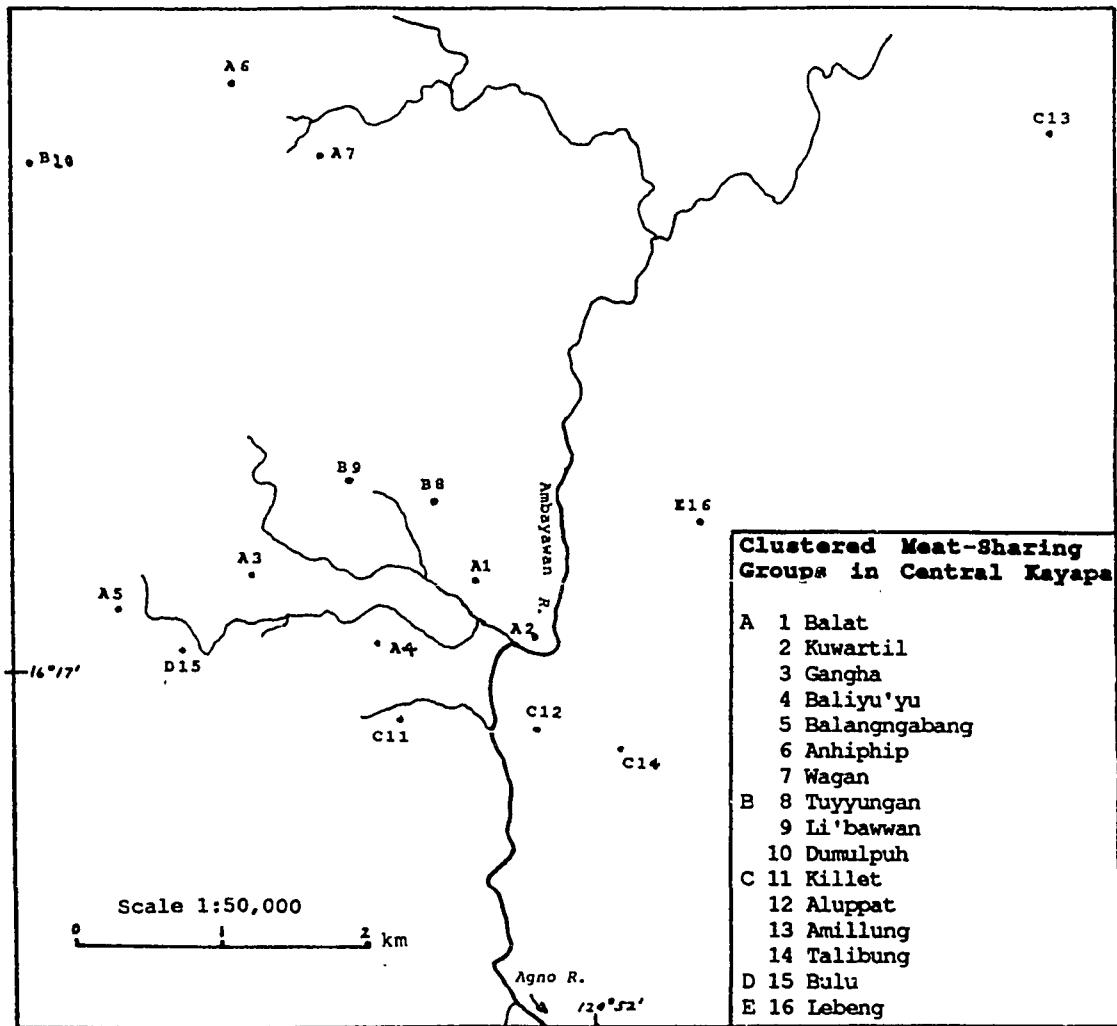
(Iawas) "Peoples" in 1800





Map 3 The Southern Cordillera: Historical Relations

**Map 4 The Kayapa Region**



## Chapter Two

### The Kallahan Language and People

In this chapter, I consider the Kallahan as an ethnolinguistic entity. There are three parts to this discussion. I begin with a geographical description of the Kallahan language and of the names by which it is known in various parts of the southern Cordillera. This is followed by a description of the political affiliations of various segments of the Kallahan-speaking population and their treatment in the national censuses.

In the second part of this chapter, I describe the linguistic affiliations of Kallahan and present some phonological and morphophonemic evidence to demonstrate its position within the Southern subgroup of the Cordilleran languages. The problems of determining mutual intelligibility and of subgrouping languages and dialects in this region through linguistic evidence alone are discussed in this connection. With a view to clarifying these problems, I briefly characterize the bilingualism--primarily involving Ilokano, Ibaluy, Kankana'ey, and Ifugao--which results from the external relations of Kallahan-speakers with speakers of these languages.

The third section of this chapter continues the review of the larger universe that includes the Kallahan and their neighbors, and addresses the basic question of what the maximal social category is that correlates with Kallahan language. It became clear in the early stages of field work that determining the geographical limits and the

linguistic affiliations of a Kallahan language did not automatically point to a "Kallahan people" associated with it. I show the difficulties in determining the boundaries of a "Kallahan" ethnolinguistic group, and examine some of the reasons why such an entity appears so late in the anthropological literature for northern Luzon. My approach involves exploring the cognitive aspects of a Kallahan ethnic identity, by paying particular attention to the names by which Kallahan are known to their neighbors, and to the labels they use to classify themselves and other populations in their social world. The data indicates that linguistic, ecological, geographical and orientational features are the principal bases for distinguishing "kinds of people" in this upland area.

I conclude this chapter by presenting Kayapa Kallahan folk ethnological issues through a discussion of the polysemy in the concept "*Igullut*." I show how Christianity and other external cultural and political events in this century brought new dimensions to the meaning of the term, and how they modified the primarily linguistic and ecological bases for differentiating peoples in the southern Cordillera. The historical events that set this process in motion are described in Chapter Three.

#### The Kallahan Language Area

"Kallahan" is used in this work to refer to the language and people of southern Ifugao, eastern Benguet, western Nueva Vizcaya, northern Nueva Ecija, northern Pangasinan, and southern Quezon, who are otherwise known, either by themselves, by outsiders or in the literature, by any one of the following names (or their variants):

*Kallahan (Ikalahan, Calasan, Kalasan)*

*Kalanguyya (Kalangoya, Kalanguya)*

*Kalanguttan (Kalangotan, Kalangutan)*

*Kihhang (Mangkesang, Kisang, Kehang)*

*Hanglulu (Hanglulaw, Mungngello)*

*Keley'i (Keleyiq, Keley-i, Antipolo Ifugao)*

*Mandek'ey*

*Yattuka*

Many who are Kallahan according to this definition call themselves "Igullut" and are referred to by others by variants of this term. Among the most common forms are "Igorot" (in writing), "Igudut" (by Ibaluy-speakers), "Igulut" (by Kankana'ey-speakers), and "Iggurut" (by Ilokano-speakers). The concept "Igullut" features prominently in Kallahan definitions of their identity in relation to the world beyond the local group and will be the subject of the conclusion of this chapter.

The approximately 40,000 people described here as speaking Kallahan speak it as a first language, following Sorensen's (1967:671) definition of "first language" as the principal language used in one's nuclear family of orientation. What I am calling the Kallahan language might be characterized in terms of an "interconnected system of subcodes" (Jakobson 1960: 352), where language varieties spoken along the periphery of the language area are connected by a series of intervening varieties which provide a gradual transition.

Trading and visiting patterns among the Kallahan and with adjoining territories and the difficult terrain over most of the area

where Kallahan live today are such that only intermittent contact occurs between people at the extreme southern and northern ends of the Kallahan area as outlined below. Thus, appreciation of the nature of the continuity in Kallahan speech from north to south is not shared universally by Kallahan-speakers. However, there is an established network of trails, mainly along the ridges south of Mount Pulog and along the western watershed of the Matunu River, which connect widely-separated settled regions along the Kadaklan River and points to the south. People who travel about this less densely populated central portion are highly aware of an uninterrupted series of speech patterns linking the margins of this language area.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to lexical differences among Kallahan dialects, the most predictable and easily recognizable distinctions across the Kallahan speech area are phonological, involving the one short vowel in these dialects. The geographical distribution of variants of this vowel is roughly as follows:

[ə] ~ [a], a mid-central vowel alternating with a low-central vowel: Danggu, Kayapa, Imugan.

[ɛ], a mid-front unrounded vowel: Tinek, Binablayan,  
Attipulu<sup>2</sup>

[ɔ], a mid-back rounded vowel: Amduntug.

A search for the geographical limits of the Kallahan language yields the following (see Map 2): starting in the northwest, the boundary between Kallahan speakers and the predominantly Kankana'ey-

speaking population of the upper reaches of the Agno River runs through *Giweng* and *Amlimay*, in Buguias municipality, Benguet. Recent geographical research by Lewis (1987a) in this region indicates that a form of Kallahan known locally as *Mandek'ey* was spoken widely in the town of *Buggiyah* (Buguias Central), north of *Giweng*, prior to the second World War. The speech of *Amlimay*, a region from which many northern Ibaluy-speakers claim descent, is called *Kihhang* by the Buguias people. A number of small settlements on the western and northern slopes of Mount Pulog, including *Batu*, *Ballay*, *Balinit*, *Mankiyew*, and *Tawangan* are also reported to have Kallahan speech.

South of Mount Pulog, the settlements of *Ikip*, *Palanha* and *Palpalan*, located on the upper reaches of the Agno tributary that flows past *Bukut* are the Kallahan-speaking communities that border on this section of the Agno River. This area, the western boundary with Ibaluy and Karaw speech, is shared by Kallahan-speakers with speakers of I''uwak dialects, who are confined to a number of small, well-dispersed hamlets between *Bukut* and the foothill region where the provincial boundaries of Benguet, Nueva Vizcaya and Pangasinan come together at the southern end of the Cordillera Central.

Small scattered communities of Kallahan-speakers are found as far west as the municipality of Atok, Benguet. Kallahan was spoken until recently in the Patappat area near the Atok-Bokod border and in a few isolated settlements at the headwaters of the Amburayan in the vicinity of (but not including) *Nagey* and *Allay*. The Kankana'ey-speaking Kibungan area was said to have had a few Kallahan-speaking settlements into the 1950's, and communities of Kallahan-speakers

live in Bekkel, in La Trinidad municipality and in the vicinity of Kampur (Camp Four) on the Kennon Road, south of Baguio City.

The distribution of Kallahan-speakers in Ifugao province is displayed in the *The Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao* (Conklin 1980: 47 (Plate 5)). The northernmost communities in which Kallahan is spoken are located on the Ahin River (the westernmost branches of the middle Ibulao), and the headwaters of the Matunu River (the Kadaklan branch) and of the Lamut River. This northwestern border of Kallahan with Ifugao speech lies on a line that runs north of Munhuyuhuy, east of the Agno River; and includes Ahin, Wangwang, Tukkukan, Binublayan; and, over the watershed to the south, Tinek, Kallaban, and Gumhang, on the Kadaklan branch of the Matunu River. In this territory, the local speech is known as "Kalanguyya" or "Kalanguttan" and is referred to by these names by neighboring Kankana'ey- and Ifugao-speakers. Administratively, these communities fall within the Municipalities of Hungduan, Tinok, and Kiangan.

Some 2,500 people at the headwaters of the Lamut River and on the middle Ibulao, in southcentral Ifugao, speak closely-related dialects of Kallahan and live in the northeasternmost locations of Kallahan-speech. Three types of non-Ifugao speech are most frequently distinguished by surrounding peoples<sup>3</sup> (see Map 3) in this region: one is the speech of Amduntug, on the northern branch of the upper Lamut, commonly referred to as *Hanglulu* and as *Yattuka*; and its speakers as *Kamanyattuka* 'those who say *yattuka*'. The second is the speech of Attipulu, over the ridge to the south from Amduntug, known locally as *Keley'i* and its speakers as *Kamankeley* 'those who say *keley*'. This pair of dialects have been referred as *Atipolo*, *Antipolo* Ifugao,

*Keleyiq Ifugao*, *Keley-i Kallahan*, *Keleyqiq*, or *Keley'i* in the publications of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Roe 1967:53, Hohulin and Hohulin 1971, L. Hohulin 1971, and R. Hohulin 1971) and in Bible translations (New York International Bible Society 1980).

The third Kallahan dialect in this northeastern cluster is spoken by a small number of people in Lagawe, on the Ibulao River to the north, and is called *Hanglulu*, *Mungngellu*, or *Mungngillu*. This speech pocket, located in an area dominated by the Kiangan dialect of Ifugao, was described in 1910 as the "secret language" of Lagawe (Barton 1946:184). Malumbres (1911) published lists of pronouns and a few text sentences in this dialect. Other references to it are "*Injanglulo*" (Meimban 1911:123), "*Hanglulu*" (Anderson 1960:2, Dyen 1965:32), and "*Mungngello*" (Conklin 1980:3).

The boundary between this northeastern cluster of Kallahan dialects and other Kallahan dialects spoken immediately to the south, around *Kawayan* and *Kamandag*, is a clear one, since the latter are more closely related to the "*Kalanguyya*" of the Ahin River in culture and language. This boundary is reinforced by one between wet rice agriculture and swidden agriculture. Kallahan-speakers of the upper Lamut and of Lagawe consider themselves to be "*Ifugao*" culturally, and while being able to speak Kiangan and Ayangan dialects of Ifugao, have been heard to claim they did not understand the "*Kalanguyya*" speech to the south and east. However, the individual ability to speak or at least understand Tinek Kallahan, northeastern Kallahan, and eastern and central Ifugao dialects of the *Kiyyangan* (Kiangan), Lagawi and Ayyangan (Ayangan) areas is common in this northern border area of Kallahan speech.

Communication between people of the Tinek-Ahin area with other Kallahan is mainly to the south, in Nueva Vizcaya province, with settlements along the Matunu River in the region known there as "Danggu;" and with localities on the southwestern branches of the Matunu (*Uliweg, Ambagiw (Ambaguio), Nansiyakan, Binaliyan, Bennaw, Kabanglahan* are the largest settlements), a few hours walk north of the mixed Ibaluy-Kallahan-Ilokano population of the Pingkiyan-Halinah area. The Ibaluy-speaking areas of Kabayan and areas north of there are familiar to the Tinek people, but most of the trade out of Tinek, Tukukan, and Ahin to the west is now conducted with Kankana'ey-speakers in Buggiyah and Lu'u.

The eastern watershed of the Matunu River, which runs in a north-south range south of the Lamut River, separates the mountain peoples of northern Nueva Vizcaya and Ifugao from the Ilokano-, Isinai-, and Gaddang-speaking towns in the lower Magat valleys around *Hulanu (Solano), Bambang and Bayumbung*. Except in the Ambagiw area, this stretch of wet, heavily forested upland is very sparsely populated. As one moves further south, a high expanse of forest separates the Kallahan-speaking settlements in *Malikku (Maleco, Marcos City)* and *Halakhak (Salacsac)* from the Pangasinan lowlands. The cluster of households called *Bawang*, some five hours walk west of Imuggen, is probably the last hamlet of Kallahan-speaking people before one descends the foothills into the Natividad and San Nicolas plains, which are inhabited almost exclusively today by Ilokano-speakers.

The limits of the southern and eastern expansion of Kallahan-speakers have been changing continuously since the end of World War II. The Imuggen area, located where the Santa Cruz (or Imugan) River

rises just east of the Caraballo Pass, has its seventh generation of Kallahan-speakers; and it is probably as far south as speakers of Kallahan dialects had migrated by the turn of the century (Meimban 1911). In the late 1940's, people started moving out of this region to south of the highway town of Hantapi north to the Bambang area and to dry-rice-farming areas near Mount Santa Clara, where a sawmill employs a large number of Cordillera people, and into Kapintalan, Minuli, and Salasar, in northern Nueva Ecija.

Kallahan-speakers from Kianan municipality have settled in Kasibu and Bilansi, and in the gold-rich areas east of Bambang, in Nueva Vizcaya province, which has attracted large numbers of people from the southern and central Cordillera to this traditional Ilongot region in the last decade. Here, a number of Kallahan-speaking "Ifugao" have become active in the retail business, in the trade in rattan and in local politics.

Following the construction of hydroelectric dams at Ambuklaw and Binga on the Agno River in the early 1950's, the resettlement in eastern Nueva Vizcaya of whole communities of Agno valley Ibaluy provided an impetus for the migration of Kallahan-speakers to the Pingkiyan-Halinah district west of Bambang, as well as to southern tributaries of the Cagayan River, where they live in everyday interaction with Ilongot and migrants from Benguet, Ifugao, and Mountain Province. In addition, some four hundred Kallahan-speakers have settled into Quezon and Kasibu municipalities in Quezon Province (Delbert Rice 1982).

Political affiliations of Kallahan-speaking populations.

Kallahan-speakers form very small minorities in the different

provinces in which they are found and present political boundaries bear little relation to their distribution. A rough estimate of the number of Kallahan-speakers must include summing up the population counts for a list of Kallahan-speaking localities in border regions in Benguet, Ifugao, Nueva Ecija, Nueva Vizcaya, Pangasinan, and Quezon provinces. The population estimate given above would include about 4000 people who have migrated to northern Nueva Ecija and eastern Nueva Vizcaya since the 1950's and about 2500 speakers of Attipulu and Amduntug dialects who live in Kamandag, Attipulu, Amduntug, and Nunggawa in Kiangan Municipality, Ifugao. The remainder would cover estimates of the Kallahan-speaking populations of the Municipalities of Hungduan <sup>and Tinok</sup> in Ifugao, and of Kayapa, Santa Fe, and Ambaguio in Nueva Vizcaya made from the national census (Republic of the Philippines 1974) and confirmed in interviews with local officials.<sup>4</sup>

Kallahan in censuses. There is no separate classification for Kallahan in the linguistic censuses and in almost all provinces where Kallahan-speakers are found, they have been subsumed in the national censuses under at least one of the dominant ethnolinguistic groupings in those provinces. For example, in Ifugao province, both 1960 and 1970 censuses (Republic of the Philippines 1974) showed all indigenous peoples in Ifugao as speaking "Ifugao," with no reference to the several thousand speakers of Kallahan dialects in Hungduwan (Hungduan) and Kiyyangan. Similarly, the Benguet provincial census shows the Municipalities of Kabayan and Bokod, where most of the Kallahan-speakers in Benguet live, as being almost exclusively populated by "Inibaloi" (Ibaluy) and "Kangkanai," with an "All Others"

category presumably covering some of the Kallahan-speakers. In Nueva Vizcaya, where the majority of Kallahan live, they are classified either as "Inibaloi" or "Ilokano" or placed in the "All Others" category.

#### The Linguistic Background

Recent linguistic research on the classification of northern Luzon languages (Reid 1974, 1979; Tharp 1974; Walton 1979; McFarland 1980) presents evidence for a subgroup called Cordilleran which Reid (1979:259) divides into the following (see Map 1):

1. Northern Cordilleran, which includes at least Ilokano, Ibanag, Gaddang, Yogad, Isneg, Malaweg, Itawis, and the languages of north<sup>err</sup> Luzon Negritoess called Atta, Agta, and Dumagat;
2. Central Cordilleran: Kankana'ey, Bontok, Ifugao, Kalinga, Itneg, Balangaw, and Isinay;
3. Southern Cordilleran: Ilongot, Pangasinan, Karaw, Ibaluy, and the dialects he subsumes under the name Kallahan: namely, "Antipolo," "Amduntug," "Kayapa" and "Iuwak."<sup>5</sup>

The external relations of the Southern Cordilleran languages are with Gaddang and Ilokano, both Northern Cordilleran languages and with Ifugao, Kankana'ey, Bontok, and Isinay, all members of the Central Cordilleran subgroup. Ilongot and Pangasinan are the only Southern Cordilleran languages located outside the Cordillera and of all the members of this subgroup, Pangasinan has the most contact with Ilokano, Tagalog, and English.

The following subgrouping of Southern Cordilleran languages, based on shared innovations in pronominal systems, is suggested by Reid (1979:262):

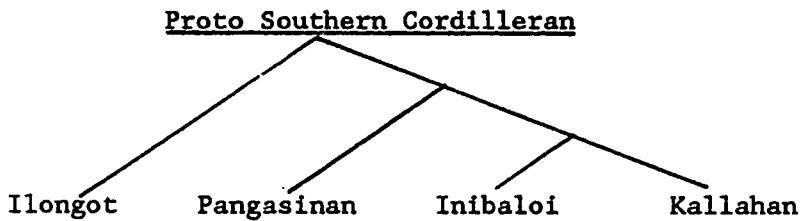


Fig. 2.1 Reid's Subgrouping of Southern Cordilleran

Reid's subgrouping presents for the first time a group of languages in which Kallahan is coordinate with Ibaluy, Ilongot, and with Pangasinan, the last being the only other language previously known in the linguistic literature to be closely related to Ibaluy. McFarland (1980:59) describes Cordilleran as one of the three divisions within the northern Philippine languages, the other two being Ilongot and Sambalic. Thus he considers Ilongot divergent enough to be coordinate with Cordilleran, rather than being in the Southern subgroup.

In early attempts at subgrouping what are now classified as Southern Cordilleran languages, Kallahan dialects (then called "Hanglulu and "Kalanguya") have been grouped with the languages of Ifugao (Anderson 1960; Dyen 1965:22). Reid (1979:262) however subsumes I''uwak with "Kallahan," whereas I would place I''uwak, Karaw, and Ibaluy in one group on phonological grounds.

In this work, "Kallahan language" will encompass the northeastern dialects of Kallahan called Keley'i or Antipolo Ifugao (formerly "Hanglulu"); the western dialects spoken on the Ahin,

Matunu and Agno Rivers which the early literature referred to as "Kalanguya;" and southern dialects on the Ambayawan and Santa Cruz Rivers which are called "Kallahan" and "Ikalahan."

Ruhlen's (1987:339) tree of Southern Cordilleran summarizes the most recent classifications as follows:

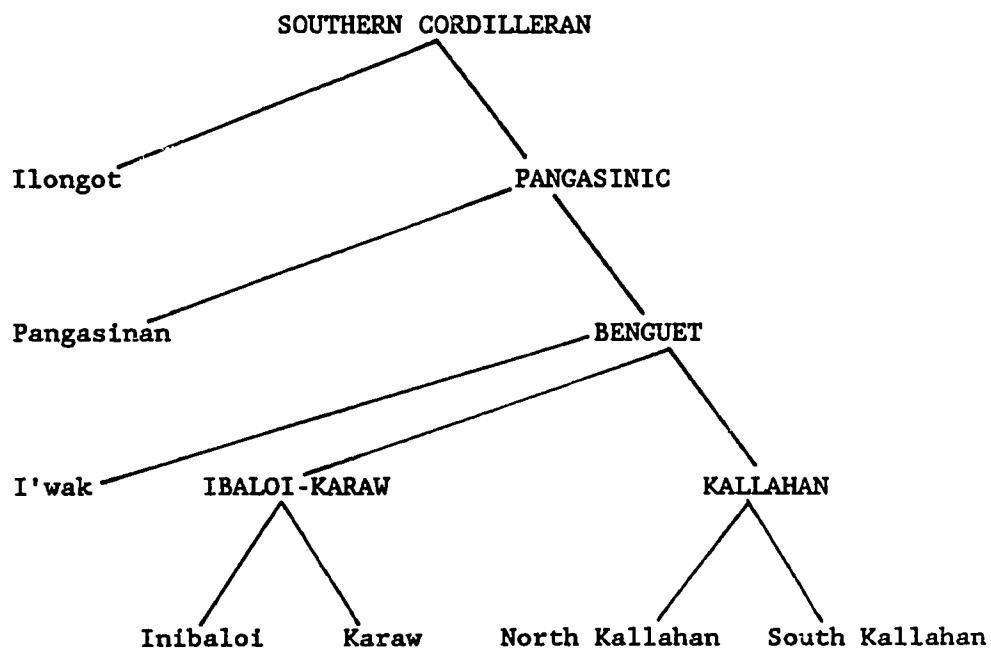


Fig. 2.2 Ruhlen's Classification of Southern Cordilleran

In Fig. 2.3 below, I give the percentages of shared cognates of seven Southern Cordilleran dialects, based on the Swadesh 200-word list:

Kabayan (Ibaluy)

.69	Karaw (Karaw)			
.65	.63 Ben'et (I''uwak)			
.73	.68	.72	Kayapa (Kallahan)	
.71	.66	.65	.78	Tinek (Kallahan)
.56	.51	.54	.61	.67 Attipulu (Kallahan)
.52	.51	.51	.51	.50 .45 Lingayen (Pangasinan)

Fig. 2.3 Percentages of Shared Cognates for Seven Southern Cordilleran Dialects

My data give evidence of a chain of closely related dialects including Kabayan Ibaluy (Ib), Karaw (Kr), Ben'et I''uwak (Iu), Tinek Kallahan (Tk1), Kayapa Kallahan (Kk1) and Attipulu Kallahan (Ak1). These percentages closely approach Walton's (1979) figures and tend to confirm his classification. Grimes (1984) has even higher percentages of shared vocabulary: she gives for Tinek and a Kallahan locality (Akab) on the Matunu River, 95% and for Ibaluy to Tinek, 89%

Pangasinan shows a sharp cut-off and obviously has been developing independently of the highland languages of the Southern Cordilleran subgroup for a long time. Kayapa and Tinek dialects appear to be transitional between the dialects of the Lamut River and the dialects of Kabayan, Karaw and Ben'et. In addition, Kayapa Kallahan appears to be an intermediate link between I''uwak and the more westerly dialects of Kabayan and Karaw.

The figures confirm the historical closeness of Kayapa and Tinek dialects and the separateness of the northeastern cluster from these two. They also appear to suggest a closer relationship between Kayapa and Tinek dialects with Kabayan than between that pair of dialects and Attipulu Kallahan. Karaw appears to be equidistant from Kabayan and Kayapa; and I''uwak is closest to Kayapa and equidistant from Kabayan, Tinek and Karaw.

Interviews within the Kallahan- and Ibaluy-speaking areas regarding mutual intelligibility among the speech varieties listed above are generally supported by Fig. 2.3. The speech of Kayapa, Kabayan, Tinek, Karaw, and Ben'et are mutually intelligible with each other in varying degrees but of these, only the Tinek dialect is mutually intelligible with the dialects of the Lamut River. For example, readings of the New Testament translation into "Antipolo Ifugao" (New York International Bible Society 1980) in Kayapa were only slightly understood by older people and not at all by younger adults.

The Karaw dialect is spoken by some 800 people who live in Karaw (Karao), on a small tributary of the Agno River, northeast of the Ibaluy town of Bokod. The dialect is considered an aberrancy in the Agno valley, both by its speakers and its neighbors. Karaw informants claim that their traditional speech and culture differed from Ibaluy to a much greater degree in the past, and there are numerous instances of cultural and linguistic innovations that support this.<sup>6</sup> For phonological and grammatical reasons, Karaw must be considered a dialect of Ibaluy, but a more critical examination of Karaw speech will probably suggest more than one period of intense contact with

Agno River Ibaluy. A discussion of the origins of the Karaw people appears in the next chapter.

**Bilingualism and Mutual Intelligibility in the Kallahan area.**

The high rate of bilingualism, the frequent interaction across ethnic and linguistic lines, and the historical relationships between localities in this region require us to view these comparisons of vocabulary and these claims of mutual intelligibility with caution, especially if they are to be used to determine linguistic affiliation. More will be said about the nature of external relations between Kallahan and neighboring speech communities and the history of these relations in the next two chapters. A few observations about the contexts of bilingualism in the Kallahan speech area will be summarized here.

A long history of trading by upland peoples in the Ilokano lowlands and the use of Ilokano by government officials, teachers, missionaries, and traders have resulted in bilingualism in Ilokano being almost universal on the Cordillera. For the most part, this involves the understanding of Ilokano, but not necessarily fluency in it. It is the language any one in the southern Cordillera is most likely to use to initiate interaction with a stranger. A large number of loanwords in southern Cordilleran languages come from Ilokano and most of the Spanish and the early Tagalog and English loans in these languages have come in through that language as well. Most of the Ilokano loanwords have been phonologically assimilated into the local languages and are not easily recognizable as loan words.

The rise of a wealthy elite in western Benguet and the Agno valley in the nineteenth century supported the rise of an Ibaluy

identity and guaranteed them a position of prominence vis-a-vis their immediate neighbors in the southern Cordillera. Based on gold mining and the cattle trade, this wealth made possible large and frequent redistributive feasts, the construction of pond fields in the wider valleys, the maintenance of large households including families of cattle herders and slaves, and the promotion of political alliances with regions beyond their own through strategic marriages. The conversion of these families to Catholicism and their subsequent participation in the civil government of Benguet in the early American period supported their roles as brokers between the newly-arrived outsiders and the Ilokano traders who followed them on the one hand, and the more economically marginal groups among the Kankana'ey, I''uwak and Kallahan.

There exists today a high degree of competence in Ibaluy among its neighbours, especially among Kallahan-speakers in Kayapa and Tinek, among speakers of I''uwak on the Ambayawan River as well as among Kankana'ey-speakers south of the Mount Data area. For many people on the Ambayawan, Matunu, and Imugan Rivers who now speak Kallahan and I''uwak dialects but whose ancestors had once lived in the upper Agno basin, the Ibaluy speech of Kabayan continues to be a prestige dialect. The high percentage figures for Kabayan-Kayapa and Kabayan-Tinek compared to that for Kabayan-Attipulu can be accounted for by the long and frequent interaction between upper Agno River Ibaluy and Kallahan-speakers of the Ambayawan and the upper Ahin and Tawwang River. On the other hand, convergence between Attipulu-Amduntug and Kiangan and Ayangan dialects of Ifugao has continued for a considerable length of time and Kallahan-speakers of the upper

Lamut River consider themselves culturally and politically part of Ifugao.

The social value attached to Ilokano and Ibaluy and the widespread competence in these languages suggest that mutual intelligibility is possible not only because of the structural similarities shared by these languages by virtue of their common origin but also because of conscious language learning. The percentages of shared vocabulary among Karaw, I'u'wak, Tinek Kallahan, Kayapa Kallahan and Ibaluy given in Fig. 2.3 are most certainly inflated as a result of loans from Ilokano into all these languages and from Ibaluy into the first four. Interlanguage borrowing within this group of languages also accounts for some shared vocabulary.

Similar situations of bilingualism or at least of language borrowing involve Kankana'ey, Bontok, and Ifugao, all Central Cordilleran languages, in relation to some of the Southern Cordilleran languages. Kankana'ey and to a small extent, Bontok, are part of the linguistic resources of many northern Ibaluy- and northern Kallahan-speakers, especially around Attuk, Buggiyah, Lu'u, Kabayan, Tukukan, Ahin and Tinek, where these languages are used in trading, along with Ilokano. Ifugao is often the preferred medium of communication between people on the upper Ahin River and the upper Lamut, despite these two clusters of Kallahan dialects being more closely related to each other historically than either is to Ifugao. A sociolinguistic explanation for this is readily found, for Ifugao is the language of the administrative and commercial centres where northeastern and western Kallahan-speakers are most likely to meet each other today.

Gaddang, Isinay, Ilongot, and Pangasinan are neighbouring lowland languages which appear to have relatively little influence on highland members of the Southern Cordilleran subgroup. Communication between the latter and speakers of these languages ordinarily takes place in Ilokano. Although Karaw people and many Kallahan claim distant and old relations with Isinay, there is very little interaction with Isinay today, except in areas near the Magat River to which there has been some migration from the southern Cordillera since the 1950's. However, there is probably some influence from Gaddang on Kallahan speech in Ifugao, as adjacent Ifugao dialects have borrowed from Gaddang.

#### Phonological and Morphophonemic Comparisons between Ibaluy and Kallahan.

Phonological as well as morphophonemic comparisons group the Kallahan dialects of the Lamut River with the dialects of Tinek, Kayapa, and immediately surrounding regions, as against Ibaluy, Karaw, and I''uwak. Ibaluy, Karaw and I''uwak (Group I) have phonemic inventories that include four phonemes that do not occur in Kallahan: *ch*, a voiceless palatal affricate; *j*, a voiced palatal affricate; *kh* a fronted, aspirated voiceless velar and *gw*, a labialized semivowel.<sup>7</sup>

These four phonemes occur in word-initial and syllable-initial but never in syllable-final or word-final positions. In complex morphophonemic changes that occur with verb affixation, *ch*, *j*, *kh*, *gw*, and a fifth phoneme *d*, alternate with *d*, *y*, *g*, *w* and *i*, respectively.

A few examples from Ibaluy follow:

-*bayu-* 'to pound, as with a pestle': *mambeju*; *beju'an* (but, '*ibayu*)

-'*uli-* 'to return': *man'udi*; *'udi'en* (but, '*i'uli*)

*-baga-* 'to ask': *mambekha*; *bekha'en* (but, '*ibaga*)

*-kudap-* 'to crawl': *mangkuchap*

*-tawid-* 'to inherit': *menegwid*; *tegwiren*

In cognate or borrowed forms in Kallahan, these languages show *d*, *y*, *g*, *l* and *w* in the word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions where Group I languages have *ch*, *j*, *kh*, *d* and *gw*, respectively. Thus,

Ibaluy *chakidan*: Kallahan *dakillan* 'hearth'

Ibaluy *takday*: Kallahan *taklay* 'arm'

Ibaluy *'akhew*: Kallahan *'aggew* 'sun, day'

Ibaluy *jasjas*: southern Kallahan *yahyah* 'breath'

Ibaluy *gwili*: southern Kallahan *'awilli* 'left (side)'

Kallahan developed gemination rules affecting consonants in certain positions in verb roots undergoing inflection. These morphophonemic alternations are described in detail for northeastern Kallahan by Hohulin and Kenstowicz (1979), whose analysis, with a few modifications, applies to western and southern Kallahan as well. The following examples illustrate one kind of morphophonemic change and the differences between Groups I and II with respect to this change:

In Kallahan, affixes denoting completed and non-completed action cause the second consonants in roots of the canonical shape CVCV(C) to be lengthened. The exceptions to this are the affixes '*i*'- and '*i*-...-*an*', (indicating accessory and beneficiary focus, respectively), which cause the gemination of the initial root consonant. Affixes for completed action and the imperative do not cause gemination. Thus, in Kayapa Kallahan:

'uli 'to return'  
*man'ulli* (actor focus, non-completed action)  
'ulli'en (object focus, non-completed action)  
'ulli'an (referent focus, non-completed action)  
but, ['i''uli] (accessory focus, non-completed action)<sup>8</sup>  
['i''uli'an] (beneficiary focus, non-completed action)  
*nan'uli* (actor focus, completed action)  
'i'ulim (accessory focus, imperative);

It appears that the gemination rules affecting the medial consonants of CVCV(C) roots in Kallahan parallel the morphophonemic alternations in Ibaluy, I''uwak and Karaw involving *ch*, *j*, *kh*, *d* and *gw* in the same position within the word. Thus, for the Kallahan examples above, the Ibaluy equivalents would be:

*man'udi* (actor focus, non-completed action)  
'udi'en (object focus, non-completed action)  
'udi'an (referent focus, non-completed action)  
but, 'i'uli (accessory focus, non-completed action)  
'i'uli'an (beneficiary focus, non-completed action)  
*nan'uli* (actor focus, completed action)  
'i'ulim (accessory focus, imperative)

It is likely that a more general morphophonemic rule affecting the medial consonant of CVCV(C) roots evolved in the highland languages of Southern Cordilleran before the split between Group I and Group II and that gemination is only one variant of that rule.

The following tentative classification of members of Southern Cordilleran summarizes some of this linguistic evidence and takes

into account what is known of the history of language contact and of migrations in the southern Cordillera that will be presented in Chapter Three. It shows the most recent dialect split within the subgrouping as that between Tinek and Kayapa, and that the split between Attipulu and Tinek-Kayapa is more recent than the one between I''uwak and Kabayan-Karaw. The history of migrations of Kallahan-speakers calls for Northeastern, Western and Southern divisions within Kallahan (rather than "North" and "South" as given by Ruhlen above), with Attipulu, Amduntug, and Lagawe dialects comprising the northeastern cluster; the Ahin, upper Agno, and upper Matunu River dialects comprising the western cluster; and the Ambayawan and Santa Cruz River dialects as the southern cluster.

In the figure below, the following abbreviations are used:

I Ilongot, Pg Pangasinan;

Ib Ibaluy, Kr Karaw, Iu I''uwak;

KK1 Kayapa Kallahan, TK1 Tinek Kallahan;

AK1 Attipulu Kallahan, MK1 Amduntug Kallahan, and

LK1 Lagawi Kallahan

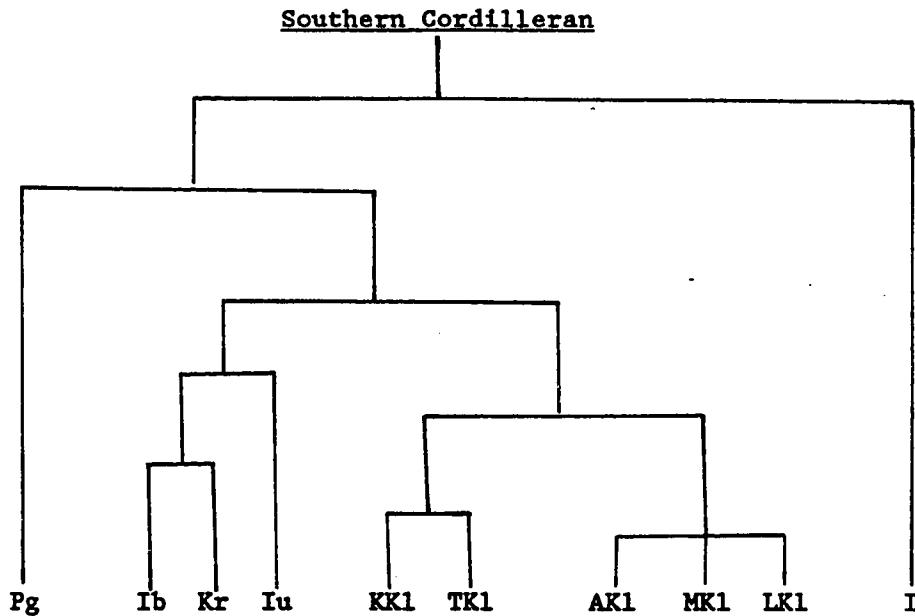


Fig. 2.4 A Classification of Southern Cordilleran Based on the History of Migrations

"Kallahan," "Kalanguyya" and other Labels

In this last section, I deal with the task of defining the maximal social group that speaks the Kallahan language, and show some of the reasons why this is a problem in southern Cordilleran ethnology. The first relates to the fact that interviews in areas immediately adjoining the Kallahan speech area make it clear that no single name is applied to the aggregate of people or to the language I am calling "*Kallahan*" in this work. Of the names for the Kallahan, those with greatest geographic application are "*Kalanguyya*," "*Kalanguutan*" and "*Kallahan*." The etymologies and origins of these and other similar labels are described below, in an effort to discover the relevant distinctions that apply in their use.

Kankana'ey-speakers around Lu'u and Buggiyah and Ifugao-speakers in the environs of Hapaw (Hapao) and Hungduwan call the

people and language of the Tinek-Tukukan-Ahin region (roughly, the watersheds of the Tawang, Ahin and Kadaklan Rivers) "kelanguyya" and "kelanguttan" alternatively. Since contact between Kallahan people of this northern border with people along the Matunu River is quite frequent, these two labels have become familiar to the latter as well, primarily as ways of identifying themselves to outsiders.

"Kelanguyya" is an expression in the Kallahan language and may be glossed as 'What's the matter with this?' or 'What's happening to this?' It breaks down into the morphemes *kelay* 'why?' *ngu* 'also' and '*iya* 'this (object near speaker).'

A variant is *kelanguttan*, where the last morpheme is '*itan*' 'that (object near addressee)' and translates as 'What's happening to that?'

"*Kelanguyya*" and "*kelanguttan*," although not necessarily used in swearing, are often characterized as such by outsiders imitating Kallahan speech (see New Tribes Mission 1968:33). Kallahan-speakers themselves use them as expressions of surprise, anger, disgust, or rejection. Informants in the Kayapa area reject the label on the grounds that it is a way outsiders make fun of their speech.

The use of lexical items to label neighboring local groups is a common practice in the southern Cordillera.<sup>9</sup> According to the Kayapa people, the Tinek people are "*kamantakun*," 'those who say "*takun*"' (Tinek 'even if'); the Attipulu people are "*kamankeley*," 'those who say "*keley*"' (Attipulu 'why?'); and people south of Kayapa are described as "*kaman'edek*," 'those who say "'*edek*'' (a particle of emphasis in the Imugan dialect). Kankana'ey-speakers are "*kamangalkali*," 'those who say "*kali*"' (southern Kankana'ey

'speech'); Ifugao are "*kamantuwali*," 'those who say "tuwali"' (central Ifugao 'certain, real'); and I'u'uwak are called "*kaman'anagu*" 'those who say "'anagu"' (an expression of surprise or objection). In Tinek, people to the southeast, on the Matunu River, are referred to as "*kamanlaw*," from law 'already, now' (in the Ambagiw dialect). The widely used ethnic name *Kankana'ey* quite probably had its origin in a lexical expression (probably "*kana*," 'to say') as well.

People in Tinek differentiate their neighbors to the east by the word for 'why?' in their dialects: the Attipulu people are *kamankeley*, the Amduntug people *kamanyattuka*, and the Ayyangan people *kaman'anagu*. The Buggiyah people, who refer to the Kallahan dialect of their region as "*Mandek'ey*," derive the name from *menkey*, a common expression of rebuke which is cognate to Kayapa *kelay* 'why?'

There is a second linguistic source of social group labels, and this has to do with people's descriptions or interpretations of phonological distinctions in other people's speech. The focus of these labels is the only short vowel in these dialects, whose reflexes are ə, ɛ, ə, and ɔ. The Tinek people call the Danggu people "*kamankib'al*" 'those who *kib'al*', where *kib'al* describes the use of the relatively more central vowel, [ə] and its alternation with the low-mid vowel [ɛ]. The Danggu people in turn make reference to the Tinek use of a corresponding fronted vowel, [ɛ], when they refer to the latter as *kamanni'ni*.

On the upper Lamut, metalinguistic comment also centers on the phonological basis for the division between the two main dialects: the mid-front unrounded vowel [ɛ] in Attipulu and the mid-back

rounded vowel [ɔ] in Amduntug. Interdialectal puns arising from these minimal phonological differences are the source of much amusement throughout the Kallahan language area. A well-known one involves the phrase *timmebel* 'i *belbel* [timməbəl 'i bəlbəl], which in Tinek means 'the pine tree has caught fire', when pronounced with the low-mid vowel [a], as they would in more southerly districts, results in the meaning 'the pine tree is getting married'.

In general, labels deriving from vocabulary or from descriptions of phonological reflexes have no currency beyond the localities within which they arise. In conversations, their occurrence is often for humorous effect and appears to imply the recognition of a sameness of culture that is broken only by slight differences in language. In the southern Cordillera, the main exceptions to this are *Kelanguyya* (in the written form "Kalanguya"), for which there is growing acceptance as an alternative ethnic label to *Kallahan*, and *Tuwali*, used among Kallahan people to refer to the speech and people of central Ifugao and as a synonym for "*Ikkiyangan*".

Kihhang and kisang. An additional designation among Agno valley Ibaluy for Kallahan-speakers derives from a phonological contrast. Ibaluy describe Kallahan speech as "loose (not tight)" ('ekisang), compared to Ibaluy speech; and Kallahan-speakers are referred to as '*emangkisang*, 'those who have "loose" speech,' or, as a Kallahan would say it, *kamankihhang*. Although it is doubtful that this epithet will ever gain the status of an ethnic label, it is widely known in the Ambayawan River area, where people will refer to their language as *kihang* 'loose (speech).'

Kallahan-speakers will counter by calling the Ibaluy "*kaman'ippet*", 'those who have "tight" speech,' from '*ipet* 'tight.' The linguistic distinction is obviously not a recent one, for Barrows (1902-1919) noted at the beginning of the century that the people of Kabayan referred to their neighbours on the slopes of Mount Fulog as "*mangkesan*." Today the Kankana'ey-speakers of Buggiyah refer to Amlimay speech as *Kihhang*, and here the term seems to have assumed some sense of an ethnic label because the linguistic distinction between "loose" and "tight" is not relevant to Kankana'ey.

The contrast involved here is one between Kallahan "tense" versus Ibaluy "lax" vowels (Jakobson, Fant and Halle 1952: 36). 'Looseness' (*kisang*) in this case refers to the length of the sounding period of vowels, which is slightly greater in Kallahan for the same sequence in Ibaluy.<sup>10</sup>

Kallahan and Ikadasan. It is the Ibaluy of the Agno valley who are the source of the label '*ikadasan*'. This breaks down into the morphemes '*i-*', '*ka-*', '*alas*', and '*-an*'. In Ibaluy as well as in Kallahan, '*i-*' is a prefix indicating local origin and may be translated as 'people of'. The affix sequence *ka-...-an* represents the generalized abstraction of location. *Alas* refers to the non-pine arboreal growth characteristic of the high montane forests of this part of the Cordillera. Thus, *kadasan* in Ibaluy may be glossed as 'forest' and '*ikadasan* as 'people of the forest.'

"*Ikallahan*" is the way the people known by the Ibaluy as '*ikadasan*' pronounce that name. The name is not generally known in Tinek and other northern areas where Kallahan is spoken. Informants here, when presented with the label, considered it ridiculous and

insulting to be described as "originating from trees." Again, part of the stigma of the term derives from the lower social status that swidden cultivators and people on predominantly root-crop diets have traditionally held vis-a-vis their wet-rice cultivating neighbours. Thus, even some Kallahan-speakers in the Kayapa valley, where irrigated rice has been cultivated for only four generations, will dissociate themselves from their kinsmen in the Santa Cruz and Matunu watersheds who are almost exclusively dependent on swidden-grown root crops, referring to them as "pure *Ikallahan*" and '*inaduntug* 'hill people' and often claiming exaggerated differences between the speech of the latter and their own.

Some semantic confusion must be clarified here. In the Kallahan language, *kallahan* refers generally to the tree growth of the Cordillera mossy forest which the Ibaluy call '*alas*'. The term in Kallahan language therefore refers to a kind of tree (so that the contrast, at this level, is with "*belbel*," '*Pinus*'). This is one reason why the Tinek informants found the label '*ikallahan*' not only strange but grammatically quite wrong. Since the affix '*i-*' always precedes a place name, a generalized location (e.g. '*ikaptangan* 'from the lowlands; i.e., the warm places), or a term of orientation (e.g. '*illagud* 'from downstream'), for them "'*ikallahan*' could only be translated as 'from a tree.' While in Ibaluy the word for 'forest' is *kadasan*, in the Kallahan language the equivalent word is *bel'ew*. The sequence '*ibel'ew*' is grammatically possible in Kallahan, but it is not used anywhere as a group label, except perhaps in jest. One could ask why the Kayapa people and other Kallahan-speakers in the southern areas do not think "'*ikallahan*' ungrammatical. The

reason can only be that the term has been used as a name for a grouping of people long enough in the south that its etymology is no longer of much interest.

The ecological contrast inherent in the term "ikallahan" does not escape humorous treatment in the Kayapa area either. People here will often refer to the Ibaluy to the west as '*ippaway*' 'people of the grassy places'. This term is used with as much frequency as '*ippahlung*' 'people from upriver,' (from *helung* 'upriver') the other common designation for the upper Agno Ibaluy among Kayapa residents.

The Ilokano rendering of the Ibaluy *kadasan* is "*kalasan*." "*Kalasan Igorot*" (also "*Calasan*") is a term familiar among Nueva Vizcaya Ilokanos, who use it to refer to the upland people in the west of that province. (See Pittman 1952).

The approximate north-south division between "*Kalanguya*" on the one hand and "*Kallahan*" (or *Ikalahan*) on the other is reflected rather strikingly in the way in which American missionary groups have carved out their territories in this area. Publications of the New Tribes Mission, a religious society that has had mission stations east of the Bambang area (among others, in Uliweg, Namsiyakan, Ben-naw) since 1964, describe their work as being among "*the Kalanguya tribe*."

In contrast, the United Church of Christ, whose missionary activity is principally confined to the extreme southern edge of the Kallahan area, around Imuggen, Hantapi, Malikku (Maleco) and northern Nueva Ecija, call themselves the "*Kalahian Mission*" (Rice 1969:264) and call the people they work with "*Ikalahan*." (See also Morales 1975:24; [Anonymous] 1974). Their decision to use "*Kalahian*" also goes

back to the mid-1960's and resulted from a survey made in northern and southern Kallahan speaking areas to determine the acceptability of "Kalahan" and "Kalanguya" (Rice 1982).

The first use of the spelling "Kallahan" first appears in Afable 1971 and represents Kayapa usage. It recognizes the phonemic status of geminate consonants in that language.

#### **The "Kallahan People": A Kallahan "Ethnic Identity"**

In the strict anthropological sense, there is no "Kallahan tribe" or "Kallahan ethnic group." The choice to specify a "Kallahan people" must inevitably be an arbitrary one, for nowhere in the southern Cordillera is there a clear notion of a unity among the people who speak the "Kallahan language." The association, in the minds of informants, between common descent from "Tinek" and a common language on the one hand and a unique cultural identity on the other is an extremely tenuous one. While political organization was instrumental in creating ethnic boundaries elsewhere in the Cordillera (see Scott 1966:157), such was not the case here. There has never been nor is there today a single overarching authority structure, either imposed from the outside or evolved internally, that might serve to generate some kind of concept of "Kallahan-ness" or of "we-group" consciousness among the Kallahan-speaking populations. Although Kallahan-speakers share a territory, this territory is divided up among several provinces so that Kallahan-speakers consist of small minorities in these provinces and therefore have no shared authority.

From an ecological point of view, Kallahan-speakers may be described as occupying a very distinct niche, which they share only with about three thousand I'uak-speakers. Resource competition

between Kallahan and neighbouring ethnolinguistic groups, so important in the genesis and persistence of ethnic boundaries elsewhere, is therefore quite minimal. One factor here is the low population density. Difficult terrain, generally unsuitable for wet rice cultivation and unattractive for settlement, has meant that people from all over the southern Cordillera, including Kallahan-speakers, have bypassed this zone and gone eastwards to formerly unoccupied or sparsely-populated areas east and south of the Magat River. The main exceptions to this are the wider, more irrigable valleys around Pangpang, Pingkian and Kayapa, to which small groups of Ibaluy-speakers from the Agno River have come to settle at various times in the last eighty years. However, intermarriage with Kallahan-speakers in these areas have precluded any ethnic conflict.

Perhaps the most important agents in the fostering of an idea of an ethnic unity in recent times have been Christian missions. The Kalahan Educational Foundation, organized under the inspiration of the United Church of Christ mission in the Imugan-Santa Fe area, now administers a high school. An important part of their curriculum is a course on "Kalahan Culture" that is taught in the first year. Since the mid-1970's the Foundation has been associated with a project which involves the settlement of two thousand Kallahan in 14,000 hectares of forest land obtained on lease from the Philippine government through the former Commission on National Integration ([Anonymous] 1974, Rice 1983).

Here, competition for land and other resources with Ilokano-, Tagalog- and Isinay-speakers in Nueva Vizcaya and northern Nueva Ecija, many of whom are equally recent migrants to this border zone,

provides the main basis for increased ethnic consciousness. Even here, a Kallahan identity *per se* has little relevance to intergroup relations. As in other Cagayan and Magat River localities where Kallahan-speakers have settled in the post-World War II period, the latter compose only part of the large numbers of highlanders who have moved to these regions recently and are, at least in the minds of the lowlanders with whom they live, simply to be lumped together with other "Igorot," as Cordillera people are referred to in these areas.

The role of Castillo Tidang in Kallahan politics and in the evolution of a Kallahan identity must be mentioned here, for if a single person may be credited for bringing the many factions among the mountain people of western Nueva Vizcaya in the post-war period together, that honor would belong to him. Born in 1919 in Wagan, near Kayapa Proper, to a prominent member of the early group of settlers that came from Patappat (now in Atok Municipality, Benguet) late in the last century and an I'uak woman, Tidang was active in the underground in World War II and became mayor of Kayapa municipality in 1949. He was unquestionably Kayapa's foremost leader until his death in 1976, serving as mayor from 1949 to 1959, then as vice-governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1960 to 1964 and then again as mayor from 1968 to 1976. For his constituents, which included not only Kayapa municipality but other highland peoples who had settled in Nueva Vizcaya, Tidang was the classic "cultural broker," interpreting national institutions to them and representing them at the provincial and national levels.

### "Igullut" as an Identity: a Kayapa Classification of Peoples

While "Kallahan" (or "Kalanguyya") may someday attain the status of an ethnic name, it will probably mainly serve as a self-identification to outsiders and especially to non-Cordilleran people. In local contexts or to people more familiar to him, the name of a settlement or a region will continue to be the means by which a Kallahan-speaker will initially specify his origin and background.

The question "*Tuy katu'u'antu?*" 'Where is he from?' asked about a stranger, exemplifies this close association between statements about identity and statements about place. The predicate of the question consists of an affixed form of *tu'u* 'person'; and the compound affix *ka---an* refers to generalized location. Its response may consist of the name of one's place of residence, of one's place of birth, or that of his parents. In the past, these three places were very likely to coincide. A description of the stranger's relationship to a known person may qualify the naming of a region. The name of a locality in which a person resides or in which he was born provides the minimum information about his group memberships and the potential links, whether consanguineal or affinal and however distant, between a stranger and his hosts.

Toponymic identifications readily invoke historical associations and cultural stereotypes linked with certain regions and thus serve as an important rhetorical device. To be described as "a person from Lutab" (*Illutab*) could mean either that the person resided in Lutab, was born there, or was descended from people who once lived there, no matter how long ago.<sup>11</sup> In discussions of ceremonial, "Lutab" labels the ritual procedures brought by people who came from

there and contrasts with other regions whose ceremonial traditions are relevant to Kayapa knowledge and practice.

For example, in a raucous joking exchange at one feast, a man from Kayapa chided an older man for being envious of someone else's cattle, saying, *Na'ikkadawanka dedan, nahul ni 'ampat ka'ung 'i danglihmu* "You are a Karaw man, so you can only have sows at your funeral feast!" The addressee had been brought to Kayapa as a child but his father was born in Karaw, and the remark was about Karaw religious orthodoxy, which is said not to allow cattle or water buffalo offerings.

Beyond the residential group, Kayapa informants see themselves as belonging to a larger aggregate of mountain-dwelling peoples whom they call "*Igullut*." The multiple meanings of this term, in the form "*Igorot*" and well-known in the literature through Scott's (1966:154) work, tend to differ from one region to another. Etymologically, the lexeme reduces to two components: the affix '*i-*' which denotes 'person of' or 'resident of'; and *gulut*, a stem which no longer exists in any but a few languages and glosses as 'mountain range.'

*Igullut* are linked by birth, residence, or descent to named "primal territories" associated most closely with "*Igullut-ness*," with different varieties of *Igullut* speech and cultural traditions. In Kayapa, among the most frequently named of these traditional regions are (see Map 3):

"*Tinek*" (the "homeland," which includes such places as Tinek, Ahin, Tukukan, and Danggu),

"Lu'u" (the Kallahan- and Kankana'ey-speaking areas on the upper Agno north of Lutab and including "Buggiyah"; considered by some as part of "*Pahlung*") ,

"Huyuk" (the Kankana'ey-speaking areas west of the Cordillera ridge, known locally for its gold, copper and rich businessmen and including Mankayan) ,

"Lutab" (the Ibaluy-speaking communities on the upper Agno, and the main part of "*Pahlung*" (lit. 'upriver')) ,

"Bukut" (the Ibaluy areas south of "Lutab" and including Bukut, Magangngan, Ambuklaw; also considered part of "*Pahlung*") ,

"Kuluh" (including Ituggun, Daluppidip, and the old gold-mining areas on western tributaries of the Agno near Ituggun) ,

"Karaw" (including Karaw and Ikip) ,

"Uwak" (or Bay'angan 'east', the eastern watershed of the Agno south of Bokod and the Ambayawan River, including Pangpang and Kayapa, originally occupied only by I''uwak) ,

"Bagiw" (Baguio City, and the Ibaluy-speaking zones of western Benguet) , and

"Pintiyan" (the foothill and plains areas to the east occupied by Kallahan-speakers, including Kirang and sometimes Kabanglahan) .

Two non-Igullut regions are frequently referred to in Kayapa. These are "Arittaw," the Isinay- and Ilokano-speaking areas first reached as one goes east to the lowlands, including Bambang and Dupax; and "Hannikulah" (the Ilokano- and Pangasinan-speaking lowlands directly south of Kayapa, including Natividad and Dagupan,

to which people went to trade in gold and cattle). Both represent the most familiar border regions with people who do not speak Igullut languages and indicate the directions of the most important links Kayapa people have with lowland peoples.

To the older people who employ them in ethnological discussions, the names of these generalized regions are "frozen" in time, in that they symbolize certain historical events, have very specific connotations regarding language and populations, and overlap only partially with their modern geographical referents. For example, "Bagiw," while derived from the name for Baguio City, was the first context in which people of the last generation met sizable numbers of Ibaluy-speakers from west of the Cordillera ridge, who are sometimes referred to as "Inaduntug." For many older people, it stands in opposition to "Pahlung" and to "Kuluh" as regions of Ibaluy people and culture.<sup>12</sup>

Fig. 2.5 below displays the multiple levels of meaning of the term "Igullut," derived from observations of the different contexts of its use among Kayapa Kallahan. Because various referents of this term involve contrasts with the terms "Illuku" and "Pilipinu," this ethno-ethnological discussion is also about the polysemy of these other two terms. Through a discussion of "ethnic" labels, I shall show the importance of linguistic, historical, political, and social considerations at different times in the establishment of a Kayapa Kallahan identity. (The locations of 'peoples' adjacent to the Kallahan who are described below are shown in Map 2).

1. Pilipinu<sub>1</sub>

1.1                   Pilipinu<sub>2</sub>

1.1.1                Illuku<sub>1</sub>

1.1.1.1              Illuku<sub>2</sub>

1.1.1.2              Sinay

1.1.1.3              Gaddang

1.1.1.4              Ibbanag

1.1.1.5              Panggasinan

1.1.2                Tagallud

1.2                   Igullut<sub>1</sub>

1.2.1                Igullut<sub>2</sub>

1.2.1.1              Igullut<sub>3</sub>

1.2.1.2              I''uwak

1.2.1.3              Iballuy

1.2.1.4              Kankana'ey

1.2.2                Illunggut

1.2.3                Ikkiyangan

1.2.4                Ibbuntuk

1.2.5                Kalingga

2. Kahtil

3. Mirikanu

4. Diyapan (Hapun)

5. Inhik (Makaw)

6. Bumbay

Fig. 2.5 A Kayapa Kallahan Classification of 'Peoples'

Igullut<sub>3</sub>. The most restricted usage of *Igullut* (as *Igullut<sub>3</sub>*) arises in contexts in which language is the primary distinguishing feature between social groups. Here *Igullut<sub>3</sub>* specifies the members of a maximal Kallahan linguistic community or Kallahan speech itself, which is, for its users, *Igullut* language *par excellence*. At this level, "Igullut" is synonymous with "Kallahan."

Igullut<sub>2</sub>. At a more inclusive level, *Igullut* (*Igullut<sub>2</sub>*) includes the Kailahan-speaking people themselves, called *Igullut<sub>3</sub>*, and such analogous groupings as "Iballuy," "I''uwak" and "Kankana'ey." This is the most common usage of the term. These last three groups make up the immediate highland neighbours about whom Kallahan have the most knowledge and with whom they have had some intermarriage and long trading and visiting contacts. Kallahan consider the languages of these three peoples more similar to Kallahan speech than any other.

To explain this association, there is a myth of shared descent that is often told. In it, four brothers leave the Tinek area to hunt, travelling in separate directions southwards and westwards, to become ancestors to the present-day Kallahan-, Ibaluy-, I''uwak- and Kankanay-speaking peoples.<sup>13</sup>

Differences within this larger aggregate called "Igullut" (*Igullut<sub>2</sub>*) lie primarily in language, and only secondarily in other cultural forms. Kallahan claim numerous affinities in ritual and social organization among all *Igullut<sub>2</sub>*. They cite overlapping pantheons and shared ceremonial patterns as proof of a common history with their highland neighbours. It is only within the circle of peoples called "Igullut<sub>2</sub>" that Kayapa Kallahan would admit that bor-

rowing of religious ritual actively occurs or that intermarriage might take place, despite a preference for local endogamy. Variations in language are not seen as hindrances to communication and individuals receive strong encouragement to learn other people's languages. Characterizations of physique, of posture, of gong and dance rhythms, of clothing conventions, of ritual procedures, of degree of acculturation to lowland Christian values--of the oddities that might constitute "ethnic character"--are numerous, but none of them appear to be locally significant for assigning ethnic statuses. Kayapa informants easily explain such cultural differences as variants which have evolved within separate "lines of descent" (*kapuli'an*) that have the same origin.

Fundamental value orientations ('ugalli, nemnem) shared with other Igullut are seen by Kayapa Kallahan as flowing from the "genetic," and historical links that bind them. Among the most important elements of the idealized Igullut "way of life" are hospitality and reciprocity, elaborated in prestige feasts and meat-gift exchanges (*buki*); and the religious observances associated with communication with spirits of recently-deceased kinsmen. The settlement of disputes within conferences organized by the elders of a community continue to be a source of local pride and identity, for each occurrence of such a conference (*tungtung*) represents yet another choice for "Igullut custom" over an externally-imposed judicial process.

Igullut<sub>2</sub> and Illuku<sub>1</sub>. At this level of meaning, *Igullut<sub>2</sub>* contrasts with *Illuku<sub>1</sub>* ('Ilokano, lowlander'). *Illuku<sub>1</sub>* consists of all non-highland people who are familiar to Kayapa Kallahan and with whom they communicate in Ilokano. This category includes those who

are native-speakers of the Ilokano language itself (*Illuku*<sub>2</sub>) and *Sinay*, *Gaddang*, *Ibbanag*, and *Panggasinan*, all peoples of adjacent lowland towns with whom Kallahan have had actual interaction.

To abandon Igullut lifeways is, in Kallahan terms, to give up one's identity, to "become a lowlander," and to "become Ilokano" (*man'illuku*). The process of "becoming *Illuku*," one that is cause for increasing concern and despair among Kayapa inhabitants for their young kinsmen, ordinarily begins with residence in a lowland town, speaking Ilokano (or any other lowland language) habitually and professing Christianity. Because in practice, residence, language, biological and cultural heritage are all linked in the identity (*katu'u'an*) of an Igullut, it is often sufficient for a person to either change his residence to a lowland area permanently, stop speaking an Igullut language or cease to offer sacrifices to his dead ancestors, for him to be seen as on his way to "becoming a lowlander."

Ilokano culture is regarded in the highlands as being strongly assimilative and even if long residence in an Ilokano-speaking area may not change an Igullut's identity, it is quite certain that his children will be "*Illuku*." Kallahan people are aware that large numbers of *Illuku* in the *Isinay*- and Ilokano-speaking Magat lowlands are descended from Igullut who settled there (or, from the Kallahan point of view, coerced into living there) in Spanish times and would be counted as their kinsmen today if they only lived in the highlands.

Igullut<sub>2</sub> and Tagallud. For the southern Kallahan, "Tagallud" not only names the ethnic entity (Tagalog) but also the language now

taught universally in Philippine schools under the name "Pilipino." The notion of a national identity, while of scant importance in Kayapa, is focused on the region called "Manila," which is in turn associated with central government, the presidency, the international airport as well as the cosmopolitan life that magazine pictures and radio programs portray. For some older people, "going to Manila" is a euphemism for dying: it is to go so far away that one became lost to Kayapa life forever.

Igullut<sub>1</sub>. There is one other extended meaning of *Igullut* (as in *Igullut<sub>1</sub>*) beyond the everyday usages given above. The contrast between *Igullut<sub>2</sub>* and *Igullut<sub>1</sub>* is primarily one between "proximate" and "non-proximate" neighbors. With certain qualifications, the category *Igullut* may extend to the rest of the indigenous highland-dwelling populations about whom Kallahan have some knowledge. Specifically, these would be such Cordillera groups as *Ikkiyangan* ('Ifugao'), *Ibbuntuk* ('Bontok'), and *Kalingga* ('Kalinga'). The first two are peoples who have long been regarded in the southern Cordillera as "headhunters," for whom the term of opprobrium *buhul* or *busul* 'enemy' was once reserved. *Kalingga*, a more recent addition to a Kallahan categorization of "ethnic groups", appeared with the more extensive encounters with other Cordillera peoples in the Baguio-Benguet region in the post-war period.

*Illunggut*, who live on tributaries of the Cagayan River in the Caraballo range east of the Isinay, belong to this grouping. Although not a Cordillera people, they occupy a special place in Kayapa ethnology because they represent another small population in Nueva Vizcaya province with whom Kallahan share a subordinate economic and

political position in relation to the Ilokanos around them.<sup>14</sup> Interaction with Ilongot goes back only to the post-war period, and today takes place in the areas around Bilansi east of Aritao and Bambang, where a few Kallahan have gone to seek new swidden land and to pan gold. Because of the Ilongot reputation for headhunting in recent times (see Rosaldo 1980) as well as for their dependence on hunting for food, Kallahan regard them disdainfully as "without government" ('andi gubilnuda). However, many Kallahan express envy at what they describe as the greater freedom of Ilongot life, away from the effects of national law, tax collectors and politicians.

Igullut<sub>1</sub>, Paganu, Muntaniyusa, and Pilipinu<sub>2</sub>. A number of political events helped foster sentiment for a pan-Cordilleran grouping of peoples in northern Luzon and contributed to the awareness of the existence of other, non-Cordilleran minorities in the Philippines. Perhaps the most important of these were the organization of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes in 1902 and the formation, in 1908, of the Mountain Province. The Mountain Province constituted an attempt to encompass all highland populations in northwestern Luzon under a special government charter. Kayapa, together with a large portion of far western Nueva Vizcaya, fell within the limits of the Mountain Province. In many oral accounts of that period, this region and political unit was referred to, often sentimentally, as *Muntaniyusa* (Sp. *montañosa* 'mountainous').

The concept *Igullut<sub>1</sub>* has its origins in that early period and the semantic contrasts it participates in reflect its historical and political basis. It is of interest that a distinction between "*Igullut<sub>1</sub>*" and "*Pilipinu<sub>2</sub>*" had two slightly different interpretations

in Kayapa, depending on the age group in which it was being discussed. For older Kayapa people who had the opportunity to travel beyond the Ambayawan River during the American occupation of the Cordillera, the term *Igullut* attained new regional associations and cultural aspects that extended its traditional local meanings. One of these involved the contrast between *paganu* (Sp. *pagano* 'pagan') and *kristiyano* (Sp. *cristiano* 'Christian').

The other consisted of the related distinction between "highlanders" and "lowlanders." As described in the historical section of this work, the administrative separation between "Christian" and "non-Christian" was very much a part of the official American policy in regard to minority peoples of that period. In northern Luzon this contrast took on a peculiar cast because of the equivalence of "Christians" with "lowlanders" and "Filipinos" (*Pilipinu*<sub>2</sub>) on the one hand and of "non-Christians" (or "pagans") with "highlanders" and "Igorots." (see United States, Philippine Commission 1907, Pt. I: 311).

Consequently, for older people in Kayapa, *Igullut* (as *Igullut*<sub>1</sub>) became synonymous with *paganu* and with the region *Muntaniyusa* and was in opposition to *kristiyano*, to life in the lowlands and to the term *Pilipinu* (*Pilipinu*<sub>2</sub>). Residents of the Ambayawan valley who were employed in the early part of this century in the construction and maintenance of highways leading up to the City of Baguio speak of the distinction that American engineers made between "Igorots" and "Filipinos" in the laborers' rolls and ration books. It is said that "Igorots" were entitled to larger rice rations because they were more capable of working long hours than their lowland counterparts.

Apart from construction work, there was a variety of activities, including athletic competitions, American country-style fairs and the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, in which American administrators sought to display what they described as the physical and cultural differences between "wild" mountain men and their "Filipino" (*Pilipinu<sub>2</sub>*) neighbors. Such contrasts reinforced the coincidence among ideology, ecology and political power implied in the equivalence of Christians, lowlanders and "Filipinos" and served to justify the separate administrative structures for the "Christian" and "non-Christian" populations of the colony.

Igullut<sub>1</sub> and minuriti. The years following World War II and independence saw a redefinition of the political content of this ideology-ecology-politics equation. Through the activities of the Commission on National Integration, the administrative successor to the American Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes, the politico-legal term "cultural minorities" became an active part of the status terminology of many educated people in the Cordillera in the 1950's and 1960's. This added a new dimension to the meaning of *Igullut<sub>1</sub>*. For Kayapa adults of that period, the status and privileges of *minuriti* (from English *minority*), a new synonym for *Igullut*, provided a rubric for any discussion of socioeconomic development among the upland peoples of western Nueva Vizcaya in which the national government had a role. While continuing to invoke the differences between highland and lowland populations in their access to national life, the equivalence between *Igullut* and *minuriti* also implied new levels of appreciation of supralocal politics and of Kallahan participation in a larger Philippine polity.

From the late fifties through the early 1970's, there were a number of privileges available to members of the "cultural minorities" by government act. Among those enjoyed in Kayapa were scholarships for higher education, and the exemption from the national ban on the slaughter of water buffalo on the grounds that this was a traditional religious offering. In addition, marriages contracted according to local customary ritual were accepted in national courts. Another exemption allowed a lower level of educational qualification for trainee teachers who belonged to minority groups and who sought positions in schools in their home areas.

*Pilipinu* in the chart above represents the wider Philippine nation as it is known to Kallahan today. Its primary associations lie with 'government' (*gubilnu*), a 'president' (*prisidinti*), and the seat of central government, called *malakaniyang* (from Malacanang Palace, the residence of Philippine presidents). *Pilipinu* is coordinate with foreign 'peoples' known from Kallahan history. In the chronological order in which they became part of Kayapa Kallahan thought, these are: Spaniards (*Kahtil*), white Americans and Europeans (*Mirikanu*), Japanese (*Hapun, Diyapan*), Chinese (*Inhik, Makaw*), and Indians (*Bumbay*).

This chapter constitutes a first step in establishing the Kallahan language and "people" within the southern Cordillera, by providing their geographical descriptions and describing the position of Kallahan language within classifications of northern Philippine languages. In addition, this endeavour has involved an intensive discussion of names, in particular those used by Kayapa Kallahan and their neighbors to label and describe discontinuities in language

that correlate with boundaries of social groupings. Through this study of names and the contexts of their use, I have sought to discover the meaningful contrasts Kallahan employ in their discriminations of "kinds of speech" and "kinds of people." It is clear that ecological and orientational distinctions and folk linguistic categories have been the fundamental bases for these categorizations. In a final section I have summarized the various levels of meaning of the label *Igullut* and explored the exogenic political and historical factors, particularly American administrative policies and the differential access to Philippine national life, that have modified the original cultural focus on ecology and language.<sup>15</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Hockett (1958: 324) calls this situation an "L-simplex," a mesh of interlinked idiolect pairs which are mutually intelligible with one another.

<sup>2</sup>A phonemic analysis of "Keley'i" by Hohulin and Kenstowicz (1979) describes the contrast between the vowel e [ɛ] and the other Keley'i vowels as one of lax vs. tense, respectively.

<sup>3</sup>I owe this and the information below on the migration of Kallahan-speaking people from Ifugao to Nueva Vizcaya to Harold C. Conklin (1989).

<sup>4</sup>Rice (1987:105) gives a count for "Ikalahan" of 34,000, "with an estimated growth rate of 2.85% per annum." Missionaries of the New Tribes Mission who have been working west of the Matunu River since the early sixties suggest the figure of forty thousand (Eaton 1971:32), but I am not aware of the geographical basis for this estimate.

<sup>5</sup>In this work I use "Southern Cordillera," with both initial letters in upper case, when referring to the linguistic grouping. The geographical region is written as "southern Cordillera".

<sup>6</sup>Some of these cultural divergences are described in Claerhoudt 1966, Chanco 1980, and Atos 1982.

<sup>7</sup>The palatal affricate *ch*, which occurs in Kabayan Ibaluy, appears as *sh*, a voiceless alveolar fricative in western dialects (Tublay, Atok, Baguio, Trinidad) and as *tsh* or *ts* in Karaw and I'uak dialects. The velarized semivowel *gw* also occurs as *bw* in some dialects. In a recent phonemic analysis of "Keley'i", Hohulin and Kenstowicz (1979:241) show that *ch* and *j* occur in that dialect but only in a few loan words or as palatalizations of dentals. Reid (1974:514) believes that the rule involving at least *ch* and *kh* and their alternation with *d* and *g* was borrowed into Ibaluy. Its most likely source would be one of the Central Cordilleran languages, among which similar alternations are common.

<sup>8</sup>Another rule causes the initial consonant of a stem to be geminated when the stem is affixed with '*i-*' (accessory focus) and '*i-*' ('people of'). Gemination however does not occur with '*i-*' ('accessory focus, imperative').

<sup>9</sup>Referring to other people by expressions in their languages is not unknown in the rest of the Philippines. "Waray," used in the Manila area to refer to speakers of Samar-Leyte, is a word that means 'none' in that language. Ilokano in the Baguio area refer to Pangasinan speech and people as 'antutan, which means 'what is that' in Pangasinan. Ilokano are described by Ibaluy as "'emansa'u" 'those who say *sau'* from Ilokano 'to speak'.

<sup>10</sup>When asked to explain the "tight-loose" contrast, Kallahan informants will usually cite word pairs that show the regular phonetic correspondences between Kallahan and Ibaluy speech.

<sup>11</sup>See R. Rosaldo 1975 and 1980 for similar historical associations with toponyms in Illogot culture.

<sup>12</sup>The differences in the perceptions of young and old people of these historical regions are relevant to generational changes in attitudes toward who the "Kallahan people" are, and comprise an interesting area of study. For example, for the younger generation, "Bagiw" represents a highland extension of lowland Christian culture, and is important to them as an educational and commercial center.

<sup>13</sup>The myth about a group of brothers going in different directions to hunt or to trade and eventually to become ancestors to particular local groups is a common motif in etiological explanations of maximal social groups in the Cordillera. The number of brothers varies from one story to another.

<sup>14</sup>Kalingga and Ilunggut are recent terms in Kayapa Kallahan folk classification. This is reflected in the similarity of their pronunciation in Kayapa (i.e., with a final consonant cluster [ŋg] rather than the appropriate [ŋ]) to that of the forms as they were written early in this century: i.e., as *Kalinga* and *Illogot*. Spanish- and English-derived orthography did not differentiate between a single velar nasal [ŋ], a geminated velar nasal [ŋŋ], and the consonant cluster [ŋg] such as occurs in the terms above. They rendered all three by the digraph *ng* and pronounced them all as [ŋg]. The province name *Benguet*, pronounced by older Ibaluy as [benet] but

by most people in the Cordillera today as [benget] is another example.

<sup>15</sup>A brief note is called for here on the use of "Igorot" in the Cordillera in the 1980's. In the 1970's and 1980's, the terms "Igorot," "Kaigorotan," ('the Igorot collectivity', lit. 'Igorotness'), "Cordillera" and "Montañosa" were adopted as focal idioms of militant political movements whose primary aims have been to foster unity among the indigenous peoples of the northern Luzon Cordillera and to attain administrative and political autonomy for this region. Centered primarily in the city of Baguio, but with institutional affiliations over a large part of the Cordillera, these organizations gained much of their impetus and experience from the extended protests initiated by Kalinga and Bontoc peoples against the construction of hydroelectric dams on the Chico River, and by Tinggian against the logging and paper-pulp industries in Abra that began in the early 1970's (see Anti-Slavery Society 1983). Many highly articulate university-educated members of northern "cultural minorities," including members of the clergy, have been at the forefront of these protests, and they are familiar with the history of efforts toward autonomy in Muslim Mindanao and in other parts of the world. The clamor in the 1980's for the political unity of peoples of the Cordillera makes repeated reference to a shared history of discrimination and disempowerment at the hands of colonial powers, central governments and international cartels. (Cariño 1986 summarizes the history of this political movement in the Cordillera and its organizational underpinnings).

In the choice of "Igorot" to label this collectivity, the protest movements within the Cordillera have resurrected Barrows' focus in the early 1900's on the etymological origins of the term, as well as the original sense in which the Spanish used "Ygolotes" as they had learned it from the coastal peoples they first encountered in the sixteenth century. Reinterpretations of the ecological and ideological components of "Igorot," now phrased in terms of ideas of "ancestral domain" and "self-determination," respectively, reflect the widened publicity of the "Kaigorotan" cause and its contacts with similar movements for autonomy among minority peoples elsewhere.

In my discussions with Kayapa Kallahan informants of these modern referents of "Igullut," the parallels to the concept of "Muntaniyusa" of the pre-war years were immediately evident to older people. However, it confused them that members of Christian religious organizations have been among the most aggressive voices in this new call for unity among Cordillera peoples. To them, the loss of the contrast between "pagan" and "Christian" has made the social distinction between lowlander and highlander an arbitrary, if somewhat irrelevant division.

### Chapter Three

#### Ethnic Units and Ethnic Names: an Historical Survey

This chapter provides an historical background to the social, political, and linguistic entities in the southeastern Cordillera and begins with a brief outline of the beginnings of the Spanish exploration of the region occupied by Kallahan-speakers today. In the course of a description of ethnic units and ethnic names, some of the events of this exploration and the subsequent attempts to subjugate and govern the highland populations of this region are referred to. The summary of the historical documents is chronological: first, I enumerate the "peoples" of the southeastern Cordillera as they appear in the Spanish records and locate them within the political units to which they belonged. Second, I present ethnic and political divisions as they appear in the records of the early American period. Throughout this discussion, I amplify the documentary material with folk historical accounts of the relations among the different populations of this region.

I conclude this chapter with an extended historical comment in which I draw together geographical, folk historical, cultural, and social information from the first three chapters to arrive at a characterization of the relationships among linguistic, social, and cultural units in the southern Cordillera.<sup>1</sup> A central aim of this summary is to characterize the emergence of ethnic identities in this upland zone. I argue that a major change in ecology, involving the

shift from swidden to wet rice agriculture and supported by wealth from the Benguet gold mines, established social boundaries that became a basis for ethnic processes in this region. Contrary to popular notions of the ancient origins of rice cultivation and of "tribal" divisions in this region, these ecological changes took place gradually and relatively recently, and their social and cultural repercussions were reinforced by Spanish and American administrative decisions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The relatively recent rise of ethnic identities in this region support Kallahan claims for the historical and cultural unity of southern Cordilleran peoples presented in Chapter Two and the ascriptive category "Igullut" that is elaborated in their folk ethnologies. In the next chapter, I describe communicative strategies within the Kallahan community that reflect this ideology and support an areal sociolinguistic perspective in the study of language-culture-society relations in the southern Cordillera.

#### The Kallahan Language Area in History<sup>2</sup>

The early history of the southern Cordillera is contained in missionary and military accounts of the Spanish exploration which began in the northern Philippines in the late sixteenth century. In 1572, barely seven years after Manila had been claimed and occupied for the Spanish crown, Juan de Salcedo sailed from there to the western and northern coasts of Luzon. His expedition brought back confirmation of the northern gold that he had heard of in Manila and set the foundations for the establishment of land grants and missions in the Ilocos coast and the Cagayan coast.

Further news of rich and unexplored territory northeast of Manila was brought by missionaries working out of Pampanga and eastern Pangasinan. The "Province of Ituy," located just north of the Caraballo watershed which separates the Cagayan River headwaters from those of the Pampanga River, was to have an important part in early contacts between the Spanish and the highland peoples of the southeastern Cordillera. In 1591, Luis Perez Dasmariñas headed the first of three expeditions, involving two Augustinians and over 1500 soldiers and bearers, "to undertake the exploration, entrance, and new pacification of the said province...of Tuy" (Fernandez and de Juan 1969:72). These expeditions served to locate settlements among the southwestern tributaries of the Magat River and raised the possibility of finding a land route to the fledgling Augustinian missions established near the mouth of the Cagayan River in the 1580's. They also gave us the first glimpses that the Spanish obtained of the people and the resources of the mountains west of the Magat River.

In the course of these exploratory voyages, the Spaniards encountered various lowland and coast-dwelling peoples who were classified as "Sambals," "Pangasinans," "Cagayans," and "Ilocans." All of these came to be referred to as "Indios" along with the majority of the Philippine population. From this time up to almost two hundred years later, northern Luzon north of Pangasinan was conceived of as three political units: "Ylocos," the long narrow western coastal strip bordered by the northwestern Cordillera range; "Cagayan," which comprised the "territory of the parish churches," and included everything east of the Cordillera from Aparri to Gamu in

central Isabela; and the "territory of the missions," comprising what in the next century were called "Paniqui" and "Ituy" and extending from Gamu south to the Caraballo Pass.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the additional name "Ygolotes" (modified in the eighteenth century to "Igorrotes" and in the twentieth to "Igorots") had become a blanket term in missionary writings for the mountain-dwelling people to the east and north of the "Ilocans" and "Pangasinans." "Ygolotes" were seen in the lowland towns buying salt, woven textiles, iron, Chinese porcelains, stoneware, and livestock, and paying for all these in gold or, on occasion, with crude copper pots or iron implements. The search for the source of this gold provided the main incentive for the exploration of the highlands during the first half century after the Spanish arrival. Although this effort was abandoned in 1625 after a series of highly expensive expeditions, expressions of curiosity about their location and their volume were never totally absent from missionary and military records in the next two centuries.

Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscan missionaries were involved in the early exploration from its outset, with members of the first two orders being more active in northern Luzon. The Augustinians, who had begun their missions at Nueva Segovia near the Cagayan River estuary, relinquished their rights to missionary work in the Cagayan valley to the Dominicans in 1594. Soon followed the cession to the Dominicans of Manaoag, in northern Pangasinan in 1605. Manaoag was to serve as the main jumping-off point for missionary endeavors directed at the mountain peoples within a day's journey to the north, although it was originally established to cater for the

"Igorrotes" residing there. The major project in 1739 to complete a trail connecting Pangasinan with the upper Agno valley encompassed the joint efforts of the two religious organizations, making way for the cession (in 1740) to the Dominicans of all Augustinian missions in northeastern Luzon.

The program of *reducción*, of the subjugation and Hispanization of the native populations, is well documented elsewhere (Phelan 1959, Scott 1974). "Towns" (*pueblos*) were organized in the plains and various campaigns of attraction and coercion were launched to resettle people near a strategic center, whose principal landmarks included a military garrison and a mission station. People from nearby mountain regions, described as living in 'hamlets' (*rancherías*) were offered a decade of exemption from tribute and from public labor if they came to live in the lowlands. The pattern that emerged was one in which pagan mountain peoples were linked to a 'capital' (*cabecera*) by a complex of outlying settlement clusters (*visitas*) in the foothills, which were administered intermittently by missionaries who resided in the capital of the parish. These upvalley buffer zones, as they came to function, were often unstably populated by "new Christians" or "semi-savages" (*semi-salvajes*) who did not hesitate to desert their homes for the mountains when Spanish pressure became offensive.

In contrast to their successes in the lowlands, the evangelization of the mountain peoples and government control over them were never achieved to any degree of satisfaction to the Spanish authorities. Towards the end of the Spanish regime, government officials were still making clear differentiations among "civilized

"towns" (*pueblos civilizados*), "controlled territories" (*territorios sometidos*), and "independent tribes" (*tribus independientes*). Most of the Cordillera was classified under the last two categories; and only the first guaranteed regular payments of tribute to the Crown.

Accounts of the mission in Ituy illustrate the kinds of events that ensured the mountain peoples' independence from Spanish control until the end of the nineteenth century. Missionary efforts in the Ituy area were partly in response to a number of unprecedented appeals made during the early 1600's by natives of the upper Magat River for the assignment of missionaries to that region (Blair and Robertson 1902-1909, XIV:300). Despite this, the conversion of Ituy and the organization of towns in the Magat valley encountered numerous obstacles. Difficult and long journeys over mountainous terrain and the lack of manpower hampered mission work greatly. Most of all, however, local resistance to the missionary and military presence were sufficient to preclude extensive or prolonged occupation of this part or, for that matter, of most of the Cordillera. In the eastern lowlands, the attempts to transfer whole communities of people to sites chosen by the authorities proved initially unacceptable, and sparked minor revolts among Marang and upper Magat River settlements. When more viable "towns" (*pueblos*) were established in Dupax, Buhay, Bagabag, Bayombong and Bambang in the 1740's, these were in turn plagued by repeated attacks from Matunu River peoples called "Ipituyes" and "Panuypuyes" who saw in them an invasion of their territories. In addition, desertions from the towns were frequent; and people rejecting Spanish authority

easily sought refuge in more inaccessible highland districts west of the Magat River.

Reports of similar offensive activities came from all parts of the eastern Luzon lowlands over the next hundred years. Anti-Spanish uprisings, mainly in reaction to exorbitant tribute payments and forced labor, broke out among "Gaddanes" in the middle Cagayan valley at almost regular intervals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Raiding parties organized by "Mayoyaos," and "Silipanes," and other "Ifugaos" burned down missions and garrisons, stole cattle and horses and kidnapped people to be brought to the mountains as slaves. Father Francisco Gainza (1849), writing from Carig in 1849, supported his appeal for more troops and missionaries with a table showing that between 1830 and 1847, 289 heads had been taken in middle Cagayan and lower Magat districts by "infidels" in the nearby mountains.

In the Ituy missions, the punitive expeditions that were ordered in retaliation against adjacent highland peoples resulted in the bloodiest years of southeastern Cordillera history. Pituy, described as having a population of six hundred people in 172 houses and Panuypuy, were the object of a series of well-documented campaigns mounted from Bayombong, Aritao or Dupax between 1745 and 1750 for which volunteers from every sizable town on the Magat River were recruited. "Afanas" (also "Ajanas," said to be a "principal town of the Panoipoies," and located on the present site of the Isinay-Ilokano town of Aritao, was razed to the ground by the first expedition; and the following year (1746), a fort was constructed there to serve as a base for the western defense of Ituy. The

resulting destruction of whole communities and the scattering of the populations of the Santa Cruz and Matunu watersheds proved to be so extensive that nearly a century later, when Fondevila (1834) journeyed from Bambang to the Cabanglasan and Ambayawan Rivers, he found an economically depressed area of small, poor and widely scattered settlements whose people's abiding interest, as stated to this missionary, was that the Spanish stay away from their mountains.<sup>3</sup> It would be another half century after Fondevila before this zone would be reached and gradually repopulated by people from the upper Ahin and upper Matunu, many of whom would in turn be fleeing from bandit attacks on their villages as well as from the Spanish presence in the upper Agno and Chico valleys (Antolin 1789:234-236; Scott 1974:83-88).

In 1759, on the other side of the southern Cordillera, a total of almost two thousand men led by the Pangasinan governor Arza, marched out of San Fabian and Agoo into newly-Christianised settlements in the western foothills and on the western face of the Cordillera. They destroyed settlements around the western slope of Mount Santo Tomas, including the fledgling Augustinian mission of "Tonglo" (*Tungdew*) founded only four years before (Perez 1904: 101 ff., Scott 1974:128-131). It took another century before a mission station in this vicinity again became possible, in the Trinidad valley, half a day's travel to the north.

From the 1760's on, until the end of Spanish rule, campaigns of various intensity were directed at the Ifugao area to the north on the average of almost one every five years. In the 1820's, 1830's, and 1850's, the conquistadors Galvey and Oscariz led battles of

genocidal proportions into Ifugao, with Galvey being described as conducting a "foot by foot" (*palmo a palmo*) reconnaissance of the territory of the "Igorrotes." Initially aimed at suppressing the contraband trade in tobacco, another offence added to the already long list attributed to the mountain peoples, Galvey's endeavors eventually echoed the aims of all other expeditionary forces: i.e., to destroy the people of the highlands:

*"Fue el objeto de esta expedicion...el ir a los pueblos igorrotes...para destruirlos."* (Malumbres 1919:235)

Meanwhile, the military assaults on the southern Cordillera in the middle of the eighteenth century, in which men from the lowland Christian missions marched against their pagan neighbors, had an additional and more far-reaching social consequence, for they permanently laid down the boundary between lowlanders and highlanders in this northern region. The social divisions between lowlanders and mountain peoples, heretofore based primarily on ecology and subsistence, and modulated for many generations by trade and intermarriage, were now marked more securely along political and ideological lines.

After the 1850's, major reorganizations of the mountain regions into civil military districts resulted in new alignments that reflected these contrasts, and were to become the bases for the American administration of northern Philippine minorities in the next century. This will be the subject of a section below on political divisions in the Spanish period.

#### "Peoples" in the Southeastern Cordillera in the Spanish Period

Up to the end of the eighteenth century, documentary evidence from the Tuy missions employed "Igorrotes" as a generic for a number of subgroups ("subrazas") with the following names (names in parentheses are alternative spellings in the records):

1. "Igorrotes de Apsay"
2. "Yumanguies" ("Jumanguies," "Guamangui," "Dumagui")
3. "Lawas" (also, "Auas," "Yaua")
4. "Yguat" (also, "Oac")
5. "Ileaban" (also, "Leabanes, " and "Yleaban")
6. "Panuypuyes" (also, "Ipanuypuy," "Panoipoi") and
7. "Ipituyes" (also, "Pituyes, ", "Ipituy," "Itbuy").

An eighth group, "Alaguetes" or "Alegueses" were reported in the Ambayabang area (near the intersection of the Ambayawan and Agno Rivers) in the 1600's (Keesing 1962:71) but they were not grouped with "Igorrotes" and their name ceases to appear in the records by the early 1700's. These are very likely the "I''allagut" of Kayapa folklore, which commonly depicts them as short, dark people similar to Negrito local people have encountered in the Magat and Pangasinan lowlands.<sup>4</sup> Peralta (1982:17) describes them as a subgroup of the I''uwak of Buyasyas, on a branch of the Santa Cruz River.

Documentary, cartographic, as well as folk historical evidence makes it possible to locate the seven subgroups enumerated above (see Map 3). The Cacho maps (Cacho ca 1740; Antolin 1789, Scott 1974:168) show "Panoipoi," "Ygorrotes de Apsay," "Nacion de Jumangi," and "Itbuy" (probably the same as "Ipituy" and related to Tebuy, on the upper Matunu River) all in a mountainous zone that forms the watersheds of the Agno River ("Rio Ano") and the "Matunu," "Aua" and

"Anir" Rivers (today, the Matunu, Santa Cruz (Imugan) and Santa Fe Rivers).

Relative to each other and to the missions of the Magat River, the "Igorrotes of Apsay" were the southernmost of these groups, being the first of the mountain peoples to be encountered north of the Malionglong mission, north of San Nicolas, and up the Ambayawan River from the Pangasinan plains.

The "Igorrotes Jumangues," described in the records of the 1590's, were located in the watershed of the Anir (or Santa Fe) River. This is approximately where Fernandez and de Juan (1969:82) locate "Dumagui" and "Yumangui." The name survives in Kayapa Kallahan, I'uak, and Karaw tradition in the form "bumangi." Kayapa people say it is the name of a group of people who once lived on the upper Ambayawan but who moved downstream in mythical times. Barrows (1902-1908) reports that "Gumangi," very likely a variant of "bumangi," was a word used by Ilongot living east of the Dupax area to refer to the Igorots. Today, people descended from Ibbumangi live in Karaw and in the predominantly I'uak communities of Buyasyas, on a branch of the Santa Cruz River, north of Santa Fe (Peralta 1982:17). It is quite likely, given the large distance between their present and past locations, that Ibbumangi were one of the groups of people dispersed in the wars on the Matunu watershed in the 1740's.

The "Aua River," which appears to be the Santa Cruz River of modern Nueva Vizcaya maps, was the home of the "Aua nation" (Antolin 1789). Awa in the Kallahan language refers to sites on mountain ridges where birds are trapped in nets or in small windowless huts by attracting them at night with a bright light, usually a fire or,

more commonly today, a pressure lantern. Although there are a large number of locations where this kind of bird trapping activity ('ekik) continues to be practised in the southern Cordillera, a number of places today bear the proper name "Awa." One was in the Pallatang area northeast of Buggiyah, another is on the Matunu River, and a third is above the Santa Cruz River near Pingkiyan. The Matunu River area near Kabanglahan is as far northeast as I''uwak residents in the Kayapa area say their ancestors once lived.

In 1831, the Dominican Jose Torres started from northern Pangasinan, followed the Agno River north into the area just downstream from Bokod and made the first known reference to the settlement of "Oac," presumably related to the group name "Uwak." The Coello and Morata 1849 map (see Conklin 1980:101) places it on a small tributary of the Agno near "Ambayeg (Ambayek)." Many I''uwak-speakers in the Kayapa region point to this area, south of Ambuklao and east of Itogon, as the region from where some of their ancestors moved to the Ambayawan River. For people in the Agno valley and in western Benguet, "Uwak" was and still is the regional name that includes Pangpang, Kayapa and Dumulpuh, in the Ambayawan River watershed.

The equivalence between "Oac" and "Yguat" suggested here is based on Ibaluy and I''uwak phonetics: in these dialects, /w/ is velarized (or in some dialects, labialized) in syllable-initial position. Thus, *gua* in "Yguat" represents a velarization of *oa* [wa] in "Oac" and "I''uwak." I also assume here, following Scott (1974), that "the Aua nation" (or *Yaua*) of the records refers to descendants of modern I''uwak.

"Leaban," not documented in the Cacho maps, was the name of the that portion of the Agno River that was first reached by travellers coming from Magat River communities in the eighteenth century. This was the area between "Bojot" and "Cauayan," as Bukut (Bokod) and Kabayan were known in the records of that period.

"Panoipoi," also a name mentioned by the Dasmarinas expeditionaries in the late sixteenth century (said to be a source of gold), was located by Cacho between the Santa Cruz and Matunu Rivers. "Pituy" or "Itbuy" (from Tebuy) was placed even deeper in the mountains west of "Panoipoi," on the northernmost reaches of the Matunu.

Of all the names on the list above, "Ipituyes" and "Panuypuyes" stood out in the military records of the Magat valley. Together with the "Ifugaos" from further north, these two groups were associated with the pillaging, robbing, and head-taking in nearby eastern lowland settlements. Pituy and Panuypuy also provided protection to people who had rejected life in the valley missions and had fled back to the mountains.

Claerhoudt (1967:22) and later Scott (1970:707) speculate that a portion of the population that occupied the Matunu watershed in the 1700's found its way west to the Agno River, where they settled in the valley of Karaw, upriver and east of the Ibaluy-speaking town of Bokod. Fondevila (1834) would seem to substantiate this, for on his visit to the upper Ambayawan River he speaks of a meeting with a group of "'Ipanuypuyes' of the town of Carao." Although "Panuypuy" (also "Puypuy" in Karaw) is a name vaguely known in Karaw today, informants there in the 1960's said that some of their ancestors came

from there and from areas "near Aritao." According to Karaw people, a number of marriages between Isinay-speakers from Aritao and Karaw residents in the 1950's were arranged to renew old ties with distant kinsmen on the Magat River. The 1903 Census enumerations for Nueva Vizcaya list Panuypuy as a settlement of 251 people in the Pingkian district (Census of the non-Christian Tribes of Nueva Vizcaya, 1903).<sup>5</sup>

Knowledge of the geography of the southeastern Cordillera became further augmented by missionary reports in the 1700's (Lobato and Cristobal Rodriguez 1755; Antolin 1789:219-221; Scott 1974: 82). In 1739, the Dominican priest Campo, in the first year of the opening of the trail connecting the Pangasinan and Nueva Vizcaya missions (from Malionglong to Ituy), arrived with a list of over a hundred "villages" which he had either passed or heard about during his two-day journey. Of these settlements, his report says, 19 were settled by Apsay Igorots on the lower Ambayawan; 30 by "Yumangues" and 20 by "Awa people." The last two groups were described as being "in the summits...overlooking Ituy."

For the regions further west, lists of place names along the Agno River (the "Leaban" of that period) and of settlements east and north of Mount Pulog at the Asin and Kadaklan headwaters became available to the Ituy missionary Antolin (1789:221 ff.) in 1788 as a result of two trips taken by Dupax residents to the Agno valley. In the first, four men from Dupax accompanied some "pagans of Tinok" and travelled to the Agno River by a route almost due west of Buhay. The journey took over a week, primarily because the Tinek people were driving carabaos and had to give the animals regular rests. They went

upriver from "Ambayeg" (Ambayek), through Bokod and on to Kabayan, taking note of names of settlements and of an array of ethnographic details that have come down to us in Antolin's (1789:222ff.) exceedingly useful account of the expedition. It covered diets, settlement patterns, house building, clothing, ornaments, gold mining and the gold trade, the traffic in slaves and in copper utensils from the region northeast of the Agno River (citing "Poliang," "Itbuy," "Tokokan" and "Camandag" as Igorrote places in that region), and the cultivation of irrigated rice ("just getting ripe," in May 1788) in Kabayan. A large number of the settlements for which names are given in the 1788 lists for the Agno River between Bokod and Kabayan are extant today.<sup>6</sup>

The second journey, made by two Dupax residents who were "Igorrotes," had instructions from Father Antolin (1789:228ff.) to find the gold mines of the Agno valley ("Apayao," "Locjo" and "Acupan") which the earlier expedition had learned about. The two men found "Acupan," west and downriver from Bokod, and judged it to be the "most abundant and flourishing of the mines." "Apayao" and "Locjo" were known to be closer to Kabayan, but they were not reached by the second group of travellers from Ituy. Scott (1974:149) places "Apayao" in the Santo Niño mining area and "Locjo" near Lutab, the present site of the Kabayan municipal office.

This region was described again in the 1830's. Guillermo Galvey travelled through it in late 1830 and early 1831 in the first expedition to cross over the Cordillera from the western coast to the Magat River missions. His ethnographic observations, which referred little to the section of the southeastern Cordillera in focus here,

and his classification of the peoples of the Cordillera, were compiled first by Sinibaldo de Mas (1843) and repeated in all compilations of natural history on the Philippines (e.g. Buzeta and Bravo 1850, Cavada 1876, Jordana 1885) till the end of the century.

More confirmation of the composition of the Ambayawan River populations came after P. Lorenzo Fondevila's trip to the area in 1834, as part of an attempt to assess the possibility of having a missionary sent there (Fondevila 1834). He travelled from the Bambang mission westwards and spent a week in Cabanglasan and in the Pangpang (Kayapa Central) area. He describes a meeting with "Ipanuypuyes from Carao" and the presence of people from "Bojot (Bokod)" in Ambayawan River settlements; and then notes that the people he was visiting understood "Isinay" and therefore were able to communicate easily with the Bambang people who accompanied him. Although he did not walk far downriver from Pangpang, he refers to the "Yumanguies," who inhabited ten settlements in the "valley of Dangatan," in the southern part of the Kayapa valley.

For most of the nineteenth century, Spanish missionary and military activity in the areas west of "Ituy" were minimal. Government forces had moved up the Magat to intensify the war against the Ifugaos on the Alimit and Ibulao Rivers (see Scott 1974: 237 ff.). As well, it was obvious that the destruction of Pituy and Panuypuy, and other Matunu River communities in the previous century had destroyed enough of the population or driven what was left of it further into the Cordillera to render the area west of Aritao quite harmless.

Not only were there hardly any people to be administered, but the obvious economic advantages of the Ambayawan, Matunu and Cabanglasan valleys counted for little compared to those of the more heavily-populated gold- and copper-rich districts in the Agno River and in the western declivity of the Cordillera Central. Violations of the Tobacco Monopoly added a new dimension to Spanish military interests in the nineteenth century, for the Galvey expeditions across the length and breadth of the southern Cordillera were initially aimed at suppressing the contraband trade in tobacco. However, little of this illicit trade was conducted out of the Ambayawan or Matunu River valleys.

**Political Divisions in the Southeastern Cordillera in the 1800's.**

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, relative peace in the northern Luzon lowlands and the heightened levels of Spanish knowledge about its mountain populations allowed for the drawing of new political boundaries in the Cordillera Central. The western highland areas, whose peoples Galvey classified, from the south northwards, into "Igorrotes," "Buriks," "Busaos," "Itetepanes," and "Guinaanes" (Mas 1843: 25 ff.) were the first to become reorganized into politico-military governments, or *commandancias*. The Commandancias of Benguet (for the "Igorrotes") and of Tiagan were established in 1846, but Tiagan was abolished and most of its area incorporated into a new, larger Commandancia of Lepanto in 1852. The Commandancia of Bontoc was founded in 1859. The Commandancia of Amburayan came late, in 1890 and a sixth one, Cabugaoan, to have jurisdiction over the northernmost mountain peoples known to the

western (Augustinian) missions, was planned for 1894 but was never actually established.

The highland populations east of the Cordillera ridge and mainly under the care of the Dominican missions in the Magat and Cagayan valleys took a while longer to be organized politically. The Commandancias of Apayaos and of Quiangan were created in 1889, of Itaves in 1890 and of Cayapa in 1891. The Commandancia of Binatangan, which was to cover the less well-known "Ilongotes," "Ibilaos," "Italones" and "Negritoess" of the far southeast, was planned for 1894 as well, but never got off the ground.

The Commandancia of Cayapa, recorded at the time of its founding to have a registered population of 2000 "infidels" (Jimeno 1894), was the last and rather feeble attempt at political control over the Yumanguies, Awas and other southeastern "Igorrotes." It took three years to establish the garrisons and missions to demonstrate this authority: Santa Cruz de Aua in Pingkian and San Miguel in the Kayapa valley, both of which were abandoned not long afterwards and then burned down by Katipunan troops in the last days of the nineteenth century.

The mission and garrison of San Miguel was erected on a bend of the Ambayawan River now occupied by six households whose houseyards are paved with stones from the former walls of the garrison and who refer to the hamlet as "Kuartil," (Sp. cuartel). Across the mouth of a small stream from Kuwartil are rice fields now referred to compositely as "Kumbintu," once the site of a chapel (Sp. convento).

To the north, the region of the headwaters of the Agno, Asin, Sapao, Lamut, and Chico Rivers that separated the Augustinian

missions in Lepanto from the Dominicans in "Quiangan" (Ifugao) was labelled "Independent Tribes" (*tribus independientes*) in maps until the end of the Spanish regime.

At the end of Spanish rule, the Kallahan-speaking area as we describe it today, east of the Agno River, west of Aritao, and south of Ifugao, lay within adjoining zones of four *commandancias*: The Asin and Kadaklan headwaters area including Tukukan and Asin was within the Commandancia of Lepanto and part of Augustinian territory. Tinek belonged to "Benguet," also under the Augustinians. The Lamut headwaters region was part of the Commandancia of Quiangan, and Matunu, Imugan and Ambayawan River settlements lay within the Commandancia of Cayapa. In a few years, these borderlands would be subjected to a number of boundary adjustments that accompanied the establishment of American rule in northern Luzon .

#### The Peoples of the Southeastern Cordillera in the Early 1900's.

Busul. In the first two decades of this century, American constabulary reports from northern Benguet gave a number of indications that other formerly unidentified language groups were to be found in the mountains east of the Agno River. Exploration of this territory was minimal, and then only along the same margins where the Spaniards had constructed horse trails a few years earlier. It was initially in response to complaints about dissident elements called "Busoles" in the official reports (United States, War Department 1907).<sup>7</sup> They were said to come from areas east of Mount Data and of the upper Agno River and were responsible for a large number of killings, thefts of livestock and kidnapping of people for the slave trade.

Barrows' (1901-1908) diaries show information acquired in the Kabayan-Loo area about these populations. Kabayan people spoke of raiding parties from "Palatan" (Pallatang), "Tokokan" (Tukukan) and "Asin" (Ahin). These men were called "busul" (related to Ilokano *busur* 'enemy') and were described as speaking "*kalangotan*." In addition, upper Agno residents spoke of people in the vicinity of Mount Pulog who were similar to the busul and who were called "*kadasan*." More "Busoles," according to the diaries, lived in the outlying settlement of Ikip, east and upriver from Bokod, and in small settlements south of there and all the way to the Pangasinan border (Norbeck 1956:244).

The most widely-known bands of thieves--the archetypical "busul" of recent southern Cordilleran history--came from Pallatang, a sparsely populated district at the headwaters of the Agno, labelled in Spanish maps as "*Valle de Lahutan*.<sup>8</sup>" However, banditry was associated with the Ahin-Tukukan area through the last years of Spanish rule as well, and Tinek was reputed to harbor Ibaluy-speaking cattle rustlers and thieves from Agno River communities.

Samiklay, the most famous busul of all, was killed in an attack on Attuk (Atok Central) in 1911. Eyewitness accounts obtained there in the 1960's of Samiklay's death at the hands of the municipal treasurer Carbonnel ("*kadbunil*") endowed the event with the significance it deserved, for it put an end to the brigandage that had threatened the lives of whole communities in the southern Cordillera for several decades. Not long after Samiklay's death, this peace is said to have been sealed by a marriage between one of his descendants and a woman in Attuk.

In the accounts of the oldest people in the Ambayawan region, the label *busul* refers specifically to the bandits from Pallatang and from the Ahin-Tukkukan area at the end of the last century and the beginning of this century. They differentiate them from the people with an established reputation in the Cordillera for being 'headhunters' (*mangayew*): namely, <sup>the</sup> *Bontok* (*Ibbuntuk*) and Ifugao (*Ikkiyangan*), to whom the term *busul* is usually extended today. This more inclusive usage became common among Kayapa Kallahan in the 1920's, when they started making trips to Baguio two or three times a year to trade, and were meeting people from other Cordillera regions. *Busul* (or *buhul*) is the most common bogey man in Kayapa today.

For informants in Kayapa, headtaking and slave-raiding belong to a past that is long gone. In their accounts of life in the upper Agno River, *busul* always came from other regions, especially west and north of Mount Data (Habbangan is commonly cited) and from the Ifugao area ("Kiyyangan"). In Tinek, the place names Hapaw and Burne (Burnay) are most commonly cited in connection with headhunting and the slave trade. Kayapa lore makes no mention of specific individuals involved in these activities, and Kallahan in the southern areas do not speak of headhunters, slave-raiders, or slaves in their genealogies, although they do not deny that headhunting was practised by their ancestors. While Ibaluy have sometimes referred to their Kallahan-speaking neighbors as "*busul*" because the people referred to by that name in the 1900's came from Kallahan-speaking localities, Kallahan in Kayapa deny this association vehemently and say that it was because of such dissident elements that their ancestors fled their northern homes in the first place.

American government officials and Christian missions in the Cordillera in this century were so effective in communicating the disgrace of having headhunters among one's recent ancestors, that accounts of the recent past of headhunting among people in the southern Cordillera are not easy to obtain.<sup>9</sup> Vague stories are told of headhunting raids made in the latter part of the nineteenth century by Kabayan people on recently Christianized ("Bagu") communities in the western foothill region known to Ibaluy as Kaptangan, and of headtaking forays by Karaw people on upper Magat communities to the east.<sup>10</sup> However, the local lore suggests that headhunting among southern Cordillera groups was sporadic and did not occur over a long period. It was certainly ended quite decisively in early American times. Unlike the cultural focus that headhunting receives among the Ilongot,<sup>11</sup> for whom it has been a vital aspect of their modern identity, headhunting plays a relatively minor part in the folk history of the Ibaluy and Kallahan of the southern Cordillera.

Vestiges of the former cultural role of headhunting are found in ritual. Kayapa Kallahan say that a predisposition to take heads is inherited in certain 'descent lines', and that an ancestor's violent memory of having taken a head is occasionally communicated through a descendant in a dream or through illness. The distracted emotional state that results in the descendant is typically referred to by the expression *Kimmalat 'i ngayew ni bayag*, in which the person is described as having been "possessed" (lit., "bitten" or "gripped" from -kalat- 'to bite, grip', see Notes, Chapter Five) by the ancient heritage of a headtaking.<sup>12</sup> A rite called *hagawhaw*, involving a

brief simulation of the taking of a head, is said to appease the spirits of headhunting ancestors. It is performed at the edge of the houseyard in the early morning of the first day of a *batbat* feast, using a "head" carved out of a portion of a tree fern trunk or a banana trunk. The *bindiyan* rite in Kabayan, Bokod and Itogon, now also involving a surrogate head, has a similar function. It is said to have been formerly performed upon the arrival of a headtaking party.<sup>13</sup>

The dialects of Kallahan in southern Ifugao. Across the high country separating Benguet from Ifugao, statements regarding non-Ifugao dialects in southern Ifugao and their relationships to languages in the south were made in the same decade. Writing in Ifugao in 1910 of a kind of poem called "*alim*," Barton notes that the language of this "ballad" is

"related to that of the Atipulo people of southern Ifugao and to the nearly extinct "secret" language of the Ligauwe people" (Barton 1946:133).

In the same work (Barton 1946: 184), he describes this "secret" language as being "similar to the Isinay language of southern Nueva Vizcaya."

A second non-Ifugao dialect distinguished by Barton was that of "the Tinok-Butitio people of the headwaters of the southern fork of the Asin River, a tributary of the Bula" (i.e., the Ibulao River) (Barton 1942 Ms). He expected, however, that a close relationship between this dialect and that of the "Atipulo people". of the Lamut River could easily be shown.

All this was echoed more recently by Lambrecht (1967:323), who describes the language of "a few hamlets of Lagawe" and of "the

region of Amduntug-Nunggawa-Antipolo-Kawayan" as being "non-Ifugao," and as being closely related to that of the Isinay of Bambang, Aritao, and Dupax. In the same work, he claims that the "Lagawi language can rightly be called an Isinay dialect."

A final piece of documentation in this regard appears in a compilation of "historical material" made by Ifugao officials in 1911 (Meimban 1911:123, my translation):

It is said by the people of this District [of Lamut] that the reason why their language is different from that of Quiangan and other districts of Ifugao is because "injanglulo" is a mixture of those of Asin, Isinay and Quiangan. Some people similar to those of Benguet live in Jucab, Nunbalio and other rancherias further up on the Lamut, and those from Isinay live in Tucac, Congicong, Dalipe and other small rancherias on the left side of the Lamut. Among themselves they speak pure Asin and Isinay respectively, but since they have lived close to each other and have intermarried, they have multiplied in this district and among their three distinct dialects they have evolved the dialect which they call "Injanglulo."

In addition, Meimban says that genealogies show that the first rice fields in Antipolo (Attipulu) were built by a Tinek man who married a woman of Camandag ("which belongs to the Isinay") and settled in "Antipolo." His report contains a brief reference to how the "Isinaes" of "Cauayan" and "Camandag" (both in southern Ifugao) were driven south to the Magat River and to the Imugan valley near the Caraballo Pass. Although he gives no approximate dates for these activities, the implication is that they occurred within the memory of his informants at the beginning of the century.

The 1903 and 1916 censuses. It was this rather limited and confused array of data on the populations of western Nueva Vizcaya and southern Ifugao that was available to Nueva Vizcaya officials at the time of the compilation of the 1903 census. The way out of the

confusion was to take "Isinay" (also, "Isinai" and "Isanay"), then limited to the people of Dupax, Aritao, and Bambang, and extend it to the mountain populations east of the Ibaluy of the Agno River and south of the Ifugaos of the Alimit and Ibulaao Rivers. The 2900 members of the "Isinay tribe" were described in the 1903 Census as residing in Aritao, Santa Fe, and Pingkian (all in modern Nueva Vizcaya); and in Asin (A hin) and Ayangan (in modern Ifugao). Out of this figure, some 1600 would have been I''uwak residing in Pingkian and Santa Fe; some Kallahan residing in Ayangan, Pingkian and Santa Fe, and lowland Christian Isinay who would have taken up all of the population of Aritao.).<sup>14</sup>

David P. Barrows, director of The Ethnological Survey of the Philippines, who was responsible for this decision (Barrows 1905:472; see Landor 1904: 479), invokes old historical ties as the basis for this usage:

Isinay is the language spoken by the Igorot of the hills in western Nueva Vizcaya, and by a part of the population of the towns of Aritao, Dupax, and Bambang, who are of Igorot origin, but whose ancestors were converted in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

To a large extent, "Isinay" was a residual category, subsuming all non-Ifugao, non-"Inibaloi", non-"Kankanai", non-Ilongot and non-Ilokano groups in Nueva Vizcaya province. The choice gained little acceptance however, and in the next national census in 1916, "Isinay" reverted to its old reference; i.e., to the Christianized people of the upper Magat River.

Nothing more is said about the "Igorots of the hills in western Nueva Vizcaya," although it can be assumed that in the 1916 census, most of them got included in the counts for "Inibaloi" and "I-waak,"

both subgroupings of "Igorot" (Beyer 1917:24), and in the Ilokano counts. A vestige of this old problem of classification remained till the census of 1960 (Republic of the Philippines 1960) where, in the "Mother Tongue" counts for the old Mountain Province, a language called "Isinai (Calason)" [sic] is described as having 18 speakers.

The use of "Isinay" in the early American years was an example of the highly self-conscious attempts among administrators of that period to narrow down the long, rather desultory lists of ethnic labels (see Blumentritt 1901) which had accumulated in the Spanish period. The most drastic cuts were initiated by Barrows (1905:468), who classified 111 "local names" for the whole Philippines under sixteen "tribes" in the Census of 1903. Inspired by the knowledge of the etymology of the word "Igorot," Barrows assigned it such a wide range of meaning that the northern highlands were described as having only two kinds of "wild peoples," and they were distinguished biologically. One was called "Igorot" and the other a small number of much darker curly-haired people of short stature called "Negritoess."

While "grade of culture" and physical characteristics (deriving from "Malayan origin") grouped the "Igorots" together, dialect variations created subgroupings within them. Dialect groups were called "tribes" in the documents of that period although Barrows, mindful of the political and evolutionary implications of that term in his time, used the expression with many qualifications (Barrows 1901-1908).<sup>15</sup>

By the time of the second national census in 1916, "ethnographic group" had replaced "tribe"; and "Ifugao," "Kalinga," "Bontoc," and "Apayao" had become the standard names for the "pagan

"ethnographic groups" inhabiting the subprovinces of Mountain Province (created in 1908) bearing those names. "Igorot" was retained as a cover term for the "Kankanai" and "Inibalois" dialect groups of Benguet subprovince. "Malaya," "Baukok" and "I-waak" were minor dialect groupings including under the Igorot rubric (Beyer 1917: 20, 24).

All the way into the 1960's, the Beyer (1917) list of ethnonyms became the generally accepted list of culturally and linguistically identifiable groups for northern Luzon. Political divisions in the old Mountain Province came to be seen as coinciding roughly with cultural (read "tribal") and linguistic discontinuities. Geographical boundaries and the presence of historically and economically important regional centers became major criteria for marking off ethnic and political units. As might be expected, some of the lines were more arbitrarily drawn than others, and transitional zones such as those connecting say, the "Kalinga" and "Bontoc" further north or the "Kankanai" and the "Inibalois" tended to be underemphasized.

The impression of ethnic units that was fostered was one of well-bounded entities separated by ecological barriers and oriented to a large, nucleated capital town. Each "ethnographic group" spoke "a language," and it was assumed in many accounts that a "pure" form of that language was to be found in a settlement within the region associated with that grouping. Material and cultural traits, such as "sleeping dormitories," "head-axe" shapes, ceremonial "costumes," ornaments, and house architecture were important diagnostics in delineating the "traditional culture" of each group. Descriptions of physical features and stereotypes about "natural character" said to

distinguish the different "tribes" received much circulation in Sunday-magazine feature articles and tourist brochures. Not unexpectedly, these images became popular even among the people they described, for the purpose of characterizing themselves to outsiders as well as for differentiating themselves from their neighbors in the highlands.

**Political Divisions in the Southeastern Cordillera in the American Period.**

The changes in the political organization of the southern Cordillera in the early twentieth century with the establishment of American rule are summarized briefly here. In 1900, the provinces of Benguet, Nueva Vizcaya, and Lepanto-Bontoc were created to administer the "non-Christian" populations of the north. Different sectors of the Kallahan area as we know it today were incorporated into all three provinces: Tinek and the former Commandancia of Cayapa became part of "Benguet;" and the old Commandancia of Quiangan, which covered areas claimed by the Dominicans in the Ibulao, Alimit, and Lamut River valleys, remained part of "Nueva Vizcaya." "Lepanto-Bontoc" was a very large province which extended from the Amburayan River in the south to a sizable portion of modern Kalinga-Apayao province; it included areas claimed by the Augustinians in modern Ifugao province, including Banaue, Hapao, and Kallahan-speaking Tukukan-Asin area.

In 1908, when the Mountain Province was created to consolidate the highland populations of northern Luzon under one administration, it was first organized into seven subprovinces: Amburayan, Lepanto, Bontoc, Kalinga, Ifugao, Apayao, and Benguet. Another set of boundary

changes occurred in 1920, at which time large portions of Amburayan and Lepanto which were occupied by "new Christians" were transferred to neighbouring coastal provinces. The "non-Christian" areas of Lepanto (mainly the Kayan district) were made part of Bontoc subprovince and the Mountain Province assumed the approximate form (with five subprovinces: Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao, and Kalinga)<sup>16</sup> which it had until it was abolished by act of Philippine Congress in 1966. The territory of the old Commandancia of Cayapa had been transferred back to Nueva Vizcaya in 1913 and has been part of that province ever since.

The reasoning behind this series of political realignments was shared quite widely among American administrators. It lay in American ideas about the cultural diversity of their new colony and about the most benevolent means by which government might take into account that diversity. The social and political separation of "wild" and "civilized" peoples, a distinction contained in the first census by the American administration in 1903, was well elaborated in the reports of the Department of the Interior (United States, War Department 1906: 57-62; United States, War Department 1911: 74-82). "Non-Christian" and "Christian," the latter occasionally used synonymously with "Filipino," were to replace "wild" and "civilized," respectively. "Non-Christian" was to continue to be used in official Philippine records until the 1950's, when the independent Philippine government in turn replaced it with the more neutral "Cultural Minority."

Accounts were numerous concerning the supposed long-standing hostility and suspicion that coastal peoples in the north felt toward

people in the hinterlands, and of the purported lack of knowledge among "Filipinos" about, or their incapacity to govern, the "non-Christians." "Special conditions," which were implied by an "inferior state of civilization," dictated the need for a modified form of government for the latter. In administrative terms, it resulted in the indigenous minority populations coming under the responsibility of the Department of the Interior, which appointed the men to represent them in the central government.

Such a highly protective and separatist policy for the "non-Christian" populations was received with enthusiasm all around. Optimism over the gradual acceptance of American authority was high among officials in isolated outposts in the Cordillera and their yearly reports to the Philippine Commission exuded a great sense of ambition and of euphoria.<sup>17</sup> Officials, missionaries and government ethnologists sought to publicize the uniqueness of their encounters with the "wild peoples" of the north.

Little was said of the actual communication, trading and travel that had always taken place and continued to take place between people in the mountains and in the lowlands, or of the extensive transitional foothill districts, especially those west of the Cordillera ridge, where the line between "Christian" and "non-Christian" could only have been drawn arbitrarily. Although the social as well as geographical polarization between northern upland and lowland peoples had become well established in the last hundred and fifty years of Spanish rule, the beginning of the idea of a unity among mountain peoples of the Cordillera received its greatest impetus in the early American period.<sup>18</sup>

#### **Historical Summary and Comment**

The following presentation summarizes what is known of ethnic units, inter-ethnic communication, and upland-lowland relations in the southern Cordillera from folk historical accounts and from the ethnohistorical record. Special attention is focused here on the social and historical conditions that engendered the rise of ethnic identities within the southern Cordillera. At the end of this section, I present some population estimates for the Ibaluy and Kallahan at different times in their history, with a view to providing some kind of scale to the social and cultural relationships indicated by the historical material.

Ethnic names. The area where the large majority of the 40,000 Kallahan-speakers reside today was populated in the early Spanish period by groups known as "Iawas," "Yguat," "Jumangues," "Panuypuyes," "Ipituyes," "Iapsay," "Ileaban," and "Alaguetes." All these, except perhaps for "Alaguetes", comprised the eastern and southernmost extensions of a larger southern Cordillera population called "Igorrotes," a term which at various times referred in the literature to all Cordilleran peoples and at the end of the century was limited to the Ibaluy- and Kankana'ey-speaking populations of southern Benguet. All of these subgroup names had a local focus at the time they were being used, and none of them ever applied to territories beyond those in which they arose. Two exceptions to this were the Panuypuy and Pituy people living in the Matunu River heights northwest of Aritao, whose notoriety in the Magat lowlands in the 1700's could have caused the extension of their group names to other mountain peoples who harassed the nearby Dominican missions. The

other exception was "Iawas" or "Yguat," which I believe to be the same name as "I''uwak."

At the end of Spanish rule, only "Igorrotes" and "I''uwak" had any currency among the ethnic names that appeared in the Spanish records of this upland zone. The Galvey expeditions in the early and mid-nineteenth century had established what were to be the minimal geographical limits of "Igorrotes" based on cultural similarities, including a linguistic peculiarity of both Ibaluy and I''uwak speech.<sup>19</sup> Galvey put the northern border of "Igorrotes" at the headwaters of the Agno River and its eastern and southern limits in the old Ituy area and in northern Pangasinan, respectively (Mas 1843: 25ff.).

"Iawas" or "Yguat" is the only other surviving group name (in the form "I''uwak") from the eighteenth century of this area. It is also the only other name (besides "Igorot") from this early list that appeared as late as the 1916 national census (Beyer 1917: 24).

As a result of Meyer's (1890:127) travels in Benguet in 1882, "Igorrotes" came to be known in the records as a cover designation for "Inibaloi" and "Cancanay" as well as for two lesser-known linguistic groupings, "Cataaoan" and "Suflin." The former has limited use in western Benguet today (in the form 'ikatawan ['ikatagwan]) to refer to the old Kankana'ey-speaking sector of Kapangan, but Suflin is no longer known. "Buriks," the label suggested by Galvey for the group Meyer called "Lepanto Igorots" three decades later was discarded by the 1890's and replaced by "Cancanay."

It remains a puzzle that the two ethnolinguistic labels "Ibaluy" and "Kankana'ey" appeared so late in the historical record

of the southern Cordillera. The name "Gaganayan," probably an early form of "Kankana'ey," (Scott 1974:43) appears in Quirante's 1625 journal, but is never used again in references to the southern Cordillera populations. Meyer's journals from his 1882 journeys and the de Pison and Franco atlas (1895-1896) contain the earliest descriptions of the boundary between "Inobaloy" (sic) and "Cancanay," to be publicized more widely by Meyer's correspondent, Blumentritt (1882, 1890) and subsequently by Otto Scheerer (1900). Another twenty years later, in the course of American "ethnological surveys," mention would be made of culturally related groups east of the Agno River watershed (i.e., "Ikadasan," "Kalanguyya," "Kalangotan," "Mankesang," and "Hanglulu," among others); and at least another half century passed before they would be described as ethnolinguistic categories by missionaries, linguists and other students of culture.

Population movements and lowland-upland relations. A chronology of events for a geographical region cannot necessarily claim to be a history of the people who occupy it today. The continuity in time between the populations of the southern Cordillera ten or twenty generations ago and the peoples who now speak languages called "Ibaluy," "Kallahan," "I'uwan" and "Kankana'ey" can of course only be matters of speculation. This caution is called for in light of the relatively late appearance of most of the present-day ethnic labels and the extensive movements of people described for this region.

Both the historical record and local history indicate that frequent shifts of individuals and small groups of people were not unusual for this region. Some movements would necessarily have been related to the expansion of swidden agriculturists, and in the

folklore, finding new swidden land at a distance from one's former home is romantically described as "losing one's way" in the course of a deer or boar hunt. A few years in a gold mining area in the southern Cordillera was common for many people, although those who did so went for short periods of mining, panning, or trading and probably had permanent homes elsewhere.

Less leisurely movements of populations followed small pox or cholera epidemics, locust plagues, or were in response to attacks from enemies, either from "buhul" from the north or from Spanish or American military operations. Antolin (1787) reports that in the second half of the eighteenth century alone, there were three epidemics of "the plague" and three of small pox, affecting the Magat River missions and the nearby highlands, and notes their effects on the baptismal registers. Genocidal campaigns launched by the Spanish on upper Matunu River settlements in the mid-1770's altered the population picture in the mountains east of Aritao and Dupax considerably and drove numerous people who lived within half a day's travel east of the Magat River further west into the mountains.

Missionary reports of encounters with members of different local groups in various sections of the Cabanglasan, Ambayawan, and Santa Cruz watersheds in the 1700's and 1800's (Rodriguez and Cristobal Lobato 1755, Antolin 1789, Fondevila 1834) provide many examples of how frequent and fluid communication took place over long distances in this mountain zone. For example, the route that traders took from Ituy to Tinek appears to have been well used. It involved going almost due west from Aritao to Bokod, travelling up the Agno River to Kabayan, and then turning eastwards again to the Kadaklan

and Asin headwaters. Malumbres (1919:210) points out that six hundred animals (presumably cattle and carabao) would be bought in one year in the 1780's in the Aritao area by people coming from "Leaban (Bokod)" and "Tino (Tinek)." Aritao traditions also speak of the ownership of cattle herds in that area by families who moved there from Bokod (Maddela and Tolentino 1972:7).

The journey from the Magat River to the Agno River alone took a week when livestock were involved, and the second leg of the trip to the Tinek area would easily have taken a second week. The maintenance of such a trade, which included northern Pangasinan towns as well and brought sugar, salt, beads, woven fabrics, porcelain and stone ware in addition to livestock to the Ambayawan and Agno River communities, would have depended on established traditions of visiting and hospitality with people along all these routes.

Accounts from older Kallahan-speakers as well as Karaw, Bukut and Ituggun informants in the 1960's allude to long-established relationships, primarily involving intermarriage and trade, between people in the highlands with Isinay-speaking people, whom they refer to as 'kinsmen'. Many of these, it is believed, are descendants of mountain people who went to the eastern lowlands in some distant time in the past. Isinay people in Dupas (Dupax) and Arittaw (Aritao) had the corresponding traditions until recently, and a history of Nueva Vizcaya written in the 1920's and 1930's (Maddela and Tolentino 1972: 73) gives "Caraos" as one of the ancestral groups of the people of Dupax, and "Panuypuyes" as ancestors of the people of Aritao. In the early 1960's, informants in Karaw spoke of people from there

travelling to Isinay areas to contract marriages and seeking to revive relationships that had been severed by the war.

A portion of a 'funeral dirge' (*bangil* in Karaw) recited in Karaw in the early 1960's was offered as an illustration of these social ties. In it, the spirit of the newly-deceased is taken through a sequence of places traditionally associated with Karaw people. Part of this list of landmarks included, according to the informant, names of sites adjacent to and including Gabut, north of Aritao, now the location of a missionary airstrip

A cultural "survival" of these ties with Magat communities is the continuing interest, among people in the central and southern Cordillera, in the acquisition of the ikat-dyed blanket called '*adashang* among the Ibaluy, '*aladdang* among Kallahan-speakers and *kinuttiyan* in Ifugao. This blanket, used as a death shroud, was woven primarily in Dupas, although it was obtainable from weavers in Arittaw as well before the Second World War (See Conklin 1980: 97). An ikat-dyed loincloth called *tinunwey* or *tiningwey* in the southeastern Cordillera was ritually associated with this blanket.<sup>20</sup> People in the upper Agno and in the Tinek area say that these blankets were obtained from Karaw traders.

Isinay as lingua franca. The historical accounts throw up numerous hints regarding the role that Isinay played as a *lingua franca* in the regional interaction described here. It was the principal indigenous language of the missions on the upper Magat River, had been a written language for its speakers<sup>21</sup> since the eighteenth century, and was the language the people of the southeastern Cordillera had to learn to go to trade or live there.

Its prestigious status would have ensured that "Igorot" communities such as those reported by Herrera in 1752 (see Fernandez and de Juan 1970: 104) as existing side by side with Isinay communities in Ituy would have spoken Isinay as a second language. Antolin (1789) reports the presence of Isinay-speaking guides travelling between northern Pangasinan mission outposts and Aritao, and implies that Isinay was spoken or at least understood by people on the Agno, Ambayawan, and Matunu Rivers. This was certainly true for the eighteenth century and may very well have been the case till late in the last century.

Barrows' assumption in 1903 that the language of western Nueva Vizcaya and some southern Ifugao regions was "Isinay" or was closely related to the Isinay spoken in the Magat lowlands becomes intelligible in this light. It will be remembered that at the beginning of this century, the languages of Attipulu and Lagawi were reported as being closely related to Isinay; and it is quite likely that there were many people in these southern Ifugao areas who spoke or at least understood Isinay. Bilingualism in Isinay among speakers of Southern Cordilleran languages in the Agno, Ambayawan, and Matunu watersheds as well as among "Igorots" living on the upper Magat River must have been common enough to have Isinay be reported as a language for that region. It is quite probable that Isinay-speaking interpreters, finding no difficulty communicating in their language with local leaders (who would be the persons most likely to speak a second, prestige language), were partly responsible for the language counts in the 1903 census. Two generations later, this situation would be repeated in many parts of the highlands with Ilokano-speaking interpreters and census enumerators.

Two separate points will be noted here. The first is that while Ilokano hegemony in the northeastern Luzon lowlands is something we take for granted today, Ilokano migration into the Magat valley did not occur in large numbers until after the American arrival, and then was to reach deluge proportions only in the 1920's with the opening of Balete Pass (McLennan 1980: 114). De Jesus (1980: 171) shows that, despite numerous incentives offered by Tobacco Monopoly officials, government efforts in the mid-nineteenth century to resettle Ilokanos in the eastern lowlands gained little response. The linguistic and political dominance of Ilokano in the eastern lowlands today belies the fact that it could not have begun to replace Isinay as a *lingua franca* in the Magat valley and the mountains to the east until the beginning of this century. In contrast, trade by Igorots from the Agno River and west of it with the Ilokano lowlands in the western coast was well established by the time of the Spanish arrival so that bilingualism in Ilokano among Ibaluy- and Kankana'ey- speakers was already quite extensive at the time of the American arrival.

The second point is that Isinay, a member of the Central Cordilleran subgroup of languages, is more closely related to such languages as Ifugao, Kankana'ey, Bontok, Kalinga, and Balangaw than it is to Ibaluy, Kallahan, or I'uak, which are related to Pangasinan. When people of the Agno and Ambayawan areas speak of their closeness to the Isinay, they refer to social relationships that resulted from intermarriage, residence, and trade in which Isinay was most probably the language of interaction. This qualification is important because speculation about the cultural relationships of Isinay tends to preclude the fact that many people

who speak Isinay today are probably descended from people from the nearby mountain areas who did not speak Isinay. Conversely, some people in the southeastern Cordillera who do not speak Isinay today are descended from people who spoke Isinay, either as a first or a second language. This kind of language-culture boundary problem reminds us that in accounting for patterns of interaction among populations in this region, it is imperative that linguistic, cultural, and social factors be considered separately.

The Karaw case. Karaw as a region and as a "people" receives enough frequent mention in Ambayawan folk lore to deserve further comment here. Karaw traditions point to a number of different "descent lines" that indicate a variety of origins for its present population. One widely known story speaks of Karaw ancestors coming from the upper Chico River area. Another points to a place of origin called "Baliling, near Munhuyuhuy," which would be east of the Agno River source. "Sabangan," "Palina," "Palileng," and "Balili" are all northern place names that have been offered by older informants. It is said that these northern ancestors travelled southeastwards, some settling in a place called "Diyang," or "Duwang" and others in "Panuypuy," described as "near Babashi" (Babaddi), on the Matunu River, before their arrival on the Agno River. Fondevila's (1834) mention of "Ipanuypuyes from Karaw" whom he met on the Ambayawan River confirms the Karaw-Panuypuy connection, as well as the traditional links between Karaw and the Isinay-speaking upper Magat.<sup>22</sup>

The early population of the Karaw area appears to have drawn from "Ibbumangi," "I''uwak," "Ipituy" "Panuypuy" (or "Puypuy")

elements as well as from people moving southward from the area around Tinek or Ahin who spoke dialects related to modern Kallahan. Despite their proximity to each other as well as to Agno valley Ibaluy, intermarriages among these groups are said to have been resisted for many generations. Karaw people preferred to seek spouses among their kinsmen in the Magat valley and I''uwak and Kallahan residents of Karaw found people to marry in the Kayapa area. This congeries of "outsiders" (from the point of view of Agno River people) in Karaw retained their group identities over a long enough period to have the labels for their local origins survive today in the names of rituals associated with them. "I''uwak," "Ipituy" and "Ibbumangi" are names of rites performed in Karaw by the descendants of Uwak, Pituy and Bumangi people. Atos (1982:48) gives the number of households in Karaw performing these rituals as 7, 9 and 4, respectively. "Ibbumangi" is also the name given to the religious practitioner who has the knowledge of that rite.<sup>23</sup> Today, all these ritual performances named after the local "descent groupings" that originally practised them are considered part of the total Karaw lore, which includes religious rituals adopted from nearby Ibaluy as well.

When Kallahan-speaking people on the Ambayawan River speak of Karaw today, they refer to it as if it were a predominantly Kallahan-speaking area, making special mention of the relations with Ikip, the Kallahan-speaking community immediately upriver from Karaw. This is the reason why, although Karaw is singled out (by its neighbors and by ethnologists) as culturally and linguistically separate from its neighbors, Kallahan in the south do not do so. Likewise, I''uwak

people elsewhere speak of Karaw by orienting to the part of its population that can claim descent from I'uak ancestors and which practices rituals which in Karaw itself are referred to as "I'uak." As recently as 1986, the betrothal between a Kayapa I'uak woman and a man from Karaw was widely described as a reestablishment of old ties that had fallen in danger of being forgotten. Similar references to the revival of Karaw-Kayapa relations arose in recollections of two marriages between Kayapa Kallahan and Ikip residents in the late 1950's.

Informants in Bokod in the last generation alluded to the long-standing enmity between the Bokod and Karaw people, one based on the witchcraft for which the latter were famous and another on the Karaw people's northern origins, which branded them as "headhunters" and practitioners of powerful witchcraft. The Karaw version is that, while they were treated as unwelcome latecomers by people in fairly well established Agno River settlements, their location on the small tributary upriver from Bokod enabled them to serve as a buffer between the Bokod people and the latter's traditional enemies, the Ahin and Palatang people. In actual fact, this mediatory role of the Karaw people was supported by a small number of strategic marriages with Kallahan-speaking refugees from the upper Ahin and upper Matunu in the north and with I'uak from the Ambayawan and lower Matunu in the east. Similar myths serving to justify a group's intrusion in a populated area abound in the southern Cordillera and attest to the boundaries maintained among descent-based groupings who have lived side by side for many generations. Some of the social organizational

patterns that support such boundaries in Kayapa are illustrated in Chapter Five.

The populations of the southeastern Cordillera. The Karaw situation merits this extended discussion here because it offers us a microcosmic view of the consolidation of small scattered descent-based residential groups that took place on a larger scale over wider areas in the southeastern Cordillera.

All the peoples of this region today claim descent from populations that ranged more widely in the southern Cordillera and in the nearby lowlands in the past. The mission at Manaoag, in northwestern Pangasinan, was, after all, seen by the Dominicans who took it over from the Augustinians in 1605 as a station for proselytizing to the Igorots residing there (Blair and Robertson XXXI, 140, 259; Scott 1974: 18). According to I'uak residents of Kayapa, their ancestors once lived on the upper Agno and upper Matunu Rivers, further north and east of their present location and as far south as the northern Nueva Ecija boundary, where the Spanish records originally placed the "Yumangues". In western Benguet, small communities of I'uak were known to have continuously occupied areas on the Cordillera ridge north of Trinidad up to the 1950's.

Otto Scheerer's (1932:200) account of the ancestry of the Ibaluy of Baguio gives a genealogy beginning with the marriage of "a Kankanay...of Iliseb rancheria" [Liseb, Diseb or Liheb, in Banao, on the upper Chico River] named Baglaw with a woman of Ambusi [the site of modern Paksu, on the upper Agno River, north of Kabayan], around the time of the Spanish arrival. The story of this marriage is widely known in the southern Cordillera, although by the 1950's, its

recollection already had a primarily political motivation; i.e., to reiterate the common ancestry of the Kankana'ey and Ibaluy Igorots of Benguet province.<sup>24</sup>

Kallahan-, Ibaluy-, and some southern Kankanay-speaking people trace descent to "Tinek," this being the name not only of a settlement but also of a larger region that includes the Ahin and Kadaklan headwaters, the Mount Pulog heights and the Matunu headwaters region known as Danggu. The area directly west of Tinek and north of the Lutab-Kabayan area is the region known as "Lu'u" (Loo) which includes, for many southern Cordillera people who do not live there, the settlements of Buggiyah, Amlimay, Ambusi, and Lu'u itself. In Ibaluy and Kallahan tradition, "Lu'u" is a transitional zone, where ancestors from southwestern Ifugao and the upper Chico and Abra Rivers (Lubun, Habbangan, Ba'uku, *Ginhadan* (Guinsadan), *Mageymey*, *Tadiyan* (Tadian) are most often mentioned) came to attend feasts or seek work in the mines or in rice field construction. They married local women and their descendants subsequently ventured out into communities further down the Agno or over the Cordillera ridge to the Amburayan and Galiano headwaters areas.<sup>25</sup>

For the southern Kallahan, the Agno headwaters region appears to have been some kind of a melting pot, a small-scale commercial centre which was an eastern terminus on the Cordillera for the highland-coastal trade whose other end were Banggar and Tagudin in modern Ilocos Sur. In Kayapa lore, the Lu'u and Buggiyah area was the source of the copper vats (*gambang*, also the name of the metal) used everywhere in this area for the large cooking requirements of feasts (or, more ordinarily, the everyday need to cook pig slops); and was

the distribution point for slaves from areas to the north and east, for iron tools, woven cloth, ceremonial objects, and other trade items brought over from the northwest coast of Luzon.<sup>26</sup> The route to the Ilokano lowlands from Arittaw went first through Bukut, then through Kabayan, Lu'u and Kayan, rather than through the Tuba area to Agu'u and *Sampilnandu* (San Fernando), which became the preferred direction at the end of the last century, at least for Ibaluy in southern Benguet.

The area north of Kabayan was considered the most important early source of rice cultivation techniques as well. The men who arrived in the Tublay area about the 1860's and constructed stone walls and rice fields came through Lu'u from *Habbangan* (Sabangan) and Tukukan and were familiar with the Kabayan area. Similarly, men from Tukukan and Ahin who arrived in the Kayapa area in the 1920's to construct rice fields are said to have come to the Ambayawan region through Lu'u and Kabayan, where they had been previously employed.

The Agno and Kadaklan watersheds served as a refuge at various times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for people who were fleeing the early Spanish incursions into the Tuba and Trinidad areas to the southwest and into the highlands west of Aritao.<sup>27</sup> The presence of copper and gold would have made the upper reaches of the Agno doubly attractive. It would have been natural for Pituy and Panuypuy refugees from the Spanish wars on their region to head towards the Agno River if they already had kinsmen there or at least were familiar with the area and its people though trading.

Kayapa accounts of the areas where their ancestors once lived imply a time in the not too distant past, about two hundred years

ago, when social, linguistic, and other cultural differences between the people of the upper Agno River and the people in the adjacent uplands to the north and east were quite minimal. Attempts to discover the linguistic affiliations of their ancestors in the upper Agno valley and in the oak forests to the east always brought puzzled responses in Kayapa, for everyone was assumed to "speak Igullut" and language boundaries did not appear to be an issue. Moreover, they were never an obstacle to travel and interaction. Informants describe marriages between people from southwestern Ifugao and the people in the Lu'u, Kabayan, and Addaway areas in the early part of this century as exchanges that served to revive kinship ties between descendants of siblings or close cousins who had been separated by migration to the upper Agno River from the Kadaklan-Ahin watershed. This impression among local people of relative social and cultural homogeneity supports what is revealed to us by the late appearance of ethnic names or of references to ethnic divisions in the historical record of southern Cordillera.

The emergence of ethnic identities. Here then is the familiar example of the geographic expansion, in this case over the last five or more centuries, of a population with a common cultural origin and the subsequent development of cultural and linguistic differences within different ecological and historical contexts. Originating in the northern foothill areas of Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, and La Union, and speaking closely related dialects of a language that had a common ancestor with Pangasinan, this population spread, gradually and in small groups, into the sparsely-populated heights of the southeastern Cordillera. Here they encountered speakers of Central Cordilleran

languages--ancestors of modern Isinay-, Kankana'ey-, and Ifugao-speakers--in the upper Magat valleys to the east and in the uppermost reaches of the Agno and Amburayan Rivers to the north. Along the western coast, the northern limits of Pangasinan speech was reached in the Aringgay area in modern La Union before the Spanish arrival. Keesing (1962:304) believes that the first movements into these uplands would have been associated with gold-mining.

A seventeenth century picture of the southern Cordillera would be one of a widely-dispersed, largely undifferentiated population of swidden agriculturists occupying the upland river valleys, cultivating the surrounding forest slopes, while extracting gold from the mines and streams and grazing cattle south of Mount Data and west of the Magat River. Within this population, the geographical separation among the Ambayawan, lower Matunu and Santa Cruz River people (*I''uwak, Ibbumangi*), the people of the Ahin and Lamut Rivers (*Kallahang* and *Keley'i*) and the Agno River people (the *Ibaluy*) had already begun to take on social meaning.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1830's, Galvey recorded the more limited scope of "Igorrotes" for these peoples. A rough idea of the minimum population of "Igorrotes" may be gleaned from Galvey's house counts: He listed a total of 165 houses for the Lutab area (modern Kabayan), 127 houses for Bokod, and 500 houses for "Benguet" (i.e., Benget, the Trinidad valley), or a total of 792 houses. Using a proportion of 5 persons per household, we get a figure close to 4000 for the three areas alone. This does not include western Benguet, where Galvey notes a large number of fields, cattle and houses in Kapangan alone; or the

mining areas on western tributaries of the Agno south of Bokod, where Fray Torres describes large crowds of people at a feast at "Cabuleo."

The Beyer (1916) figure of 13,421 for the population of "Inibaloi" indicates a fairly high mortality toll in the 85-year interim after Galvey's expeditions. Scheerer's grim statistic of 9 houses in the Trinidad valley in 1900, where Galvey had counted 500 in 1829, attests to the instability of Ibaluy populations in many areas as well as to the difficulty of making population estimates for earlier periods.<sup>29</sup>

Kankana'ey-speakers (probably the "Gaganayan" reported by Quirante in the early 1600's and Galvey's "Buriks" of the 1800's) originating from the upper Abra River, had reached the Baguio gold mines (Scott 1974:43) by 1600, and by the end of that century had already begun to spread into what were the more sparsely-populated upper reaches of the Amburayan and Agno where they were intermarrying with local people. It is quite likely that the language name "Kankana'ey" was an early exonym, one used by the early southern Benguet people to differentiate this familiar northern speech from their own. This long association with the upper Abra and Amburayan people explains why numerous people in Loo, Buguias, Kapangan and along the Halsema Highway trace their ancestry to the Tinek and upper Agno valleys but speak Kankana'ey today. This in turn explains why many Kallahan and Ibaluy believe that Kankana'ey language and culture are closely related to their own.

The evolution of an Ibaluy identity separate from their immediate highland neighbours must certainly be seen as one of the repercussions of the production of gold in the southern Cordillera.

The gold mines in the upper Agno River and in Acupan, Tuba, Antamuk and Buneng attracted people from all over this part of the Cordillera and the life histories of prosperous Ibaluys and to a lesser extent, of Kankanay men, usually involved trade in this metal between the mines and the nearby lowlands, if not a few years of actual residence in the mines.<sup>30</sup>

Wealth in gold became translated into the cycles of expensive prestige feasts (*peshit*, *peshet*, *pedit*) which became, to both lowlander and highlander, a distinctive feature of Igorot life. As the "Tonglo" mission accounts show (Perez 1904; Scott 1964), much of this wealth was, by the early part of the eighteenth century, going into the acquisition of herds of cattle and carabao. A large proportion of this cattle were used in the feasts as well and gave them a more directly redistributive character,<sup>31</sup> but for the most part they were traded in the highlands or sold to the nearby lowlands along with the gold.<sup>32</sup>

The fortunes of this cattle trade were to suffer many setbacks in the unstable peace of the southern Cordillera in the early nineteenth century. Rinderpest epidemics, documented for the nearby Pangasinan lowlands in the second half of the last century (McClellan 1980:169) were to take a heavy toll as well. Although by this time, cattle were coming into the southern Cordillera by more northerly routes, through Kapangan and the Amburayan River and through Cervantes on the upper Abra, a government report could give only 1200 cattle for Benguet at the beginning of American rule. Under American encouragement, the Benguet cattle industry was able to boast of 25,000 head of cattle by 1908 (U.S. Report of the Philippine

Commission 1909:245). Some thirty-five years later, these herds would again be destroyed in the second World War.<sup>33</sup>

Gold would have facilitated the expansion of irrigated rice culture, which began in the upper Amburayan and upper Agno valleys in the mid-eighteenth or the early nineteenth century, using labor of technologically more advanced people, usually men, who came from southern Bontok, southern Ifugao, and Kankana'ey communities. They were paid in either gold, cattle, copper pots, or in such highly esteemed objects as gongs, stone and porcelain ware, or woven blankets. Slaves (*bagaen*, *himbut*) brought in from southern Ifugao or occasionally from the nearby lowlands, worked in the construction of rice fields as well as in the mines. A considerable amount of folk historical evidence points to a direct relationship between the southward movement of Kankana'ey with the expansion of irrigated rice agriculture in northern Benguet.<sup>34</sup>

Rice was probably grown in small irrigated pond fields in river valleys in both eastern and western Benguet for several generations before this expansion. It supplemented the wet field taro<sup>35</sup> and starchy swidden crops such as sweet potato, millet, sorghum, and Job's tears, but was used primarily for rice beer. The relatively late spread within southern Benguet and into the Ambayawan area of terraced rice agriculture attests to smaller and less stable populations in this region compared to those of the upper Abra and upper Chico communities. Galvey reports extensive rice fields in the upper Agno valleys in the 1830's, where Antolin's friends describe only a few rice fields and no granaries (Scott 1974:219) in 1789. Although he notes extensive rice fields in Kapangan, Galvey says

there are none in Trinidad ("Benguet") in 1829 even with the relatively large population of 500 houses, although he describes extensive fields of irrigated taro.

There is evidence that this expansion was very gradual and uneven and that rice was not a principal part of diets in this region until relatively recently. The first pond fields in the Tublay-Ambungdulan area of western Benguet were built about 1860 onwards, by men from Buguias and Kibungan who had travelled through this area enroute to the lowlands and, according to the story, had learned techniques for rice agriculture from Igorots who had migrated to foothills near the Ilokano lowlands. The other pond field builder in Tublay was Mawmaw (christened Pablo Cariño, also called Pilay), a man from Benget (Trinidad) who settled there and was the father of Juan Oraa Cariño (see Chapter Two, footnotes). These early fields were few and small; and were not considered durable. The larger-scale construction of stone walls and pond fields occurred in this area only in the second decade of this century, when Kankana'ey- and Kallahan-speaking men from Sabangan and the upper Agno arrived there on the invitation of Mawmaw's children. These laborers made the first stone mortars for milling rice in the Tublay area and their wages were paid in cattle, pigs, carabaos and blankets. In the same decade, partly as a result of the newly-found peace under American government, a group of Kankana'ey and Kallahan men from the Buguias area were brought to Pangpang and Kayapa to expand the area of rice cultivation there. Lewis (1987:60) and Keesing (1962:89) also indicate that the construction of the largest and more permanent pond fields in Buguias and Loo took place in the early American period;

and that at least in Buguias, rice was grown primarily for fermentation into beer in the pre-war period and only supplemented swidden crops.

It appears then, that by the time of the Spanish arrival on northern Luzon, the basically swidden-horticultural mode of subsistence in the southern Cordillera, based on the cultivation of sweet potato and wet-field taro and supplemented by foraging and hunting, was already becoming modified by participation in an active highland-lowland pan-northern Luzon trade in gold, cattle, ceremonial objects, and to some extent of forest products. The expansion, about two hundred years ago, of wet rice agriculture in the Agno Valley and the Bauang, Galiano and Amburayan headwaters was made possible not only by this gold but also by the arrival of young men, many of whom were refugees from the north and from the nearby lowlands, who had the technical expertise for irrigated rice culture.

These particular ecological and economic adaptations as well as the demographic changes that accompanied them in the southern Cordillera were more than sufficient to evolve new patterns of leadership and other status differences between the people who lived in those areas (the "Ibaluy" of the late nineteenth century)<sup>36</sup> and their swidden-cultivating kinsmen (the "Kallahan" of the twentieth century) who were to expand into and to exploit the forested uplands to the east and south, pushing the smaller populations of "I'u'uwak" back to the southern and eastern zones from which they had dispersed northwards. The label "'ikadasan," (Ibaluy 'people of the forest') which evolved within the upper Agno communities and is pronounced as "'ikallahan" among the Ambayawan River people, constitutes an

assertion of this more recently marked ecological contrast. These dichotomies were not only to be enshrined in the stereotypes that wet-rice cultivators and swidden farmers now hold of each other's moral and social qualities, but were also attached to linguistic differences, such as those depicted in the labels "Kalangoya" and "Kalangotan." As we have seen, such differences became the principal idiom in which "ethnic identities" would be expressed in this highland area.

For the Ibaluy, the development of Baguio and La Trinidad at the beginning of American rule in their territory provided administrative and market foci for this emerging identity, although for only a few decades, for the surrounding mining industries would change the character of the Baguio population quite rapidly in the years following the second World War. For the Igorots in western Nueva Vizcaya, now separated from their distant kinsmen by an administrative boundary and more basically by a different ecology, there were no similar economic or political institutions upon which an identity might be focused. Up until the immediate post-war years however, there continued to be sufficient bases for a symbiotic interdependence with the Agno River people, who had rice and gold to exchange for labor, swidden products, and for the pigs fed on produce from the larger Kallahan hillside clearings. This complementary relationship is far less important today and, in general, ties between Kallahan and their highland neighbors to the west exist primarily in limited trade and in ceremonial domains.

A speculative picture of population growth in the southeastern Cordillera. An understanding of early linguistic, cultural, and

societal relationships in the southern Cordillera is hampered by the lack of demographic information. In the following, I recall Galvey's house counts from the discussion above and try to present some back projections of populations for the Ibaluy, who formed the majority of the people he labelled "Igorrotes."

Galvey's 1830 count of 792 houses in Bokod, Kabayan and Trinidad gives us a total of 4000 people, assuming a density figure of 5 persons per household<sup>37</sup>. My first guess is that, at the very most, there were half again as many people, or a total of 6000 "Igorrotes" in the Benguet area in Galvey's time. The additional 400 houses would cover the rest of the populated part of Benguet: i.e., western Benguet west of Trinidad (including Kapangan, Tublay, and Tuel), the gold mining areas to the southeast and other parts of the Agno River. The approximation is a generous one, and considers that the gold-mining areas were never described as being well-populated (Antolin's (1789) friends counted 45 houses in Acupan); and that any larger groupings of houses outside of the Kapangan-Tublay area, Trinidad, and the Agno River between Bokod and Kabayan would surely have been noted in Galvey's journals. The figures for Lutab and Bokod (165 and 127, respectively) could reflect some kind of population explosion that accompanied increased wet-rice production as well as the result of arrivals of refugees from the Mount Santo Tomas area after it was invaded about eighty years before. In 1789, less than fifty years before, Antolin reports only 33 houses in Ambayek, and 38 each in Kabayan, Mangangan, and Bokod (Scott 1974:174). The only other area described as having rice at this time was Kapangan.<sup>38</sup>

The 1916 Census (Beyer 1917) gives a total of 13,000 "Inibaloii," indicating an increase of only 7000 people in the 86 years after Galvey. This represents an average increase of 1.16% per year and this depressed figure can be sufficiently accounted for by the folk historical and documentary accounts of famine, locust plagues, epidemics, banditry, and Spanish expeditions including Galvey's. Contrastively, between 1916 and 1980, the Ibaluy population rose to 93,000, indicating a rate of increase of slightly more than 3% per annum.

The first table below displays estimates for the Benguet population for 1550, 1650 and 1750, projected back from the 1830 figure, at three different rates of annual increase. It is not possible to take into account changes through migration; for example, there is no way of calculating for Kankana'ey movements into this region or for outward movements to the western foothills. Here, 1.16% population increase per annum represents growth under the most adverse conditions, comparable to those obtaining in the last 70 years of the nineteenth century. 3% would represent optimal growth with some wet rice cultivation, urbanization, and American protectionist and public health policies. Figures calculated at 2% provide a comparison at an intermediate level of growth.

	1830	1750	1650	1550
	6000	1.16%	2385	753
		2%	1231	170
		3%	564	29

Fig.3.1 Population Estimates for Ibaluy back to 1550

Estimates of Kallahan population growth are given below. I use a 3% rate of increase for 1900 to 1980; and then a 1.16% increase for the other back projections.

1980:	40,000
1900:	3,760
1850:	2,112
1750:	667
1650:	210
1550:	66

Fig. 3.2 Population Estimates for Kallahan back to 1550

Recognizing fully the hazards of any early population estimates, the figures above allow us a rough impression of the scale of society and culture in the southern Cordillera.<sup>39</sup> One might ask, for the 1750 figures for instance, what the constraints of a population of this size or this level of density (slightly more than one person per square kilometer in southern Benguet) might have on the economic and ecological complex that encompassed gold mining, cattle herding, a trade in slaves for the gold mines, and redistributive feasting. And, in thinking in gross terms about the scale of society involved, these estimates could give us some sense of how to evaluate descriptions in the records or in folk history of the size, frequency, extent, or nature of feasts, "chieftains," slavery, land use, and other indicators of status differences at different periods of southern Cordillera history.<sup>40</sup>

The populations involved in southern Cordilleran history were not large, and the population densities were extremely low, given an approximate area of 2000 square kilometers for the region being described here. The figures support the idea of movements into the

heights north of Pangasinan and La Union of small, scattered groups of people over a long period of time, rather than the "mass migrations" often depicted in the folklore.<sup>41</sup> Given an approximate population of under a thousand in 1650, it is quite plausible that the largest settlements in the southern Cordillera were those close to the mines, as Quirante seemed to suggest (Keesing 192:65).

One hundred years later, in 1750, at the time the Arza expedition invaded the Tonglo area, the population of southern Benguet would not have been much more than 2500. A large part of this population abandoned southern Benguet and presumably headed east and north toward the upper Agno, at about the same time that Matunu and Santa Cruz River "Igorrotes" were being driven westward to the upper Matunu and the Agno River. My estimate is that ancestors of modern Kallahan-speakers would have numbered about 700 at this time. For a comparative example, if this figure were added to the 2500 for Ibaluy, the total would be roughly equivalent to the number of I'uak today.

Low population density also explains the slow and uneven expansion of pond field agriculture in the southern Cordillera. The technological knowledge for this was available from the areas marginal to the Ibaluy, from southwestern Ifugao, from upper Chico communities, and from the nearby western lowlands for a long time, and indeed, small numbers of men from these regions found their way into northern Ibaluy communities and transmitted that expertise. However, on the whole, population pressure was too low to necessitate intensive wet rice agriculture. Few needed or wanted the rice.<sup>42</sup>

The Buguias and Loo region, which lies directly in the path of population movements from northwest and northeast of the Agno River, and which is cited in Ibaluy and Kallahan lore everywhere as being a main source of Kankana'ey and Kallahan pond-field builders, did not acquire its extended irrigation systems till early in American times (Lewis 1987:61, Keesing 1962:89). The Kabayan area to the south was more extensively planted in rice at an earlier period, probably because of the residence there of rich gold traders. The elimination of the Busul menace and generally more peaceful conditions in the second decade of this century made for easier travel southwards of Kankana'ey and Kallahan laborers, and the individuals who were responsible for hiring these men, in Tublay, Kapangan, Bokod, Itogon, Dalupirip or Kayapa, were those who had wealth in gold and/or cattle. This wealth in gold or cattle existed in 1750, but was not used to increase acreage of rice production until late in the nineteenth century.

The rise of ethnic entities in this highland region must be viewed against this demographic background as well. There were two early major social boundaries in this area: one was a regional one, separating the "people of Uwak" of the western watershed of the Agno and of the areas east of there from the people of the Agno River, of the valley of Benget (Trinidad), and of the mines. Quite probably, this distinction arose in the mining areas on western tributaries of the Agno, where the division between 'people of Baluy' and 'people of Uwak' would have been most relevant. The second was a linguistic one, involving Kankana'ey and other Central Cordilleran dialects and the Southern Cordilleran dialects. The third boundary, separating the

"Ibaluy" from the people of the oak forest to the east, emerged relatively recently, with the beginning of the spread of wet rice agriculture in the Agno valley late in the eighteenth century.

However, there is nothing in the records or in folk historical accounts that implies that the geographical, linguistic, and ecological boundaries referred to, or the cultural specializations associated with them, had any important social or interactional implications. While Kallahan-speakers from various eastern localities settled in the upper Agno and were able to take advantage of a relatively undeveloped zone between the Ibaluy and the southward moving Kankana'ey, their numbers were obviously small and did not pose an economic threat to the Kabayan Ibaluy. By the 1850's, some of the 2000 ancestors of the Kallahan had begun the settlement of the Matunu River, thus relieving the pressure on the Agno valley. Toward the end of the century, they were joined in the Ambayawan valley by Ibaluy- and Kallahan-speaking people from the upper Agno itself.

On the whole, the ethnohistorical material and the demographic estimates support Kayapa Kallahan impressions of a cultural and linguistic unity in the southern Cordillera and their definition of the category "Igullut." The small populations of all the interdependent groups and low population density obviated any long-term economic competition in this part of the highlands and ensured social exchanges, including intermarriage, in border areas.<sup>43</sup> In the case of the Kallahan-speaking upper Ahin people, their low population in relation to the Agno Ibaluy facilitated their sharing of the Ibaluy niche in the upper Agno and, in most cases, their absorption into that population. This smaller relative population

size has been true of I'uak as well and was once true of the Kankana'ey where they shared borders with Ibaluy. The emergence of ethnic processes in this upland area is recent, and can be related to administrative boundaries established in the early American period and to differential access to urbanization and modernization.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>In this chapter, when places and place names are discussed as part of historical accounts, they will appear in the original orthography, and will not reflect Kayapa usage. Map 4 displays the locations of most of the places mentioned in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup>The summary that follows owes much of its content to Antolin 1789; Malumbres 1918a, 1918b, 1919; Blair and Robertson 1903-1919; Keesing 1962; Fernandez and de Juan 1969; and Scott 1966, 1970a, 1970b, 1974.

<sup>3</sup>The memory of this violent period is probably responsible for the local name "Pintiyan," given to the area of where the Santa Cruz River joins the Magat, in what is today known on maps as "Pingkian." The native name comes from the root *-patey-* 'to kill' and the affixed form means 'the place of killing(s)'.

<sup>4</sup>Mount Santo Tomas, in southern Benguet, was known locally as Alagut or Adagut. This could have been a source of the group name *I'allagut* or *Alaguete*.

<sup>5</sup>See footnote 14 below.

<sup>6</sup>See map in Scott 1974:106.

<sup>7</sup>This was not the only function of American military in Benguet in that early period, as the Report of the Director of Constabulary points out:

"The real work of the Constabulary is to protect the natives from the gambling tendencies of unemployed Americans in the vicinity of the Benguet Road, and to preserve peace between some of the northern rancherias." (United States, War Department 1907:265).

<sup>8</sup>D'Almonte y Muriel's 1883 map *Isla de Luzon y sus Adyacentes*, reproduced in part in Conklin 1980 (Plate 52b) shows the location of this region. Lewis' 1987 research in Buguias and Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid 1985 contain more recent descriptions of "Busul".

<sup>9</sup>I suggest at the end of Chapter Five that other cultural mechanisms are at work here as well: that pervasive constraints against the mention of names result in structural "genealogical amnesia," which ensures that these ancestors' names are forgotten within three or four generations after their deaths.

<sup>10</sup>In response to a question about where their ancestors went on headhunting raids, a Karaw informant said that they did not go into the Agno valley because it was "awkward" ('enewwel) to take heads among people you went to feasts with. A story from Kabayan tells of a raid in <sup>an</sup> area west of Mount Santo Tomas that brought back a head that was subsequently recognized as belonging to a distant kinsman who had gone to settle in the Kaptangan region. The mistake is said to have brought great remorse and a series of violent illnesses, including mental disorders, to the descendants of the headtakers. These stories support the common observation in this area that your 'enemies' are always "other people," and that each region has its "own busul." However, people in the Agno valley always went south or east to familiar areas, but never north. The boundary of "otherness" appears to have coincided with the geographical extent of feasting exchanges. All this supports J. Errington's (1989)

intriguing suggestion that headhunting and festive meat-sharing (discussed in Chapter Five) may have once stood in opposition as forms of social relation.

<sup>11</sup> See the works of M. Rosaldo and R. Rosaldo in the bibliography. For many Kallahan in the southern areas, the Ilongot is the archetypical headhunter: once, when I asked someone if he knew of any headtakers among his ancestors, he replied, *Ampat hiyay kanmuy Illunggutak?* ("Why, do you think I am an Ilongot?") However, the term *busul* is never applied to Ilongot.

<sup>12</sup> See M. Rosaldo 1980 for Ilongot descriptions of similar emotions, but which make no reference to ancestral intervention.

<sup>13</sup> See Pungayan 1985 for a chronology of *bindiyan* celebrations in these three communities in this century.

<sup>14</sup> In 1903, the "wild peoples" of Nueva Vizcaya were listed in the census schedules under the following "tribes:" *Isinai*, *Bunnayan*, *Silipanes*, *Alimit*, *Ayangan* and *Ilongotes* (Census of the non-Christian Tribes of the province of Nueva Vizcaya, 1903). The census schedules were signed by L. E. Bennett, governor of Nueva Vizcaya and the enumerators were Joaquin Velasquez and Rafael Bulayungan. The following Nueva Vizcaya districts were populated by 2900 members of the "tribu Isinai":

Aritao:	8 rancherias	369 people
Asin:	2 rancherias	238 people
Santa Fe:	9 rancherias	932 people
Ayangan:	2 rancherias	176 people
Pingkian:	12 rancherias	1161 people

The 12 rancherias of Pingkian given by the census are listed below, with their populations. The first spelling is Bennett's; and the second, in brackets, are reconstructions of informants in Kayapa.

Mahbatu [Mabatu], 116; Palalac [Patallek], 84; Taplao [Taplew], 51; Dapol [Dapul], 126; Pohlac [Pu'lak], 130; Victolong [Bittulung], 70; Amilung o Lebeng [Amillung, Lebeng], 81; Cruz [Kuluh]; Bayas [Bayah]; Butilao [Butillew], 162 (total for last three rancherias); Mahaningal [Makaningel], 90; and Panuypuy [Panuypuy], 251.

All of the names above, except for Panuypuy, are in the Ambayawan and Santa Cruz watershed. All, including Panuypuy, located on the lower Matunu River, are known to have been I''uwak settlements at the end of the last century. "Kuluh," "Bayah" and "Butillew" are old names for various parts of modern Pangpang (Kayapa Central).

<sup>15</sup>The enthusiasm with which the terminology for social and cultural units was debated by early American administrators is evident in the Annual Report for 1902 (United States, War Department 1903:686). Morgan's work on the Iroquois and Powell's classification of American Indians were cited extensively as sources of evolutionist concepts that were especially influential among anthropologists of the Bureau of American Ethnology in the late nineteenth century.

<sup>16</sup>The names of these subprovinces formed "BIBAK," the acronym chosen in the 1950's for the organization of tertiary students in Baguio City who were natives of these areas. In 1966, upon the creation of four new provinces--Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga-Apayao and Mountain Province--out of the five subprovinces of the old "Mountain Province," the last name became applied to what was once known as Bontoc (see Map 1).

<sup>17</sup>See Jenista 1987 for oral accounts of the enthusiasm with which American administrators were in turn received by their subjects.

<sup>18</sup>Similar conclusions about Ibaluy ethnicity have been reached by Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid's (1985) study of Benguet history.

<sup>19</sup>Galvey made reference (in Mas 1843:27) to the "ch-sound" in Ibaluy and cites *chua*, the word for 'two' in that language. This sound is one of a pair of sounds--the other one is *j* (or *dy*)--which occur in Ibaluy and I'uak speech and which outsiders often use to differentiate Ibaluy from neighboring languages, especially Ilokano and Kankana'ey. See also Scott (1974: 310) for a sample of "Igorot" speech from Pangasinan from the end of the last century.

<sup>20</sup>References made in the Agno River to the distinctiveness of the "Isinay blanket" appear in Antolin 1789 (224, 230).

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, Constantino 1982 for texts of prayers from Rocamora's 1876 *Catecismo de la Doctrina Cristiana en la Lengua de Isinay o Inmeas*; and for accounts written by Isinay in 1810 regarding the Spanish presence in their area. Scott (1974:104) refers to an historical memoir in Isinay, written in 1766 by Luis Beltran Pigu, a native speaker of this language.

<sup>22</sup>This information on Karaw relations with Isinay was obtained from Pedro Viray in Karaw in 1963 and in 1968. Viray claimed that the Karaw people were kinsmen of the Castañeda families of Aritao and Dupax, whose most illustrious member, Alfonso Castañeda (referred to in Karaw and in Kayapa as "Punsu"), was governor of Nueva Vizcaya in the mid 1920's. Fifteen years after these interviews, any knowledge about these relations with the Magat River appear to have been largely forgotten in Karaw.

<sup>23</sup>See Peralta for similar kinds of divisions in Buyasyas area settled by I'uak. Claerhoudt 1967, Chanco 1980 and Atos 1982 present descriptions of some of these ritual performances.

<sup>24</sup>The genealogies in Scheerer's account, obtained early in this century from people in Buguias and from Bayosa (Maria Bayosa de Ortega vda. de Cariño), a prominent Ibaluy woman of the Baguio area who died in 1939, have become the starting point for much genealogical and social historical research in Benguet. See Cariño 1984 and Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid 1985).

<sup>25</sup>In the folk historical lore (*shiba, diba*), people often speak of their ancestry as going back to the marriage of an individual who possessed some technological skill (a gold trader, a good hunter, a stone wall builder, a powerful priest, or a person with magical powers) who travels far from home ("getting lost" is the common image) and marries a woman in a community where he goes to a feast or where he becomes employed in some fashion. A more lighthearted version may be obtained as well, where an ancestor is obliged to flee home because of heavy debts incurred in gambling or because of some sexual indiscretion, but here the story is often ended with the moral that even men with such reputations can bring good fortune and have illustrious descendants. In all of the accounts, the male ancestor would have come from southwestern Ifugao or the Chico headwaters area and all marriages were uxorilocal. All of them also imply that travelling long distances across the southern Cordillera was far more common than it was recently and could even have been the pattern of the life of a young male adult of an earlier era.

<sup>26</sup>See Lewis 1987, Chapter 6, for a detailed account of this extensive trade in and out of Buguias.

<sup>27</sup>The relative inaccessibility and the low population density of the uplands east of the Agno River headwaters and in the Ahin and Matunu watershed are obviously what made them so vital in World War II (see Conklin 1980, Plate 49d) as well as to the "underground" of every generation. In addition to being home to the "Busul" of the end of the last century and early in this century, this zone supported General Yamashita and his troops in the closing months of the second World War; and is today claimed as part of the territory of the New People's Army.

<sup>28</sup>*Uwak* and *Baluy* were places names from the Agno River, south of Bokod. Coello and Morata (1849, see Conklin 1980: Plate 51) shows "Oac" close to the present site of the Ambuklaw hydroelectric dam. The two places represent an early regional distinction in this area, since the mountain ridge just east of this part of the Agno River constitutes the beginning of the larger region of "Uwak". The other name for Uwak, which appears only in songs, is "Bay'angan" (see Map 3), which means 'where the sun rises'. This etymology points to a western origin for the term.

<sup>29</sup>See Keesing 1962:85, 86; Scott 1974, Chapter 7 and Beyer 1917 for sources for these figures. Scheerer (1901:157, 190) says that many Ibaluy settlements were abandoned in the unstable last years of Spanish rule, and in the brief transitional period that involved the Philippine revolution against Spain and then the Philippine-American War (1896-1900). He reports a population for Baguio of 174 (49 houses) in 1900, a population density of 29 persons per square

kilometer; but gives a figure of 500 in 1893. His low mortality figures (Scheerer 1901:193) indicate that this depletion of population was not caused by deaths, but by out-migration. The social history of this period in the southern Cordillera presents interesting possibilities for investigation, for it was this last decade of the nineteenth century that saw the height of the "Busul" menace in the upper Agno River, reports of small millenarian movements on the Agno River and in the Pingkian area, and a stepping-up of the migration of Kallahan-speaking people southwards from the upper Ahin and Agno Rivers.

<sup>30</sup> Many women and children were employed in the industry as well, either in gold panning or in producing food and drink (rice beer, especially) and other services for the miners. Despite taboos on illicit sexual intercourse while working in mines being emphatic, for this was believed to make gold veins disappear, prostitution was apparently not unheard of. "Balkeg," 'five centavos', a word used to refer to prostitutes, is said to have evolved in those early mining communities.

<sup>31</sup> Pigs and chickens are the traditional sacrificial animals for offerings to ancestors in the southern Cordillera. Dogs and ducks are occasionally used in witchcraft rituals. Cattle and water buffalo, while offered in propitiatory rituals, function primarily to make large feasts possible, because of the larger carcasses. In some Kallahan and Ibaluy areas, a small pig may be sacrificed as a "vehicle" for the offering of a cow or carabao because it is believed that spirits may not be "familiar" with the more recently introduced livestock.

<sup>32</sup>A substantial lore was built around the *biyaki* (from Spanish *viaje* 'journey'), a term which traditionally refers to the trade in gold and cattle and other products between the highlands and the lowlands, but which today refers to all kinds of trade that involves travelling. In parts of western Benguet, a man who died would be buried with his feet facing west, in the direction of the lowlands where, it is said, men traditionally went to trade.

<sup>33</sup>See Tapang 1985 for an analysis of the sociocultural background to this industry from the point of view of an economist.

<sup>34</sup>Some of this evidence is presented in Tauchmann 1974 and Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid 1985.

<sup>35</sup>Keesing (1962:319) points out convincingly that terracing need not necessarily relate to the introduction of rice and that such an innovation was probably worked out in dealing with the production of root crops, particularly taro. All over the southern Cordillera until recently it was a common ritual to plant a few stalks of taro at one end of the first rice field to be planted in a settlement or in a culturally-defined agricultural region, a relic of the period when taro was of greater economic and ritual significance. Old people in Kayapa recall a time when only taro corms were allowed as the non-meat funerary gift for the relatives of a deceased person, even when sweet potatoes and rice had already become a major part of the local diets. Peralta 1982 presents data on an "I'wak" (I''uwak) community whose main agricultural activity is the cultivation of taro.

<sup>36</sup>The Ibaluy social and cultural responses to their peculiar ecological advantages in the mid-1800's are typical of wet-rice cultivating groups in the Cordillera. Only a few will be broadly set

out here: larger and more dense settlements (particularly in the Agno River); greater differences in wealth and rank within certain local communities, giving rise to the descriptions of petty chieftains and other aspects of social stratification in the Spanish and American records; slavery; elaborate visiting and meat-gift exchange patterns displayed through expensive prestige feast cycles; the reputation for ritual orthodoxy in some communities; cooperative labor exchange systems associated with rice cultivation and housebuilding and based on co-resident membership of descent aggregates; and the marriage alliances between influential families across the length and breadth of the southern Cordillera towards the end of the last century. This last feature receives much elaboration in Ibaluy and Kallahan folk perceptions because these marriages marked the outer boundaries of the extent of their cultural influence. In the mid-1920's, an attempt to expand these boundaries involved the journey of an unmarried rich man of Tublay named Pablo Cariño to Balbalasang, in Kalinga, to marry the daughter of a rich cattle owner named Puyao. While the suit failed, it is of interest that knowledge among Ibaluy of the potential of the sparsely populated Tabuk (northern Kalinga) area for cattle ranching goes back to this period.

A not very dissimilar set of circumstances in the Mankayan-Kayan area quite probably set the stage for the differentiation of the Kankana'ey. There are however larger populations, a long history of feuding among communities which the Spanish records do not speak of for the much more sparsely-populated areas to the south or east, and more intense patterns of social communication and intermarriage

with the western coastal and foothill areas than ever obtained in the southeastern Cordillera.

<sup>37</sup>The household density figure of 5 is intermediate between those of modern wet-rice cultivating groups (5.5 to 6.2 for Kayapa and Karaw respectively) and a swidden cultivating group (4.3 for the Hanunoo; see Conklin 1957:16).

<sup>38</sup>These house counts are not entirely comparable. It is possible that counts for "Bokod" by Galvey included nearby Ambayek and Magangngan and that "Lutab" included Antolin's "Kabayan." If Galvey's figures were indeed only for the two settlements and not extended to a wider region, then the population for this part of the Agno may have been quite a bit higher.

<sup>39</sup>If we were to consider Antolin's "bold" (Scott 1974:173) estimate of 10,000 for the "Igorrotes of the mines" in about 1790, we would be looking at a figure of 1600 people in 1630, and 5000 people in 1730 (at 1.16% increase per annum).

<sup>40</sup>Scott's (1974, Chapter 6) summary of what was known of "Igorot" ethnography by the end of the eighteenth century contains laudable efforts toward contextualizing the Spanish descriptions of various aspects of Cordillera society, which often went from extremes of romanticization of the primitive to unqualified condemnation. A lot of this kind of balance is also inherent in Antolin's 1789 work.

<sup>41</sup>Bagamaspad and Hamada-Pawid 1985 summarize the Ibaluy reconstructions of their early history. Their population figure of 3000 for the Trinidad valley (p. 171) for the end of the nineteenth century is not supported by the historical material.

<sup>42</sup>Features of relief, drainage and elevation, described in Chapter One, need to be considered in relation to population density in the southern Cordillera. On the whole, the high relief and colder temperatures made southern Benguet and the border regions of southern Ifugao and western Nueva Vizcaya relatively unsuitable for settlement. The elevations of areas of early Kallahan settlement, the headwaters of the Ahin and Matunu Rivers, closely approach the upper limit (1600 meters) on elevation for irrigated rice production. The problems here, in the Agno valley, and the upper Amburayan of irrigation at the higher elevations needed experts from southern Ifugao or the upper Chico River to solve them.

<sup>43</sup>All things being equal, the reverse of this proposition can also be shown to be true: that the lack of long-term economic competition in this narrow and generally inhospitable niche provides proof of the small populations and low population density. The relatively recent expansion of irrigated rice agriculture also constitutes proof of small populations in these circumstances.

## Chapter Four

### Speech and Language in Kallahan Culture and Society

In this chapter I describe the range of linguistic resources available to the Kayapa Kallahan and the functions of the different languages in their communicative repertoire. My aim is to discover the social meanings of the use of each of these languages, through a description of the history and the contexts of interaction between Kallahan and speakers of these other languages. Finally, I explore the communicative conditions that shaped the multilingualism among Kallahan and their neighbors and present the case for a southern Cordilleran "speech area," involving speakers of genetically diverse languages sharing rules for the interpretation of speech.

#### Kallahan

Kallahan is spoken as the first language in every household in Kayapa outside of the I''uwak-speaking settlements of Tuyungan and Li'bawwan. Within Kayapa it is alternatively called '*ehel* or *hapit* 'speech, language,' *Kihhang* (lit., 'loose speech') or '*ehel ni Igullut* 'Igullut speech'. Kallahan speech is coterminous with a Kallahan identity, although not necessarily with a Kallahan culture, for many elements of this are known to be shared with neighboring cultures. Except for a few I''uwak- and Ibaluy-speakers who live near them, no other group of people speak Kallahan, although it is understood widely in surrounding areas.

There is no local dialect that acts as a prestige standard for Kayapa Kallahan to emulate or imitate. Regional variations receive little attention locally, with distinctions in phonology or in vocabulary being made only in regard to immediately adjacent varieties with whose speakers there is some direct contact. Kayapa Kallahan speech has the local reputation of being "mixed" (*mihtihu*, Spanish *mestizo*) and deriving from a variety of regional sources. This "mixing" particularly refers to borrowed vocabulary and, to a less conscious extent to code-switching strategies, which will be the object of a separate discussion below. People regard the eclectic nature of their language and their culture as being the historical result of people of different immigrant backgrounds coming together. They consider the speech of more isolated and homogeneous communities to be more "traditional" and "pure" (*puru*, Sp. *puro*), if "obscure" (*nahait*). As well as lacking any interest in a prestige standard, Kayapa people are indifferent to the idea of preserving a local variety of speech.

#### Languages in Kallahan Culture<sup>1</sup>

Although Kallahan language is synonymous with a Kallahan identity, Kayapa Kallahan consider the knowledge of other languages as necessary to the functioning of their society and as an important part of their culture. Positive attitudes toward learning other languages make possible the widespread passive bilingualism found throughout the Kallahan-speaking area. From an early age, children at play may be heard repeating whole words or sentences in other languages heard from guests, teachers or over the radio and being encouraged by adults. In informal conversation, it is common for

people to display their knowledge of poetic forms and different kinds of conventional expressions in other languages, including greetings, swear words and ritual forms.

In addition to Kallahan itself, there are six other languages which are actively used in Kayapa and which constitute the Kayapa Kallahan linguistic repertoire: *Iballuy* ('Ibaluy'), *I''uwak* ('Iuwak', 'I'wak'), *Illuku* ('Ilokano'), *Kankana'ey* ('Kankanaey'), *Tagallud* ('Tagalog') and *Inglih* ('English').<sup>2</sup> Of these, the first three are, again in addition to Kallahan, the most important in terms of numbers of users and in terms of their frequency of use as codes. All people in Kayapa are at least passively bilingual in *Iballuy* and in *I''uwak*, the two languages they consider closest to their own, as well as in *Illuku*, the trade language of most of northern Luzon. This is the minimal linguistic repertoire for a Kayapa adult and is one acquired within Kayapa. Three generations ago, *Kankana'ey* was an active part of this repertoire for a large number of Kayapa people because of previous contact with *Kankana'ey*-speakers on the Agno River.

*Kankana'ey* is spoken by some forty individuals, thirty of whom were born in *Kankana'ey* areas to the north and the rest of whom acquired the language while residing in *Kankana'ey* areas. Many young people who have gone to the Baguio-Trinidad area for high school and college education also claim to understand *Kankana'ey* because it is one of the languages spoken by students there.

People who have at least a high school education are able to include *Tagallud* and *Inglih* in their repertoires. Receptive control of both of these languages is acquired at the same time because *Inglih* is the medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary

institutions and these are located in towns where *Tagallud* is spoken widely. In the mid-seventies, 35 people (or 25 percent) out of the combined population of 140 of Balat and Kuwartil claimed to be able to understand both these languages and all except two of these persons were under forty years of age and were either high school students or had recently graduated from high school. In other Kallahan-speaking settlements in the Kayapa area, the percentage of *Tagallud* and *Inglih* passive bilinguals is closer to twenty percent. Bilingualism in *Inglih* or *Tagallud* in *I''uwak* communities in the Kayapa area is minimal.

Radio broadcasts in *Illuku*, *Tagallud* and *Inglih* provide the primary opportunities for the learning of these languages. All three languages are read and written in Kayapa, but only *Tagallud* and *Inglih* are learned at school formally. In the last decade, brief but regular broadcasts in *Iballuy* and *Kankana'ey* have been made from Baguio City, but there are no broadcasts in Kallahan or *I''uwak*.

In general, because of their association with prestigious activities and institutions, *Illuku*, *Tagallud* and *Inglih* are codes that confer a certain amount of esteem on their users and the fluent use of any one of them gives one the aura of being learned, modern and widely travelled. Opportunities for speaking *Tagallud* and *Inglih* are however rare in Kayapa outside of the local primary schools or outside of meetings involving school teachers and other government officials, although individual *Inglih* and *Tagallud* words are commonly heard in the speech of Kallahan young people. In contrast, *Illuku* appears more frequently, in both formal and informal settings, either

in the form of words and phrases within Kallahan speech or as whole discourses in the presence of *Illuku* speakers.

As shown in the table of languages below (Fig. 4.1), the distinction between highland and nonhighland languages is a primary one in Kayapa Kallahan culture. Its relevance as a distinction is based on the historical links among adjoining Cordillera populations and the dominant role that language plays in marking identity in this region. These factors combine to produce an impression, in local terms, of a closely-related group of languages that are set apart from Christian lowland and other nonhighland languages.

Highland languages divide into those which are in active use in Kayapa and those which are not. Kallahan, *Iballuy*, *I''uwak* and *Kankana'ey* constitute the first group. There are languages which, while being objects of Kayapa Kallahan cognition as well as being subjects of conversation, are not used for communication in everyday Kayapa life. These are Bontok (*Ibbuntuk*), Ifugao (*Ikkiyangan* or *Tuwali*) and Kalinga (*Kalingga*), all classified by linguists as Central Cordilleran languages. Kallahan encounter speakers of these languages in educational institutions and industrial sites in the Baguio and Benguet areas. Bontok and Ifugao are more familiar to northern Kallahan, whose contacts with Bontok-speakers take place in Halsema Highway truck gardens and markets and with Ifugaos in administrative and market centers in southern Ifugao and northern Nueva Vizcaya. These two languages are mainly known in the Kayapa area today as languages of former enemies.

Non-highland languages are either geographically proximate or not proximate. Of the first group, *Illuku* presents the most

opportunities for contact and for actual use today. In contrast, there are nonhighland languages which Kayapa Kallahan know about but which do not play active roles in Kayapa interaction. These are Isinay (*Sinay*), Gaddang, Ibanag, Ilongot (*Ilunggut* or *Ibilaw*) and Pangasinan. All of these except the last are spoken in upper Cagayan and Magat River communities where Kallahan have occasionally gone to seek employment, higher education or trade and where some four thousand Kallahan-speakers have gone to settle permanently. Pangasinan is spoken in the lowlands south of Kayapa, where people from the Ambayawan River go to trade cattle. In interactions with speakers of all these languages, *Illuku* is the medium used, and any knowledge of these languages within Kayapa is limited to stereotyped greetings and obscenities. Kayapa people identify all these languages, with the sole exception of Ilongot, with Christian lowland society and as part of a wider *Illuku* culture.

Of the non-proximate, non-highland languages, Tagailud and *Inglih* are actively employed in Kayapa, while two others, Japanese (*Hapun* or *Diyapan*) and Spanish (*Kahtil* or *Ihpaniyul*) are not and now belong to Kayapa history. Spanish-derived words make up a distinctive part of Kallahan vocabulary and their role will be further discussed below. Japanese soldiers patrolled and briefly occupied Kayapa in early 1945 and gave Kayapa people their only opportunity to hear spoken Japanese. There are no Japanese loanwords in Kallahan.

Fig. 4.1 Languages in Kallahan Culture

1. Highland languages

1.a. In active use

1.a.1 Kallahan (*Igullut*)

1.a.2 Ibaluy (*Iballuy*)

1.a.3 *I'uwak*

1.a.4 *Kankana'ey*

1.b. Not in active use

1.b.1 Ifugao (*Ikkiyangan, Tuwali*)

1.b.2 Bontok (*Ibbuntuk*)

1.b.3 Kalinga (*Kalingga*)

2. Non-highland languages

2.a. Proximate languages

2.a.1 In active use

2.a.1.a. Ilokano (*Illuku*)

2.a.2 Not in active use

2.a.2.a. Isinay (*Sinay*)

2.a.2.b. Ilongot (*Illunggut, Ibilaw*)

2.a.2.c. *Gaddang*

2.a.2.d. Pangasinan (*Panggasinan*)

2.a.2.e. Ibanag (*Ibbanag*)

2.b. Non-proximate languages

2.b.1 In active use

2.b.1.a. Tagalog (*Tagallud*)

2.b.1.b. English (*Inglih*)

2.b.2 Not in active use

2.b.2.a. Japanese (*Hapun, Diyapan*)

2.b.2.b. Spanish (*Kahtil, Ihpaniyul*)

**Loanword Flow into Kallahan**

Because of the fairly fluid nature of the contact situation with speakers of neighboring languages, there is a large number of loanwords from these languages in Kallahan that are firmly integrated into Kallahan, phonologically and grammatically. Thus, if its source is Ilokano or one of the adjacent Cordilleran languages, the borrowed or native status of a lexical item is in most cases difficult to ascertain. Recognition of English, Spanish, Tagalog and some literary Ilokano loans tends to be more clearly supported by historical or cultural evidence.

While all six other languages in the Kayapa repertoire contribute loanwords to Kallahan directly, there is a seventh language, Spanish, which accounts for a large number of nonnative words in Kallahan, although there is no direct contact with speakers of Spanish at present. The Spanish influence on Kallahan, which is exclusively lexical and derives from the colonial period, reaches it indirectly through *Illuku* and to a much lesser extent through *Ibaluy* and *Tagalog*. Kallahan themselves do not recognize the source of the Spanish loans in their language, nor is there much discussion of the ultimate sources of any part of their lexicon.

Vocabulary borrowed from Spanish and English belong primarily to technological, bureaucratic and commercial domains, with Spanish loans covering these areas of culture for a greater period of time than English. Examples of Spanish-derived nouns denoting clothing, tools, implements, and other common household items include the following:

- kamihitta* 'T-shirt' (Sp. *camiseta*)  
*kamihun* 'chemise' (Sp. *camison*)  
*kadhun* 'pants, trousers' (Sp. *calzon*)  
*pantalun* 'pants, trousers' (Sp. *pantalon*)  
*hapattuh* 'shoes' (Sp. *zapatos*)  
*bastun* 'walking cane' (Sp. *baston*)  
*mattilyu* 'hammer' (Sp. *martillo*)  
*yabi* 'wrench' (Sp. *llave*)  
*barina* 'drill' (Sp. *barrena*)  
*palanha* 'iron' (Sp. *plancha*)  
*'adaddu* 'plow' (Sp. *arado*)  
*pala* 'shovel' (Sp. *pala*)  
*kuthada* 'spoon' (Sp. *cuchara*)  
*tinidul* 'fork' (Sp. *tenedor*)  
*tasa* 'cup' (Sp. *taza*)  
*lapih* 'pencil' (Sp. *lapiz*)

There is a set of Spanish-derived words used in animal husbandry which attests to the vitality of the early period of cattle and horse raising in the Ibaluy areas and in the Ambayawan River. Items from this vocabulary include:

*kural* 'corral' (Sp. *corral*)

*manhu* 'to tame, train' (Sp. *manso*),

*manadul* 'animal kept for breeding' (prob. Sp. *manada*)

*malka* 'animal brand' (Sp. *marca*)

*hilya* 'saddle' (Sp. *silla*)

*kastaniya* 'chestnut color' (Sp. *castaña*)

*bayu* 'bay (color)' (Sp. *bayo*)

*dukumintu* 'registration papers for livestock'  
(Sp. *documento*)

*baddahen* 'to whip' (Sp. *vara*)

*palti* 'to slaughter' (Sp. *partir*)

*baka* 'cow' (Sp. *vaca*)

*kabayyu* 'horse' (Sp. *caballo*)

*kalnidu* 'sheep' (Sp. *carnero*).

An administrative domain, covering government, the judicial process, elections, official titles, employs a mixture of Spanish and English words as well. Some of the more obvious examples from Spanish are:

*kurti* 'court' (Sp. *corte*)  
*'upisina* 'office' (Sp. *oficina*)  
*butus* 'vote, election' (Sp. *votos*)  
*kunsihal* 'councillor' (Sp. *consejal*)  
*gubilnu* 'government' (Sp. *gobierno*)  
*prisidinti* 'president' (Sp. *presidente*)  
*munisipiyu* 'municipal building' (Sp. *municipio*)  
*kuwih* 'judge' (Sp. *juez*)  
*mabista* 'to be presented in court'  
(Sp. *vista* 'view')  
*papilis* 'document' (Sp. *papeles*)  
*diklarasyun* or *diskarasyun* 'land declaration papers'  
(Sp. *declaracion*).

A sampling of English-derived vocabulary used coordinately with these Spanish loans is *puspun* or *kuspun* (Eng. *postpone*), *kuwisiyun* (Eng. *question*), '*apidabit* or '*abit'abit* (Eng. *affidavit*), *miting* (Eng. *meeting*), '*aturni* (used as a title, Eng. *attorney*), *dyads* (used as a title, Eng. *judge*), *pulis* (Eng. *police*), and *witnis* (Eng. *witness*).

The second World War produced a fairly predictable list of new words: *garan* (Eng. *Garand rifle*), *surinder* (Eng. *surrender*), *bakwih* (Eng. *evacuate*), *masinggan* (Eng. *machine gun*), '*utumatik* (Eng. *automatic rifle*), *paksul* (Eng. *foxhole*), *damid* (Eng. *war damage*), *salangwid* (Eng. *celluloid (identification cards)*), and *pinsiyun* (Eng. *pension*).

The figure below (Fig. 4.2) illustrates loan-word flow into Kallahan (Kl) and indicates the main direct and indirect routes by which language borrowing takes place.<sup>3</sup> In the past, English (En) and

Spanish (Sp) words primarily came into Kallahan through Tagalog (Tg), Ilokano (Ik) and Ibaluy (Ib); and Tagalog words were in turn borrowed through Ilokano and Ibaluy. Increasingly, English and Tagalog words are being adopted directly into everyday Kallahan usage through radio broadcasts and the educational system.

The chart also shows the importance of Ilokano and Ibaluy as links between Kallahan and those donor languages that are more distant from it culturally, geographically and historically.<sup>4</sup> English and Spanish, the most culturally distant of the languages in the repertoire, show the most paths to Kallahan, with 6 identical linked ones each and an additional direct path for English. Tagalog has three paths, one a direct one, one going through Ilokano and one going through Ilokano and then Ibaluy. The Ilokano-Kallahan link is used 5 times (English, Spanish, Tagalog, Spanish through Tagalog, and English through Tagalog). Ibaluy-Kallahan links 6 times (English, Spanish, Ilokano, Spanish through Ilokano, Spanish through Tagalog then Ilokano, and English through Tagalog then Ilokano). Neither *Kankana'ey* (Kn) nor *I''uwak* (Iw) are shown as having any intermediate links, although it is reasonably possible for linguistic elements to reach Kallahan from these languages through Ibaluy.

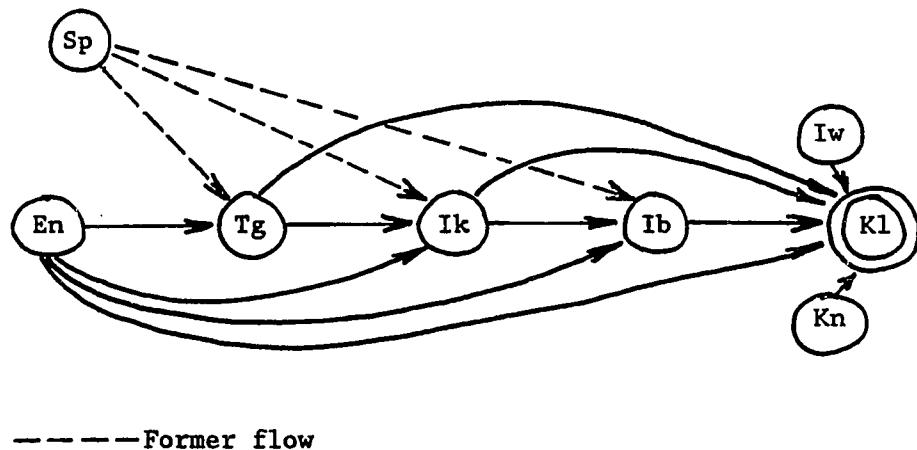


Fig. 4.1 Loanword Flow into Kallahan

#### The Functions of Languages in Active Use in Kayapa

In this section, I discuss the functions of the six other languages which Kallahan use in addition to their first language, through a description of the history and the contexts of the interactions with speakers of these other languages. My aim is to present the social meanings of the use of each of these languages and to explore the communicative conditions that shaped the nature of multilingualism in this region.

#### Iballuy

*Iballuy* is spoken by 93,000 people (Republic of the Philippines Bureau of the Census and Statistics 1983), primarily in Kabayan, Bokod, Sablan, Tublay, La Trinidad, Tuba, Itogon and in southern Atok and Kapangan municipalities, in Benguet province. The boundaries of this speech area were first set down by Scheerer (1905:99) and they continue to hold true today. The main exceptions are in the City of Baguio, in the commercial agricultural and industrial areas to the north and southeast and in lowland areas in Nueva Vizcaya and Isabela

provinces where *Iballuy*-speakers have gone to settle since the 1950's. In 1903, what is now the chartered city of Baguio (population in 1980, 119,000) was a cluster of *Iballuy* settlements now nostalgically referred to as "Kapawway," ([*kafagway*]) with 170 people (Scheerer 1901). Although only a very small percentage of its population speaks *Iballuy* today, "Bagiw," as the city is known in the Kayapa area, continues to be associated there with *Iballuy* language and culture.

However, it is the upper Agno River, referred to in Kayapa as "Pahlung" (from *helung* 'upriver') that is the territory most closely linked by Kallahan with *Iballuy* language and culture. It has been mentioned that ancestors of a large number of Kayapa people travelled among and lived in Agno River settlements before crossing over the Ambayawan River watershed into Kayapa. Today about half of Kallahan-speaking adults who are over forty have at least one parent or grandparent who resided in the Agno valley and who spoke *Iballuy* as one of his household languages. Marriages between Kallahan- and *Iballuy*-speakers was not unusual until the forties, and even today such marriages are regarded as upwardly mobile.

Genealogical connections, however remote, with prominent eastern *Iballuy* are cherished and cited at every opportunity. As evidence of the close kinship and ritual ties with eastern *Iballuy*, it is pointed out by Kayapa people that up to the mid-sixties, meat gifts of the category presented to distant kinsmen were delivered by celebrants of prestige feasts in Kayapa to some communities along the Agno River.

Most adult Kayapa Kallahan are aware of the phonological and morphological differences between Kallahan and *Iballuy*. People in their fifties and sixties today who spoke *Iballuy* in their childhood are able to shift to that language, although not without Kallahan phonological interference, when *Iballuy* guests arrive. Three- or four-year old children will occasionally be heard chanting minimal Kallahan-*Iballuy* word pairs (e.g. *dalan*, *chalan* 'trail, path, road'; or *yahyah*, *jasjas* 'breath') while at play, especially following these visits. The *Iballuy* influence on Kayapa language and culture is extensive and for this reason, many regard the Kayapa Kallahan as "hybrid Kallahan" (*mihtihun Kallahan*, from Spanish *mestizo*).

Occasionally, older Kayapa residents will travel to the Kabayan-Bokod area and to Baguio and Trinidad for weddings, funerals and other feasts. This has tended to decrease with age and with higher transportation costs as well. In addition to a ritual sphere, Kayapa Kallahan interaction with *Iballuy* takes place primarily in trade. One kind involves herding arrangements (*pahtul* from Spanish *pastor* 'shepherd'), by which *Iballuy* cattle owners take their cattle out to Kayapa for herding by local residents. Six *Iballuy* from the Agno valley own cattle or land in Kayapa, most of the land having been acquired by inheritance from early *Iballuy* settlers in Kayapa and now being cultivated by Kayapa residents in exchange for one-half of the net rice harvest. Visits from *Iballuy* increase mainly in mid-year, when the first harvest of the year comes up and when large feasts are likely to take place as well.

On the whole, Kayapa Kallahan regard *Iballuy* with mixed feelings of admiration and suspicion. They point out that major

developments in the Kayapa economy, including the introduction of cattle and of irrigated rice agriculture derived from Agno Valley *Iballuy*. Because of their longer exposure to lowland-style commerce and politics, *Iballuy* are perceived as having greater confidence in these contexts, and they have been the source of Kallahan models for interaction with lowlanders and especially with government officials. Many people recall the time when Kayapa was part of Benguet province and often express the wish that Kayapa could be returned to the jurisdiction of a government where "*Igullut*" could work together.

Stereotypes of *Iballuy* held by Kayapa Kallahan apply primarily to Agno River *Iballuy*, who are said to be forceful in their speech, arrogant, traditional (*madiba*) and overly conscious of status. Thus it is common to hear apologies made to *Iballuy* attending feasts in Kayapa about the comparative lack of ceremonial finesse in Kallahan feasts. Caricatures of *Iballuy* in Kayapa always involve a loud insistent voice and a haughty manner. In turn, *Iballuy* regard Kallahan as shy, uncommunicative, naive and prone to anarchy.

#### I' "uwak

"Uwak" is the name by which the region of the eastern Agno watershed and the upper Ambayawan River is known to older *Iballuy* and Kallahan people. Today, some two to three thousand people called "I' "uwak" by their neighbors live in small, well dispersed settlements in this region and to the south and east of it: in the settlements of Bulu, Tuyyungan and Li'bawwan in the Kayapa valley; in the watersheds of the Ambayawan and Imugan Rivers, east and south of Pangpang and Kayapa (Sayuching, Amidung, Ben'et, Lebeng, Salaksak, Buyasyas, Sina'pawan) in the eastern watershed of the Agno River

above Itogon and Dalupirip and south to the Pangasinan border (Shumulpus, Tali'ti and Uling).

A sampling of genealogies in the Ambayawan area indicates that at least five generations ago, *I''uwak* lived as far north as the headwaters of the Agno east of Buguias and Loo and as far east as the watershed of the Matunu River. Up to the 1950's, it was common to employ *I''uwak* labor in agricultural activities in Bokod, Daklan and Itogon. It appears that *I''uwak* have steadily moved southward in the face of Kallahan expansion in the southern Cordillera. Outside of the Kayapa valley, where some of them cultivate rice in pond fields and have been involved in the trade of pine resins, *I''uwak* generally rely on the swidden cultivation of sweet potato and taro for subsistence. In the Buyasyas area on the Imugan River, swiddens and irrigated fields are planted exclusively to taro (Peralta 1977).

The label "*I''uwak*" is used widely by their neighbors as an ethnic label, but it is considered derogatory everywhere in the southern Cordillera, particularly because 'uwak is the word for 'crow' (*Corvus*) in many dialects in this region. In the Kayapa valley, the term is not used ascriptively by *I''uwak*, who will however describe themselves as "We are they whom others call "*I''uwak*".

While Kallahan-Iballuy relations in the Kayapa valley are characterized by *Iballuy* socio-economic superiority, Kallahan-*I''uwak* interaction is described by relative *I''uwak* inferiority. In general, *I''uwak* people are poorer than their Kallahan neighbors, live in smaller houses and derive a much larger proportion of food from swiddens and from fishing and gathering. Few *I''uwak* own irrigated

rice fields anywhere, despite their having been present in the Kayapa valley at the beginning of the century; and this is the main reason for *I''uwak* animosity toward Kallahan. Today, the bulk of agricultural wage labour in Kallahan-owned fields in Kayapa is undertaken by *I''uwak* in all stages of the rice agricultural cycle. Workers come from as far as Amillung and Lebeng, communities about half-an-hour to an hour's walk away from Kayapa.

In other *I''uwak* areas to the south, the main basis for *I''uwak*-Kallahan relations is in the care of sows belonging to Kallahan neighbours. Half of the pig's offspring go to the caretaker after the piglets are weaned (Peralta 1977: 165).

Kayapa acquaintance with *I''uwak* life does not extend much beyond the *I''uwak* communities of Tuyungan and Li'bawwan, both in the Kayapa valley. Visiting is limited, despite the communities being only a quarter of an hour to half-an-hour apart, and is always brief and formal, tending to centre on business exchanges, especially labour transactions, cash loans or more commonly, the sale of *magiy* (Agave) leaves from Kallahan settlements for the manufacture of rope. In the western part of the valley, there is more frequent interaction and some intermarriage between the Kallahan hamlets of Gangha and Pulinadyu and the *I''uwak* hamlet of Li'bawwan. Few invitations to feasts are extended across communities. People on both sides say there really are few reasons for visiting.

There is even less reason to marry. Marriages between newly-arrived Kallahan- and *Iballuy*-speaking migrants and local *I''uwak* women occurred at the beginning of the century but stopped soon after whole families of migrants started arriving in the Ambayawan river

settlements from the north. In the two decades before 1970, only one arrangement to betroth their children was made between a rich Kallahan man and a member of an *I''uwak* community, but nothing came of it and no one regarded it with much seriousness in the first place.

Many *I''uwak* can claim descent from or are related by marriage to Agno River *Iballuy* in the areas around Bukut and south of it to Ambuklaw, Binga and Ituggun. These claims are known to Kallahan as well and are employed when socially convenient by both groups in their relations with each other. Thus, in discussions among Kallahan of highly stigmatized Kallahan-*I''uwak* marriages --there were at least half a dozen in the 1970's--, every opportunity is taken to refer to the *Iballuy* connections of the *I''uwak* spouse.

There is quiet contempt for each other on both sides. *I''uwak* describe Kallahan as overbearing, mercenary and lacking in generosity. Kallahan ridicule *I''uwak* speech, their lack of education and their poverty and describe them as suspicious and superstitious. In addition, they have abilities in witchcraft that make them a common bogey for Kallahan children. Both sides agree that it is different "customs" ('ugalli), developed in different "descent lines (*kapuli'an*)," that will always separate them.

#### Kankana'ey

The population figure of 125,000 for "Kankana'ey"-speakers in the 1980 census (Republic of the Philippines 1983) includes people described as "northern Kankanaey," primarily in Mountain Province and "southern Kankanaey" in northern Benguet. Kallahan interaction with Kankana'ey-speakers ordinarily takes place in border regions in

northern Benguet and western Ifugao, in the truck gardens along the Halsema Highway and in schools and industrial sites in Baguio and Benguet. People in Kayapa are also aware that many people who speak Kankana'ey and live in Kankana'ey areas today also trace their ancestry to Tinek and southern Ifugao and to Kallahan-speaking people.

*Kankana'ey*, alternatively called "Manganaen" and "Kalkali," is the least familiar of the highland languages that are considered geographically and socially close to Kallahan life. It belongs to the Central Cordilleran subgroup of Cordilleran languages that includes Bontok, Ifugao, Kalinga, Itneg, Balangaw and Isinay. For most people, links with the *Kankana'ey* are primarily sentimental ones, going back to the pre-war and immediate post-war period when that language was a more active part of the linguistic resources of Kayapa people. In the 1950's, in what are described as journeys to seek out kinsmen from whom contact had been lost during the war years, some Kayapa men and women travelled to Agno River communities as far north as *Kankana'ey*-speaking Lu'u (Loo) and Attuk (Atok) and Kallahan-speaking areas of Danggu and Tinek.

More recently, contact with *Kankana'ey* has primarily been in trade, in the truck gardens along Halsema Highway or in the Bobok Sawmill near the Benguet-Nueva Vizcaya boundary. Both general stores in Kayapa, established in the early '70's and the transportation company that now plies the road between Kayapa and the Benguet-Nueva Vizcaya highway are owned by *Kankana'ey* families.

Kallahan stereotypes of *Kankana'ey* are those held throughout the southern Cordillera: *Kankana'ey* are hospitable, clever and

industrious, but more easy-going than their *Iballuy* neighbors. There is a story in Kayapa of a woman visiting her *Kankana'ey* kinsmen in Lu'u in the fifties and being presented with a gift of a calf. In the last two decades, feasts in the *Kankana'ey* market-gardening areas of Benguet, which used to occur on a much smaller scale compared to *Iballuy* ones, have had few equals elsewhere in the southern Cordillera for frequency, size of attendance and amount of food consumed. The wealth in gold and copper traditionally associated with the "Huyuk" (Suyoc) region and its *Kankana'ey* traders has now been replaced by that of *Kankana'ey* farmers and businessmen of the Halsema Highway and the upper Agno River. Kallahan say *Kankana'ey* marriages to Chinese truck gardeners have been responsible for this new wealth and often use this example to rationalize marriages outside of one's ethnic group.

*Kankana'ey* speak of Kallahan in ways that *Iballuy* see the latter, as reticent, ignorant and easily intimidated. They also share with *Iballuy* the disadvantages, from the *Kankana'ey* point of view, of being unenterprising and a bit "other-worldly." The last trait, expressed in the term "*pilisupu*," (from Spanish *filosofo*) manifests itself in such generally "impractical" and "anti-social" behavior as preferring to live in small well-dispersed hamlets rather than in densely-packed villages, being verbally contentious or having a fatalistic approach to life.

Knowledge of *Kankana'ey* vocabulary among adult Kallahan is fairly extensive. Recordings of southern *Kankana'ey* (from Buggiyah and Kapangan) conversations and ritual celebrations have no difficulty being understood as well as enjoyed among Kayapa Kallahan

in their fifties. Today Kallahan people shift to *Illuku* or *Iballuy* to communicate with *Kankana'ey*, but it is clear from older informants' accounts that the knowledge of *Kankana'ey* in the Kayapa community was more common half a century ago.

Kallahan-I''uwak-Iballuy-Kankana'ey Interaction and Dual-Lingualism

Ordinary everyday interaction among Kallahan, *Iballuy*, and *I''uwak* in the Kayapa area involves semi-bilingualism (Hockett 1958:327) or what has recently been called dual-lingualism (Lincoln 1979-80:65). Here, a conversation between two people who speak different languages is conducted in the two languages (or varieties), with Speaker A, for instance, consistently speaking his own language and the other person (B) responding in his own. Up to the 1940's, dual-lingual conversations were possible in Kayapa involving *Kankana'ey* as well, but today these are confined to the northern areas where Kallahan-, *Kankana'ey*- and, to a lesser extent, *Iballuy*-speakers interact frequently and continually. My experience is that most of the descriptions of dual-lingual interaction in Kayapa apply to the border areas where *Kankana'ey*, *I''uwak*, Kallahan, and *Iballuy* make up the repertoire of indigenous language resources.

On occasions when *Iballuy*, Kallahan and *I''uwak* are present together, all three languages may be heard being spoken by each of their speakers. It is the most acceptable mode of informal face-to-face interaction in Kayapa between people who are not strangers to each other. Even in gatherings where the majority of participants speak one language, people in the minority are expected to speak their own language. When Kallahan or *I''uwak* visit *Iballuy* settlements, they may shift to *Iballuy* from time to time if they are

capable of doing so, but extended interaction invariably involves dual-lingual conversations. The choice to speak a language other than one's own adds a dimension of formality to the situation that is generally avoided in casual conversation.

The receptive control that makes a dual-lingual communicative strategy possible depends on close linguistic relationships among Kallahan, *Iballuy*, *Kankana'ey* and *I''uwak*, frequent and fairly fluid social interaction among their speakers, and positive attitudes toward learning other languages. The four languages share similar grammatical structures, and the knowledge of phonological correspondences and of large portions of the lexicons of the two other languages is well established.

Passive bilingualism, however widespread, is obviously not sufficient to account for dual-lingualism in this area. An important determining factor in Kayapa is the nature of the contact situation: it is one characterized by relative social equality among Kallahan, *Iballuy* and *I''uwak*. This accounts for the similar sociolinguistic status of the three languages: none of them are widely spoken by non-native speakers, none of them are written, neither one of them has very much more prestige than the other two, and finally, all of them occupy a minority position in relation to the main lowland trade language, *Illuku*. When considered in opposition to the other languages that do not involve dual-lingualism, Kallahan, *Iballuy*, *Kankana'ey* and *I''uwak* represent a local, traditional, *Igullut* ritual sphere within Kayapa Kallahan cultural life, whereas *Illuku*, *Tagallud* and *Inglih* stand for modern institutions of nonlocal origin, including administration, trade and Christianity.

Any decision by an interlocutor in a Kallahan-*I''uwak*-*Iballuy* conversation to shift to one of the two other languages depends on his speaking competence in that language and to the specific function that the second language takes on in that context. Both factors are ultimately tied to the relative socio-economic ranking of the three different ethnolinguistic groups. In Kayapa, any language shifting involving either Kallahan, *Iballuy* or *I''uwak* generally follows this pattern: Kallahan and *I''uwak* shift to *Iballuy* in conversation with an *Iballuy*; and *I''uwak* shift to Kallahan or *Iballuy* when speaking to a Kallahan.<sup>5</sup>

The reverse hardly ever happens: an *Iballuy* rarely shifts "down" to Kallahan or *I''uwak* and a Kallahan rarely shifts to *I''uwak*, except in the unusual situation of expressing solidarity with the person of lower ethnolinguistic status, or when the speaker is showing off his unusual linguistic skills. When it does occur, shifting "down" is a highly self-conscious activity in which speech differences and stereotypical speech patterns tend to become exaggerated. For example, Kallahan-speakers speaking *I''uwak* use the *I''uwak* interjection '*anagu* (an expression of surprise, rejection, or fright) frequently, and like to exaggerate the more lax character of *I''uwak* vowels compared to those in Kallahan. In any case, such shifts never go beyond one or two conversational turns.

While all Kayapa adults would claim to be able to make "upward" shifts, (for Kayapa Kallahan, this would be to *Iballuy* and for *I''uwak* it would be to *Iballuy* or Kallahan), only a few bilinguals are actually able to sustain them. When tape recordings that illustrate language shifts are played to an audience, the most common

comments, usually humorous, point to the brevity of the shift and the instances of phonological interference.

The abilities to make these language shifts are distributed differently in the Kallahan and *I''uwak* groups, with more older Kallahan and older *I''uwak* being able to make the shift to *Iballuy*, but only younger *I''uwak* being able (and perhaps willing) to shift to Kallahan. Young Kallahan adults, especially those with experience outside of Kayapa, tend to speak *Illuku* with *Iballuy* when outside of Kayapa and to leave the conversations with *Iballuy* within Kayapa to their parents. Since the difference between *Iballuy* and *I''uwak* is a slight one, phonologically and grammatically, *I''uwak*-speakers have an advantage over Kallahan-speakers in interaction with *Iballuy*, since they are able to shift to *Iballuy* with less difficulty. This somewhat offsets the stigma attached to the lower social status that *I''uwak* have relative to the Kallahan and the *Iballuy*. Not surprisingly, the acknowledged leader of the *I''uwak* community, especially in their dealings with Kallahan, is an *Iballuy-* and *Kankana'ey*-speaker who married into the *I''uwak* community and who speaks *Iballuy* in interaction with Kallahan.

Languages not Involving Dual-Lingualism: Tagallud (Tagalog).

*Tagallud*, under the name *Pilipino*, is taught in all Philippine schools and is heard frequently over the radio. It is not spoken in Kayapa, except by a handful of young people who have lived in Manila or who have been employed in *Tagallud*-speaking households elsewhere. All Kallahan who have had some high school education are able to understand *Tagallud* but have few opportunities to speak it. Because of the presence of *Tagallud*-speaking migrants from Nueva Ecija along

the main highway in southern Nueva Ecija, the Kallahan people of Imugan and Santa Fe have *Tagallud* as a more active part of their linguistic repertoires. Young people know numerous *Tagallud* love songs heard over the radio and have seen *Tagallud* movies in Baguio City and in lowland towns.

*Tagalog* is a Central Philippine language, more closely related to languages of the Bicol peninsula and the central Philippine islands. It was declared the national language of the Philippines in the 1935 Constitution. Walton (1979:85) gives a figure of 38% shared cognates between Kayapa Kallahan and *Tagalog*.

*Tagallud* is the language associated with the regional name "Manila," with the seat of government, known locally as *malakaniyang* (from Malacanang, the residence of the Philippine president) and with '*uldin* (from Spanish *orden*) 'peace and order.' In the years following World War II, five men from Kayapa were called upon to give testimonies in Manila courts in the prosecution of military personnel who collaborated with the Japanese. This was the first experience any people from Kayapa had ever had with the central government and with life in the largest of the *Tagallud*-speaking cities. People are aware that their links to government in Manila must be through *Illuku*-speaking officials in the Nueva Vizcaya lowland towns.

In recent years, young people have found employment in *Tagallud*-speaking households in nearby lowland towns or in Manila. The few who have gone to work in Singapore, Hong Kong and Middle Eastern cities as domestics all report that all interactions with other Filipinos abroad make use of *Tagallud*.

Inglih ('English')

*Inglih* is the language of *Mirikanu*, of Americans and Europeans of Caucasian background. It is the medium of instruction in schools and, unlike *Illuku* and *Tagallud*, is learned by Kayapa residents only through formal education. For the Kayapa people, this was first possible in the 1920's in the first primary school built in Bisong, on the upper Ambayawan River, two hours hike upriver from Kayapa. *Inglih* is the language of newspapers, magazines and all government directives, although the latter may reach Kayapa with *Illuku* and *Tagallud* translations.

Among the native *Inglih*-speakers with whom Kayapa people have had contact, there were American military in the second World War, engineers and officials at mining and logging camps in Benguet and Nueva Vizcaya, tourists and missionaries. However, most of the American missionaries who have visited Kayapa know either *Iballuy*, *Kallahan* or *Illuku*.

Communication with teachers at the high school level is almost exclusively in *Inglih*. A command of *Inglih* is synonymous with education beyond primary school, since primary instruction in *Inglih* in Kayapa is not ordinarily retained into adulthood for those who do not get further education. Young people who have had high school education write letters in *Inglih* and prefer to speak *Inglih* with *Tagallud*-speakers unless the latter speak *Illuku*. Today, any leadership role that involves direct and regular interaction with officials at the provincial or national level requires a command of *Inglih*. Because of their *Inglih* ability, teachers who speak *Kallahan* or *Iballuy* (there were five in Kayapa in 1970) play a crucial role here, for they are frequently called upon to compose letters for

people as well as to record proceedings of discussions that are important in litigation.

Older people in Kayapa, many of whom have travelled in *Illuku*-and *Tagallud*-speaking areas, are aware that while these two languages may be sufficient for discussions of government, administration and politics, *Inglih* is exclusively the language of science and technology. For them, *sayans* (Eng. science) encompasses the world of technological innovation, space travel and the technical explanations of common processes and everyday experience. Common questions asked of *Inglih*-speakers deal with natural phenomena (lightning, thunder, eclipses, time differences in various parts of the globe), health and biological processes (reproduction and contraception, common illnesses) and agricultural innovations (such as the seeding of rice fields by aircraft, or the farming of earthworms). Apart from its promise of employment in urban areas, the prestige value of *Inglih* and tertiary education derives from the possession of some of this esoteric knowledge.

#### Illuku ('Ilokano')

The long history of contact between *Illuku*-speakers and peoples of the Cordillera has assured *Illuku* of a special place in the cultures and societies of the highlands as the traditional vehicle of lowland Christian Philippine culture. The rate of Ilokano expansion throughout northern Luzon from their northwestern coastal home has been such that *Illuku* speech is today the predominant trade language of Luzon north of Bulacan province. Its three million speakers make *Illuku* the language with the third largest number of speakers in the Philippines after Sebuano and Tagalog. It is estimated (Lewis

1971:20) that in 1900, only seventeen percent of the combined populations of the Cagayan River provinces (Cagayan, Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya) were Ilokano-speakers; and that fifty years later, this proportion had increased to 83% for Ilokanos. In Nueva Vizcaya alone, 78% of the population was listed as speaking Ilokano as a mother tongue in 1960. Furthermore, the rate of bilingualism in Ilokano is very high among adult non-Ilokano in Nueva Vizcaya.

Ilokano belongs to the northern Cordilleran subgroup of Cordilleran (Tharp 1974), which includes languages of the lower Cagayan River and the north Luzon Negrito languages (see Chapter Two). Walton (1979: 86) gives a figure of 49% shared cognates between Ilokano and Kayapa Kallahan, using the Reid 1971 word lists.

In Kayapa, *Illuku* is seen as part of everyday, but nontraditional life, and it is the language used with most people encountered outside of the extended "local sphere" defined by Kallahan-*Iballuy-I*'uwak interaction. These relations take place in a wide range of contexts and with varying frequency and local importance. The spheres of activity involving *Illuku* may generally be divided between trade and administration. 'Trade' comprises a variety of business transactions, and by 'administration,' I refer to all the relatively recent, non-traditional, non-commercial formal institutions which involve the acting out of nationally defined roles on a local level. For Kayapa people the relevant areas of administration are in education, taxation, litigation, and elections.

Among the *Illuku*-speakers who come to Kayapa are teachers and other education officials, tax agents, land survey officials, mining prospectors, sawmill employees, missionaries, and traders in cattle.

There are ten itinerant *Illuku* traders, two of them women, who have been travelling to Kayapa since the 1930's or 1940's and the rest of whom are men involved in the cattle trade. They come to Kayapa two or three times a year, the men to buy cattle to sell in the Pangasinan lowlands to the south and the women to sell ready-made clothing, blankets, and mosquito nets. They understand Kallahan fairly well and are often heard attempting to speak it, although only briefly. There are also numerous opportunities for speaking *Illuku* to people other than *Illuku*, for the language is the main northern Luzon lingua franca aside from *Tagallud* and *Inglih*, and is used widely among different Cordillera groups.

When Kayapa people go to lowland towns or to Baguio City and Trinidad for trade, employment, education, or government matters, *Illuku* is the language of these activities. In addition, it is the principal means of communicating in the livestock markets of northern Pangasinan, the gold and copper mines, sawmills, hydroelectric projects, and truck-farming areas in surrounding provinces where Kallahan have gained employment from time to time and to which they continue to travel today. Its traditional role in communication with the world beyond the Ambayawan River has been such that, until recently, *Illuku* was the language used to address any kind of stranger, including Americans and others of European background, whether or not they were known to be competent in that language.

*Illuku* is the language in which the Bible is read and interpreted at Spiritist meetings which are conducted by some forty to sixty people in Kayapa every Sunday. In informal religious discussions, all quotations from the Bible are in *Illuku*, even if the

rest of the talk is conducted in Kallahan. The Bible in *Illuku* has been read in Kayapa since the mid-1930's and was for a long time one of the few forms of written literature available to Kallahan in any local language. For the dozen or so people who read the *Illuku* Bible regularly, the distinction between literary Biblical *Illuku* and a vernacular form is a salient one. This old association among *Illuku*, Christianity and formal Christian rhetoric has meant that, when presented with recent translations of the Scriptures in the culturally-closer languages of *Iballuy* and *Keley'i*, informants in Kayapa described them as "awkward" ('en'ewwel) and "inappropriate" ('agtu 'anam).

Also, the long association of *Illuku* with writing and print explains why, with the few exceptions of English-literate students and teachers, Kayapa Kallahan write their letters in *Illuku*. The *Illuku* magazine *Bannawag* has also found its way to a few homes, along with government and religious tracts.

Along with *Inglih* and *Tagallud*, *Illuku* is heard over the radio frequently, but unlike the first two languages, it is not taught formally in schools. Up to the last decade however, a large percentage of teachers in the Kayapa area were ethnic Ilokanos from Nueva Vizcaya lowland towns and *Illuku* was an unofficial medium of instruction in primary schools.

*Illuku* is important to anyone who aspires to a leadership role in Kallahan society today, because it is their acknowledged link with the majority populations in the lowlands and with national-level institutions. All local officials and teachers in Kayapa are actively bilingual in *Illuku*, travel to *Illuku*-speaking areas periodically and

must deal with *Illuku*-speaking officials at the provincial level on administrative matters. Occasional visits of *Illuku*-speaking officials to Kayapa present opportunities to local officials for enhancing their social status as well as improving their linguistic ability.

No dual-lingual conversations are possible involving *Illuku*. No *Illuku* is expected to learn Kallahan, or any highland language, for that matter. All adult Kallahan are capable of conducting brief conversations in *Illuku*, but in extended government or commercial transactions with them, a Kallahan must either be prepared to shift to *Illuku* totally or depend on a more competent bilingual to speak for him. This occurs in a variety of settings, formally in the primary schools and the local meeting hall when municipal and provincial officials are present, and less formally in the homes and houseyards, when *Illuku*-speaking visitors are present.

#### The Functions of *Illuku*

On account of its association with lowland Christian society and the prestigious institutions of modernization, *Illuku* has become a code of tremendous importance in Kallahan life. This is not only because it is used for communicating with non-Kallahan and other outsiders or for talking about subjects for which Kallahan lacks the vocabulary but also because it is a means of asserting for oneself the status that is ascribed to speakers of *Illuku*.

The influence of *Illuku* on Kallahan speech and language is most evident in vocabulary borrowing. All conversations among Kallahan make use of *Illuku* words and phrases. Discussions of politics, government, commerce, education and technology, all topics for which

there is no traditional Kallahan vocabulary, employ *Illuku* loanwords pervasively. As the discussion of loanwords above shows, most of these borrowings derive from Spanish and English words which have been borrowed into *Illuku* and subsequently into neighboring languages. In addition, whole *Illuku* phrases with specific grammatical functions may be interspersed in Kallahan discourse: *kas pangarigan* 'for example;' *malaksid nu* 'unless;' '*apay ngay* 'why?' '*uray kuma ngarud nu* 'it would not matter if;' and '*isu met laeng* 'it's the same thing.' Particles such as *ngem* 'but,' '*uray* 'even if,' '*apay* 'how come,' *tapnu* 'so that' occur extensively in Kallahan speech.

Setting, participants and topic pose the main constraints on the use of *Illuku*. In interactions between Kallahan-speakers, the influence of *Illuku* is primarily confined to lexicon and a few phrases, but in situations where *Illuku*-speakers are present, longer sequences may be spoken in that language. Deliberations on official and governmental matters may be conducted wholly in *Illuku* by proficient bilinguals, with occasional explanations of crucial technical details made in Kallahan in asides to the audience. In narratives spoken in Kallahan, quotations from *Illuku*-speakers are rendered in that language and in religious discussions, quotations from the *Illuku* Bible are not translated into Kallahan but recited verbatim.

Brief switches to *Illuku* in informal conversation have a variety of motivations and conform closely to what Blom and Gumperz (1972:425) call metaphorical switching. A person may use an *Illuku* phrase or even a whole sentence to lend emphasis to or claim

authority for what he is saying. Occasionally, *Illuku* is used by a speaker to distance himself from the embarrassing implications of his statements, such as when disclosing personal feelings or information of a sensitive nature or when asking a delicate favor. Teasing, if associated with criticism, often occurs in *Illuku* to soften the harshness of the confrontation.

On public occasions, shifts to *Illuku* discourse within a Kallahan speech generally have the effect of projecting a public, positional identity for the speaker and of creating distance between him and his audience. Consequently, *Illuku* is associated with objective discourse and is considered well suited for talk of a technical and "direct" nature. An apt example comes from an unmarried health worker, who said that discussions of sexual reproduction and family planning always attracted less embarrassed laughter and teasing when they were conducted in *Illuku* than in Kallahan. In Chapter Nine, in a discussion of formal speeches, I further examine the contextual factors that give rise to the adoption of *Illuku* as a stylistic variant.

#### Summary

The various languages in Kayapa Kallahan culture may be differentiated along the following dimensions:

1. Mode of acquisition. The mode of acquisition of the languages in the Kallahan repertoire is related to the directness of contact with native speakers of these languages. Kallahan, *Iballuy*, *I'uwan*, *Kankana'ey*, and *Illuku* are all learned informally, contact with native speakers is relatively frequent and all adults are at least passively bilingual in all these languages. *Tagallud* and *English*

are both learned at school, for the most part in contexts away from Kayapa, although radio broadcasts now provide the most continuous and pervasive means of acquiring vocabulary of these two languages as well as of *Illuku*.

2. Writing. *Illuku*, *Tagallud* and *Inglih* are written, while the other languages are not.

3. Dual-lingualism and cultural traditions. There is a major division within the Kayapa Kallahan linguistic repertoire between those languages which are involved in dual-lingualism (*Kallahan*, *Iballuy*, *I''uwak*, and *Kankana'ey*) and those which are not (*Illuku*, *Tagallud*, and *Inglih*). The two sets of languages are linked to two separate traditions: the first with local, "*Igullut*," non-Christian Cordilleran culture and the other with a Filipino Western tradition encompassing administration, education, and Christianity.

The second tradition, for which *Tagallud* and *Inglih* are "source languages" (Frake 1980: 248), must be interpreted to Kallahan through *Illuku*. The control that *Illuku* politicians wield over Kayapa Kallahan external relations depends largely on this mediatory role. Many Kallahan have expressed the hope that a tertiary education in English for their children could lessen this dependence. In recent years, the work of Protestant missions in Kallahan-speaking areas, by reaching the local populations through English-educated young people, presents an alternative in this direction.

#### Dual-Lingualism, Ethnic Identities, and an Areal View of the Southern Cordillera

Contemporary studies of the relationship of language and society describe groups of people as living in contact communities

with a diversity of communicative resources available to them, including the languages of their neighbours and different varieties and registers within their own and other languages. In this chapter, I have shown that, for the Kallahan people of Kayapa, the patterns of use of these resources are shared over a wide area in the southern Cordillera, with *Iballuy-*, *I''uwak-*, and with *Kankana'ey*-speakers. The most dominant of these patterns consists of the passive bilingualism in each other's languages, manifested in the widespread occurrence of dual-lingual interaction.

Here, the area of potential dual-lingual interaction involving Kallahan, *Iballuy*, *I''uwak*, and *Kankana'ey* coincides with the *Igullut* cultural area as conceived of by Kayapa Kallahan. The picture that evolves is one of a cultural unity among contiguous speech communities in the southeastern Cordillera, irrespective of their genetic affiliations, which are linked by overlapping communicative repertoires. Where one language ends and the next one begins is not only difficult to ascertain but quite irrelevant to local people as well.

A second shared pattern of language use that unites *Igullut* evolves from the similar status that Ilokano holds within the communicative repertoires of each of the *Igullut* groupings. My observations of the role of Ilokano in the external relations of other southern Cordilleran languages lead me to suggest that code-switching to Ilokano occurs in the same kinds of contexts and has the same functions in all *Igullut* languages. These shared interpretations of the use of a second language stem from the parallel histories of interaction between *Illuku* and the southern Cordilleran languages.

As we noted in Chapter Two, a large part of the informal day-to-day interaction among Kallahan, Iballuy, and I'u'uwak in Kayapa occurs with minimal reference to ethnic identity. From the standpoint of social action, dual-lingualism as a communicative strategy effectively results in blurring ethnic status distinctions, as these might be portrayed in language use. Dual-lingual conversations impose a certain degree of "undercommunication" of differences and therefore allows for a focusing away from cultural detail that is distinctive for each group, towards a stressing of shared values and mutually-accepted goals. The linguistic integration and convergence that characterize this particular multilingual contact situation find their social correlates in the processes of dual-lingual communication.

In formal speech situations, which will be the subject of Chapters Seven to Nine, contrasting social goals are achieved. For one, formal speech events often involve extensive use of Illuku and thus preclude any dual-lingual exchanges. The occasions provide opportunities for material displays of cultural identity as well as for traditional poetic exchanges and for metalinguistic focusing on traditional language in general. Here, "overcommunication" of what is distinctive in language and in culture motivates the interaction as well as is its result.

The cultural practice in the southern Cordillera of using lexical items to differentiate local groups may therefore be looked at in a new light. While it indicates how people primarily define their identity and that of their immediate neighbours in terms of language, a further interpretation would be that social groups whose

languages differ in lexicon are seen as in fact differing only in just that. The high frequency of dual-lingualism in linguistic border areas shows the contact situation in the southern Cordillera to be one in which different groups tend to keep their lexicons distinct but to merge their syntactic and semantic structures. Paradoxically, dual-lingual situations appear to also show that lexicon is the easiest part of other people's languages to learn, thus implying that differences in lexicon can not be very significant culturally. The contrast to be borne in mind with regard to language-naming practices is that between groups of people which are labelled in terms of lexical expressions and those which are not. Since groups labelled by vocabulary are those which are geographically closest to the people who call them these names and who are most likely to learn their languages, it appears that the emphasis on vocabulary difference has the effect of pointing out what is in fact a minimal cultural distinction.

In sociolinguistic terms, the southeastern Cordillera might be defined as what Hymes (1968:33) and Neustupny (1971:116) call a speech area, i.e., one within which rules about the interpretation of speech are shared. This approach depends on a regional view of language use patterns, based on elements that are common to a group of languages as a result of contact and diffusion, rather than as reflecting genetic relationships. The concept of a speech area assumes a dynamic model of diffusion in which speakers of different speech communities in contact situations make adjustments to their linguistic repertoires for a variety of cultural and social motives.

Diverse historical and sociocultural conditions led to the development of areal patterns of language use in this upland zone. The ethnohistorical materials tell of the forced population movements over a three hundred year period, in which intense and intimate face-to-face interactions among small groups of people from different speech communities took place in the southern Cordillera. Wide networks of trade, travel, and intermarriage depended on fluid communication links that would in turn be crucial to the easy absorption of refugee populations created by the wars on the Matunu River in the mid-1700's, by bandit raids that became common after the 1850's, or by locust plagues, epidemics, and famines that occurred intermittently all over the southern Cordillera.

Geographical and ecological factors form a backdrop to some of the sociocultural conditions underlying the formation of this speech area. The high, inhospitable terrain of the southern Cordillera ensured a low population density. Small, well-dispersed groups of people exploited subsistence niches with very little competition with each other. Throughout much of the Spanish period, these peoples were primarily low-profile minority groups enjoying relatively equal status in relation to each other and involved in symbiotic economic relationships with each other or with lowland or coastal peoples. Economic and ecological changes centred in gold mining and wet rice agriculture evolved social boundaries in the southern Cordillera that were eventually reflected in linguistic and cultural classifications.

Shared patterns of language use also benefited greatly from a lack of linguistic conservatism and from an openness toward learning other people's languages that took multilingual situations very much

for granted. As we indicate elsewhere, attitudinal factors were important in determining the extent of learning prestige languages, languages of relatively equal status, or languages of lower sociolinguistic status.

Because linguistic discontinuities, more than any other criteria, have traditionally dictated ethnic boundaries in the literature for the Cordillera, the resulting ethnolinguistic maps yield well-delineated social and cultural units that appear frozen in time and space. The study of historical relationships among languages in this area have primarily emphasized genetic relationships and paid scant attention to linguistic contact and diffusion. Furthermore, a preoccupation with language use patterns at the ethnic group level (i.e., in the generation and maintenance of ethnic boundaries) has made it easy to ignore the larger areal patterns of interaction in the southern Cordillera in which language plays a major part. By taking a wider regional view of language use patterns, it becomes possible to show how language is a major component of the long-term social adaptations of small swidden-cultivating groups such as the Kallahan and their highland neighbors.

In this and the previous chapter, I have considered the languages that form part of the sociolinguistic resources of Kayapa Kallahan, the interactional contexts of their use and their functions. To conclude this chapter, I have summarized the communicative conditions for the bilingualism and dual-lingualism in the southern Cordillera and presented the case for an areal perspective in accounting for the distribution of shared patterns of language use.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Map 1 for locations of languages discussed in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup>In this chapter, I will henceforward italicize the names of these six languages and the names of the peoples associated with them, to highlight their status as Kallahan cultural categories and to differentiate them from the language names with approximately the same spellings.

<sup>3</sup>I am indebted to Harold C. Conklin for improvements on an earlier version of this diagram.

<sup>4</sup>I thank Phillip L. Thomas for his suggestions regarding loanword flow, using a model of Latin vocabulary in English. This discussion of loanwords makes no reference to other minor ultimate sources of loanwords in Kallahan and other Philippine languages which are of philological interest. This list includes Chinese languages, Sanskrit, Malay, Arabic, Portuguese, American Indian languages and would make the distinction between Castilian and Mexican Spanish.

<sup>5</sup>There were a number of encounters between Kallahan- and I''uwak-speakers when I''uwak would shift to Ibaliuy mainly for my benefit or because of my presence. In all cases, I was travelling with the Kallahan party, and each time, one of my companions urged the I''uwak-speakers to "speak I''uwak" because it was differences in languages that I was interested in.

## Chapter Five

### Kayapa Kinship, Descent, and Social Organization

#### **Introduction**

This chapter begins the main ethnographic portion of this work. It focuses on Kallahan kinship, descent, and social organization, as part of one of the first tasks of the ethnography of speaking, that of the discovery of the significant categories of participants in speech activities.

For the Kayapa context, a discussion of speech variation as it is tied to the personnel of speech activities encompasses age, sex, divinity, regional or ethnic origin, specialization, kinship, and descent categories. I have organized the ethnographic material in such a way that these social dimensions are treated in various sections of this work. Chapter Two and Four have dealt extensively with regional and ethnic categories, as these are reflected in language. Gender and age fall within the discussion of evaluations of speech and language in Chapter Six.

Apart from kinship and descent, the rest of the list of social categories given here are included within the presentations of formal speech events. The notion of divinity, involving the distinction between the visible world (*matibbew*) and the non-visible world ('ag *matibbew*), is elaborated in Chapter Seven, which deals with religious 'invocations'.

Specialization in Kallahan society involves traditional specialist roles and modern specialist roles. 'Religious practitioners' or 'priests' (*mabunung* or *mabaki*), form one set of traditional specialists, and their responsibilities and nature of recruitment are discussed in Chapter Seven. The speaking roles of the set of Christian religious specialists, including Protestant *pastur* (Eng. *pastor*), Catholic *padi* (Sp. *padre*), and various officiants of the Spiritist movement are not treated in this work.

In contrast to religious practitioners, who communicate with supernaturals, the other kind of specialists organize persons, negotiate with them, and adjudicate disputes through articulate and forceful speech. In most cases, the public statuses of traditional leaders coincide with 'wealth', (*baknang*, *kadangiyán*) and receive frequent validation through the sponsorship of large feasts. The sharing of wealth as well as of wise speech earns men of this status the well-known description of "being beyond reprimand" ('*ag mayamyaman*).

The enactment of modern specialist roles take place within publicly-endorsed formal activities linked to local as well as national goals. Government officials ('*upisiyal*', Sp. *oficial*), including elective and appointive ones, school teachers, non-resident provincial officials, and the collectivity of former public officials, called *pasadu* (Sp. *pasado*), all share the characteristic of 'being in the [public] service' (*wadad silbisiyu*). Their public statuses are regarded as modern equivalents to the 'wealth' of traditional political leaders: at one feast, a man called upon an elected councilor to dance saying, "You too have wealth because you

have served as an official." (*Baknangka ngu tep nantudayka*). The linguistic components of these traditional and modern roles fall within the scope of Chapter Nine.

In this chapter, I describe Kayapa Kallahan kinship, descent, and social organization, as they function in the recruitment for communicative roles and in the structuring of cultural and linguistic relations. I begin by delineating properties of discrete and non-discrete social groupings in Kayapa society, including the 'household'; the 'house cluster'; 'relatives,' including 'close kindred' and cognatic descent categories; and a lineally organized 'meat-sharing group.'

In the second part of this chapter, I consider the development of Kayapa 'meat-sharing groups' and give a detailed historical account of the largest of the groups, called "Balat." The relatively recent settlement of Kayapa allows for the documentation of the formation and interaction of maximal social groups at different times in their history.

In the final part of the chapter, I present an analysis of Kallahan kinship terminology and discuss the non-genealogical uses of kinship nomenclature in deferential address.

### Kinship

The people of Kayapa reckon kinship bilaterally. This grants equal importance to relatives on both the father's and the mother's side, ensuring every individual of a pool of consanguineal kin from whom he can expect support, protection, and guidance. Affines become part of this circle of kinsmen upon their acquisition at marriage, and they assume social obligations that differ in no way from those

of a person's collateral blood kinsmen. Marriages are seen as serving to bring together kinsmen who have "become distant," and most affines are blood kinsmen to begin with. Because of this local endogamy (about 70 per cent in 1970) and because close kinship is an important factor in the choice of post-marital residence, Kallahan social relations outside of the household and neighbourhood find expression within maximal deme-like aggregates (see Murdock 1949:62; Bloch 1971:46; R. Rosaldo 1975:4) which are the historical result of a large number of consanguineal kinsmen intermarrying and living in adjacent neighbourhoods over many generations. These groupings, formed by the intersection of the personal kindreds of individual members, receive public validation of their boundaries in large, well-attended feasts sponsored by their more wealthy members.

#### The Household

The basic social and economic unit in Kallahan society is the 'household' ('abung, *hampangabungan*). Minimally, it consists of a nuclear family of a married couple (*hambaley*) and their unmarried children. At any given time as many as four generations of closely-related kinsmen may compose a household, as this conjugal group is augmented for varying lengths of time by 'dependents' (*naytekem*) who need to be cared for or who are invited to join the household to help with domestic and agricultural tasks. Aged parents, children of an earlier marriage, a spouse's unmarried sibling, or a spouse's parent's unmarried sibling are the common kinds of relatives found in coresidence with nuclear families, especially in the spouse's middle age when some expansion to the residential building has become possible. A newly-married couple may reside with either pair of

parents immediately after marriage but only temporarily, the exception to this being where one of the children inherits the natal home and remains there to care for the parents. Once all the children have moved out of their parents' house, an aging couple spend only a few years on their own before they are joined by one or two grandchildren, who provide companionship and help with domestic chores.

The household is the primary consumption unit; it shares one hearth (*dakillan*) at which its adults prepare common meals, using the pooled rice and swidden crop harvests of all its members. The cultivation or management of the rice fields (*payew*), swidden land ('*inum'an*), houseyard gardens (*baeng*), residential land (*sular ni 'abung*, from Sp. *solar*) and grazing animals ('*animal*, from Sp. *animal*) inherited or acquired by the married couple make up the main economic responsibility of the household. In addition, this coresidential group is recognized as a unit in cooperative labour exchange; i.e., each adult may substitute for any other adult of his household in the performance of obligations involved in reciprocal labour arrangements. Finally, prestige feasts provide an additional opportunity for a show of household unity, for here, the household is the smallest unit entitled to a meat share of the category called *buki* from the feast sponsor.

The household has the same name as the building it occupies ('*abung*). Traditionally, this is a single-room dwelling approximately 35-55 square metres in area, floored and walled with pine planks and thatched with *Miscanthus* leaf stalks. It is built on piles between one-half to two metres above the ground and equipped with a hearth

and a storage platform directly above the hearth. One door is connected to the 'front yard' (*bu'layyan*), a cleared and occasionally fenced area where guests are received and where certain kinds of ritual celebrations are held. A second door opens out onto a washing platform, usually built as an extension to the house, and used for the storage of cooking utensils, water containers and crockery. Most houses have a narrow porch off the front door which runs the length of the house and provides seating space for casual visitors.

The area underneath the house provides storage space for agricultural tools, firewood, chicken cages, rice milling implements, and pig troughs. Occasionally some of this area is fenced and partitioned into cages for pigs which return to the house in the evenings after foraging in the nearby forest.

The size and form of a residential house reflects the material resources as well as the developmental structure of the occupying household. A newly-married couple usually begin their married life as dependent members of the household of either spouse's parents. If this is not possible, they may temporarily occupy a granary ('alang) or live in a small hut (*kallapaw*) built near the rice fields, a form of housing which is associated primarily with the life of unmarried male youths. Within a couple of years the couple move to a separate house to become part of the household cluster in which one of the spouses grew up or on land in other hamlets presented to them at their marriage.

Some years after marriage and especially as older children reach puberty, construction of a second residential building may take place. This is usually joined to the first one by means of a roofed

gallery about two metres wide, which then becomes a new receiving area. The new building becomes a bedroom, often partitioned, for the older children; and parents and infant children sleep in the older building, whose other function, that of a kitchen, gives it the name *kuhinna* ('kitchen', Spanish *cocina*).

A small number of more affluent families may add a second extension to the first. By 1980, half a dozen two-storey houses, built of pine timber and roofed with galvanized iron sheeting, had made their appearance in Kayapa, but in all cases these buildings were used only for receiving guests and for sleeping. All cooking as well as all religious rituals continued to take place in the older house.

In a couple's old age, one of the younger children is given the natal home in the expectation that his family will care for the aging parents. All members of a household are buried underneath the house in which they spend their last years, or underneath the house which they built, if that is a different one.

House clusters. A household is part of a house cluster, a settlement comprising anywhere from one to twenty-five houses in the Kayapa area. Each cluster is named after the site in which it is located, and may have divisions within it marked by changes in elevation, trails, fencing requirements (associated with the raising of pigs and the location of gardens), streams, and irrigation channels. Interactional boundaries within settlements are implicitly defined by children's play groups and by pathways that link houses to trails, water resources, and work areas. Sites for households were originally chosen for their proximity to water sources, where

laundering, bathing, and gold panning were possible and where water buffalo were pastured in the dry season.

'Relatives'

Beyond the household, Kallahan have 'relatives,' *bunat*. This term has three synonyms: *ga'it*, *paltidus*, and '*agi*'. *Ga'it* is borrowed from Ibaluy, in which language it means 'kinsman, companion, co-member of a set.' *Paltidus* is from Spanish *partido* 'group, faction' and was probably borrowed through Ilokano. In discussions of collectivities of individuals, the plural reciprocal forms *hambubunnat*, *hanggaga''it*, *hampapaltidus*, and *han'a'aggi* are used synonymously.

*Agi* is the most polysemous of all Kallahan terms for persons. Of the four terms cited above, '*agi*' is the only one which can be used as a nominal term as well as to designate a relative.<sup>1</sup> It means 'sibling' in its most basic and only jural sense. Depending on the context of the discussion, '*agi*' may extend to consanguineal collaterals and, in its plural form, to the whole network of one's cognatic kinsmen. Outside genealogical discussions, '*agi*' takes on the Biblical usage of "brother," as in the statement, *Agi tep tu'u* "He is a kinsman because he is human."

Thus '*agi*' participates in three closely related semantic domains: the first in which the opposition is between 'cognate' and 'non-cognate'; the second which involves the contrast between same-generation vs. non-same-generation cognates, and the third in which the contrast is between lineal and collateral kinsmen. These semantic relations involving '*agi*' may be diagrammed as follows:

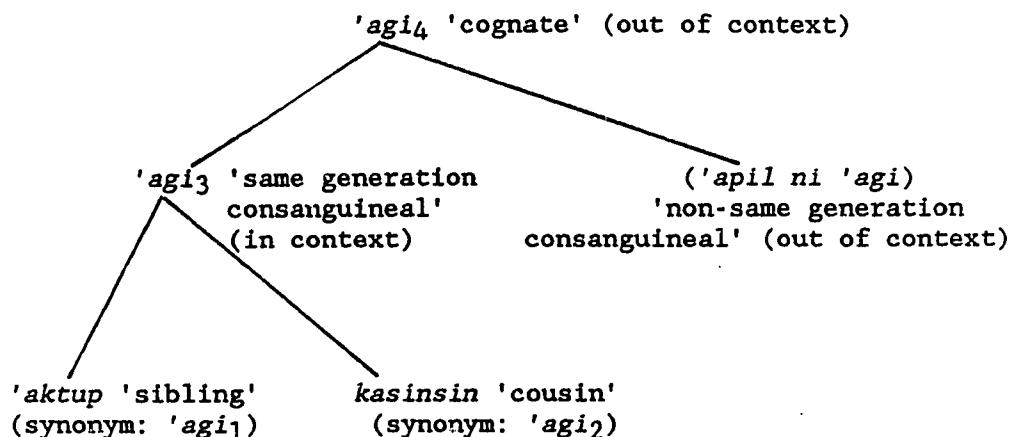


Fig. 5.1 Semantic Relations Involving Agi

At the highest level of contrast, 'kinsmen' are opposed to "strangers" in the Kallahan world of 'people' (*tu'u*). 'Kinsmen' are commonly described as '*aliwwen hipadda*, 'those of whom the question *Who?* is not asked,' implying that they are identifiable and classifiable by a kinship term.

Speech etiquette precludes asking the question *hipa* ('who?' as in *hipay ngadanmu?* 'What is your name?) of a person directly, or even indirectly if in his presence, except when the addressee is much younger than the questioner. In conversational discourse *tu'u* 'person, people' may take on the additional meaning of 'stranger' when the latter is contrasted to 'kinsman.' Children, seeing unfamiliar people approach, will often be heard to call out, "Here come some people!" (*Idman 'aliy tu'u!*) and will invariably be corrected, "Don't say 'people!' Can't you tell they are your kinsmen?" (*Apil ni tu'u. Amtam 'agim*).

Alternatively, kinsmen are described as '*andi 'apil nen hi'gada*' 'there is nothing different about them,' meaning that one's kinsmen are "like us" and belong to "our group." The term *ga'it* expresses the

positive aspect of this for its alternative meanings are 'companion, the second of a pair, the remainder of a set.'

The semantic relations involving *tu'u* may be displayed thus:

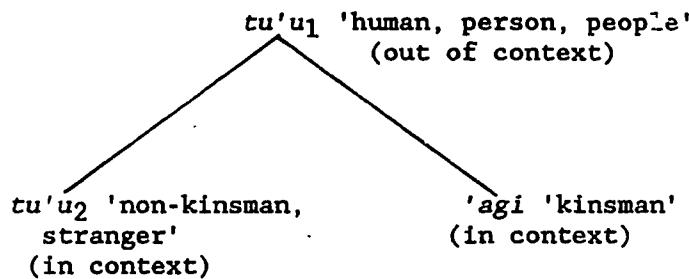


Fig. 5.2 Semantic Relations Involving Tu'u

The field of kinsmen is conceived of by Kallahan in two analytically different ways, one with respect to the individual at its centre and the other as a collection of individuals who claim descent from a common ancestor or ancestors. In its widest egocentric application *bunat* refers to any person to whom an individual acknowledges a cognatic link, whether or not the precise genealogical nature of the tie is known. The plural reciprocal form of *bunat* (*hambubunat*) is used to refer to the membership of this non-discrete grouping.

The core of this social category, a 'close kindred' (*pahalnged*) is recognized by Kallahan, and its membership is defined by the cognatic stocks formed by a person's two sets of grandparents. This is the group within which incest is strictly prohibited; to have sexual relations with any member of it is 'to harm oneself,' given by a verb (*mandudug*, from *dudug* 'oneself') whose other meaning is 'to take one's life.' In contrast, kinsmen immediately outside the

boundaries of this group, especially second cousins, are considered the most desirable source of spouses for Ego and his siblings.

One's *pahainged* includes the circle of persons with whom one maintains close and routine reciprocal relations throughout life. Obligations of its adult members to offer emotional and material support arise principally in litigation, around life crisis rituals, especially marriage, death, and at large feasts which a person may sponsor, or in agricultural and housebuilding work parties. A young man's decision to marry and the timing of a wedding celebration, for example, more often than not depend on the moral and financial support he is able to muster from among his parents' siblings. It is also from within this limited network that additions to an individual's household are made and, as a result of the close interaction among siblings and their children, membership in house clusters comes from within this group of first cousins as well.

Cognatic descent category. The plural reciprocal form of *bunat* also designates a cognatic descent category, a collection of persons who call each other 'relatives' because of a common ancestor or set of ancestors. Members of a cognatic descent category say they share a common 'heritage' (*puli, kapuli'an*). This consists of 'blood' (*dala*), a biogenetic substance differentiated from the red fluid (*kuhiyaw*) in our bodies, and a variety of non-biological attributes that are said to be transmitted from parents to children. In its broadest sense *puli* includes personality characteristics and dispositions, customs and ritual practices, shared moral interest, and other attributes that ultimately make up stereotypes about people of different genealogical and regional backgrounds. The fear that these heritable

qualities become "diluted" in marriages to people outside of one's maximal descent category is commonly expressed in people's objections to marriages.

Certain statuses that incur the obligation to perform specific rituals involving the livestock offerings to ancestors and the large-scale distribution of meat-shares are said to be heritable within certain descent lines. The individual obligation to perform one of these rituals becomes known in the course of divination (*baknul*). Similar to the genetic explanation given for the predisposition for headhunting in Chapter Three, the situation here is described as one in which a person's heritage "has him in its grip" (*kimmelat 'i pulitu*),<sup>2</sup> or has "possessed" him. The fulfilment of these obligations result in supernatural rewards, bestowed by ancestors of the descent category, and failure to do so invites such supernatural sanctions as disease and illness.

To describe the composition of the maximal lineally organized aggregates labelled *hambubunnat*, people will cite the genealogical connections among the oldest or most prominent living members of the truncated cognatic stocks associated loosely with household clusters in each settlement. In specific references to the membership of these residential groupings, it is common for the names of these persons to be given to these groupings. The plural personal article *di*, used before the name of a person, marks this distinction formally and exclusively. Thus, *di Balluhung* is glossed as 'Balluhung and his group (of kinsmen).'<sup>3</sup>

Recognition of ancestral lines is generally shallow and few adults know the names of any of their ascendants beyond the third

generation or any of their cousins beyond the second degree of collaterality. Genealogical knowledge is thought to belong specially to ritual practitioners who are called upon to invoke ancestors at feasts, but even the genealogies recited on these occasions do not go beyond five or six generations.

People ordinarily gain knowledge of who their more distant kin are at celebrations whose attendance include people outside of the immediate community and from observations of roles these people take on at these times. In speaking of his kinship with an old woman who was visiting Kayapa, an informant said he knew she was a kinswoman because he had seen her among the group of closely-related first dancers at his grandfather's feast some ten years previously. In most circumstances it suffices that the other person is known to be in the category of 'kinsman' and there seems to be little interest in establishing more precise kinship connections. On the whole people show most interest in the kinship statuses of strangers who are their contemporaries and especially those who are potential spouses.

#### Hankabuki'an 'Meat-Sharing Group'

Out of this maximal descent category there becomes relevant, in the context of large feasts, a bounded group called *hankabuki'an* 'meat-sharing group,' which consists of all co-resident individuals who share a common ancestor or ancestors. For the people of the hamlet of Balat, for example, membership in the meat-sharing group to which they belong consists of all descendants of the set of ancestors that came from Anhiphip to Balat in the second decade of this century and who now reside in the Kayapa region.

*Hankabuki'an* derives from *-buki-* 'animal meat'; and the affix sequence consisting of *han-*, *ka-*...*-an* signifies co-membership in a group. The reference to meat is specifically to the meat-shares received by kinsmen at a feast celebrated by one of the members of this 'meat-sharing group.' "Co-resident" must be qualified to include all kinsmen who, although not residing locally, continue to maintain contact with their close kinsmen and are, by local cognizance, members of the community.

Meat from slaughtered sacrificial animals is the most publicly displayed object at a large feast. Its preparation, a predominantly male concern, requires the attention of a feast sponsor's kinsmen who are most experienced in this type of activity and who may be depended upon to make judicious decisions regarding the number and kinds of livestock involved, the size of meat shares, and the extent of their geographical distribution. The ritual distinctions between 'kinsmen' and 'non-kinsmen' (*mangili*) at a large feast are expressed in types of meat shares and in the spatial organization of receiving kinsmen and non-kinsmen at a feast.

The following chart shows the terminological distinctions, based on type of recipient and method of preparation of meat-shares:

	<u>kinsman</u>	<u>non-kinsman</u>
cooked:	<i>watwat</i>	<i>belwa</i>
uncooked:	<i>buki</i>	<i>ngelab</i> or <i>tegteg</i>

Fig. 5.3 Terminology for Meat-Shares

*Buki* and *watwat* are the names of meat-shares presented to kinsmen. *Buki* consists of raw slices of meat, totalling anywhere from 200-400 grams per household, strung together on a strip of bamboo and delivered to houses of kinsmen by men chosen by a feast sponsor. When possible, each household receives as many slices of meat as there are members; recently, for austerity reasons, shares from feasts have been limited to a fixed bundle of 3 or 4 slices per household. *Watwat* (lit., 'to distribute') consists of cooked slices of meat, served to an individual at a meal at the feast, along with rice, broth, salt, and occasionally sweet potatoes or taro. This portion is meant to be consumed at the feast, at least partially, and is differentiated from other cooked portions of meat (*lamdang*) which are served at the feast without the accompaniment of broth, rice, or another starch staple.

Those members who have married out of the meat-sharing group receive *buki* as well. If they live among non-members of their meat-sharing group, their houses are 'marked out' (*du'tukenda*) for delivery of *buki* from among all other residents of the settlement who may be receiving meat gifts classified as non-kinsmen's shares. The children of these marriages are considered members of their parents' separate meat-sharing groups until they themselves marry, after which time their membership is decided by their choice of residence.

Non-kinsmen receive 'meat-gifts' (*buki*), which are also of two kinds: one called *belwa* for cooked gifts and the other *ngelab* or *tegtek* for uncooked gifts. Meat gifts of these categories are allocated not to individuals but to groups, and are given in the form of unsliced, large pieces of meat. Each of these groups consists of persons who are themselves meat-sharing kinsmen; and for the purpose

of the distribution of uncooked meat gifts, they are treated as delegations representing different *hankabuki'an*.

The size of meat prestations depend on the size of the recipient group, the closeness of their relationship to the sponsor's group, and the amount of meat available. The difference between *ngelab* and *tegtek* (lit. 'to chop') is in size: the first designates small portions of a carcass, while *tegtek* could mean a quarter, half a carcass, or even a whole animal if the receiving community was large or if the host was generous. In the past, a delegation from a large community of nonkinsmen could be expected to drive a gift cow or buffalo home from a feast. *Belwa* refers to a cooked, unsliced portion of an animal, presented at mealtime to distinct groups of meat-sharing kinsmen, and accompanied by rice, broth, and condiments. Again, *belwa* is unsliced, and is delivered by a member of the host group to the area of the houseyard allocated to the particular delegation of non-kinsmen.

At all large feasts, the spatial demarcations between the host's *hankabukian* and non-kinsmen, and the boundaries among the different groups of nonkinsmen themselves are clearly set out, particularly at mealtimes. The public presentational aspects of a large feast, including the display and butchering of animals, the dancing and the festive meals for a sponsor's kinsmen take place in the front yard (*bu'layyan*) of the host's house. Delegations of non-kinsmen are presented with meat and rice after livestock offerings are completed, and they prepare their meals in separate locations off to one side of the house, away from the main festivities. At the largest of feasts, large delegations of non-kinsmen may bring their

own gongs and drums and have separate dancing performances in their allotted areas, to honor not only their hosts' ancestors but their own as well.

#### Kayapa Meat-Sharing Groups

From the point of view of feast celebrants in Kayapa, there are five meat-sharing groups in the valley, corresponding to the five maximal descent categories recognized today. The groups are named "Balat," "Aluppat," "Tuyyungan," "Bulu," and "Lebeng." Historically, these names specify the settlements occupied by the members of these groups of kinsmen at the end of the second decade of this century, when the present feasting and meat-exchange patterns in the valley were established. While these five names continue to refer to these settlements today, as a set, they function as meat-sharing group names in discussions of meat distribution at feasts. In these very specific and limited contexts, the use of a *hankabuki'an* name (hereafter marked with quotation marks) occurs only in opposition to other similar names; these are recognized as "category names" (R. Rosaldo 1975:8) that have been handed down for use as labels or tags for talking about sets of meat shares and meat gifts. As such they have no locative meaning and are distinct from instances where they act as place names and take the locative particle *di* (as in '*ullawak di Balat* 'I will go to Balat') or the prefix '*i-*' (as in '*Illebeng* 'person from Lebeng').

The composition of meat-sharing groups is described in terms of the settlements occupied by its members. The following list gives the settlements associated with each meat-sharing group, followed by an approximate total number of members (see Map 4 for locations of

clustered meat-sharing groups in the central Kayapa region). Single-starred items indicate settlements whose residents are divided between two meat-sharing groups, so that the hamlet name occurs in more than one list.

- 1). "Balat": Balat, Kuwartil, Gangha (also called Galsa), Baliyu'yu, Killet\*, Balangngabang, Anhiphip, Wagan, Buyya'ung. (800)
- 2). "Tuyyungan": Tuyyungan, Li'bawwan, Dumulpuh, Bakeh. (340)
- 3). "Aluppat": Aluppat, Killet\*, Talibung, Amillung\*, Bilih, Giweng, Kaballatan, Ben'et\*, Imuggen\* and Hantapi\*. (760)
- 4). "Bulu": Bulu, Tali'ti, Alimurung. (210).
- 5). "Lebeng": Lebeng, Hayudding, Amillung\*. (180).

Balat. 'Meat-sharing groups' probably once coincided with the residential group or consisted of members of closely related cognatic stocks residing in the same vicinity. A brief history of the "Balat" group that follows shows how considerations of kinship and propinquity alternated in importance as criteria for defining boundaries of these groups, especially in the context of migration and settlement in the southeastern Cordillera.

"Balat," the largest 'meat-sharing group' in Kayapa, consisted of about eight hundred people in 1970. They are descended from about fifty people from twenty households who resided in the area around Wagan and Anhiphip, northwest of Kayapa, at the end of the last century. The core of this group was originally Ibaluy-speaking and had come from Patappat, west of the Agno River, now part of Atok municipality in Benguet. They claimed kinship with people in Loc, Amlimay, and Kabayan, further upriver. The Patappat group was augmented by the arrival in Anhiphip of other Ibaluy from the Daklan-

Ambuklaw area and by Kallahan-speakers who came from areas east of Kabayan but who maintained close ties with the Kabayan-Addaway area. There were at least four marriages with I''uwak-speaking women from nearby Ambayawan River communities in that early period. Despite the Ibaluy ideal of uxorilocal residence, these women were absorbed into the Patappat group and receive almost no mention in genealogical accounts, although these early ties continue to provide a rationale for a limited amount of meat-gift exchange between the "Balat" group and nearby I''uwak communities.

Late in the last century, Anhhipip and Wagan had become regular stopping places for men travelling between the Agno valley and Pangasinan. Most of them were engaged in the gold and cattle trade and some made their living panning gold on the Ambayawan River. Marriages between these men and a few women in Anhhipip and Wagan revived old ties with various Agno River settlements which continued to be maintained by Kayapa settlers into the 1950's.

When cattle was introduced in large numbers into the eastern watershed of the Agno River and into the Ambayawan River by western Ibaluy in the first two decades of the century, it is said that two thousand head of cattle were placed in the care of people on the Ambayawan River. The caretaker arrangements, which gave one calf out of every three to the cowherd, brought some measure of wealth to the Agno River migrants on the Ambayawan. It was not long before men in the Anhhipip area were able to embark on prestige feast cycles that were to rival those held in Agno River communities. Generous meat gifts from these feasts were delivered to Patappat and other localities on the upper Agno in the years preceding World War II.

Meat-share distribution in the first generation in Anhiphip reflected not only the large surplus of meat and the smaller populations, but also the need for close neighbourly relations among immigrants who had come from diverse backgrounds to a distant outpost. Genealogical connections, easily established with other Agno valley Ibaluy but less easily so with Kallahan- and I'uak-speaking neighbours, became infinitely extendible. As one man described it, "In those days you shared meat with your neighbour, for he was your kinsman." (*Nuntanla, nan'innakan kayu ni buki nima tinukmangmu tep hi'gatuy 'agim*).

This new group of kinsmen began the descent into the Kayapa area, about two hours walk to the southeast, around 1920. They first settled in a small plain called Balat, named after a clump of wild bananas (*balat*) that grew there, above a tributary of the Ambayawan. Within the first decade, the group's members had expanded out to form house clusters in Kuwartil, Gangha, Baliyu'yu and Killet, along the southern rim of the valley, obtaining swiddens and wet taro fields from the I'uak residents in exchange for cattle, pigs, cloth and, in one case, a gong (*galsa* or *gangha*) after which one of the hamlets was named.

Even after this dispersal, this group of meat-sharing kinsmen, which numbered about one hundred and fifty in 1930, continued to be referred to as "Balat" at prestige feasts. In those feasts, meat 'followed' the kinsmen who remained in Anhiphip as it still does today. By the 1940's meat shares had ceased to be sent to Patappat from feasts, except in the unusual circumstance of a resident from there being present in Kayapa during a feast by a "Balat" member.

Aluppat. The ancestors of the "Aluppat" people came into the Kayapa area from the Tinek region by way of Ikip and other Kallahan-speaking communities that bordered on the Ibaluy-speaking part of the Agno River. They first settled in the area around Amillung and Hayudding, on the eastern bank of the Ambayawan River, before arriving in Aluppat in the second decade of the century. Today they count as their close kinsmen people whose ancestors went even more southward, to Ben'et, Imuggen, Hantapi (Santa Fe) and Malikku. The "Aluppat" people were Kallahan-speaking to start with and were associated with the cultivation of swiddens in forest areas upriver from Imuggen. Some of their ancestors had come south from the Attipulu area to work on the Villaverde Trail between Pangasinan and Nueva Vizcaya towards the end of the last century. There were approximately one hundred and twenty "Aluppat" people in 1930 and thus constituted the group that was closest in size to the "Balat" group.

In public jesting at feasts, the "Aluppat people" are occasionally called "people of Ikip" and the "Balat" people, "people of Patappat," recalling the origins of the co-resident aggregates from which they are descended. The two groups spoke distinctly different dialects of Kallahan in the last generation, but the differences are now confined to some lexical items and intonation.

I''uwak groups. At the time of the arrival in Kayapa of the "Balat" and "Aluppat" people, there were small communities of I''uwak- and Ibaluy-speaking people of diverse origins who had preceded them. One group of I''uwak-speakers, described as the "Tuyyungan" meat-sharing group, traced their more recent origins back

to Dumulpuh, on the Benguet-Nueva Vizcaya border and other I''uwak communities close to Ambuklaw.

A second I''uwak-speaking group of households now live in Lebeng, east of the valley, on a ridge above the Ambayawan River. Early in this century, their kinsmen lived further upriver, around the Pangpang area and in dispersed settlements above Pingkian. The Lebeng people are related to other I''uwak who live in the Santa Cruz River watershed, south and east of Kayapa.

Bulu and Balangngabang. Two other groups, called "Bulu" and "Balangngabang," traced their origins to marriages between Ibaluy men from the area around Dalupippidip, Pitikkan and Binga to I''uwak women. The men had moved to the Kayapa area to care for cattle brought to Balangngabang by wealthy Ibaluy from Itogon. The I''uwak components of these groups were related to people to the south, in Tali'ti and other communities close to the Pangasinan and La Union border. Older inhabitants refer to the Bulu people as "I''aldah," Aldah being an old name for the Bulu vicinity. Others describe them as descendants of the early Bumangi population of Kayapa. "Balangngabang" has been part of the "Balat" meat-sharing group since the 1930's and is no longer mentioned as a separate *hankabuki'an*.

Memories of the Kayapa of the 1920's and 1930's evoke a picture of small self-contained kin-based communities, each claiming a different set of ancestors and a cultural as well as linguistic heritage separate from all others in the valley. The expansiveness and the magnanimous extensions of kinship to their neighbours that characterized social relations among the migrants to Anhiphip were now replaced by ambivalence, if not hostility, toward their

neighbours in the new setting. Older men describe accusations of witchcraft among the different groups and the rock-throwing fights between Balat and Aluppat children across the stretch of the Ambayawan River that separates the two localities.

In that early period, at feasts within the "Balat" group, the Anhiphip people, who were their closest relatives, attended in large numbers and took home sliced meat shares (*buki*). Meat-gifts of varying sizes of pigs were sent to the four other descent groups in the valley. Prominent residents of these communities were invited to these feasts on the second day, when meat-gifts to their groups were presented to them, but otherwise, there was very little cross-attendance at feasts.

In 1927 the first marriages between "Balat" and "Aluppat" people were arranged. Two first cousins, grandsons of a man who had come from Patappat to Anhiphip, married the daughters of a prominent resident of Aluppat who had come from Ikip. In retrospect, people view these marriages as landmarks in Kayapa social relations, for they now appear to have been pacts between two prominent members of their communities seeking to unite the two largest kin groups in the valley into one faction. At the end of that first decade, the two newly-married couples sponsored the first prestige feasts in Kayapa in which "Balat" and "Aluppat" people ate a meal together as one group and jointly received the uncooked sliced meat shares reserved for kinsmen.

Although the precedent had now been set, that rule only obtained at feasts celebrated by the small group of kinsmen on both sides who had established it. The practice, called *sapasap* (from

Ilokano 'common, universal'), never became popular with less wealthy members of both communities who could not be so generous. They saw the new practice as a hindrance to their own chances of performing their own feast cycles, since it required dispensing larger amounts of meat compared to what would be given away if the other descent groupings received whole, but smaller, gifts. Sponsors of large feasts who were not closely related to the families that started the practice have been under little pressure to conform and continue to treat the two meat-sharing groups as separate.

By the 1970's, fifteen more marriages had taken place between members of the "Balat" and "Aluppat" groups and it was obvious that the consolidation of the Kallahan- and former Ibaluy-speaking residents of Kayapa was well under way. By then, a large-scale wedding feast necessitated at least two head of cattle for the 1600-odd meat shares alone and another head of cattle for food at the feast. The consequences of the fusion of the two communities for feasting patterns are obvious to everyone and the prediction is that in the next generation, the outlying communities which have traditionally received 'meat shares' from feasts in Kayapa (such as Anhiphip to the north and Imuggen to the south) would be receiving smaller gifts, and then only from the largest feasts.

The other meat-sharing groups in Kayapa, being smaller and having leaders who are far less wealthy, have remained outside this controversy. The four households comprising the hamlet of Balangngabang were absorbed into "Balat" in the mid 1930's as a result of a marriage between a Balangngabang man and a prominent Galsa resident. The small size and the partial Ibaluy background of

the members of the Balangngabang group made this merger relatively comfortable.

Today the I'uak-speaking communities continue to receive *ngelab* gifts from large feasts sponsored by the Kallahan people in the valley and there is little effort to integrate them, despite six marriages between I'uak- and Kallahan-speakers since the 1960's. In the mid-60's, an agreement, sealed by butchering of cattle on each side, was made by a pair of prominent "Aluppat" and "Tuyyungan" families to marry their children. No marriage has resulted from this pact and people on both sides, asserting the irreconcilability of I'uak and Kallahan cultures, have always considered it a frivolous and extravagant gesture.

Accounts from other Kallahan- as well as Ibaluy-speaking communities show that the history of the Kayapa meat-sharing groups sketched above presents a pattern of local kin-based group formation and interaction that is common in the southern Cordillera. This upland area was quite probably populated by splinter groups very similar in size and composition to the Patappat group described here. In the first generation the migrants married people they encountered in the localities to which they had moved. The genealogical connections that would make these exogamous marriages socially acceptable among the Ibaluy-, Kallahan-, and I'uak-speakers who found themselves within walking distance of each other in this frontier region appeared to have been easily established, if not partially fabricated. Contact with the original descent groupings declined in the next generation as local affiliations took their

place. In all probability, these local groups were also perceived as dialect groups at certain points in their history.

The settling of the Ambayawan watershed took shape towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of this century, in the context of the eastward expansion of the Benguet cattle industry in the wake of the building of the city of Baguio, and of a minor gold trade between the Agno and Ambayawan Rivers and northern Pangasinan. This economic and ecological setting features persistently in people's perceptions of their society in that period. Marriages between the migrants and I'uak women, while having low social value, were important in sharing the work and the profits of caring for cattle with the local residents, in whose territory the cattle were brought to range.

When a cattle owner or his agent entrusted some of his cattle to the care of another man, who would thenceforward be referred to as his *pahtul* (from the Spanish *pastor*, 'herder'), the agreement was usually sealed with a feast at which one or two head of the rich man's cattle was slaughtered. In cases where a herder had some prestige in his community, such an arrangement was seen as equivalent to a betrothal of the men's children. One of the hallmarks of a rich man, even today, is to have potential 'co-parents-in-law' (*kaihing*) in several different localities, and so to some extent the geographical spread of his immediate descendants would parallel the range of his cattle. Some people explained that the pledge to have their children marry, even if only a token one, removed the stigma attached to the subordinate status of being a herder to a wealthy man. *Kaihing* was, in these contexts, a euphemism for *pahtul*.

The consolidation of small residential cognatic stocks of varying local origins during the early period of settlement is today described as having been the work of wealthy men and the *kaihing* arrangements they entered into. Although this is not entirely true historically, this is the way it is remembered because wealthy men sponsored the feasts at which meat-sharing boundaries were established as well as celebrated.

Today, in Balat and Aluppat, five generations removed from this era, the cohorts of migrants referred to as "the Patappat people" and as "the Ikip people," respectively, have emerged as the "apical reference points" (R. Rosaldo 1975:11) or "origin points" (Geertz and Geertz 1975: 160) for members of their descent categories. Only a few names are now known of the original migrants and these are recalled during the prestige feasts at which their descendants call upon their ancestors to "dance" with them in celebration.

The maximal lineally-based social groups described here showed remarkable flexibility in the face of external pressures and the depopulation in the southern Cordillera. The Karaw example from Chapter Three tells us of the survival of ritual boundaries between very small meat-sharing groups whose total number of people would not have been much more than 200 at the turn of the century.<sup>4</sup> The historical continuity of each of these ritually-bounded groups lies in the continuity of a largely endogamous aggregate from whom they are descended.

The Kayapa local community. While providing an expanded sphere of influence for Kayapa's traditional leaders, the merger of the two largest descent groups, "Balat" and "Aluppat," has coincided with the

rise of a Kayapa local community as a focus of identification. Not surprisingly, many middle-aged adults date the consolidation of these meat-sharing groups to the immediate post-World-War-II era, for more than any other externally-derived event, the shared experience of the war brought Kayapa people a sense of a common destiny.

This identification with a local community has largely been fostered by young, high-school educated leaders in the region who have assumed positions within the municipal administrative hierarchy, either by election or by appointment, since the 1950's. The election of Castillo Tidang, the eldest son of a Patappat migrant to Kayapa, to the mayorship of Kayapa municipality and subsequently to the vice-governorship of Nueva Vizcaya province was important in this regard. It gained for Kayapa leaders access to provincial political and bureaucratic quarters and brought a good measure of prestige to the Kayapa community. In addition, this interaction has heightened their awareness of the minority status of Kallahan-speakers and other "Igorot" in a predominantly Ilokano-speaking province and has inevitably shaped their attitudes toward lowland-highland relations. Thus, while kinship and descent continue to be ways of talking about hospitality patterns and meat-sharing boundaries, the actual occasions for meat-sharing, now increasingly confined to wedding and death feasts, provide opportunities for expressing modern political and civic identities and for celebrating membership in a local community.

#### Kinship Terminology

In this final section of this chapter, I analyze Kayapa Kallahan kinship terminology. Here I show the dimensions of contrast

relevant to kin classification, the various linguistic means Kallahan use to clarify kin terms, and the nongenealogical extensions of these terms.<sup>5</sup>

The terminological distinctions made by Kayapa Kallahan show their kinship to be bilateral as well as generational. In technical discussions of kinship, *bunat* is the cover term for 'kinsman' or 'consanguine.' Fig. 5.4 displays Kayapa kin categories at the most basic level of contrast (Conklin 1964:39), distinguished according to the following dimensions:

1. Consanguinity (C:consanguineal; A:affinal)
2. Generation (G:degree; the number of generations removed from Ego's own)
3. Age (+,senior/-, junior; where a Z-slant line separates ascending generations from descending generations, relative to Ego)
4. Sex (male\female)
5. Consanguineal linkage (L:degree; described by Conklin (1964:43) as "the status of linking set(s) of collateral consanguineals through which an affinal is related to Ego." 0: zero linkage; 1: terminal link, 2:medial link; 3:double link)

C		A			
G <sub>2+</sub>	'apu	'inapu			
G <sub>1</sub>	'ina				
G <sub>0</sub>	'ama	'anak			
		'ahawa (kaduwa)			
		0	1	2	3
L					

Fig. 5.4 Kayapa Kallahan Kinship Terminology

The kin terms in Fig. 5.4 comprise the set of traditional and most frequent monolexemic responses to the commonly asked question, "Hipay nanhan'agianyu nen X?" 'In what manner are you related to X?'

The kin label given in answer to this question would have a first person pronominal affix (see Appendix for a list of pronouns) or occur as any one of the following self-reciprocal forms, followed by *kami* 'we, exclusive':

*han'apu* 'grandparent-grandchild pair'

*han'agi* 'sibling pair'

*han'ahawa* 'spouse pair'

*han'inapu* 'parent-in-law-child-in-law pair'

*hambayaw* 'Ego's-spouse's sibling pair' or 'Ego's-sibling's spouse pair'

*han'abillat* 'Ego's-spouse's-sibling's-spouse-pair'

*hangkaihing* 'Ego's-child's spouse's parent pair.'

In addition, the non-reciprocal terms *han'ama* and *han'ina* may occur as well. For these last two, the elder\younger distinction implied in the parent-child dyad implies polarity and does not admit of reciprocity (See Conklin 1964:43). '*anak*' is the reciprocal of both '*ama*' and '*ina*', thus implying a superclass of 'parent;' and \**han'anak* does not occur.

The structural equivalence of the +2 and -2 generations and all generations beyond, as given by the single kin term '*apu*', receives symbolic treatment in Kallahan culture. Occasionally, a grandparent will refer to or address an infant grandchild as '*eli*' or '*el'eli*' 'immediate junior,' as if they were in the same generation. Also, in

many families, it is a common practice to name one of the children after a grandparent.

The five consanguineal kin terms given in Fig. 5.4 above designate, as their primary senses (Conklin 1962:122; Sheffler and Lounsbury 1971:11), Ego's lineal relatives and his siblings. These labels are extended laterally and are used both vocatively and in reference, to all of Ego's known consanguineals, to his step-kinsmen, to the spouses of his consanguineals as well as to the rest of his affines, in situations where the specificity of kinship links between individuals is not called for. In contrast, the five terms for affinal kinsmen designate only the persons in the kin classes defined for affines and do not extend vertically or horizontally. Thus, while there are "classificatory siblings" and "classificatory fathers" there are no "classificatory siblings-in-law." In addition, affinal terms are not ordinarily used in address; instead, generational labels are extended to affines.

Clarifying the meanings of consanguineal terms. Observations of the use of kinship terms yield a variety of linguistic forms employed in clarifying or extending the meanings of the consanguineal terms given in Fig. 5.4.

1. Outside of the first generation above Ego, where a sex distinction is obligatory, optional descriptions of gender are given by the use of *bii* 'female' and *laki* 'male,' as in '*agika laki* 'my male sibling.'

2. Relative age is optionally indicated by *panguluwan* 'older' and '*uridiyan* 'younger' as in '*agika 'uridiyan* 'my younger sibling.'

3. Kinship vocabulary from other languages have been introduced into Kallahan at various points in the terminological system:<sup>6</sup>

a. In Ego's generation: *mánung* 'elder brother', *mánang* 'elder sister' (ultimately Sp. *hermano* 'brother' and *hermana* 'sister', respectively) distinguish sex among senior siblings and consanguineals of that generation. The use of the Ilokano word *kasinsin* 'cousin' for expressing collaterality is explained further below.

b. In the +1 generation, the Ilokano words *tátang* 'father' and *nánang* 'mother,' may replace '*ama*' and '*ina*', respectively. The English-derived '*angkel*' 'uncle' and '*anti*' 'aunt' (from Eng. *auntie*) are widely used by young people to address as well as to designate close collaterals of their parents.

c. In the +2 generation, a gender distinction is introduced with the use of Ilokano *lúlung* 'parent's male parent' and *lúlang* (or *lílang*) 'parent's female parent' (ultimately Sp. *abuelo* and *abuela*, respectively).

4a. Basic or lineal meanings of kin terms. To specify or emphasize the primary or lineal meaning of consanguineal terms, such as in references to members of the nuclear family, a number of common synonyms or qualifying phrases are employed:

*ni kuhtu kuhtu* 'exactly,' (Sp. *justo*) as in '*anaktu ni kuhtu*

*kuhtu* 'his real child (not a nibbling).'

*huta nangiputut hi'gatu* 'biological father' (lit. 'the one who fathered him', from Ilokano)

*huta nangi'nak hi'gatu* 'biological mother' (lit. 'the one who bore him.')

*Agi* is also lexically marked in its primary sense. In a situation where there is potential ambiguity, a speaker qualifies '*agi*' with the descriptive '*aktup*' 'to break off,' as in '*agi ya aktup*' 'true sibling'; or, for the reciprocals, *han'agin han'aktup* 'a pair of siblings' and *han'a'aggin han'a'aktup* 'a set of (more than two) siblings.' The image of "breaking off" relates to the severing of the umbilicus; each sibling is thought of as possessing a length of a common "cord" emanating from the mother, each length being "broken off" at birth. In discourse specifically marked as being in the realm of kinship, '*aktup*' is a synonym for '*agi*'.

4b. Collateral links. When collateral links need to be made explicit, this is achieved by the lexical, grammatical and discursive devices outlined below. Ordinarily, requests for specifications of collateral relationships do not elicit detailed step-by-step descriptions of linkages. It usually suffices for an individual to describe his relationship to another by means of a basic kin term and to amplify this with a reference to the truncal sibling pair who are the immediate links to the ancestor shared with the other person. It is common to hear statements such as *Han'agi kami tep han'agi i 'apumi* ('We are siblings (consider each other siblings) because our grandparents were siblings (considered each other siblings)') or *Nak kaamma'a tep kantuy 'agituy 'amak* ('I call him father (consider him my father) because he said my father was his sibling (considered him a sibling').

Lexical and discursive alternatives to kinship terms, to the extent that they differentiate lineal from collateral reference, mark the terms as consanguineal and mark the discourse as genealogical.

Note that the question frame *Hipay nanhan'agi'anyu nen X?* ('In what manner are you related to X?') will also elicit the polylexemic responses described below.

1. The affix sequence *ka-....a*, which designates a durative aspect, when attached to a consanguineal kin term (K), yields a verb form which bears the meaning of 'to designate by the term K.' Thus, *Ka'amma'a nen Huwan hi Pablu* 'Huwan calls (considers) Pablu his father;' or, *Nak ka'inna'ah Alummay* 'I call (consider) Alummay my mother.'

When used with kin labels, the affix sequence *ka-....a* is used only with four basic consanguineal kin terms: '*agi*', '*ama*', '*ina*' and '*anak*' and only very rarely with '*apu*'. It is never used with terms for affines, in keeping with the practice that consanguineal kin terms are extended to affines, but affinal terms do not extend laterally.

2. The affix sequence *pang-....an* in combination with '*ama*', '*ina*' and '*anak*' signify extensions of 'father,' 'mother' and 'child,' respectively. Thus, *pangamma'an* 'uncle,' *panginna'an* 'aunt' and *pangannakan* 'nibling.' Again, this affix is not used with the +2 or -2 generation.

3. The Ilokano word *kasinsin* 'cousin' is an alternative for expressing collaterality. For degrees of collaterality, the numerical modifiers *ni pinhak* 'once,' *ni kapinduwa* 'twice' and *ni kapintelu* 'thrice' are employed. Thus, *kesinsin ni pinhak*, 'first cousin.' These ordinal phrases are never used with '*agi*' even when the latter is used in the extended sense of 'cousin.'

In general, the distinction between lineal and collateral kinsmen is rarely made beyond the first generation above or below

Ego's. For instance, the affixes described above which mark collateral extensions are not used in combination with 'apu. People say that one should not make verbal appraisals of the "nearness" or "distance" of kinsmen who are much younger or much older than you are. One explanation for this is that acts of distinguishing between lineals and collaterals are ultimately motivated by considerations of rights and obligations between kinsmen and such jural distinctions assume less importance, in the Kayapa context, outside of the first and second generations.

#### The Nongenealogical Extensions of Kin Terms

Consanguineal kin categories have associated with them specific rights and obligations that make up the code of conduct expected between an individual and other members of his society. Ideals of deference, compassion and reciprocity in community life find expression in the use of consanguineal kin terms, which constitute the whole of the conventional system of polite address.

Basic consanguineal kin terms function as titles that may be used on their own or preceding personal names, either vocatively or in reference. In such usages they are never affixed, except optionally with a possessive pronoun. Very broadly, it is considered 'respectful' (*nadayaw*) to address or to refer to a person by the general term to which he is entitled by virtue of his absolute or relative age, whatever his genealogical affiliation may be in relation to the speaker. In practice, this is considered more important in the case of addressees older than the speaker, and there is less obligation to extend kinship titles to younger people, who are usually addressed by name. Affinal terms are used in address very

rarely; and their occurrence in address is considered patronizing or ostentatious.

When used to refer to third persons in ordinary discourse, the metaphorical, nongenealogical meaning of kinship terms is unmarked. Thus, when '*apu*', '*ama*', '*ina*', '*agi*' or '*anak*' appears in unaffixed reference form, there is no way of separating its use to designate a generational position from an act of politeness. Because in everyday life few people are nonkinsmen anyway, this is irrelevant most of the time, but the flexibility that this equivalence confers on interaction strategies is not lost on Kallahan speakers. In extending kin terms to strangers, Kallahan are able to invoke solidary relations across linguistic, ethnic or descent lines.

The strategic use of kinship terminology as a system of linguistic etiquette and more broadly, of social control, is most marked in address. To address a person in a senior generation with a kinship title appropriate to that generation is to show him deference. In contrast, to address a person in a junior generation with a kinship title is to assert authority or, to put it another way, to demand deference. Addressing a person of one's own generation with a kinship title ('*agi*') has neither of these elements; it is an invitation to a peer to participate in an equal and reciprocal relationship. Thus, in address,

'*apu*', '*ama*', '*ina*: show deference

'*anak*' and '*apu*: demand deference (show of authority)

'*agi*: show solidarity (-deference, -authority)

When employed with such goals in mind, consanguineal terms are keyed to formal encounters; ie., those in which social roles of interlocutors and the code of conduct attendant upon these roles are in focus. Their most predictable and stereotyped occurrence is in the beginning of speeches at meetings, when a speaker, to call the audience's attention says, *A'appu, 'a'amma, 'i'ina, 'a'annak tan 'a'aggi* ('Grandparents, fathers, mothers, children and siblings'), before embarking on the main body of his address. An individual addressed as '*anak*' or '*apu*' by an older person can be certain that the encounter is going to involve a request, a plea or a directive.

In this connection, Kallahan have borrowed the semantic distinction made in Ilokano between +2 and -2 generation kinsmen; i.e., between grandparents and grandchildren, and employ the upper generation kin term '*apu*' (See footnote 4) in the respect vocabulary. *Apu* is the only kinship term used to precede all modern official titles that have recently come into Kayapa, including that which occurs in *Apu Diyus* 'God.' More examples of these titles and a discussion of their use in formal Kallahan speechmaking appear in Chapter Nine.

Informants in their sixties say that in their childhood, everyone in the community, regardless of relative age, was addressed by name. People today consider that practice to be disrespectful, especially with regard to senior generations, and kinship titles for older members of a household are among the first things consciously taught to infants. It now appears that kinship titles as markers of deference are part of a Spanish-Christian tradition that came into Kallahan through Ilokano.<sup>7</sup> My assumption is that non-Kallahan kin

terms were introduced into Kallahan along with the Ilokano convention of using the plural second person pronoun (Kallahan *hi'gayu*) to address an older person, instead of the expected *hi'gam* (singular, second person pronoun). Ibaluy texts collected in the early part of the century (Moss 1920:*passim*) show the unequivocal choice of the singular pronoun in Ibaluy for people of all ages as well as for supernaturals. This suggests that the shift in patterns of deference began only within the last hundred years.

Ilokano address terms. In Kallahan, the formality attached to the use of consanguineal terms in address is obviated, when interacting with close kinsmen, by the employment of Ilokano address terms. The traditional set of Kallahan kin terms is not used in address within the nuclear family and the household, thus implying that interaction within the household is, by definition, non-formal. It is now possible, with Ilokano kinship terms, to be informal but also deferential; and it is likely that deference was never marked linguistically through kin terms in Kallahan.

Thus, the Ilokano kin terms *tátang* 'father,' *nánang* 'mother,' and the Spanish-derived Ilokano pairs *lúlung* 'grandfather,' and *lúlang* 'grandmother'; and *mánung* 'elder brother' and *mánang* 'elder sister' constitute an alternative set of kin terms. These occur in Kallahan both in reference and in address, and within and without the household, although their lateral extensions are only to close and familiar kinsmen in those generations. In addition, the English-derived usages '*anti* (from *auntie*) and '*angkel* (from *uncle*) for 'parent's female sibling' and 'parent's male sibling,' respectively,

have gained currency among young people; and are commonly extended to collateral relatives in the parents' generation.

Note that all the introduced forms designate people who are senior in age or in generation, thus confirming the view that they represent a change in the requirements for deferential behavior, particularly in address. The Ilokano term for 'younger same generation consanguineal' ('áding), for instance, has not been incorporated into this coexisting set of alternative kin terms. The only other Ilokano kin term that has been borrowed is *kasinsin* 'cousin,' which designates collaterals in Ego's generation and represents an important distinction in modern legal discussions. Expectedly, the term is never used in Kallahan address, even if it has wide use as a reference term.

The goals achieved by nongenealogical uses of kin terms in Kallahan polite address contrast with the social goals in more casual interaction. In everyday Kallahan discourse, one gets the sense that any attempt to call attention to rights and obligations between interlocutors is continually suppressed and that attitudes of interpersonal closeness preclude any explicit displays of status differences. The reticence toward asking questions about personal identity described earlier as well as the reluctance to be explicit about genealogical connections are related to these values. Kayapa informants explain this avoidance as stemming from a desire not to draw attention to imbalances in social relations inherent in distinctions between "near" or "distant" kinsmen or between 'kinsmen' and 'non-kinsmen.' Norms of nonconfrontation, reflected in such shows of solidarity, will be referred to again in a more specific

discussion of evaluations of communicative behavior in the next chapter.

Kinship, descent and genealogical amnesia. There is a children's rhyme that is a parody of someone reciting a genealogy:

*Un'anak hi Dagami 'et hi'gami,*

*Un'anak hi Dagayu 'et hi'gayu.*

'Dagami had children and they are us;

Dagayu had children and they are you.'

The poem underlines the amusement and the unease of my informants about my enquiries about kinship and descent linkages between individuals and between groups of people. Its ironic effect derives from how the personal names *Dagami* and *Dagayu* were obviously created to rhyme with *hi'gami* 'we, inclusive' and *hi'gayu* 'you, plural,' respectively. Informants recited it to me in situations where they wanted to show how irrelevant genealogies were, implying that, as in a common children's rhyme, anyone could make up names to answer my questions.

Older Kayapa people consider the egalitarian sentiments implied in the couplet above as a facet of their local identity. They cite stereotypes about their Ifugao neighbours to the north as well as northern Kallahan who live near the Ifugao, whom they describe as *madiba*, preoccupied with genealogies and other traditional matters, particularly social rank and protocol.

Others speak of their desire to avoid 'vengeance payments' (*balhan*), a custom associated primarily with Ifugao and northern Kallahan, whose practice depends on accurate knowledge of degrees of

kin relationship between a person accused of homicide and his relatives. In the fifties and sixties people from the northern Kallahan area occasionally appeared in Imugan and Ambayawan River communities, seeking contributions toward weregild payments. These requests were based, Kayapa people said, on genealogical connections that went too far back in the past and were no longer of relevance to them. Others reasoned that in migrating southwards toward the lowlands, their forefathers had consciously left behind many burdensome customs, of which weregild was only one.

These statements about the lack of precise knowledge of kinship and descent connections point to aspects of a pervasive "genealogical amnesia" (Geertz and Geertz 1975) which receives systematic support in Kayapa Kallahan culture.<sup>8</sup> This is reinforced, for example, by the preference for using kinship terms rather than personal names in making references to individuals. In addition, there are the taboos against mentioning the recently dead by name, beliefs which act to suppress personal names and lead to the social identities of the individuals becoming forgotten quickly. In the reference to a grandchild as 'eli 'younger sibling' or its diminutive form, 'el'eli, the genealogical distance between the +3 and -3 generations is symbolically reduced to zero. A similar result is achieved by the occasional practice of naming of a child after a grandparent. Here, the collapsing of the distance between generations effectively erases knowledge of the social identity of the member of the previous generation by equating his identity with that of the member of the present one.

Given the vital association of the upper Agno and upper Ahin areas with Kallahan speech, brigandage, and slave-trading in the second half of the last century, the lack of mention in Kayapa of bandit or enslaved ancestors is particularly conspicuous.<sup>9</sup> It can only be explained by an unintentional systematic loss of memory of the details of their more distant ancestral connections. However, Kayapa Kallahan often rationalize their lack of interest or knowledge in the exact details of their kinship linkages in terms of a desire to treat all men equally. The absence of 'bandits' (*buhul*), 'headhunters' (*mangayew*), or 'slaves' (*himbut*, *bagga'en*) from genealogical accounts may be looked at in the light of these egalitarian values.

The Ibaluy of the Agno River and western Benguet, among whom wealthy elites have been <sup>in</sup> <sub>^</sub> existence for a longer time, present an interesting comparison. Ibaluy draw a clear division between people descended from 'slaves' and 'bandits' or 'headtakers' and those who are not. Although Ibaluy genealogies do not generally possess any more depth than Kallahan ones, the maintenance of social rank as well as of ethnicity has in part depended on the segregation of descent lines which involve these stigmatized classes of people. It is possible that ethnic processes early in this century also involved this kind of boundary. A large part of the marginality of descendants of slaves is characterized in terms of the fact that outcasts have no genealogies to speak of in the first place. For the Kallahan people of the Ambayawan watershed, such attitudes of exclusion would have no place in their history of being refugees, migrants, and pioneers in the western Nueva Vizcaya frontier.

The social levelling and the flexibility that is aided by genealogical amnesia and the use of a small set of kinship terms with indefinite lateral and vertical extensions contrasts with the hierarchical situations supported by the use of kinship titles, other kinds of address forms, and Ilokano language. In succeeding chapters, I will have opportunity to discuss these titles, the sociolinguistic functions of Ilokano, and the employment of these in activities where social rank is important.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See Lounsbury 1956 for this distinction.

<sup>2</sup>A literal translation is 'His ancestry/heritage has bitten him', from *kalat* 'to bite'. Displays of certain ceremonial objects (especially blankets and old porcelain jars and dishes) outside of their proper ritual contexts are also said to cause "biting," (or "gripping") because in "seeing" these objects and being "reminded" of their significance, ancestors may "fix attention" on a descendant and cause him to be ill. The concept of "gripping" always refers to the heritable status, and not to an individual ancestor.

<sup>3</sup>This personal marker *di* is homonymous with the locative marker *di*, which occurs only before place or direction names.

<sup>4</sup>The approximate population figure of 200 (rounded off from 164) is calculated from the 1980 Karaw population of 800 people, projected back 80 years at a rate of increase of 2% per annum.

<sup>5</sup>For a lengthy description of socio-cultural and economic bases of Ibaluy kinship and household composition, see Pungayan 1978.

<sup>6</sup>The following is a list of Ilokano consanguineal kin terms. Alternative usages appear in parentheses. Note that the difference

between +2 and -2 generational terms is a minimal one of phonological stress:

+2+ 'ápu (*lúlung/lúlang*)

+1 'ama (*tátang*)/'ina (*nánang*) || pangama'en/pangina'en

0 kabsat, [(*mánung/mánang*)] \ 'áding || kasinsin (*kasinsin*,  
*kapiduwa*, *kapitlu*)

-1 'anak || ka'anakan

-2+ 'apu

Legend: 0, 1, 2 :generation distance

+, - :upper, lower

/ :male/female

\ :older\younger

( ) [] :alternative usage or class inclusion

|| :collaterality

<sup>7</sup>This is true in Ibaluy as well and it may well be that these patterns of using kin terms for deference came into Kallahan through Ibaluy.

<sup>8</sup>Renato Rosaldo (1975) describes this for the Ilongot as well.

<sup>9</sup>I owe this point to Harold C. Conklin (Personal communication, 1989).

## Chapter Six

### Kallahan Evaluations of Speech and Communicative Behavior

Speech activity, consisting of meaningful exchanges (*tabtabal* from *tebal* 'to speak to') of 'instances of speech' ('*ehel* or *hapit*) constitutes a discrete domain in Kallahan culture.<sup>1</sup> In informal discussions of verbal behavior and in practice, *tabtabal* and '*ehel*' participate in multiple layers of meaning. In this chapter, the range of meanings of these two terms will be examined as well as the terminological distinctions Kallahan make regarding speech activities and speech variation with respect to groups and situations. This discussion forms the introduction to a description of Kallahan evaluations of speech behavior and of the cultural norms relating specifically to speech and generally to communicative activity.

*Ehel* may be glossed as 'language, speech, word, utterance or communication.' In its unaffixed form, it comprises all forms of language and communication, including the metaphorical senses involved in phrases such as '*ehel ni titit* ('bird calls') in natural historical discussions or *paltug 'i waday 'ehel tu* ('guns will speak') in conversations about politics. *Ehel* refers to linguistic characteristics associated with distinct social roles or groups (such as in '*ehel ni bii* 'women's speech') or with distinct verbal genres<sup>2</sup> (such as '*ehel ni ba'liw* 'language of *ba'liw*' ). It is also the general name for all 'speech acts' such as 'answering' ('*ebah, hungbat*'), 'persuading' ('*aluk*), 'teasing' (*henggit*), or 'greeting'

(*ti'bay*); and for genres of formulaic speech including 'oaths' (*hangba*, *bauh*), 'cursing' (*butbut*) or 'invocations' (*bunung*) that involve supernatural addressees.

At the highest level of contrast, '*ehel*' is coordinate with *tebal*, 'to speak to, to engage someone in dialogue', which expresses the interactional aspect of speech, and with its reduplicated form, *tabtabal*, which may be glossed as 'verbal interaction, interlocution, dialogue' or 'people talking to each other.' This ranges from brief greeting exchanges to casual conversation to prearranged group discussions of specific issues.

At the most specific level, '*ehel*' denotes ordinary everyday speech, such as that used in casual conversation, greeting, exchanging information and telling stories. Here it contrasts with types of speech that are formally marked for language, content, occasion and participants, namely, 'invocations to spirits' (*bunung* or *baki*), 'extemporaneous poetic compositions (*ba'liw*) and 'speeches' (*palawag*). These last three speech events and their components are the subject of Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine.

In the "stream of activities" (Frake 1980:176) in Kallahan culture, there are three distinguishable events in which the primary focus is talk. The first is *tabtabal* which, when used in this most restricted sense, may be glossed as 'private, focused discussion'. It refers to verbal interaction that is focused on a particular subject or issue and is "private" in that attendance is not invited from the public at large. It is differentiated from *nutnut*, *nalnal* or *tabkal*, all of which refer to 'the sound of speech', to the talk of children at play or to any prolonged stretch of speech that is considered

trivial. These terms occasionally stand euphemistically in place of *tabtabal* and have the slightly negative connotation attached in English to words like *chatter* or *rambling*.

The two other types of activities governed primarily by verbal interaction are *tungtung* 'negotiation sessions' and *miting* 'meetings.' Some of the sociolinguistic characteristics of these are described in Chapter Nine. In contrast to 'discussion,' the last two are formal and public in that the time and place of their occurrence are widely publicized. They represent occasions in which individuals and groups are meant to be heard and their formality derives from the increased attention to linguistic performance as well as to the public identities of the participants. People on their way to these gatherings will characterize themselves as "on our way to listen to something" (*kami enmandedngel*).<sup>3</sup>

The two events differ from each other in terms of their goals: that of the first is to settle a dispute and the second is to decide on a certain issue. The open-ended character of 'discussion,' which is related to the way in which speaking time is distributed among participants, results in its having relatively less "integrity" (Frake 1980: 182) in terms of scheduling and performance than either a 'meeting' or an 'arbitration session'.

In areas such as Kayapa, Pangpang and Imugan where Christian churches have been established, religious gatherings and church services are variously labelled *gimung* (from Ilokano 'assembly'), *misa* (from Spanish *misa*) or *sirbis* (from English *service*), depending on whether the tradition is Spiritist, Catholic, or Protestant, respectively. These represent a third type of public occasion

centered on speech and are similar to *miting* and *tungtung* in that the procedures for their conduct are highly formalized. In Kayapa, the occurrence of a church assembly depends on a membership and on goals that are exclusive and considered outside of the concerns of the majority of the local polity. For this reason, Christian religious services as a speech type will be given minimal treatment in this discussion.

At the least inclusive level of contrast, *tabtabal* may be elaborated with the use of particles such as *nin* 'first' or *bengat* 'just, only' (as in *mantabtabal nin* 'talk it over first' and *mantabtabal bengat* 'just talking' (and not, for example, 'having a meeting')). Here the emphasis is on the tentative nature of private discussion when compared to the more formal presentations that are aimed for at 'meetings' and 'arbitration sessions,' where explicit goals are set and expected to be achieved.

Before the American introduction at the beginning of the century of the concept of the 'meeting', litigation provided the only opportunity outside of large public feasts for individuals to display their competence in speaking before large groups of people. Today, 'meetings' become necessary when administrative issues and national programs need to be explained and translated to the public in forums involving government officials. Thus, they are called by people in nontraditional roles to discuss such recently-introduced topics as the local school, elections, taxation, livestock registration, health programs and preparations for visits of government officials. Meetings called by the local parent-teacher association or the local

council to which the public are invited occur three or four times a year.

The semantic relations among members of the two sets of terms involving '*ehel*' and '*tabtabal*' may be displayed as follows:

1.    *'ehel<sub>1</sub>* 'language, speech, word, utterance'
  - 1.1    *'ehel<sub>2</sub>* 'ordinary everyday language'
  - 1.2    *bunung* 'invocations to supernaturals'
  - 1.3    *ba'liw* 'sung poetry'
  - 1.4    *palawag* 'speech, oratory'
2.    *tabtabal<sub>1</sub>* 'dialogue, interlocution'
  - 2.1    *tabtabal<sub>2</sub>* 'private focused discussion'
  - 2.2    'public discussion' (unlabelled)
    - 2.2.1    *tungtung* 'arbitration, negotiation'
    - 2.2.2    *miting* 'meeting, conference'

Fig. 6.1 Ehel and Tabtabal: Semantic Relations

#### Basic Cultural and Social Principles in Kallahan Speech

The following discussion presents some basic cultural and social principles that govern speaking in Kayapa Kallahan culture and derive primarily from people's comments about speech and communicative behavior as well as from observations of speech activity within a wide variety of contexts. Through a description of the range of referential and metaphorical meanings of the verb 'to speak', I show the extensions of the concept of 'speaking' to the spheres of sexual relations and marriage.

In addition, I present the importance in Kallahan culture of a contrast between focused, deliberate speech on the one hand and speech in which goal or intent is deemphasized or depreciated on the other. The latter can be shown to correlate with "ground rules" for interaction that support attitudes of nonconfrontation and indirection in expressive activities in general. A cultural focus on the metacommunicative functions of speech appears to reinforce this bias as well.

#### Tebal and its Affixed Forms

Outside of the contexts in which categories of verbal exchange are distinguished, the root word *tebal* 'to speak to' in combination with different affixes, takes on a variety of metaphoric and metonymic (Jakobson and Halle 1956:76) meanings. In the following discussion, I present a list of meanings of an unaffixed form of *tebal* and five affixed forms. This list displays a set of forms and contexts with which Kayapa Kallahan represent significant relationships between speech and social action. Where a word has more than one referent, these referents vary solely on context. Most of these referents can not be predicted by the affix or affix-combinations attached to the verb and their range is difficult to understand without some background knowledge of Kallahan culture. The parentheses at the end of each entry give the affix pattern and grammatical meaning involved.

- 1) *tebal mu*: 'you (go) speak to him' (Object focus, imperative)
- 2) *tabtabal mu* 'you (go) have a chat with him' (Reduplicative affix (CVC-), object focus, imperative)

3) *'ittebalan*: 'to speak on a person's behalf'; 'to speak on a person's behalf with regard to a marriage suit'; 'to offer livestock towards a wedding feast on behalf of another' ('i-....-an + *tebal*, benefactive focus)

4) *mantebal* 'to talk to each other'; 'to make a private agreement to marry (and not go through a go-between)'; 'to have sexual relations before marriage' (*man-* + *tebal* + reduplicative affix, actor focus)

5) *timbal*: 'talked to;' 'the wedding feast'; 'the water buffalo supplied by the groom's family for the feast of the same name' (-im- + *tebal*, object focus, completed action)

6) *nakitbalan* 'an agreement between two parties'; 'the moment of a person's death.' (*naki-....-an* + *tebal*, cooperative, benefactive focus, completed action).

A note must be made here of the use of "primary meanings" and their extensions. In Kallahan, the "root," unaffixed form of a verb, when combined with a second person pronoun, produces an imperative construction. For instance, '*ala* 'to get,' *mu ala* 'you (go) get it'; *tebal* 'to speak to,' *mu tebal* 'you (go) speak to him.' When asked for the meaning of any verb, Kallahan will usually construct an imperative sentence in this form as part of an explanation or translation. In this work I will consider the meaning of a root word in the imperative mode as its "primary" meaning and all other meanings as "extensions."<sup>4</sup>

An intelligible interpretation of the range of meanings displayed above depends on the following background cultural information: marriages are traditionally arranged between parties of

the man's and woman's relatives in one or a series of private discussions (called *kalun*, lit. 'to convince') at the home of the potential bride. On these occasions, the man's relatives present an offer of marriage and the onus is on them to convince the future bride's family of the desirability of the union. In the course of these meetings, one or more of the man's relatives may make an offer of his livestock (as in (3) above) for the wedding feast. Minimally, this will consist of one head of water buffalo (*timbal*, (5)) which is ritually presented by the groom to the bride's family on the day of the wedding before it is slaughtered in the latter's houseyard.

Agreements between two people to marry (as in (4)) without the benefit of a presentation of intent from the man's family or an appointed go-between are common, but less desirable. Ordinarily, sexual relations before marriage (see (4)) are suspected in these arrangements and the breaking of this taboo must be ritually rectified prior to the wedding with a sacrificial offering.

A major aspect of Kallahan cosmology presupposes the constant presence of spirits of ancestors in human activities. Supernaturals constitute part of the audience of any speech event and in 'invocations' (*bunung*), they are addressees. All transactions leading to marriage or to the transfers of land, including money loans that involve land or its products, must be validated in the presence of human and supernatural witnesses, in rituals minimally involving the sharing of an alcoholic drink or of a meal. The metaphorical extension of 'agreement' to 'death' in (6) above is explained by the belief that the time of a person's death is fixed and is "agreed upon" between him and his ancestors.

The reduplicative affix that differentiates (2) from (1) above has the meaning 'depreciation, pretense, diminution.' It distinguishes between purposive, focused speech interaction in 1) and the more diffuse, less deliberate exchange implied in (2). The contrast is one between "direct," "overt" in (1) and "indirect," "dissimulated," "covert" verbal action in (2), between "telling X" and "talking it over with X." The affixation in (2) signals a depreciation of the way in which the impact, the intent or the consequence of the action is to be construed.

One informant described the difference between the imperatives *tebalmu* and *tabtabalmu* is that you spend a lot less time coming to the point in the first than in the second case. There is an assumption of more urgent, confrontational action in the first, and a more accomodating, less authoritative tone to the second. One might say, "*Tebalmu, hay un'ali nem kabbahan*" ('Go tell him, so he arrives here tomorrow'), but "*Tabtabalmu, hay ma'a'alluk*" ('Go have a talk to him, and console him'). Although *tabtabal* may be used in the first sentence, it would be strange for *tebal* to appear in the second. To illustrate with different examples, in the minimal pair *mantunned* - *mantuntunned*, from *tuned* 'to transplant rice,' the second, reduplicated form has the meanings 'to pretend to transplant rice' (as in children's play, "nothing serious"); or 'to do just a bit of transplanting'. In the pair *tu'u* - *tu'tu'u*, the first term means 'person, human' and the second refers to any model of the human form, such as a doll, a scarecrow or a wooden stick figure of a person.

In 3), "recommending a person as a potential spouse," and "offering livestock on someone's behalf toward a wedding feast" are

extensions of "speaking on behalf of a person". Likewise, in 4), "making a private agreement to marry" and "sexual relations outside of marriage" are extensions of "speaking to each other." These interactions and goals all relate to the marriage process with varying specificity and represent logical, if differently valued, outcomes of close and frequent interpersonal relations. These activities may be licit as in 3) and illicit or not involving go-betweens, as in 4).

'Livestock' is a metonym for the concept 'wedding' in 5) (a wedding feast always involves slaughter of livestock) and each of these concepts connote the ritual tokens of marriage. Note that both are extensions of a completed form of the verb *tebal*; thus they are the "results" of 'talking to each other'.

Marriage and death are the two life crises obligatorily marked by communal feasting in Kallahan society. All other feasts are either prestige feasts, which do not necessarily mark life crises and which are sponsored only by a few people, or are small intra-household feasts celebrating a birth or involved in prophylaxis or curing. A wedding feast, as the public, ritual artifact of marriage arrangements, is the culmination of extended and cordial conversations between two parties. The metaphorical relationship between 'wedding feast' and 'conversation' in Kallahan gives rise to many humorous allusions. Upon the settlement of a long drawn-out dispute, it is common to suggest, even if facetiously, that a marriage be arranged between kinsmen or descendants of the two parties. This is especially true when property is involved, for a marriage would ensure that descendants of the litigants inherit the

property. Speech must not be "wasted," it is said, and the most enduring consequence of long deliberations of any kind is a marriage.

The precise time of death is, on the other hand, a consequence of a "conversation" between supernaturals and a person. In explaining the unexpected death of a person as his "fate," the expression is "That (time) was what was agreed upon" (*Hi'gatu nguy nakitbalantu*, from *tebal*). At death feasts, livestock may also be presented in another person's behalf. The name for this act, now regarded as an obscure usage, is not an affixed form of *tebal* as it is at a wedding, but is '*ihhaliwan*'. This is from the root word *haliw*, which refers to the act of sealing an agreement between two parties by the sharing of rice beer or by animal slaughter. The image of death as the final fulfilment of an "agreement" (between a person and his ancestors) is echoed in the metaphor of the "offering of livestock at a death feast" for the concept "sealing an agreement." Analogically, "the offering of livestock" towards a wedding feast stands in metaphoric relationship to the concept of "talking to each other."

One more example of the metaphorical extension of a speech act to its ritual manifestation involves the verb *hudhud*, which refers to a deliberate act of 'informing, declaring or apologizing'. The slaughter of livestock (and the subsequent distribution of meat) to mark an agreement between two parties, especially with regard to marriage or to the transfer of property, is frequently referred to as "a way of informing (others)" (*panudhud*). One man explained that when a meat parcel arrived at his house, he was bound to ask whom it came from and why; thus, a meat gift was a 'piece of information' (*panudhudan*).

In the comparison of the affixed forms of *tebal*, a major semantic contrast can be described. This is one between focused, deliberate action (*tebal*, in (1)) in which an interactional goal is emphasized, and the more diffuse, less deliberate action denoted by its reduplicated form (*tabtblal*, in (2)), in which the intent of the speech act is deemphasized or depreciated. This distinction between "focused" and "diffuse" is echoed in each of the other sets of metaphors presented. In (3), the three meanings of

- 'to speak on a person's behalf';
- 'to speak on a person's behalf with regard to marriage' and
- 'to offer livestock towards a wedding feast on a person's behalf'

display an increasing specificity of goal of action. We see an intensification of the meaning of speech as "action" by specifying context, such as marriage negotiations, and this is to be contrasted with the absence of any reference to further aspects.

The sets of three meanings in (4) and (5) given below:

- (4) 'to talk to each other';
- 'to make a private agreement to marry'; and
- 'to have sexual relations outside of marriage'

- (5) 'talked to'
- 'the wedding feast' and
- 'the water buffalo presented to the bride's family by the groom at the feast of the same name'

show analogous patterns of increasing focus on a goal, from a less restricted sense of 'talk' to specific actions, activities and objects associated with marriage. Finally, there can be no example

of consequential speech more extreme than that in (6), where 'death'. stands as a metonym for 'agreement'.

This opposition between focused, deliberate, goal-oriented and direct action on the one hand and unfocused, less deliberate indirect action in which goal or intent is deemphasized or depreciated on the other is mirrored in Kallahan ideas about the functions of speech and communication. In the discussions that follow, this contrast will be shown to parallel two seemingly opposed values: one which stresses the "work" of speech in interpersonal relations and the other which rules that "speaking well" involves strategies of indirection and nonconfrontation.

#### Kallahan Evaluations of the Functions of Speech

As Hymes (1970:113) and many other students of speech behavior have illustrated, speech communities differ in their valuation of the importance of speech and in the attention paid to different functions of speech. Hymes (1962:31, after Jakobson 1960) enumerates seven functions of speech--the expressive, the directive, the poetic, the contact, the metalinguistic, the referential and the contextual functions--each of which focuses on a component of speech and all of which are present in any speech activity. In Kayapa Kallahan culture, the emotive and poetic functions of speech receive their greatest expression in the orations and extemporaneous sung compositions delivered at large feasts. The referential and directive functions of speech assume particular importance at meetings, arbitration sessions, 'scheduled performances' (*programma*) and other occasions on which persons in positions of authority address large numbers of people on matters of community importance. On these occasions, as

well as at feasts, verbal art "as performance" (Bauman 1977) is achieved in the most widely attended and highly visible of Kallahan social gatherings.

The saying "If you speak well, people will claim you for their kinsman" (*Nu pehed 'i 'ehel mu, kan da 'iy gait daka*) occurs often and underlines the role of articulate speakers in shaping opinion and influencing social alignments in a community. However, there is little competitive exhibition of verbal skills outside of festive occasions and on the whole, individuals do not gain status in Kallahan society through speaking ability alone. Even poetic compositions and oratory, the skills for which are possessed by only a select few, are evaluated as much for their contextual relevance and for their implications for social control as for their aesthetic effect. Only if one is capable of putting language to use in dispensing fair and discreet judgments, explaining new and confusing information and influencing kinsmen and neighbours to act for the benefit of others does he become known as a person who "speaks well." Much of this work of language is achieved, not in formal public speaking engagements, but in the chatting, meal-sharing and other private exchanges within small groups that make 'conversation' (*tabtabal*) synonymous with 'visiting' ('allibay or *li'ngay*) and with 'play' ('ayyam) in Kallahan thought.

Kallahan value speaking skills above all for the role they play in influencing the behavior of individuals and in "getting things done" in everyday interpersonal relations. For Kallahan, the 'meanings' ('ulug, *hanag*) of speech acts reside not only in their referents but also in such social outcomes as making "contact,"

informing, correcting, ordering, requesting, convincing, and establishing control. This explains why, in discussions of child development, Kallahan speak of the time when a child can "be commanded" (*mabagga*) as a landmark in his acquisition of language and of an active role in society.

#### Kallahan Speech Acts

While there is no neat classification of speech acts in Kallahan, this interest in the functional outcome of speech is reflected in their characterizations of kinds of speech. These descriptions produce a continuum of speech types that include, at one extreme, speech that is oriented toward specific social interactional goals and at the other end, speech in which this function is either absent, denied or deemphasized. The first class of utterances includes acts such as *baga* 'ask (question), request, command'; *tudu* 'to teach, point to, direct'; *bilin* 'to remind (someone)'; *kalun* 'to persuade'; *'ayag* 'to summon'; *'ihed'ang* 'to scold'; *humang* 'to criticize'; *henggit* 'to tease' or *'aluk* 'to console'.

The second type of speech acts include those unmarked for function or whose interactional functions are diffuse and unspecified. The prototypes of this category--'conversation' (*tabtabal*), 'telling stories' ('*ihtudiya*) and 'extemporaneous sung poetry' (*ba'liw*)--are often described as 'play' ('*ayyam*), an evaluation which calls for an interpretation of the activity as "non-serious," or its goals as tentative or provisional. This particular characterization of speech acts is central to strategies of indirection in communicative activity and will be elaborated on below.

Included in this category is a variety of fixed genres which have no ostensible reason for occurring except for amusement. The include 'riddles' (*bunbuntiya*), traditional songs (*dayyumti*), modern songs (*kanhiyun*, *kanta*) and children's improvisations. Other kinds of speech in which function is unspecified are kinds of speech which serve a metalinguistic function in Kallahan discourse and closely resemble Searle's (1976) "assertives." The following belong to this group: '*ehel* or '*ikuwan* 'to say'; *hudhud* 'to explain, apologize'; *mampalawag* 'orate, deliver a speech'; '*ebah* 'to answer'; '*uwenen* 'to agree, accede' or '*andian* 'to refuse, disagree'.<sup>5</sup>

#### **Norms for Communicative Interaction**

Comments about unease and discord in communication are an important indication of attitudes toward speech and of notions of what are "appropriate" speaking strategies. In Kallahan culture, critical observations of what is proper speech rarely have to do with grammar or with referential meanings, except in the direct teaching of language to children, when the metalinguistic function of language is made most obvious. For the most part, it is with respect to social, nonreferential meanings exchanged in speech events that comments about "speaking well" touch on. Evaluations of "appropriateness" or "fit" ('*anam*), often expressed in comments like *Agtu 'anam* ('It doesn't fit') or *Andiy 'ana'anamtu* ('Nothing fits'), relate to the following: 1) to norms of speaking interaction related to cultural values underlying communicative behavior generally; 2) to expectations of behavior attached to specific participant roles, including those given by gender, age and public status and 3) to

sociolinguistic rules regarding setting, time and other extra-personal aspects of context.

The following section will be devoted to a discussion of Kallahan attitudes toward speech as they relate to their ideals about the conduct of all social interaction. It will be followed by presentations of the settings of speech activity in Kayapa and of the relationships among age, gender, and speech. Rules regarding setting, time and other components of the communicative context are taken up in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, as part of a discussion of formal speech.

Ideals of nonconfrontation and of smooth interpersonal relations, described for many Southeast Asian cultures, govern Kallahan strategies for speaking and all communicative interaction in general. An egalitarian outlook that pervades the traditional Kallahan view of the world stresses discretion, modesty and moderation in personal life as well as consensus, compromise and persuasion in everyday social relations. Boasting, gossip, threats and other open and direct expressions of conflict are censured and people will tend to avoid or attempt to defuse situations in which an individual is placed in an embarrassing situation in the presence of his peers. Individuals who are contentious (*mahukkil*), who are "smooth-tongued" (*naahitian 'i 'ehel tu*, literally, "his speech is oiled"), who frequently brag in public (*ma'i'itek*), who speak in a loud and insistent manner (*matkuk*) or who lose their tempers in public repeatedly (*ma'angat*) are extremely unpopular and their reputations for immoderate speech disqualify them from regular and active participation in community forums and arbitration. The speech

of such persons is compared to 'rats' droppings' (*tain 'utut*) and, if the speaker is a person of status, likened to the 'trail of the monitor lizard' (*hagad ni tilay*), with the explanation that the trail of an animal is of little consequence no matter how imposing a creature it is.

One way in which the norm of nonconfrontation is defined is by constraints on the timing and pacing of an interaction. For example, it is an affront to catch a person off his guard. In arriving at a houseyard, people must announce their arrival, even if they are just passing by, in order to give the residents a chance to prepare themselves for conversation. Upon meeting someone or arriving at his houseyard, a short period of casual talk involving exchanges of greetings and of news must pass before requests for a person's time, money or other resources may be presented to him. This is observed as much for potentially awkward situations as when a creditor comes to collect a debt, as it is for a positively regarded event such as when a messenger arrives to invite people to a feast. Even for regularly recurring events, such as when people gather to make arrangements for rice field labor, they are expected to take their time about putting forward their plans and requests.

In any speech activity, continual judging by participants of the relations among different functions of speech is necessary for effective and appropriate responses. For instance, a common fault is to interrupt a quiet, relaxed conversation with extended questioning about the factual content of a remark, thus disregarding the expressive and affective functions of the exchange. The knowledge of linguistic conventions for making changes in topic or emphasis or

making transitions to different registers or is a hallmark of adult speech. To a large extent, "to speak like a child" means not knowing how to make acceptable interruptions and transitions. Knowing when or when not to be silent is an important part of speaking appropriately as well.

The norm of nonconfrontation in discourse. Expressions of the nonconfrontation norm in discourse affect both human and supernatural participants and occur in all speech situations. Modesty in speech, particularly in public discussions of property and of personal life, as well as verbal strategies for avoiding conflict or shows of coercion take the form of metaphors, stereotyped metalinguistic statements, euphemisms and other forms of indirect speech. Direct, unadorned speech is associated with interaction within the immediate household, between adults and children and with relationships marked by extreme differences in status, such as for example, between teacher and pupil or between nonlocal government officials and local people. A regulatory goal, exemplified in such polysemic verbs as *baga*, 'to ask (questions), request, command' and *tudu* 'indicating, teaching, directing' is displayed most characteristically in these interactions.

There is a pronounced hesitation to use personal names in casual conversation or to refer by name to imminent events, especially if these are outside of ordinary routine. The need to avoid "confrontations" with supernaturals requires this; and care must be taken to prevent supernaturals from "overhearing" names and plans, lest they be tempted to examine them too closely. Supernatural sanctions against naming are averted through circumlocutory

references to persons and activities. A person going off on a journey the next day refers to the time of his departure as *hambubulan* 'tomorrow' (lit., 'one small month'). The imminent birth of a child is "what we have been waiting for" and a forthcoming feast is "that occasion for which firewood is being stored up" or "that for which rice is being milled." Names of kinship categories take the place of personal names in topics of conversation; and, in the special case of the recently dead or recently bereaved, conventional descriptive phrases such as "the one who left me" (*huta nanayan hi'gak* 'my late spouse'), "the one who mourns" (*huta timmukgung* lit., 'he who squats') or "the one buried underneath here" (*huta nayku'ku diyay*) take the place of personal names.

One type of affixation, involving the CVC-reduplication of word stems, has the meaning of depreciation, diminution or pretense. This is the same affix involved in the contrast described above between *tebal* and *tabtabal*. While not totally absent from men's speech, it is used heavily in women's speech, particularly in their responses to direct questioning about their personal circumstances and activities; and in children's talk as well, such as in "let's pretend" and other imitative games. Examples are:

*Hayya 'u''utika 'i''inum'an kun nakapan'ayyami* 'My little swidden where I come to play', said by a woman referring to her swidden. Here she reduplicates 'small' ('utik) and 'swidden' ('inum'an) and reinforces this by describing her work as 'play' ('ayyam).

In answer to how many pigs she had, another said,  
*Tattallun 'ut'utik ni napippigut* 'Only three small very thin  
piglets', using reduplicative affixes on each of the three word  
stems, 'three' (*tallu*), 'pigs' ('*utik*) and 'thin' (*pigut*).

Euphemistic devices such as these are described as 'soft speech' ('enyep'eha 'ehel) or 'gradual speech' (*lululupa* 'ehel) and contrast with 'heavy speech' ('ambel'ata 'ehel) or 'forthright speech' (*nalagdan* 'ehel), such as what occurs in straightforward technical descriptions or in speech that is to be interpreted as regulative.

Similar to the figurative usages described above are metalinguistic qualifiers in Kallahan which mark changes in topics, in emphases or in attitudes in speaking. Common examples are:

*Ba'ngahda na'mu unu tutu'wa* 'It may be a lie or it may be true', to preface the offering of unpleasant news.

*Himmawang ni tabtabal* 'iyay 'This is speech that has arrived (unexpectedly)', said by someone who wants to dissociate himself from the unsavory gossip he has just brought into the conversation.

*Gandat ni 'ehel. Tutu'wa 'i 'edum, pangpangarig 'i 'edum* 'That is the nature of talk. Some of it is true; the rest are metaphors', is another traditional caveat.

There are well-defined settings and situations in which rules about polite and non-intrusive speech appear to be set aside and in which obscene joking, bragging and similar forms of direct, confrontational speech are sanctioned and almost expected behavior. In the closely-knit groups of older men and women who sing *ba'liw*, the sung extemporaneous verse associated with large feasts, singing

is often interrupted with sexual jokes and stories, with exaggerated accounts of wealth and prestige of individuals present, with cavalier remarks about death and dying, and with teasing and heckling. These groups are closely circumscribed in that they consist of contemporaries who are of approximately equal status. The few women who participate are capable of equalling the other participants in the bawdy character of their stories, but the arrogant and boastful behavior on these occasions is exclusively associated with men. People say that feasts have no joy without the bragging and taunting of inebriated old people and that reversals of this sort are a necessary break from the tedium of ordinary life. In fact, apologies for the rowdy behavior are directed at the non-participating audience from time to time, to remind them that this is the playful behavior of people who meet only rarely and in festive circumstances. These "carnival" (Bakhtin 1968 [1965]) aspects of *ba'liw* sessions at feasts are referred to again in Chapter Eight.

Tabtabal 'Conversation, Dialogue'

Kallahan conversations are similar to those studied in other societies in that they involve focused exchanges between two or more people in which one person speaks at a time. The word *tabtabal* is most appropriately translated as 'dialogue', to highlight the exchange aspects of speech that are so important in evaluations of its functions. In addition it emphasizes the fact that even in groups consisting of more than two people, 'conversations' are primarily seen as involving exchanges of two people at one time.

A major component of 'conversation' as characterized in Kayapa is telling 'stories' ('*ihtudiya* (ultimately Spanish *historia*) or

'um'umat). Unlike in other cultures where storytelling is a specialized activity involving prescribed genres and performers, '*ihtudiya* in Kayapa is regarded as synonymous with conversation itself. It is not evaluated in terms of artistic or aesthetic qualities and, while some individuals are known to have more and better 'stories' than other people, there is no such thing as a storytelling performance. *Ihtudiya*, in the form of news, gossip and memories, make up 'conversation' to the extent that their telling invites response and directly engages participants in communicative activity.

As mentioned earlier, 'conversation' is also closely related to 'play' ('ayyam)<sup>6</sup> and to 'visiting' ('allibay). This association flows from the function of informal conversation in the establishment of rapport and contact in interaction. Malinowski (1948 [1923]:500) called this type of speech *phatic communion*, and defined it as "a type of speech in which ties of union are created by a mere exchange of words." He explains that an "atmosphere of sociability" is achieved by speech, by the "exchange of words," with little regard to their referents. In Kayapa, the expression "It's just talk" (*Tabtabal bengat*), commonly heard as an apology or as a disclaimer from someone who wishes a statement not to be taken at its referential face value, exemplifies speech in this function.

This brings us to what is considered "non-play" in communication, for there is inherent in the message conveyed in phatic communication the "playing down" or the undercommunication of the referential and regulatory implications of speech. At the level of verbal action, 'play' correlates with strategies for creating and

maintaining contact in communication and, by extension, for avoiding overt shows of authority and regulation.

In Kallahan reckoning then, *tabtabal* is the exemplary mode of communication, both as a means of bringing about social interaction and as social interaction itself. They say that the consensus and cooperation required for the smooth conduct of community life are achieved most effectively in numerous private informal discussions. The public formal presentation of grievances is regarded as a last resort, after attempts at an 'amicable settlement' ('*aligdu* from Spanish *allegro*) in private negotiations are exhausted. In 'conversations,' appeals may be made to traditional ties of kinship, marriage and neighbourhood and to the responsibilities of sex and age in an atmosphere in which the autonomy of participants is least threatened. Such conditions of relative personal autonomy, "where no defined relations of subordination or superordination are present" (Myers and Brenneis 1984: 11) form the basis for egalitarian relations such as those that characterize Kallahan *tabtabal*.

Metacommunication in tabtabal. The continual reciprocal sending out by participants of messages that focus back on the communication itself are part of what mark *tabtabal* as social interaction. Such messages constitute metacommunication in the sense that Goffman (1974) and Bateson (1972 (1955)) define it. In a study of classroom discourse, Stubbs (1983:48) combines the poetic, contact and metalinguistic functions of language under "metacommunication" and labels activities for maintaining contact the "verbal monitoring of a speech situation." Among them, he includes

messages about the channels of communication; messages which serve to keep communication ticking over smoothly;

control over who speaks and how much, and cues for speakers to stop talking or to interrupt; checks on whether messages have been received and understood; and control over the content of acceptable communication.

In 'meetings' and 'arbitration sessions', unlike in 'conversation,' this verbal monitoring is self-conscious and explicit, and formally define the roles of 'arbiters' and "masters of ceremonies" on these occasions. Their work in overseeing the proper conduct of the exchange, particularly in the allotment of speaking turns, and in summarizing, translating and mediating information for the public audience highlight the directive or conative function in these exchanges.

Another aspect of metacommunication is what has become known widely in the literature as "indirect speech" (M. Rosaldo 1973, Brenneis and Myers 1984) or "veiled speech" (Strathern 1975). For Kallahan, obliqueness is the essence of *tabtabal* itself. As described earlier, the reduplicative affix in *tabtabal* denotes pretense or the depreciation of the speaker's functional intent. Instances of native recognition of this "relative opacity of messages" (Myers and Brenneis 1984: 15) and of the potential for words to have multiple meanings are common. It is not unusual to hear people say, in the course of oratory, something similar to the following: "We need to pay close attention. It is the nature of our language to have few words, but many meanings" (*Kitakaun'annad. Gandat ni 'ehel tayu. Hakhakey 'i 'ehel nem dakel 'i banagtu*).

Thus, in ongoing discourse, to say *Mantabtabal kita* "We (dual) are going to talk" is metacommunicative on at least three levels: 1) it is talk focusing on talk; 2) it is a call to consider a particular interpretive frame, one in which the meanings of words spoken are to

be construed as possibly different from what they appear to be and 3) it is an act of making a commitment to social action centering on dialogue and reciprocity.

The political significance of obliqueness in speech has been noted in Kayapa as well. Here the Spanish-derived Ilokano word *pulitika* refers not only to national politics as it is experienced through government and the electoral process but also more specifically to the language associated with these institutions. Any deliberate use of speech that has multiple interpretations may be described as *pulitika* if it has even the slightest hint of a manipulative or coercive motive. More commonly, the term applies to the indirect language in formal speech that is heard at feasts and other public gatherings.

At prestige feasts, for instance, *pulitika* is associated with praise for the speech sponsor as well as subtle criticisms of the conduct of the feast, particularly in relation to its size, to the people included and excluded and to obligations of the feast sponsor. In ambiguous phrases and references in speeches, improvised songs as well as in spontaneous conversation, old feuds are hinted at, unfulfilled ritual obligations are alluded to and comments are made on the inability to comprehend the rapid changes engulfing Kallahan life, especially as these are reflected in conflicts between generations.

The relationships among indirect speech, its political function and patterns of nonconfrontation have been widely dealt with in recent studies of the interface between language and politics (Frake 1972, M. Rosaldo 1973, Bloch 1975, Brenneis and Myers 1984). These

studies stress the constitutive character of speaking and examine the extent to which verbal action is involved in the creation and validation of relationships among its participants. Myers and Brenneis (1984) point out that this feature of language is particularly significant in nonhierarchical, egalitarian societies that are traditionally without enduring political offices. In such societies, of which Kallahan is an example, oblique speech appears to serve the function of defining a polity for each context in which it occurs, while detaching this from the appearance of sanction and conflict. M. Rosaldo (1973) observes, in an exploration of Ilongot oratory, that it is ambiguity that makes it possible to present potentially divisive issues in public without being openly accusatory or otherwise limiting participants' autonomy.

Discussions of indirect speech in the literature primarily center on an elaborate speech style or genre, associated with oratory, ceremonial speech or a certain degree of formality, such as Ilongot *amba'an* (M. Rosaldo 1984: 145), Wana *kiyori* (Atkinson 1984:38) or Merina *kabary* (Keenan 1974: 125). In contrast, Kallahan imply that the indirection that is the desired goal of all encounters is inherent in *tabtabal*, in ordinary 'conversation.' While allusive speech itself occurs in a broad range of speech events, from casual conversation to sung poetry to public speeches, it is through its incidence within the "exchange" of speech, within the reciprocal offering and eliciting of response, that meanings may be examined and played out and contexts may be created to allow interaction to take place. When Kallahan say that in *tabtabal*, understanding is gained through words continually "meeting along the same paths"

(*man'i innawahin 'ehel*) and thoughts "following the beat" (*mankinumpahan i nemnem*) of other thoughts, they refer to a state of mutual "engagement," both in the sense of securing the attention of an interlocutor or interlocutors as well as of bringing a social device into operation.

If, as we observed at the beginning of this chapter, Kallahan primarily value speaking skills for their role in "getting things done," the functions of speech in Kallahan culture must be seen as they relate to political action as reflected in discourse. Myers and Brenneis' (1984:4) definition of politics as the reproduction of relations of authority and dependence makes it possible for us to find politics in the central position that *tabtabal* possesses in Kallahan culture. For Kallahan, *tabtabal* represents the height of "indirection" as verbal action because, while the attention of its participants is engaged and sustained through mutual assertions of shared understandings and other metacommunicative acts, it is possible, through "veiled" speech, to reiterate the underlying message that conflict and divisiveness, never far from domestic and community life, must be avoided and dissimulated.

The metaphor of "engagement" is not far-fetched, for as we show in the beginning of this chapter, among the extensions of 'verbal action' are meanings related to betrothal, weddings and other institutional aspects of sexual relations. Within the common, everyday act of *tabtabal*, Kallahan find the most appropriate model, one based on an idiom of courtship, for their political relations, and the most cogent expression of their ideals of nonconfrontation.

Outside its use in modern speech making, the greatest elaboration of indirect speech in Kallahan culture has been in *ba'liw* (see Chapter Eight), the extemporaneous verse compositions sung at wedding, death and prestige feasts. *Ba'liw* as a register is the only form of speech Kallahan describe as being "similar to conversation" ('*amun tabtabal*'). It differs from *tabtabal* because it is marked for meter and pitch contour but it is similar to it because of its characteristics as a verbal exchange. Each instance of *ba'liw* is implicitly a response to another song and typically ends with a call to someone to respond to it. Occasionally, brief "duels" may occur in a singing session between participants who are intensely involved in a particular issue. *Ba'liw* is seen as a variant of 'conversation' also because it allows participants to touch on moral values in an indirect, even playful, manner.

The final part of this chapter will be concerned with aspects of two other components of speech: the setting and personnel, and how they relate to "appropriate" speech. I will discuss spatial settings in the following section and close with a description of the relationships of gender and age with speech in Kayapa.

#### Settings in Kayapa

The catalogue of physical settings in Kayapa culture that are relevant to a field study of speech is small. The main traditional distinction with respect to places of interaction is one between the 'home' ('*abung*) as a setting for transactions and 'the trail' (*di dalan*), a reference to locations away from residential areas. Notions of hospitality, courtesy and good faith all center on the house and hearth shared by a household. Agreements between people other than

close kin made in settings other than their homes are regarded as of little consequence or are viewed with suspicion. If they are about important issues, such as marriage, property sales, or loans that require collateral, these transactions are not considered binding until they are presented to family and close kinsmen in a house or its adjoining yard. When transfers of property are involved, they must be formalized in the home of one of the parties and marked with the sharing of an alcoholic drink or a meal. Illicit sexual relations and illegitimate children are described as resulting from "conversations along the trail," another example of the extension of 'talk' to sexual relationships. Other antisocial behavior is said to be hurriedly conceived in paths away from houseyards.

A woman who felt frustrated over having to hire more harvest laborers than she needed said that, because the last group of people who had wanted work had stopped at her house, it was difficult for her to turn them away. If they had approached her in the rice fields, she could have been more perfunctory with them and could more easily have ignored their pleas for employment. The association between one's home and commitments to good will are such that many older Kallahan say they are unable to understand the use of restaurants for business transactions in non-Kallahan contexts.

Apart from being the appropriate context for serious discussions within the family and among close kinsmen, the house is the appropriate setting for all public feasts sponsored by a household, including 'prestige feasts' (*kelut*), 'death feasts' ('*adamat*'), and 'wedding feasts' (*timbal*). All curing and prophylactic rituals that primarily involve sacrifices to ancestors are performed

within the house or in the houseyard. In contrast, agricultural rituals and those addressed to non-ancestral supernaturals take place on the sites where these spirits are thought to reside, especially swiddens, rice fields, streams and trails. All formal negotiations or discussions of litigation (*tungtung*) occur in the house of the person who presents his case to leaders of the community for arbitration. When a man desires to marry, his proposal is formally conveyed to the girl's family by a delegation of his kinsmen at a meeting held at her parents' or a close kinsman's house.

The distinction between "public" and "private" places, which is important to definitions of formality elsewhere (see Besnier 1986:45) is not a clear one in Kayapa. The relative definition of "privacy" is most apparent at the most "formal" of occasions, such as feasts. At these, the areas where poetic performances take place are more "public" than those where invocations are performed. Some invocations and offerings are addressed to ancestors in the area beside the house hearth, and this zone is recognized as "private" for such activities during a feast, being occupied only by the officiating specialist or specialists, members of the sponsoring household and close kinsmen. However, this restriction is less rigorous at other times during a feast and exists to an even lesser extent in everyday interaction.

The more proximate physical and material settings of verbal interaction are partly determined by house plans, which are described briefly in the previous chapter; house furniture; and the landscaping of houseyards and other work areas. In Kayapa, everyone talks while working, during meals, along the trails, and while lounging about. Late into the night, quiet conversations take place within houses

before people finally retire; and young people may sit around small fires in the yard, conversing.

Inside houses, people sit on the wood floor, on low stools, or on portable wooden benches set close to the hearth, against a wall, or by a table, while working and talking. Immediately outside houses, wooden or bamboo benches or stools, logs, wooden blocks or smooth rocks placed in shady areas underneath the house, next to a house wall or under trees, define spaces for work and play. In areas away from houses, people stop for long conversations in particular shady spots along the streams, under large trees, in cleared, often paved areas near granaries or adjacent to rice fields and swiddens. Many of these places have become routine meeting places because of their convenient location in relation to settlements, water sources and work areas, and often have stereotypical ways of being referred to. Thus, from the point of view of people in Balat, unqualified directions such as "di pa'luk" ('by the river'), "di mangga" ('at the mango tree') or "di taytay" ('at the bridge') refer to very specific points which are located along paths habitually taken by Balat residents.

For the large attendance and various activities expected at feasts, areas near the house are cleared for dancing, speechmaking, for small gatherings of people to be seated, or for the work required in the slaughter of animals, the preparation of meat shares, and the serving of food. In Kayapa, a large, flat cleared area in front of a house or to one side of it is a sign of relative affluence and of the household's future plans to hold a feast that involves dancing and livestock slaughter. Furniture, including benches of bamboo or wood,

is built or brought in from neighboring houses; and shade areas are constructed in convenient locations around the yard to accommodate guests and the various assistants at feasts. Platforms are constructed near the slaughtering areas for the temporary storage of meat and other food, which must be kept from the reach of freely-roaming dogs and chickens. Inside the houses, space must be found for the large amounts of cooked and uncooked food, jars of rice beer and cooking pots. Rooms are often congested, as members of the household and close kinsmen seat themselves around the officiating priest and the offerings during invocations, or guests gather in small, intimate spaces to listen or to sing poetic compositions appropriate to the feast. Large feasts that occur in the wet season, which are usually funeral feasts, can present severe problems of accommodation and space. Most prestige feasts are planned for the drier part of the year, when outside areas can be more comfortably used for social activities.

A number of new settings for social interaction have been introduced into Kallahan-speaking areas in recent times. Schools ('ihkwilla'an) and small general stores (kantina) are among these. Catholic, Protestant and Spiritist missions have built chapels in a number of Kallahan localities. In the 1970's, a grant of concrete and other building materials was obtained from the provincial government for a one-room assembly hall (locally known as the "barrio hall") on a level area near the road that connects Kayapa to the national highway.

In Kayapa, the local primary school serves as the venue for most 'meetings' called by teachers and other government officials,

for voting at local and national elections and for performances (*prugrama*) staged by school children and their teachers. Occasionally, meetings are held in the "barrio hall," particularly when these involve provincial politicians who have arrived for a brief visit. Church buildings are for the exclusive use of members of the denominations that built them. Only the general stores provide opportunities for informal and unscheduled encounters among members of the public.

#### Male and Female Speaking Roles

In this section, I describe some of the differences of male and female speech and the Kayapa Kallahan cultural organization of these differences. I will employ "speaking role" in the sense that Sherzer (1987b:98) defines it, to label situations in which verbal genres are the defining or predominant component of a social role.

In Kayapa, the lead speaking roles in ceremonial and public occasions are occupied by men. The inner circle of 'arbiters' (*menungtung*) in discussions of litigation always consists of men, and most government officials, whether elective or appointive, are men. The main exception to the latter are teachers in the local primary schools, the majority of whom are women. All 'religious practitioners' (*mabunung, mabaki*) in the Kayapa area are male, although people say there were female practitioners in the past who officiated in curing and agricultural rituals.

There are no proscriptions against women participating in formal public discussions alongside men. Neither are there any speech activities in Kayapa culture from which they are explicitly excluded as onlookers or listeners. Many instances of formal and stereotyped

speech at traditional ceremonies, including making offerings to the dead, singing laments at funerals, giving advice to newly-weds, or receiving visitors to a large feast always involve some older female kinsmen, but for the most part women sit in the background and choose a listening role on these occasions.

However, the general consensus is that speaking in public is "men's work" and that men's voices are more 'forceful' (*na'let*) and have more 'authority' (*turay*) than women's. Women's speech is considered vague, light and ineffectual; and this disqualifies them from prominent public speaking roles. Moreover, women are generally expected to be more restrained, more modest and more discreet in their behavior as well as in their speech.

In Kallahan theory, eloquence and the ability to speak articulately in public are talents beyond most people's reach. So is the knowledge of the world at large that is the basis for the authority to direct and inspire groups of people. Skill in speaking, especially in the use of metaphorical language, as well as knowledge in general, are acquired with age and through repeated experiences, until very recently available primarily to males, in a variety of activities within different institutions, including the family, the local group, regional politics, secondary and tertiary educational institutions, or employment situations within and outside of Kayapa.

When asked why they did not speak at public gatherings, the most common reply from both men and women was "I know nothing" (*Andi 'an kita ni 'amta*). Kayapa people are aware that in other Kallahan- and in Ibaluy-speaking localities there are politically active women who have become leaders in their communities and they consider Kayapa

backward in this respect. People say that such women usually come from wealthy families for whom feasting, travel and education have brought many opportunities for learning formal public roles.

The only traditional, exclusively female, formal speaking role is to sing the 'chorus' ('attub) to each line of a *ba'liw* composition at a feast. People will not begin singing *ba'liw* unless there are a few women nearby who can be drawn in to sing the chorus. In the past, both men and women actively sang *ba'liw* at feasts, but few Kayapa women have any interest in it today.

There are no obligatory linguistic (i.e., phonological, grammatical, semantic or lexical) differences between men's and women's speech. The CVC-reduplicative affix denoting 'diminution, depreciation, pretense' and described earlier in connection with expressions of nonconfrontation, is recognized as a linguistic marker of women's and children's speech, although men use it in their speech as well, but with lower frequency. In addition to paralinguistic features such as pitch and intonation, the use of this affix makes up the local caricature of women's speech. Thus, women's one association with allusive speech, i.e., the circumlocutory manner of talking about one's personal circumstances, is itself a stereotyped variant. Adult male speech is the unmarked speech variety; and directive functions of speech are an unmarked category.

Women actively engage in exchanges and discussions that take place in informal, relatively private settings. It is widely recognized that their speaking roles in the domestic sphere are complementary to men's public speaking roles and that most of the decisions men put forward in public are arrived at in private

discussions in which women are able to show their influence. The speech activities within women's networks, being part of strategies that focus on cooperation in everyday activities and in long-term agricultural tasks, are positively valued. These include the care and teaching of children, the recruitment of the bulk of swidden and rice agricultural labor and involvement in an occasional retail trade. A large part of the burden of maintaining harmony and cooperation within households and immediate kin groups falls on the shoulders of women, whom men say are more "persuasive" (*ma'a'aluk*) and more "diplomatic" (*magalagal*) than themselves.

In a general overview of studies of men's and women's speech differences, Sherzer (1987b:99) suggests an ethnographic investigation of the differences in broad patterns of speaking within a culture, although he indicates that these differences probably relate to more than just gender. These patterns reflect a society's ground rules for verbal interaction and cut across all forms of formal and informal speech genres and types of interaction. It becomes clear that, at one level, the basic classification in Kallahan discourse of direct, focused speech and indirect, diffuse speech can be correlated with differences in men's and women's speech patterns. Direct, focused speech is stereotypically associated with regulative functions, with formal public performances, and with men's speaking roles. Indirect, "deflected," nonconfrontational speech has predominantly phatic and contact functions and, in Kallahan thinking about gender and speech behavior, is associated with women's ways of speaking, both as action and as strategy, and with the everyday, domestic sphere. Linguistically, direct speech depends on the

imperative, which in Kallahan is represented by an unaffixed verb stem. In contrast, indirect speech depends on qualified meanings given by affixed verb stems; and the reduplicative verbal affix of 'pretense, diminution and depreciation' that marks women's and children's speech is the most overt and stereotyped expression of nondirective, covert goals.

Keenan's (1974) study of the uses of speech by men and women in a Malagasy (Merina) community presents an interesting contrast to the Kallahan situation. In general, direct, unsubtle and censuring speech is associated with Malagasy women; and it is men who are expected to be indirect, tactful and sensitive to interpersonal relationships. The "unsophisticated" speech of women disqualifies them from many formal speaking roles, including the culturally central *kabary* events, which involve highly stylized ceremonial genres and subtle negotiation. However, a Kallahan-Malagasy comparison of relationships of speech to gender is not so straightforward, for the cultural background to notions of indirection and the avoidance of confrontation differs in the two societies. In Kayapa, indirection is supported by, or is an expression of, the functions and the goals of speech as they are conceived of in Kallahan culture. While it is the ideal in all formal and informal verbal exchanges, indirect speech is fundamental to the metacommunicative functions that are most immediately associated with conversation and everyday, domestic interaction. Keenan (1974: 138) reports that, in Malagasy culture, it is direct speech that is the norm in ordinary, everyday relations, which constitute the sphere of women. These comparisons point to the

urgent need for cross-cultural studies of what "indirection" consists of.

While this discussion started with male and female speaking roles, it is clear that some of the differences in speaking roles described above have little to do with gender but relate more generally to generational differences in speech. In the following section, I describe some aspects of the connections between age and speech in Kayapa.

#### Age and Speech in Kayapa

The acquisition of speaking competence in Kayapa begins in the intimate surroundings of the home. Here children learn, mainly by imitation and occasionally by direct instruction, from caregivers, including parents, grandparents and siblings. When the child is around eighteen months or two years old, adults may be heard teaching the child the names of other children, of familiar household things and kinship terms used to address other people. The usual method is for an adult to pronounce a word slowly, separating the syllables and then waiting for the child to repeat after him. From the age of four onwards, any direct teaching and correction of children's speech that take place center on appropriate terms of address and reference for people and the use of more complicated affix combinations.

Baby talk is limited and consists of modifications of adult language as well as of imitations of children's language. Many utterances are single words with regulatory or imperative meanings, such as 'asi! 'dirty!' (said to a child who has put something unclean in his mouth or gotten himself quite dirty), 'unegah! 'you'll fall!' 'un'eged! 'you'll get cut!' and 'eman! 'don't!' Imitations of

children's speech are *napuy* 'cooked rice' (from '*inapuy*'), *namnam* 'food' and '*ayul!*' 'I don't want to!' or 'I don't like it!.' Occasionally, imperatives derived from English are heard from young parents, like *darti* 'don't touch it, it's dirty' (from English *dirty*); '*islip!*' (from English *sleep*) and *man'it!* (from English *eat*). Onomatopoetic constructions depicting excretory functions make up other forms of baby talk.

There is no elaborate folk theory of stages of childhood development with respect to speech. Before the onset of speech which is recognized by adult caretakers as bearing some similarity to their own, children are described as "without thought" ('*ag naynemneman*') and are said to be incapable of being taught directly. *Nemnem*, which may be glossed as "thought, motivation, intention," manifests itself when a child first shows the capability to discriminate among objects and people in his immediate surroundings and to attempt to control their behavior. A four-month old infant who refuses to be nursed by a stranger is described as "capable of thought" as is a six-month old who refuses to share his food when asked.

Parents say that the most certain indication of *nemnem* appears when a child is capable of "being sent" (*mabagga*) to perform a task, such as retrieving a named object or following a simple instruction. Indeed, a good reason to have children is to have someone "to send on errands" in one's old age. This cultural emphasis on children's apprehension of what have been called the regulatory and instrumental functions of language (Halliday 1973:12) has clear implications for the definition of their roles in Kallahan society. From a very early age, children are characterized in terms of their roles in the

household and in agricultural production. A relative arriving to visit a newborn child will greet a male infant with the exclamation *Mangiyew!* ('Someone to cut firewood!') or *Manaluyhuy!* ('Someone to do the harrowing!'). Similarly a female infant will be addressed with the name of a culturally stereotyped female task such as cooking (*Man'uggan!*) or feeding pigs (*Manimmul!*). A young father, holding his newborn son, was heard to address him with, "You and I will plow together" (*Hi'gatay man'adaddu*).

The play activities of childhood, including improvised games which are imitations of adult activities, are seen as an important part of preparing children for the adult world, apart from being a daily source of amusement. Playing 'house,' playing 'work in the fields,' playing 'feasts' are the most common of these.

Two linguistic features occur frequently in the speech of children at play, particularly in the course of imitative games. The first is the particle *ni'ngen* 'pretend,' as in *Hi'gak hi nanang ni'ngen* 'Let's pretend I am mother' or *Na'ugip kihhu ni'ngen* 'Let's pretend we are asleep'. The second is the reduplicative affix indicating 'diminution' or 'make believe', and is identical with the affix associated with adult deprecatory speech discussed earlier. Both morphological features form part of the stereotype of children's speech and of childish behavior. The reduplicative affix of 'depreciation' is associated as well with women's euphemistic style.

The higher status and greater deference accorded old people in Kallahan society dictate the nature of what is considered appropriate behavior in relation to age. People are expected to "await their turn" to gain the status of old age, to remain silent in the presence

of members of their parent's generation and not aspire to preempt their status. A person may not sponsor a feast that involves more sacrificial livestock than any that his own father has sponsored, while his father is still alive. At a feast, no one may sing *ba'liw* whose parents are alive and capable of singing; this eliminates most early middle-aged people and confines *ba'liw* performances to people in their fifties and above. The same is true of the reciting of genealogies and of telling old stories: the prior right to tell these belongs to the oldest person who knows them. While feasts provide the opportunities for young people to gain knowledge in public speaking, they may in fact not practice any of these skills until their parents are no longer participating actively in public life.

Authoritative speech defines the speaking role of older people. The conflict between generations is encapsulated in the stereotypical expression of contempt, addressed to old people and attributed to young people in general: *Ampay hiyatta 'ehelmuy nangkadhunanku?* which may be glossed as 'Do you think it is your speech that has bought me my pair of pants?' In discussions among old people of what they feel are materialistic orientations of their children, it is common to hear them speak of their fear of taunts such as this one.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, young people say that their elders' talk has little relevance to problems of modern life, and imply that it must be judged by the goals it achieves.

The linguistic differences between older and younger people's speech that relate to the achievement of social goals lie primarily in the nature and consequences of bilingualism of these two groups. The knowledge of English and Tagalog among young people who have had

some high school education gives them access to information on current affairs, politics, and technology from newspapers and radio broadcasts. On many occasions, including public forums, they are called upon to translate and interpret this information to their elders. Thus, modern political institutions present limited situations for young people to speak in public with fewer constraints than previously existed. The national electoral system, for example, has given some young people the opportunity to establish institutional alternatives to the traditional authority of their elders.

Today, in western-style meetings, young educated Kallahan men and women are frequently called upon to contribute to public discussions of nontraditional and extra-community importance, in their capacity as public school teachers, para-medical personnel and government employees. There appear to be no hindrances to their assuming these public roles and it is clear that their authority in these situations derives from the modern technological and technical nature of the knowledge they are able to impart. Since most of this knowledge is acquired in outside contexts, their discussions are often held in Ilokano or at least require the use of a large number of Ilokano, Tagalog and English words. Kallahan say that women in such public speaking roles are "like men" and that is because their new knowledge implies access to nondomestic economic and educational resources ordinarily available only to men in the past.

For the most part, technical discourse involves "direct," nonfigurative language and rules out the idiomatic speech and witty digressions that characterize old men's oratory or *ba'liw*-singing.

'Meetings' and other discussions among government representatives stress the referential function of language, through talk about the "correct" interpretation of new terms in the domain of administration and politics. Where talk is objective and depends on technical expertise gained through formal education and outside experience, young women as well as young men who possess this knowledge are able to overcome the strictures against their active participation in activities normally dominated by old men.

Interestingly, the only other context in which women take an active public speaking role is in the Spiritist Church. There are four women in their forties and fifties who they lead prayers, read the Ilokano translation of the Bible, perform secretarial work for the organization, and act as mediums. For some high-school educated Kayapa people who have not sought employment or residence away from Kayapa (in addition, there are half a dozen men, also in their forties and fifties, who are active leaders of the church), the Spiritist movement has provided an opportunity to maintain their literacy and to establish links with institutions outside of Kayapa. The nature of their participation here parallels their other modern public speaking roles in that the situations involve the frequent use of Ilokano and of stereotypical procedures, technical presentations and other speaking routines that allow little leeway for creativity in speech. In addition, the obviously fundamentalist slant of their religious discussions, especially those based on rote-learned quotations from the Bible, emphasizes the literal interpretation of the Scriptures.<sup>8</sup>

In modern formal speaking contexts, women also become "like men" when they speak, to the extent that they speak in their capacities as "public servants" (*wadad silbisiyu*, lit., 'in service') and not as individuals. The frequent use of recently introduced titles such as "Teacher" (*Apu ma'istru* or *Apu ma'istra*), "Midwife" (*Apu midwa'ip*) or "Councillor" (*Apu kunsihal*) in both reference and address among participants in these speech events illustrate the way in which "personal" identities are "suppressed" on these occasions. As both Irvine (1979) and Lederman (1984) observe, expressions of social distance and of "seriousness" in formal contexts relate to the way in which these occasions invoke positional and public, rather than personal, identities. This is of course true in both traditional and modern settings, but it is only in the latter that young men and women, in speaking "directly" and "seriously" on technical matters such as government policies, community health or the electoral process, are allowed to "gain" a public identity in the first place.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Throughout this work '*ehel*' will be used alone but in all instances will be substitutable by *hapit*. The latter occurs more frequently in northern dialects of Kallahan and in the Imugan-Santa-Fe area for 'speech'.

<sup>2</sup>Within ethnographic studies, verbal genres, described in the introduction and discussed in Hymes 1974b, refer to both informal, everyday speech forms as well as more formal, literary ones.

<sup>3</sup>In contrast, people on their way to a feast will say, "*Kami makikkan* (lit. "We are on a way to join in the eating"). Although festive meals are almost always served at extended 'meetings' or in

'negotiation sessions', the purpose for attendance at these events are never described in terms of feasting.

<sup>4</sup>The terminology and the relationships between "primary meaning" and "extensions" is elaborated on in Sheffler and Lounsbury (1971: 5). A similar linguistic situation in which the unaffixed root of a verb produces the imperative, is described for the Ilongot (M. Rosaldo 1980:73).

<sup>5</sup>Very roughly, these two classes of speech acts fall within what M. Rosaldo (1982:222) calls "directives" and "declaratives" in Ilongot speech. While the first belong to "relationships defined by continuity and hierarchy," the second are verbal actions which correspond to "social situations wherein norms of "sameness" and autonomy prevail." One defining feature of the first category of utterances is that they demand response from the addressee while the first do not. Rosaldo arrived at these distinctions in a study of Ilongot attitudes toward speech, in which she shows how conventional speech act theory is unable to take into account some kinds of cultural and situational constraints on forms of language use. A more extensive list of Kallahan 'speech acts' appears in the Appendix.

<sup>6</sup>Speech as 'play' in Kallahan culture bears no resemblance to the concept of 'play' described in ethnographies of speech in Afro-American societies (see Abrahams 1971, 1974). In the latter, 'play' relates to a contrast between the values of the women's household world (in which 'play' normally has no place) and those of the streetcorner and other outside activities that primarily involve men. In the use of 'play' in Kayapa, there is an underlying distinction

between speech in which contact functions have priority and that in which regulative or referential functions are overtly expressed.

<sup>7</sup>In talking about taunts and other speech acts that involve supernatural sanctions, informants will not speak the entire expression. To refer to this expression, informants abbreviate it to *Ampay hiyatta 'ehelmu...* or *Ampay hiyatta nutnutmu...* ('Do you think your speech...?').

<sup>8</sup>See Rosaldo 1973 for parallels between the Kayapa church register and modern Ilongot oratory.



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## Chapter Seven

### Speech Events: 'Invocation'

#### Introduction

The final part of this work will be devoted to an examination of speech events and other speech activities as part of the totality of sociolinguistic resources in Kallahan culture. In this and the next two chapters, I present three formal speech events: *bunung* (or *baki*), 'invocations to supernaturals'; *ba'liw* 'sung poetry' and *palawag* (or *dihkulhu*) 'address, speech, oratory'.<sup>1</sup> This chapter provides a description of the components of 'invocation' as a speech event and its attributes as a performance.

The task faced in this chapter is to determine what the communicative resources are in a Kallahan speech community for keying performance and how 'invocations', 'sung poetry' and 'speeches' are differentiated in terms of these devices. For each of these speech events, I include a discussion of the structuring of the linguistic code and of nonlinguistic features of the speech situation. I describe the classes of their participants, the settings and contexts in which they occur, and nonlinguistic aspects of their performance including their form, content, and metalinguistic framing.

The discussion of additional linguistic code structuring , the first aspect of formality isolated by Irvine (1979), heavily emphasizes the lexical specializations characteristic of each register, primarily because these comprise the most accessible aspect

of language in informants' explanations of formality and performance. The two traditional genres, 'invocations' and 'sung poetry' share some overlap in their special vocabulary. A prominent part of code structuring in these two genres involves the juxtaposition of metaphorical expressions in syntactically parallel constructions. 'Speeches' involve parallelism to a smaller degree but they differ from the first two registers in employing a large number of Ilokano words and phrases and in making use of code-switching to Ilokano as a rhetorical device. In the separate discussions of these speech events, examples of this lexical proliferation and of code-switching will be presented along with brief descriptions of relevant grammatical, prosodic, proxemic, and paralinguistic features.

In this analysis, I assume a basic orientation of the ethnography of speaking by focusing on the total communicative event and discovering the functional interrelationships among its components, rather than taking the performance text as primary. In addition, I follow Abrahams (1968, 1970) and Bauman (1977) in viewing performance not only in terms of the stylized behavior of a performer but also as a structured event entailing the mutual participation of audience and performer. In the course of each presentation, I point out cultural and social functions of each speech event as they flow from various aspects of its performance. At the end of this and the next two chapters, these cultural and social meanings are discussed in relation to participants' goals and to Kayapa Kallahan evaluations of speech and of social interaction in general.

In writing about the relation of behavior to performance, Hymes (1981:81) speaks of how performances are "realized" and "achieved"

and of how they "unfold" in the contexts in which they are situated. I hope to demonstrate that the role of ceremonial performances as sociolinguistic resources in Kayapa society develops within the social events that are constituted through the joint interaction of performers and their audiences. In Kallahan formal speech, this "emergent quality of performance" (Bauman 1977:38) depends upon the exploitation by both performers and audience of areas of flexibility in the nondiscursive aspects of performance. This flexibility is consistent with Kallahan ideals that stress the potential for negotiation and exchange in all interaction. It differentiates traditional ways of speaking such as *ba'liw* and *bunung* from "modern" oratory, which is more overtly associated with political and directive functions, with monologic speech and with new claims to external authority. In taking the social situation of the speech event as the unit of analysis it becomes possible to describe the interplay of goals of participants, evaluations of competence, and norms of interaction in a given performance.

A final line of inquiry pursued here centers on the role of formal speech events in formulations of Kallahan Igullut identity. Because it occurs primarily within occasions when Kallahan culture is most consciously and conspicuously on display to outsiders, formal speech is often directed towards presenting images of who and what Kallahan think they are. This is accomplished in two ways: by means of the content of speech events, and through aspects of language use that convey the distinctiveness of Kallahan speech, such as the presence of special lexical and grammatical constructions. Of particular interest to the interpretive concerns of this work is how

formal speech events constitute social interactional contexts within which aspects of Kallahan identity are reiterated, exemplified and created.

Bunung 'Invocations'

The opposition between the 'visible world' (*matibbew*) and the 'non-visible world' ('*ag matibbew*) is a primary one in the discussion of Kallahan communication. The term *bunung* includes all traditional verbal means of communicating with or controlling invisible beings or 'spirits', either ancestral or non-ancestral. In its most commonly understood sense, it refers to the invocatory acts performed within 'offering rituals' (*laga* lit., 'to make, do' or *keleng* 'to finish, complete') and to the texts of these prayers.<sup>2</sup> In the following discussion, *bunung* will, unless qualified, refer to this more specific sense of 'invocations' connected with offerings.

Bunung as 'spell'. In context, *bunung* takes on the more exclusive meaning of 'spell' or 'charm', and refers to verbal formulae believed to have supernatural effect. Thus, in a long invocation in which the recitation of the myth of the origin of the ritual offering precedes the act of uttering the performative part of an invocation, only the latter portion is called *bunung*, while the myth recitation is called *tandeng*. Speech acts such as 'curses' (*ba'uh*, '*ibayuh* or *butbut*), 'oaths' (*hangba*), 'libations' (*peltik*), 'offering announcements' (*madmad*) and 'benedictions' (*la'tuk*), all involving short texts addressed to supernaturals, are considered kinds of *bunung* in this narrower sense of the term.

These speech acts are performative, in that they are utterances that constitute the acts described by their verbs. By asserting that

he will "take an oath" ('anggen hangba'anku), a speaker does take an oath; and by saying "I curse you" (butbuten taka), a curse is actually laid. Text examples of forms of malediction are only reluctantly given by informants, for their utterances themselves constitute charms. If a curse is quoted, it is given in an incomplete form or accompanied by a metalinguistic caveat (e.g. Tabtabal bengat 'iyay "This is just talk"), to indicate that it is the form of speech that is under consideration. The most common examples of 'spells' are given below; and examples of 'benedictions', 'offering announcements' and 'libations' are discussed below in connection with offerings:

'Curse' (butbut, ba'uh, 'ibayuh)

Kateyka. 'May you die'

Kabutbutka 'You are cursed'

Manhehhelungkad namag'an'an 'May you walk (aimlessly)

where the streams run dry'

'Oath' (hangba):

Mabayyang 'i angelku... 'My body will be covered with sores...' (followed by name of crime the speaker is accused of; e.g. 'if I stole' or 'if I harmed him', etc.)

Hi'gama aggew, hi'gama bulan, 'uhdung kalli. 'You Sun, you Moon, look down on this' This is a traditional oath used in ordeals.

Bunung as 'invocations'. The list of kinds of invocations that most Kallahan adults will have heard in the course of their lifetimes is small. Religious practitioners say that the number of rites performed today is smaller than that known to their fathers. By far,

most religious rituals in Kayapa are in response to diagnoses of illness, and involve offerings to spirits of recently-deceased ancestors. This includes ceremonies called *lebun*, *kapi* and *hapnak*, which last one day and involve pig offerings. 'Prestige feasts', called *batbat* and *pedit*, take two or more days to complete and involve complexes of rites and invocations addressed to both ancestral and non-ancestral spirits. Ostensibly, they are performed in anticipation of an ancestor's demands, and the most common reason given for their occurrence is to honor a sponsor's ancestors. The other kind of curing rituals involve spirits who are not ancestors. In Kayapa, the most common of these are called '*ampahit*', *tawal*, '*amlag*' and *haldi*.

Invocations involved in presentations of offerings may be classed according to the rites that include them. Invocation names are often identical to the names of the rites and in most cases, but not all, these names also belong to the kinds of spirits to whom the rites are directed. *Ampahit*, '*amlag*', and *pahang* are names of rites, invocations, and kinds of spirits. However, not all named spirits have rites specifically associated with them. For example, *Ibbumangi* and *I''allagut* are summoned in rituals that take place in work places away from the houseyards, but there are no offerings directed to them exclusively.

Other invocations and rites have names which have some association, often obscure ones, with the purpose for which the rite is held or with some distinguishing aspect of the ritual. Examples of these are *lawit* and *tawal* (lit., 'to call'), to summon back lost or stolen souls, said to leave the body while a person is asleep;

*bengaw*, (the name of a poultice) to cure boils , caused by witchcraft; and *haldiy* (lit., 'to obstruct'), to prevent illness or other disasters that may be brought into a household or a region when strangers arrive or when a resident returns after an unpleasant experience elsewhere. The *batbat* ritual is named after the way in which pigs and jars of rice beer are displayed in the front yard 'in rows' (*balatbat* or *batbat*). Finally, there are no known explanations for such invocation names as *temu*, the rite for curing insanity; *sabusab*, for preventing or curing illness caused through 'curses' and 'oaths', or *liyaw*, for preventing or curing illness caused by living in a house built with wood that has been struck by lightning.

#### **Participation**

The participants in *bunung* minimally include a sponsoring household, the beneficiary of a sacrifice, the religious specialist who communicates the offering to the spirits and the supernatural entities to whom the sacrifice is offered.

The sponsoring household and the beneficiary. The sponsoring household, of which the beneficiary of the rite is usually a member, is responsible for seeking a diagnosis for the illness or making the decision with a religious specialist about the nature of the rite to be performed. In addition, its members procure the objects necessary for the ceremony, including poultry or livestock, traditional hand-woven blankets and rice beer, as well as provisions for the meals that follow. During the actual recitations of invocations, the beneficiary and members of the household sit next to the officiating priest while he makes the offerings.

Mabunung. For the most part, specialists called *mabunung* or *mabaki* recite the invocations and conduct the rituals involved in the interaction between humans and supernaturals. Theirs is the one role in Kallahan society that is defined with reference to speech. It involves the memorization of texts of varying length, of the main genealogies of the descent grouping to which he belongs and the knowledge of details of ritual procedure in offering performances.

In Kallahan areas, these practitioners are always male, and are related by close kinship to priests with whom they have served many years of apprenticeship. All of them claim to have been "called" to the vocation through a mystical experience, usually a dream, a miraculous event or by being possessed by spirits of deceased *mabunung*. In general, a religious specialist is associated with a maximal meat-exchange group, with whose ritual traditions and genealogies he would be familiar and at whose feasts he would officiate. In addition, he would also be the 'diviner,' (*mambaknew*), whom people would consult for the supernatural causes of illnesses. Repertoires of invocations differ from one priest to another, with only a few older and more widely travelled specialists being capable of officiating at the more complex rites of large feasts.

Brief invocations, such as those involved in libations and in perfunctory invitations to spirits to partake of offerings, may be performed by any adult. Death rites, for example, do not involve the participation of specialists until the day of burial. Before then, all offerings to the dead person's spirit are announced by the individuals presenting them or by a member of the family. In addition, some minor rituals may be performed by people who are not

necessarily labelled specialists in religious practice. In every community there are a few men who know the invocations for curing boils, headaches or stomachaches caused by spirits found in the rice fields and other work places.

Supernaturals. Sacrificial offerings and the invocations that accompany them are addressed to three main kinds of supernaturals: spirits of 'ancestors' (*ka'apu'an*), spirits of dead *mabunung* and supernaturals associated with specific locations.

For Kallahan, spirits of 'ancestors' (*ka'apu'an*) make up the most important group of superhuman agencies they interact with, because of the consequences of their actions on people's everyday lives. Although spirits of "all ancestors" may be summoned, in actual practice, only dead ascendants within three or four generations above that of the beneficiary are ever named at an offering ceremony. By far, the bulk of Kallahan religious ritual, in terms of numbers of rituals sponsored and of financial outlay, involves providing for the "needs" of spirits of recently-dead ancestors, for they are liable to cause illness and death if they are neglected or their demands are not met.

According to Kallahan belief, spirits of the recently-dead, called *kalading*, behave in many ways like real, living people. They consume food and drink and enjoy many of the material comforts of their former earthly lives, including tobacco, clothing, blankets and money, all of which form part of all offerings to ancestors. Thus, at death feasts, the spirit of the deceased is "sent off" with "gifts" of alcohol, rice, sweet potatoes and taro as well as with the traditional tools and other implements that the person used in life.

In addition, livestock offerings are slaughtered in male-female pairs as much as possible, to ensure their "procreation" in the afterlife.

Most of all, ancestors require the company of their relatives and enjoy being called to feasts. When they wish to communicate a "need," this is accomplished by making a kinsman ill or by appearing in a dream. Diagnosis by a specialist will name the spirit causing the illness or the dream. On the whole, Kallahan consider ancestral spirits whimsical and willful and many of their pleas to recently-deceased kinsmen are to be reasonable with their demands on their living relatives.

The metaphors for referring to the celebration of feasts reflect this preoccupation with the requirements of ancestral spirits: To say that "Batu will be called to dance" (*panayaw da kunuh Batu*), "Batu will be invited up into the house" (*peki'bit da kunuh Batu*) or "Batu has made a request" (*kamankekdaaw kunuh Batu*) is to describe a feast at which major offerings are made to Batu's spirit. The reference to "dancing" specifically points to the beginning of large prestige feasts, when persons who are selected to impersonate individual ancestors are temporarily given their names and then called upon to dance.

Although not potential sources of illness, the spirits of dead *mabunung* constitute a class of addressees in prayers. Every invocatory text includes an appeal to the spirits of dead religious specialists to bring about the successful conclusion of the present ritual procedures. In some offering rites, long lists of names of dead priests and the names of places where they resided form part of the invocations.

Supernaturals associated with specific locations make up a third set of addressees in invocations. One subset is generally regarded as being "around us" and is often referred to obliquely as "these ones" (*hiyayay 'ida*), with a slight upward wave of the hand to indicate the immediate surroundings. *Ampahit* (also called *timumgaw*, lit. 'he who sits') and '*amlag*' are the most popularly-known of these spirits. They reside in the rice fields, along paths and along river banks and when disturbed or injured are believed to cause certain illnesses, including boils, rashes, infected sores, lameness and blindness. *Amlag* are said to ride the wind, to have a bark similar to a dog's, and to steal souls, causing a person to become listless and weak. Their presence in areas of work and play make these spirits a common source of illness; and in Kayapa they are frequent recipients of sacrificial offerings.

Two other kinds of spirits, very specific to Kayapa, are called *Ibbumangi* and *I''allagut*, and are also potential sources of illness. They are spirits of former inhabitants of Kayapa who are known to have lived in areas where rice fields are now located. In all propitiatory rituals held in the rice fields, the *Ibbumangi* and *I''allagut* are always named and "invited" to share food and drink with celebrants of a feast.

In every large feast, offering rituals involve the recitation of long formulaic lists of spirits about whose individual identities very little is known. One large group of these supernaturals are said to "live in the forest" (*wad bel'ew*) and are responsible for causing laziness, disorientation and forgetfulness. Some, such as *pahang*, cause infertility, *temu* cause insanity; and *bengaw* cause boils.

*Lampung* are said to steal souls, especially as these leave the body while a person dreams, and to trade in them. *Biyaw* cause people to become slack with their work, to leave livestock to wander or swiddens to become covered with weeds.

In *bunung*, these collectivities of supernaturals are summoned sequentially, using the phrase structure, (Individual Name) + *di* ('locative particle') + (Place Name) (e.g. *Biyaw di Kanawalan*, *Biyaw di Tabayu*, *Biyaw di Palatang*, etc.).<sup>3</sup>

A common entreaty to this class of spirits is the following:

*Agyudda panhigahiga, pan'anga'angat, pan'ahi'ahimugal.*

*Inemnem day habal da, inemnem day mapakkanda.*

'Keep them from getting lazy, from losing their tempers, from feeling listless. Make them remember their swiddens and make them remember their livestock.'

A second group of these supernaturals "live in the upper-world" (*wad 'ahpat* or *wad kabuniyan*) or "in the lower-world" (*wad dalem* or *wad nanda'ul*) and are said to be capable of preventing a wide range of illnesses and misfortunes. Some of these, such as *Kabigat* and *Ballituk*, usually described as living "on their land in Liwah, on their land in Kiyangan" (*di dallin dad Liwah, di dallin dad Kiyyangan*) occur as characters in myths that are recited at the beginning of many invocations. Lists of these divinities vary in length from one priest to another. *Aggew* (lit., 'sun'), *Bulan* (lit., 'moon'), *Ballituk* (lit. 'gold'), *Amkidul* (lit. thunder), *Kabigat*, *Bugan* and *Kabuniyan* are the most commonly cited names in Kayapa. Others, less commonly mentioned are *Kulput* (lit., 'cloud'), *Amtalaw*

(lit., star), *Halibubu* ('the Pleiades'), *Tedung* (another constellation). *Aggew*, *Bulan* and *Kabuniyan* occur in oaths as well, especially those associated with ordeals. All these are personal names, unlike those of spirits in the world of humans, which are object names.

There is little lore among Kallahan about spirits in the upper and lower worlds. They are vaguely known to have been responsible, in mythical times, for the institution of rituals as they are known today and to be capable of imparting abundance and power. On the whole, they exercise no direct control over everyday human affairs and are not considered malevolent.

The term *Kabuniyan* has an ambiguous status in Kallahan thinking about superhuman entities. In some myths it occurs as a place name, in keeping with its etymology, based on the root *buni* 'spiritual power' and the complex locative affix *ka-....an*. In others it is the name of a spirit of the upper world, preceded by a singular personal pronoun. More commonly today, *Kabuniyan* is used synonymously with "Apo *Diyuh*" (ultimately Sp. *Dios*), and is conceived of as a creator deity, on a pattern based on Christianity.<sup>4</sup>

#### Immediate Settings for Bunung

Most ritual invocations and offerings addressed to recently-dead ancestors take place at the residence of the sponsoring household, either inside the cooking house by the hearth or immediately outside of the steps leading up to the cooking house. Offerings addressed to spirits that reside away from houseyards are performed in the vicinity of where they are believed to have been encountered. Agricultural rites, now no longer important in Kayapa,

were performed at the margins of rice fields and swiddens. Brief invocations to supernaturals may of course be made by anyone at anytime and at any place.

The proximate, physical and artifactual features of the settings of 'invocations' vary little from one occurrence to the next. In addition to meat offerings, gifts of clothing, tobacco, blankets, rice beer and money are offered to ancestors in some rituals, particularly at prestige and at funerary feasts. Except for the rice beer, which is contained in porcelain or stoneware jars, all these objects are arranged on a wide bamboo winnowing tray and offered to ancestors from the vicinity of the house hearth. If there is a livestock offering, the animal is led (or, in the cases of pigs, tied) next to the ladder leading to the house, and one end of its rope is held by the officiating priest next to the winnowing tray holding the other offerings.

During the offering itself, the officiant is surrounded by members of the sponsoring household and their close kinsmen, who sit on the floor or on small benches against a wall. There is a general air of quiet and attentiveness from the immediate audience as the specialist recites his invocations, but as soon as these end, conversation and other activities resume with little transition.

#### **Contexts of Bunung**

Offering rituals have the aim of securing the intercession of supernaturals, in the cure or prevention of illness, in averting disaster and in gaining material wealth or spiritual power. The achievement of this goal depends on a strictly reciprocal relationship between humans and supernaturals, one in which humans

make offerings and spirits impart their power. Except for a small number of minor rituals, all Kallahan rituals involve the slaughter of livestock and conclude with a meal which all participants, human and superhuman, partake of.<sup>5</sup> Depending on the size of the animal offering, attendance at this meal may include other close kinsmen of the sponsoring household. At large feasts, the slaughter of pig, cattle and water buffalo offerings<sup>6</sup> results in the population of a hamlet temporarily swelling to several times its size as kinsmen and guests arrive from neighboring settlements for two or three days of visiting, dancing, feasting and singing.

Feasts, the occasions in Kallahan life that are made possible by animal slaughter, present the most easily-recognizable and publicly-acknowledged contexts for communication with the supernatural world. There is no slaughter that occurs outside of an offering ritual and all feasts are begun with invocations from an officiating priest. Apart from the verbal summonses and appeals embodied in invocations and in sung poetry, the sights and sounds of gong and drum music and of dancing<sup>7</sup> at large feasts, the grunting and squealing of pigs, and the activity surrounding the preparation of festive meals and other offerings are said to especially attract spirits and to bring about the maximal concentration of supernatural presence at one place and time. It is because of the supernatural interest in these objects and activities that gongs, drums or ceremonial blankets are never displayed outside of feasts at which they are to be used and even children are prohibited from beating out gong or drum rhythms while "playing feasts." At the end of a prestige feast, smaller feasts (called *hapnak*, involving a pig) are held at

homes of close kinsmen of the recent feast sponsor, precisely to "capture" and "channel" some of this supernatural presence into their houseyards.

An offering ritual consists of three main parts: the invocation, the presentation of the animal offering and the presentation of a meal to the spirits. The traditional naming of this sequence refers to pig offerings. As parts of a set, the first step is called *tandeng* ('recitation'), the second step *hapgid* ('to swish, beat lightly') and the third, *dullem* ('to arrange dishes in rows'). The first step is the verbal part of the rite; this is discussed at greater length below. The second takes place next to the matting of *Misanthus* on which the animal is to be slaughtered, and its name makes reference to the brief swishing motion the specialist makes with a small stick or bundle of leaves while he lightly strikes the head of the animal and calls to the supernaturals to "take this" ("ala yu, duldul yu"). The squeals of the dying pig signal this stage of the offering.

In the third step of the offering, which takes place after the pig has been slaughtered and cooked, plates are set in two opposite rows on the ground and large servings of meat, soup, rice and sweet potatoes or taro are set between the rows. The *mabunung* repeats the first invocation in its entirety and calls the supernaturals' attention to the meal now set before them. After a few minutes, members of the feast sponsors' household are called to the meal.

In Kayapa, the largest of these feasts involve about eight hundred to a thousand guests over a three-day period. People are served meals in stages, with as many as a fifty to eighty people

sitting down for a meal at one time. People squat along one side of a row of dishes to have a meal, each person taking a plate and eating with their hands. Soup, boiled vegetable, and chilli peppers or salt, are shared communally by small groups of four to six people. One or two men, carrying sliced cooked meat in large trays, distribute meat to guests as soon as they are seated for the meal.

#### Forms of Performance

The performance of invocations varies little from one instance to another. Generally, the specialist conducting a rite squats in front of the offering while he prays. With head bowed, he recites in a low incantatory tone that is often inaudible or unintelligible. There is no special attire associated with this performance. The main exceptions to the crouching posture and the low pitch occur in brief invocations such as those in 'blessings' (*la'tuk*), in making offerings in front of a corpse or in summonses to spirits in the fields (in the *tawal* rite) or to deities in the upper world (the '*epah* rite). In such rituals, the priest stands and, in the case of death offerings, speaks in a normal voice. In the case of offerings to spirits in the fields or in the upper world, he shouts his summonses and requests loudly and repeatedly.

Members of the sponsoring household sit near the *mabunung* and may be consulted by him from time to time, especially in regard to genealogical details and in locating provisions for the ritual. In the addressing of offerings, older members of the household may interject with their own invocations and pleas without necessarily interrupting the specialist's recitation. The priest's occasional shifts between communication with supernaturals and with humans are

distinctly marked in the changes between the low monotone chanting of prayers and ordinary conversational intonation.

#### The Form of the Invocation

*Bunung* have two principal parts: a summons to supernaturals and a spell. In short invocations, these two parts may not be linguistically separate; i.e., a summons may be inherent in the second person pronoun attached to the verb used in the magical formula. The spell embodies a variety of information, including a description of the offering, an invitation to the supernaturals to accept the offering and a petition related to the purposes of the present rite.

The minimal form of 'invocation', called *madmad*, consists of a brief statement addressed to a spirit announcing an offering or of an invitation to receive an offering. It may be performed by any adult. Thus, at a death feast, when a pig belonging to the dead person's estate is to be slaughtered so its spirit may "accompany" him to the next life, the animal may be presented to the corpse with the words, "*Idya'iy butbutug mu. Alam.*" 'Here is your pig. Take it.'

While he makes this presentation, the speaker stands or squats in front of the corpse, holding the end of a rope that is tied to the pig. After the pig is slaughtered and its meat cooked, portions are served in front of the dead person and his spirit is invited to a meal with a similarly short *madmad*: "*Ikay, pangan ka.*" 'Come, eat.'

The large majority of offerings at a death feast consist of gifts called '*upu*'. These are presented to the dead person in the belief that his spirit carries them to the other world to present to kinsmen of the person bearing the gift. *Upu* may take the form of

money, rice beer or other alcohol, unmilled rice or livestock. The *madmad* recited with this offering contains information identifying the gift and the gift-giver and ends with an appeal to the spirit of the recipient.

Thus, in presenting a money gift from Wakit to the spirit of Budunnu, who had recently died, a man says,

*Idya'i 'anan hi Wakita 'anak Matullay. Inapun Baddahen.*

*Manallapiddan han'ahawa. Pakihudhud ka lan pehed. Agka man'idi'idin.)*

"Here is (something from) Wakit, child of Matullay. Son-in-law of Baddahen. Fifty centavos each from husband and wife. Speak well on their behalf. Don't be irresponsible."

'Libations' (*peltik*), are equally brief and perfunctory. They are obligatory upon opening a new jar of rice beer or a new bottle of alcoholic beverage but may occur at any time. While pouring off a small amount of alcoholic drink on the floor, the person makes a general invitation to the spirits, saying, "*Ikayi. Panginum kayu.*" ('Come. Drink'). More commonly, the mere pouring of a small amount of drink on the floor or the hearth suffices as an invitation.

Offerings other than those performed at death feasts involve longer formulae. The internal structure of these vary little from one rite to another or from one specialist to another. Optionally, they begin with a 'recitation' or 'enumeration' (*tandeng*) of lists of spirits' names, which constitutes a summons to the classes of

supernaturals relevant to the particular ritual. Depending on the repertoire of the *mabunung*, this enumeration may involve only the spirits of dead specialists or one or more classes of supernaturals in each invocation.

Some invocations include, as the first part of the spell, a recitation of the myth of the first performance of the rite. Each myth portrays supernaturals in a crisis situation similar to the present one and concludes with a step-by-step recounting of the original miracle that occurred in the spirit world. The formulaic character of this sequence is reinforced by the strict attention paid to the chronology of the procedure followed in the mythical first ceremony. Each *mabunung* has a set of conventional phrases which he uses to connect one event to the next in the recitation of this sequence.

The *bunung* ends with the final part of the spell, in which the specialist shifts to a characterization of the current context. Linguistically, a change to the <sup>immediate</sup> present and to demonstratives referring to 'here' and 'now' clearly mark this place in the invocation. Then the priest relates how the prescriptions detailed in the myth have been satisfied and makes the wish that the purposes for the present offering be fulfilled. A petition to supernaturals for the cure of illness, and the granting of long life and abundance belongs to this part of the invocation. In instances where the long summons to spirits is omitted in the beginning, the call to the spirits of dead priests concludes the invocation.

The whole invocation is more or less fixed and is memorized. It is chanted in a low, drawn-out monotone, with slight changes in pitch

marking the beginning of a new list of supernaturals or, in the recitation of myths, in changes in activity marked by new events in the account. There is a noticeable acceleration in the speed of recitation as the specialist nears the end of the invocation and his voice becomes more forceful and demanding as he tells the spirits to cure illness, grant long life, make crops grow, and make animals multiply. This final part, containing the entreaty to the supernaturals, offers the most scope for elaboration from the officiant and the people gathered around him. Here, the rapid and emphatic chanting of the end of a spell by the *mabunung* may be accompanied by more softly phrased remarks and appeals from members of the audience making their individual appeals.

#### **Lexicon of Bunung**

For Kallahan, it is certain verbally-encoded elements, including single words and formulaic phrases, that distinguish *bunung* from other speech events. In this section, I present lexical items, formulaic phrases and parallel constructions employed in *bunung* recitations.

Many objects and activities, when occurring in the context of offerings, have names that are different from those used in everyday conversation. Most of this lexicon is never heard outside of invocations and access to it differs greatly from one practitioner to another, with the older specialists who preside over prestige feasts having the largest esoteric vocabularies. In many instances, the ritual vocabulary is used as one of a pair of words in a parallel construction where the other member of the pair is an expression in ordinary speech. The following table gives examples of colloquial

speech and their equivalents in *bunung* vocabulary; a longer list appears in the Appendix.

<u>Colloquial speech</u>	<u>Bunung vocabulary</u>
'abung 'house'	<i>baley;</i>
'anhakit ni 'ulu 'headache'	'inulu
'anhakit ni wakeh 'pain around the waist'	<i>ginitang</i>
'apu 'ancestor'	'amméd
'inum'an 'swidden'	<i>habal, kinnaba, killaba</i>
<i>buki</i> 'meat'	<i>tinangatang</i>
<i>butbutug</i> 'pig'	<i>dinuldul, 'amulih, babuy,</i> <i>giggigellan, mapakkan</i>
<i>hakit, degeh</i> 'pain, illness'	<i>dinggeh</i>
<i>manuk</i> 'chicken'	<i>megmeggan</i>
<i>tapey</i> 'rice beer'	<i>bahi, bubud, tebul</i>

There is a variety of other kinds of lexical proliferation in *bunung*. One kind consists of adjective-noun, noun-noun or adjective-adjective sequences which are peculiar to invocations. Examples are:

*mali'neng ni bahi* 'clear rice beer'  
*binaknang iy kinadangian* 'wealth and prestige'  
*liteng iy antengnin* 'well-being and stability'.

There are a few words from everyday language which take on a special, metaphorical meaning when occurring in *bunung*. These include words which represent the most common symbolic oppositions found in religious invocations and in their discussions: 'cold'-'hot' and

'bright-dark', given below. In the following examples, (a) gives the meaning of a word in colloquial discourse and (b) its meaning in *bunung*:

1(a) '*antengnin* 'cold (as for water)'

(b) 'stable, peaceful'

2(a) '*an'acung* 'hot (as for water)'

(b) 'dangerous, unstable'

3(a) '*awwalawal* 'bright, clear'

(b) 'life, living'

4(a) '*ambilunget* 'dark, opaque'

(b) 'death'

5(a) '*unduludul* 'to lead an animal by a rope'

(b) 'to receive a livestock offering'

6(a) *bubud* 'yeast (for rice beer)'

(b) 'rice beer'

7(a) '*unkalat* 'to bite, grip; capable of biting, gripping'

(b) 'to cause illness or other misfortune' (said of ancestors who communicate the desire for an offering by causing illness or misfortune)

Each specialist has a stock of formulaic constructions which he uses in his invocations. One kind occurs at the beginning of an invocation and serves to frame the recitation, setting it apart from other speech activities that precede it or go on around it. The

phrases given below have no easily-determined semantic referents, but the occurrence of words like 'again' (*muwan*), 'it is said' (*kunu*) and 'indeed' (*niti*) point to a function of these phrases in announcing a new occurrence of a performance and in affirming the tradition within which the invocation takes place:

*yii, ma'alla muwan...* ('now we take again...')

*'anaka kunudda muwan* ('and now again it is said...')

*yamma muwan 'et* ('this one again...')

*hiya 'et dedan niti* ('this is the way as we know it...')

A second group of conventional phrases is used in the myth recitations, to connect sequences of noun-verb phrases and establish the temporal sequence of the narrative. These have the meaning of 'and then, this happened.'

*'abuh niman kunu 'iy*

*kan da kunu muwan 'iy*

*man diman kunu muwan*

*hiya 'et kunu muwan*

*hiyamman kunu law 'iy"*

A third group are what I call "fillers" and which one priest described as "for the breathing between words" (*kapanyahyahin 'ehel*). They have no semantic value, but simply function as pauses when the priest is unable recall the next line or next part of the sequence immediately. Examples are:

*'ayyapa 'anhana*

*man idya'a...*

Parallel constructions are a characteristic of all formal speech, but they most prominently mark both *bunung* and *ba'liw* registers. These constructions occur in couplets (or tribrachs) exhibiting parallel syntax, where the constituents of the two lines are identical except for one pair of elements. These elements may be affixed or unaffixed nouns, verbs or whole noun phrases. A discussion of their occurrence in *ba'liw* will appear separately.

In *bunung*, a couplet may function as the subject of a sentence, as in the following example, in which the specialist begins his invocation with a call to the ancestors:

*hi'gayun ka'apuwan* 'you (pl.) ancestors'  
*hi'gayun ka'ammedan* 'you (pl.) forefathers'.

Some couplets function as a whole verbal predication, as in the following example. Here, the first of the paired elements ('blanket', 'shroud') belongs to colloquial discourse and the second to *bunung* vocabulary.

*kayu 'alan getapayya*  
('you (pl.) come to get this blanket')

*kayu 'alan limbunayya*  
('you (pl.) come to get this shroud')

Occasionally, a tribrach occurs. In the case below, it functions as a dependent clause in a sentence. The parallel lines are introduced by a summons (*Ikayu!* 'Come!'), and refer to speculations about the possible causes of illness that necessitates this offering. The verbs in the first and third of the parallel lines ('uhdung' 'to

'look down' and *tekal* 'bravery') are metaphors for 'headtaking' (*ngayu*) in the middle line.

*Ikayu* 'Come,'

*nu way naki'uhdungan 'apu da nu bayag*

('if their ancestor looked down (upon a head) long ago')

*nu way nakingayuhan 'apu da nu bayag*

('if their ancestor joined a head-taking party long ago')

*nu way nakitaklan 'apu da nu bayag*

('if their ancestor showed bravery long ago').

There are a few examples of parallel constructions involving semantically equivalent lines that are slightly different syntactically. In the following, the first two lines end with two different kinds of noun phrases, one an adjectival phrase, *ni kalading* 'who are ancestral spirits'; and the other a locative, *di ambilunget* 'the dark places'. In the first two lines, a *mabunung* calls upon ancestral spirits to summon their companions, and ends with a negative construction:

*'aygi yuy ga'it yun kalading*

('call your companions, the other ancestral spirits')

*'aygi yuy ga'it yud 'ambilunget*

('call your companions from the dark places').

*'apil ni wad 'awwalawal 'i 'ayyaganyu*

('it isn't those in bright places (i.e., 'the living') that you call')

In a final example, the specialist cajoles the spirits into imparting their power by offering them (in a three-part parallel construction), the chance to feast again. Here, the drinking of rice beer, receiving offerings, and dancing each stand in metonymic relationship to 'feasting':

*Ippalyah yuy binaknang 'iy kinadangian*

('Give wealth and prestige')

*hay way pan'innuman yu ni mali'neng ni bahi*

('so you will have occasion to drink clear rice beer')

*hay way pakiduldulanyu ni dinuldul*

('so you will have occasion to receive animal offerings')

*hay way pantayyawanyu*

('so you will have occasion to dance').

Example of invocation: 'benediction'. The distribution of specialized lexicon and of parallel constructions is illustrated through the following kind of invocation, a *la'tuk* 'benediction, blessing', from which some of the preceding examples have been extracted.<sup>8</sup> The context is as follows: At the beginning of prestige feasts, ancestral spirits and a variety of other spirits including *pahang*, *'allibay* and *biyaw* are summoned in a series of invocations that mark the first rituals. Immediately following these rites, spirits of ancestors, the feast sponsors and senior members of the maximal descent category to which the feast sponsors belong are called to dance (*tayaw*) and to receive 'blessings' in turn from the officiating priest. (See Appendix for full translation).

In order to "dance," ancestral spirits are impersonated by chosen descendants, who are given their names temporarily and who then dance on their behalf. In the following, an old man who has been given the name of his dead ancestor Batu, moves into the circle in front of the first gong player, attired in a pair of new blankets presented to Batu's spirit in an early morning offering. He dances two rounds, then stops opposite the officiating priest, who raises his right arm in his direction and shouts loudly and forcefully:

1. *La'tukan taka kalading.*

'I pronounce *la'tuk* for you, spirit of the dead.'

[Beginning just before the first line ends, the audience responds with a loud long drawn-out call of "*Uway, 'uway, huy, huy!*." Then the priest continues.]

2. *Pantayatayawka Batu.*

'Dance, Batu.'

3. *Di baley ni 'anakmu 'iy 'apum.*

'At your children's and grandchildren's house.'

4. *Men 'ipalyahmuy binaknang kinadangian.*

'Give them wealth and honor.'

5. *Hiyay way pantayyawanyu,*

'So you (pl.) will have occasion to dance,'

6. *Pan'innumanyu ni mali'neng ni bahi*

'Occasion to drink clear rice beer.'

7. *Itibewyu kadiy tukapabaknang 'i 'anaktu*

'You (pl.) look now at him who makes his children wealthy.'

8. *Et timmayaw 'iy nan'inum 'iy dimmuldul.*

'For they danced and drank and received pig sacrifices.'

9. *Hu binaknang 'et 'i 'ippalyahyud*

*'anakyu 'iy 'apuyu*

'It is wealth that you (pl.) present to your offspring and descendants.'

10. *Hiyay way pantayyawanyu.*

'So you (pl.) will have occasion to dance.'

11. *Way pan'innumanyun mali'neng ni bahi*

'There will be occasion to drink clear rice beer.'

12. *Pakiduldulanyu ni dinuldul.*

'There will be a place for sharing in offerings.'

13. *Ihhangabyuy 'anakyud 'awwalawal.*

'Give your children long life. (Lit., Make your children face the brightness).'

I bless you, spirit of the dead! Dance, Batu, at your children's and grandchildren's house. Give them wealth and honor, so you will have occasion to dance and to drink rice beer. Look at those who help their descendants become wealthy, for they dance, they drink and receive pig offerings. It is wealth that you hand down to your descendants, so you can

dance, drink rice beer and receive offerings. Give your children long life.

[At the end of this invocation, the orchestra starts up again, the dancer dances two more rounds and the *la'tuk* is repeated with some slight modifications by the officiating priest. The dancer then leaves the circle and other dancers, each impersonating a named ancestor who is honored at this feast, take his place and receive similar blessings.]

This text illustrates the minimal content of *bunung* that is shared with longer invocations. A *bunung* begins with a summons and names the spirit to whom it is addressed. It then details the acts that ancestral spirits may be called upon to perform for living persons (i.e., granting them wealth, honor, long life) and the acts that humans are capable of performing for supernaturals in return (providing opportunities for feasting, offering rice beer and livestock). This reciprocal relationship is implicit in all *bunung*.

In terms of speech acts, the *la'tuk* example is constituted by summonses or invitations ("Dance, Batu"),<sup>9</sup> appeals ("Give them wealth" and "Give them long life"), and arguments for reciprocity ("Look now at those who make their children wealthy, for they danced..."). In the first two lines, two acts occur: the ancestral spirit is summoned, first by class ("kalading") and then by name ("Batu"). The first line announces the act of blessing the spirit as well as performs the blessing; and in this instant, the ancestor becomes contemporaneous with his descendants. The chorus of "Uway, 'uway..." from the audience overlaps with the first two lines and

confirms the latter's concurrence with the summons, thus establishing the feasts' audience as participants in the speech event.

From Line 7 on, the argument presented is that, if an ancestor makes his descendants wealthy, he will have occasions to be honored (with dancing, drinking and meat) at a feast. The ancestor is called upon to consider the analogy between his condition and that of others in a similar state. The fact of his belonging to a "class" of spirits becomes apparent from Line 5 onwards, when the priest shifts to a plural second person pronoun *yu*. The use of the adverbial particle *kadi* in Line 7 draws the addressee's attention to the present time and circumstances and thus to the shared experience of addressees and addressors, in this case, of ancestors and descendants. Both *kadi* in Line 7 and '*et*' in Line 9 are expressions used in cajoling or urging in colloquial speech and sometimes occur in expressions of mild reproof.

#### **Positional Identities**

The sense conveyed in the example here of *Batu* representing a class of ancestral spirits, through the shift to a plural addressee pronoun, brings us to the final feature of the formality of this ceremonial speech event: the importance placed on positional identities and of social categories of participants. The interaction inherent in *bunung* depends on the social identities of 'ancestors' and 'descendants' (including 'children' and 'grandchildren'); of 'supernaturals' and 'humans'; as well as on the oppositions between 'the world of the dead' (i.e., of "darkness") and 'the world of the living' (i.e., of "brightness"), and between a 'hot (unstable) state' and a 'cold (stable) state.' In the texts, these relationships are

reflected primarily through the use of pronouns and other deictics and through metaphorical contrasts.

#### A Longer Invocation: the Liyaw Rite

A *liyaw* text, together with a contextual description of its performance, is given below as an example of a longer invocation. Here there are a larger number of supernaturals and the invocation includes a recitation of the myth associated with the origins of this particular ritual. The three parts to the text are explained below. A complete Kallahan text with glosses appears in the Appendix.

At the completion of a new house, a *liyaw* rite is performed to prevent misfortunes from befalling its residents. Traditionally this rite was held to cure or prevent scabies, which is said to infect members of the house if any of the wood used in housebuilding had been hit by lightning (*bagillat*), or "by thunder" (*kidul*) and thus had been "defiled by the thunder and lightning spirits" (*Amkidul* and *Bagillatan*, respectively). It requires the slaughter of a pig and is a relatively small feast, involving only members of the household, siblings of the spouses and their families and close neighbours. This text was well known to carpenters, who often performed the ritual when they finished building a house.<sup>10</sup>

The following invocation is itself called *liyaw*. It is recited next to the pig offering, on the ground by the ladder leading up to the house. The priest squats, bows his head and speaks in a low monotone. Immediately after this invocation, the pig is killed by stabbing it through the heart with a sharp stick. It is then slaughtered on a pile of *Misanthus* leaves. The meat is boiled with a large amount of water and when it is ready, an offering of cooked

meat is assembled on a layer of clean *Misanthus* stems placed over the old pile. The priest repeats this invocation in its entirety and ends with a call to all supernaturals to partake of a meal (*Ikayu, pangan kayu* 'Come, eat'). After a few minutes, dishes are laid out for a meal for the household and their guests.

[Part I]

(1) *Yi ma'alla kunuh Kabigat ni han'agin Ballituk.*

We are told to choose Kabigat and his brother Ballituk.

(2) *Nangamag 'idad dallindad Liwah ni 'abungda.*

They made a house on their land in Liwah.

(3) *Nanhabet 'ida.*

They prepared wood.

(4) *Men diman kunu 'iy dakakednga.*

And then it is said they finished it there.

(5) *Kan kunun biyaw Kabigat 'iy, "Kuy 'alayu dedan 'i babuyyu 'attan 'et liyawuyu 'abungyu 'et hiyay 'ag kayu 'unhakit."*

They say that *biyaw* Kabigat said, "I say take that pig and do the *liyaw* for your house so you don't become ill."

(6) *Hiyay 'ag kayu mapiggut.*

So you don't grow thin."

(7) *Hiyamman kunu law 'iy kanda kunu 'iy daka'al'a huta babuydan 'amulihamman.*

And then it is said they went to get their pig.

(8) *Tandengendah Amkidul, Bagillatan di kabuniyan 'et hiya 'et kunuy nanliyawanda.*

They called upon Amkidul and Bagillatan in Kabuniyan and that was how they performed the liyaw.

(9) *Liniyawda hu 'abungdan 'immagdan tinabla.*

They did the liyaw for their house that they made of planks.

(10) *Man diman kunu muwan 'iy kamakdeng muwan 'iy hegpenda 'iy magabay hu tu'u 'iy magabag hu gamengda.*

And there again it is said they completed it and they entered the house and the people were prolific and their herds were abundant.

(11) *Yi 'ag law ma'dep hu 'apuya.*

Their fires would never be extinguished.

(12) *Man diman kunu muwan kanda kunu muwan 'iy, "Tuy kadalladallangan 'apuy 'ayya?"*

Then again they said, "Where is that fire that is blazing?"

(13) *Hiyamman kunu kanda kunu, "Amtam 'apuy ni Amkidul?"*

Then they said, "Don't you know that that is the fire of Amkidul?

(14) *Man diman kunu huttan 'iy kanda kunu 'iy, "Liyawyu 'et tep wada man 'i 'illayun... waday naki'magyun kinan ni kidul 'iy 'inhakem ni Amkidul.*

Then they said after this, "Perform the liyaw for you have taken...you have used wood that has been eaten by thunder, has been defiled by Amkidul.

(15) *Inhakem ni Kabuniyan.*

Defiled by Kabuniyan.

(16) *Inhakem ni Bagillatan di kabuniyan.*

Defiled by Bagillatan in Kabuniyan.

[Part II]

(17) *Nem 'idya 'a liyyawenda 'et nem way nangituwenan dan pu'ug ni 'abung.*

But here now they perform the liyaw lest building this house brings misfortune.

(18) *Waday nangituwenan dan da'eg ni 'abung 'amman.*

Lest building this house causes disaster.

(19) *Idya 'a liyyawen daka nem way na'iha'dantu.*

And now they perform the liyaw for you in case it has been improperly constructed.

(20) *Ag 'et magullid 'i hi'gadan hampangabungan 'iy 'ag 'ida madiggah 'iy magabay 'et 'i pakipakkanda 'iy pakimegmegda 'iy hi'gada 'unbuginek 'ida tep 'idyan linyaw daka nem waday 'inhakem ni Amdikul di kabuniyan 'iy waday 'inhakem ni Bagillatan di kabuniyan niyan nangituwenanda.*

This household will be spared from scabies and will be spared from poor health and their care of animals will be successful and their feeding of fowls will be successful as well. And they will have good health, for here now they perform the liyaw for you, if Amkidul in Kabuniyan has defiled it and if Bagillatan of Kabuniyan has caused corruption in the construction of this house.

(21) *Unu hiyayya kiyewa 'inlada.*

Perhaps it was in the wood that they used.

(22) *Man 'idyan liyyawen daka 'abung.*

For here now they perform the liyaw for you, house.

[Part III]

(23) *Kuy hi'gayu kunu muwana limmiyaliiyaw, 'ikayu 'a mangkabunung.*

I say, you who have performed the liyaw in the past, come, all you who have performed rites.

(24) *Nangi'ah'a'ah'ah ni 'abung.*

All you who built houses.

(25) *Tulingnganamman 'et linyaw muy 'abung.*

Tulingngan, for you performed liyaw for houses.

(26) *Hi'gayu Kaha''ungamman 'et hi'gayuy 'immah'a'ah'ah ni 'abung.*

Kaha''ung, for you built houses.

(27) *Baniwwahamman 'et linyaw muy 'abung.*

Baniwwah, who performed liyaw.

(28) *Idya'a liyyawenday 'abungayya nem waday nangiha'danda 'amman nem mapteng 'et 'i kayha'dantu tep 'idya'a naliyawka.*

For now they perform the liyaw for this house in case it was built improperly. But make it good, for now they have performed the liyaw for you.

This invocation consists of three main parts, separated above in sections: the recitation of the origin myth (Lines 1 to 16), the 'spell' (Lines 17 to 22), and the call to dead specialists for their assistance (Lines 23 to 28). The ends of lines as they are given here very roughly follow falls in the pitch of the speaker as he recites the invocation.

Part I, an account of the precedent to the present situation, depicts the deities Kabigat and Ballituk in parallel circumstances to the present. They have built a house "on their land in Liwah," a stereotypical locative phrase associated with this pair of deities. When the house is completed, they are counselled (by "biyaw Kabigat," another spirit) to procure a pig and to perform the liyaw ritual.

They perform the ritual, in which they invoke Amkidul and Bagillatan (the thunder and lightning deities). They subsequently enjoy good health and become prosperous.

The first line of this section begins with a formula used only by this specialist: *yi:i: ma'alla kunu...* ('We are told to choose...'), and implies the selection of this invocation from an established corpus. The proliferation in this segment of the particle *kunu* ('it is said'), denoting reported speech, points reflexively to the "traditional" character of this form as well as of the procedure, as knowledge handed down from other specialists. A chronological sequence (marked linguistically by the linking phrases *hiyamman kunu* 'and then it is said'; *man diman kunu muwan* 'and then there again it is said'; and *man diman kunu huttan* 'and there it is said that one') of the activities of the two spirits is strictly maintained throughout this section and gives it its momentum.

This rhythm is broken abruptly in Line 17, the beginning of Part II, by a contrastive phrase *nem 'idya'a...* ('but here now...'), indicating a shift in space and time to the present. This phrase is repeated in Line 19. A second practitioner has an even more explicit device for indicating this kind of transition: he says, "But it is really not in Liwah, it is here now..." (*Nem 'apil tu'wa ni di Liwah, nem 'idya'i diyay law*). Lines 17 to 22 constitute the 'spell'; and in the linguistic shift to the present in the first line (marked also by an emphatic *nem* 'but'), a translation of the sequence of events in mythical times to the present is effected.

Line 20, which contains the "charm" itself, is the longest uninterrupted sequence in the whole invocation and is spoken

emphatically in a rapid but well enunciated staccato. The performative character of this line is drawn from the series of clauses (joined by the connective 'iy 'and'), in which the verbs indicate contingent and immediate aspect (e.g. "they will not have scabies..., they will not have illness..., their livestock will be abundant..., they will be healthy"). Note also that, for the first time in the invocation, the house ('abung) itself is named as the addressee in Line 22, where it is preceded by a second person singular pronoun (*daka*). This is the last line of Part II, and the naming of the addressee ("house") here reflects as well as reinforces the communicative relationship established through the translation of events to the present and the casting of the spell. Compared to the *la'tuk* above, which is addressed to an ancestor, the use of the second person pronoun is much less frequent in the *liyaw* and in other rites in which the principal addressee is not an ancestor.

A new focus, marked by a quotative utterance, *ku'y...* ('I say...') appears in Part III, Line 23. This final section contains the call to people who have performed *liyaw* in the past and to spirits of dead specialists to attend the present ritual and to help it achieve its goal. In this particular case, the specialists named were personally known to the current officiating priest, and the linguistic marking of addressor and addressee is explicitly set out.

#### Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented the 'invocation' as a kind of communicative event through a description of its content and internal organization and various social aspects of its performance. From the Kallahan point of view, *bunung* language belongs primarily to

specialists, and their texts are not the subject of evaluation for either their content or style of presentation. The main themes of *bunung* are well known and people generally expect them to be recited in a rather cursory manner. This is especially true of myth recitations, which are seen as whole unique texts that are handed down to select individuals and are not alterable. Compared to other registers in Kallahan culture, *bunung* involves the most predictable and fixed texts and offers the least amount of flexibility and individual creativity. The main exception lies in offerings to recently dead ancestors, in which members of the immediate audience of 'invocations' play an active and spontaneous part in the performance.

Because of the almost exclusive association of *bunung* performances with specialists and since there is generally little interest in its referential or its symbolic content, it is not readily apparent what *bunung* "means" for its participants or for its audience, apart from its readily stated connections with magic and curing. The basic problem in presenting a *bunung* performance as a sociolinguistic resource is showing just how it functions in fulfilling the goals of its human participants.

Malinowski's search for the "meanings" of the "magical word" that dominates his treatise on the language of Trobriand agriculture takes on this dilemma, for he seeks to discover the "effective change brought about by the utterance within the context of the situation to which it is wedded" (1965 [1935]: 214). In this work, he develops the idea of the "context of pragmatic speech, i.e., of utterances inextricably bound up with action" (1965 [1935]: 26); and provides

examples through detailed analyses of texts of Trobriand spells and invocations.

Two ways of looking at this problem of function will be presented here. As mentioned in Chapter Two, two of the major components of an Igullut identity that Kallahan invoke in contrasting theirs with Ilokano culture are Kallahan language and the propitiatory offerings to the ancestors. In discussions of the changes in the lives of Igullut who live in urban areas, people often speak of how life away from home makes you forget about your ancestors. For Kallahan, performances of *bunung* display two paramount criteria that differentiate them from the lowland Christian world: the special language used in communicating with their ancestors and the performative acts of making prestations to their ancestors. The role of ritual language and of acts of offering to ancestors as cultural symbols of identity gains further significance when *bunung* as a speech event is placed within the larger context of feasting, alongside of the more public displays of dancing, drum and gong music, meat prestations, and spontaneous shows of camaraderie and hospitality.

A second approach to the problem of defining the sociolinguistic function of 'invocations' takes into account the way in which a *bunung* performance is constructed. It became clear to me that one had to look for aspects of performance that allowed the people involved--the specialist, the beneficiary, the immediate audience, even the onlookers--to orient themselves toward what was going on so that it became a communicative event that fulfilled their goal; i.e., to establish communication with supernaturals.

Descriptions from informants of their participation in *bunung* show that they are not totally passive listeners seeking signs of a transformation from the "magical power" of a specialist's performative speech. Neither do they pay much attention to the symbolic material embodied in *bunung*, which is the most commonly cited aspect of invocations when Kallahan describe them to outsiders. Many informants however refer to their "seeing" and "hearing" their ancestors, remembering details of their ancestors' lives, and "pleading" with them in the course of offering performances. Comments like these, which tell us what acts informants say they perform through *bunung*, point to the emergent properties of the social event that is constituted in the course of the *bunung* performance. As members of the audience join the specialist in putting forward their claims for reciprocity to their supernatural addressees, they contribute to the creation of the communicative context in which supernaturals and humans come together briefly.

A number of devices in the discourse of the *bunung* itself contribute toward its "pragmatic contextualization" (Malinowski 1965 [1935]: 26). One way in which this is achieved in the *liyaw* above is in the transition between Part I and Part II. The tight chronological sequencing of clauses in the mythological account builds up a suspense in the narration which is broken abruptly by a deictic phrase which effects the translation of the events of the spirit world to the present. Linguistic expressions of shifts from mythical to the present time, and addressing supernaturals by name or by pronoun mark the points in the speech event when ancestors are made "contemporaries" and become accessible for communicative

relationships. Quotative utterances ("I say," "they say") and the use of adverbial particles that assume shared experiences between interlocutors highlight the communicative interaction that is taking place.

A man in his sixties, in trying to explain to me his contention that offerings to ancestors would continue long after all other kinds of religious rituals were to disappear, said that people would always find occasions to "converse" (*mekitababal*) with their ancestors but that communication with spirits that "are not like us" was more difficult. The implication was that knowledge of one's recently-deceased ancestors, gained either through hearsay or actual acquaintance, made it more possible to "reach" them through specific comments and requests. Jokes, for example, could be addressed to ancestors, if they were appropriate. Thus, while offerings of clothing were being presented to an ancestor, a man was heard to say, *May 'alam 'iya kadhun, tep andi law 'i mangkubbal ni hayya. Agmu 'eh'elen 'iy kubal 'i piyanmu, tep palit 'i 'inabel ni hayya 'We offer you trousers, for loincloths are no longer worn nowadays. Don't insist on a loincloth, for woven material is expensive.'*

In contrast to the recitations of myths, the parts of invocations in which offerings are addressed and in which spells are pronounced offer a certain amount of flexibility. This is true not only with regard to discursive form but also to scope of audience participation. There are moments in offering performances that engage some members of the audience quite closely and that give the impression of a separate reality being shared by the small group of participants gathered around an offering. Offerings to recently-dead

ancestors especially invite personal pleas and other commentary from individuals in the vicinity of the ritual performance. In the course of summoning individual ancestors, a priest may interrupt himself to check on genealogical details with other specialists or with members of the household, thus opening up brief moments in which members of the audience are actively drawn into calling ancestors by name.

The precise moment when ancestors are summoned by name and presented with offerings can be a particularly climactic one for the feast celebrants. For them, the compelling quality of the offerings now being made began long before this time, for their emotional and physical energies have been intensely directed for days and sometimes months toward this performance. A sense of this urgency is especially evident in curing rituals where a serious illness is involved, as well as in the course of opening rituals at a large feast, where substantial material outlays and the numbers of people present high expectations of "results" from exchanges with supernaturals. At large feasts, the loud beating of drums and gongs that signal the beginning of dancing immediately after the offerings heightens this sense of supernatural presence for the persons most closely involved in seeking it.

Persons who knew the ancestors at the center of the feast while they were alive show special interest in offering rituals directed to them and their presence in the performances themselves is always sought. Appeals and comments from these individuals have an aura of authenticity which contributes greatly to the reality of the performance for its participants. In a discussion with the specialist and two men of similar age about the *liyaw* text given above, they

spoke of having known all the carpenters who performed the same ritual when they were young, and the specialist described how he had learned the rite from one of the men named at the end of the invocation.

By ad-libbing, filling in details in genealogical accounts, whispering individual pleas and even offering "bribes," based on their own circumstances and their knowledge of the personalities of their ancestors, the immediate audience are able to "flesh out" a *bunung* performance and come away from it with what Geertz (1973:90) refers to in his definition of religion as "powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations." In work on Kaluli seances, Schieffelin (1985:722) describes this "socially emergent dimension of performance" by showing how religious ritual is made to "work" for its participants through their repeated and combined attempts to apprehend the anxieties for which they have come to the ritual and the ambiguities that it presents them.<sup>11</sup>

In considering the constitution of a communicative context by its performers and members of its audience, it becomes possible to explain how informants can speak of "conversing," "tricking," or "urging" their ancestors and other supernaturals. For the most part, these acts of speech are discernible in the discourse text, in its organization, in performative utterances or in deictic categories. In these brief moments of "access" to supernaturals, the Kallahan ideal of seeking negotiation and engaging in "dialogue" becomes attainable for human participants in a *bunung* performance. The centrality of this dialogic interaction to Kallahan ideas of speaking and to social

action will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter, which is dedicated to performances of sung poetry (*ba'liw*).

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>*Baki* and *dihkulhu* are synonyms for *bunung* and *palawag*, respectively. *Baki* has greater currency in northern Kallahan-speaking areas and in Imugan and Santa Fe. *Palawag* and *dihkulhu* (ultimately Sp. *discurso*) both came into Kallahan through Ilokano. Among Christians, *palawag* also has the additional meaning of 'sermon' or 'church testimonial'. In Ilokano it derives from *lawag* 'clarity', and the affixed form is glossable as 'to clarify'. *Bakliw* is an alternative pronunciation of *ba'liw* in Kallahan areas; the corresponding Ibaluy term is *ba'diw*.

<sup>2</sup>Two other recently learned kinds of 'prayer', *kararag* (Ilk. 'prayer') and *bindisyun* (ultimately Sp. *bendicion* 'blessing'), are associated with Christian ritual and lie outside the limits of *bunung*.

<sup>3</sup>Most of the place names associated with *biyaw* and *pahang* spirits are recognizable as points in the headwaters regions of the Ahin, Agno, Matunu and Lamut Rivers, thus giving a clue as to the origin of the prayers. Some of these places are Gibel, Kanawalan, Munhuyuhuy, Palatang. Awa, Kati'mulan, Tinek and Danggu.

<sup>4</sup>The classic study on this topic in northern Philippines is Scott 1960.

<sup>5</sup>The one exception to this is at funerary feasts, when the surviving spouse does not partake of meat, called *danglih*, that is offered to the dead person's spirit and that comes from livestock owned by the deceased's household.

<sup>6</sup>Traditionally, only pigs and chickens were used in Kallahan offerings, with preference for pigs. Dogs and ducks were involved in rituals to counter witchcraft and to cure insanity; they are only rarely used today. When large livestock (cattle, horses or water buffalo) are slaughtered at major feasts, their offerings are preceded by the offering of a small pig, which is believed to pave the way for the acceptance of the larger but less familiar animals by the supernaturals.

<sup>7</sup>Dancing is performed to gong and drum music. Two types of gong ensembles are used in Kayapa. The most common one, used among descendants of Agno valley Ibaluy who have settled in Kayapa, consists of two conical drums, two flat gongs (*gangha*, usually of brass but occasionally of bronze) and iron clappers (*palah*). One drum, called *hulibaw*, is about three to four feet long and ten to fourteen inches in diameter. It has a higher pitch than the *gimbal*, which is eight to ten inches shorter. Both are made of cow leather stretched over one end of a wooden cylinder and fastened to this with rattan. A second kind of ensemble consists of two drums, four (and sometimes five) gongs and does not make use of clappers. Kallahan-speakers from southern Ifugao prefer this kind of orchestra. Dancing (*tayaw*) is performed by a male-female pair and proceeds in a counterclockwise direction. The man wears a pair of blankets on his shoulders and begins the dance, then is joined in the circle by a woman of similar social status. She wears one blanket that is wrapped around her upper torso and draped over her left shoulder. Maceda 1974 provides additional ethnomusicological information on this topic.

<sup>8</sup>A pragmatic analysis of this invocation is the basis of Thomas and Afable (to appear).

<sup>9</sup>The first 'summons' to the spirit of an ancestor who is a principal beneficiary of a feast takes place at dawn, when a man is despatched to his gravesite to 'invite' him to the feast. The man utters words to the effect, "Come to X's house," lights a bundle of rice straw to serve as a 'torch', and leads the spirit to the house of the celebrant. For many ancestors of Kayapa Kallahan, this rite is not possible, for their gravesites are in distant places to the north, two or three days walk away. In these cases, a perfunctory invitation addressed to them at the time the first rituals of the day take place is sufficient.

<sup>10</sup>5 October 1969, Balat. Mabunung: Kayat.

<sup>11</sup>The limitations of attending to the referential and symbolic content of texts, without considering how aspects of performance (such as dialogic and dramaturgical features) are crucial to the construction of reality in religious ceremonial are usefully presented in Schieffelin's (1985) study. Bauman (1977:37ff.) devotes a section of his work on performance to more general aspects of the emergent quality of performance.

## Chapter Eight

### Speech Events: 'Sung Poetry'

#### Introduction

This chapter presents *ba'liw*, a kind of sung poetry performed in Kayapa. The first part of the presentation consists of a description of the discursive and non-discursive components of *ba'liw* performance, including its participants, contexts, temporal and spatial settings, topics, forms of performance, metalinguistic framing, and linguistic code structuring, with special emphasis on lexicon and parallel constructions.

The second part of the chapter focuses on aspects of *ba'liw* as a sociolinguistic activity. In this connection, I discuss the cultural and social functions of this poetic form in relation to (a) what activities Kallahan say they perform when they sing *ba'liw* and (b) to Kallahan evaluations of speaking and of social interaction in general. Kallahan notions of *ba'liw* performance depict it as a "kind of conversation" and see it as a model of dialogic exchange. These evaluations are consistent with a cultural emphasis on consensus and indirection but are at variance with a regulative function associated with formal speech.

I show how it becomes possible to resolve this contradiction within the "public communicative context" (Brenneis 1987:507) that is created in the course of a *ba'liw* performance. This takes the form of a frame that evolves from the interaction of singers and their

audiences as the latter react to and interpret the traditional knowledge and the metaphorical allusions contained in the songs. The metacommunicative activity within which these interpretations develop is an intrinsic part of the Kallahan definition of a successful *ba'liw* performance.

At the end of this chapter, I explore the role that *ba'liw* play in the articulation of a Kallahan Igullut identity, both through the symbolic formulations contained in their texts and the social aspects of their performance that embody expressions of group solidarity.

Ba'liw. The *ba'liw* is a sung poetic type performed in Kallahan-speaking communities as well as in Ibaluy- and I''uwak-speaking areas. It is sung antiphonally by a soloist who sings the composition one line at a time and by a chorus that repeats all or part of that line in a different melody. *Ba'liw* is the name of the genre as well as the method of rendition. It also includes the melody associated with the performance. In limited contexts, the term *ba'liw* refers to the soloist's line in contrast to the chorus's elaboration, called '*attub* (literally, 'extension'). Regional variations in *ba'liw*-singing style as well as in response-singing style may be noted at large feasts attended by people from other localities.<sup>1</sup>

#### Participation

The great majority of *ba'liw*-soloists in Kayapa are men. They will usually be at least fifty years old. The chorus is formed exclusively by women. Although there are no strictures against females singing as soloists, few Kayapa women have been known to sing *ba'liw* and then only at weddings and funerals, when song themes are closely prescribed. It is said that women from families that are able

to celebrate feasts frequently are more forward about singing at feasts, but in the Kayapa experience, most of these women are Ibaluy-speakers from the Agno River. Attendance at feasts provides the only opportunity for learning the composition and the technique of *ba'liw* performance. Occasionally, children will be heard singing a well-known couplet while playing "feasts," but for the most part, interest in *ba'liw* performance does not come till late in middle age.

On occasion, ritual specialists may sing 'invocations' in the *ba'liw* style. This does not take place during the ritual itself, when all *bunung* is recited, but may take place in the course of a *ba'liw*-singing session. On these occasions, sung invocations reiterate the content of others recited within offering rituals, and do not include summonses to long lists of supernaturals.

#### Settings, Contexts, and Norms of Interaction

*Ba'liw*-singing is obligatory at the largest of Kallahan traditional celebrations, namely, wedding feasts (*timbal*), funerary feasts ('*adamag*), and the two main kinds of prestige feasts, called *pedit* and *batbat*.<sup>2</sup> During a feast, the singing of *ba'liw* can be expected to take place wherever there is a group of old men and women engaged in prolonged conversation together. A session spontaneously begins with one person bursting into song during a lull in the conversation. This is a signal for women to be gathered to sing the chorus and there is a bit of scurrying about during the first minute or two to organize a chorus if there are no women about. Thus, at large feasts, it is possible to have more than one group of people singing *ba'liw* in separate parts of the houseyard. Ordinarily, singing begins in the early afternoon of the first day of a feast,

after rituals to open a feast have been completed, and people have had a main meal, some alcohol and an opportunity to visit with guests who have come from distant places.

Usually, one singing group is formed inside the house of the feast sponsor, near the hearth, where sacrifices are offered by a priest. If it is a large house, guests may be assembled in a room especially used for receiving and entertaining visitors. Here, they will sit on the wood floor or on low wooden benches situated along the walls of the room. At death feasts, *ba'liw*-singing, which is explicitly addressed to the deceased, is performed in the presence of the corpse for the first day or two, but takes place in a different room once the odor of the corpse begins to disturb people.

Participants sit facing each other in a small circle or semi-circle, with anywhere from five to a dozen women off to one side in a group, to sing the chorus together. The group changes in composition as singing progresses, as people leave to have a meal, to relieve themselves or others join the group to listen or to sing. The audience, consisting of older and middle-aged men and women, comes and goes at will; few people stay more than an hour or so at a time. Rice beer, store-bought gin, or beer are passed around to the members of the group from time to time. Singing goes on intermittently for most of the day and a large part of the evening, interrupted only by conversation, by meals, and sleep.

*Ba'liw* are sung in turns but there is no set order in which these may occur. Older people sing first and especially if they are guests from other regions. Generally, the rule is that once a singer begins to sing, he is allowed to finish his song before another song

starts or anyone speaks. This is particularly true in gatherings which are accepted by its members as being "in performance frame," where people have deliberately assembled to sing and to listen to others sing. At large feasts, such "singing sessions" often involve visitors, and interruptions and disruptive side conversations are conscientiously avoided.

The few occasions that I observed a song actually interrupted by protests over its message took place in situations where people were engaged in conversation over a delicate topic, and one of the participants shifted into a *ba'liw* style to give his response. In these instances, the singer stopped, the objections were heard, and then he continued his performance. In some cases the first *ba'liw* set a precedent for other *ba'liw* to be sung; in others, it did not and debate continued in normal speech. One well remembered example took place within a small group that included the feast sponsors' family and the officiating priest. The latter objected to a decision made by the sponsors regarding the number of offering rituals (and consequently, the amount of livestock to be slaughtered), and began to sing a *ba'liw* in which he expressed his grief over how he had not been consulted. His host pleaded with him to stop his song and began to weep. Once the host had a chance to explain the family's side of the matter, the singer was then allowed to continue his performance, albeit in a more conciliatory tone.

Between songs, a prospective singer may introduce his song with a story or a statement of his intent, or a singer may interpret the song he has just sung. Occasionally, serious *ba'liw* compositions are interspersed with compositions of a more playful nature. These are

usually short songs, often memorized, sometimes quite bawdy in content. Conversation, teasing, apologies, storytelling, and obscene jokes are frequently exchanged in the intervals between individual performances. Promptings, volunteered corrections and brief protests, especially over insinuations or obscene references, occur plentifully but are ignored unless they disrupt the performance entirely.<sup>3</sup>

The chorus is an integral part of the performance and, as some singers have noted, is important in giving the soloist time to compose his next line. A soloist may not continue if no women gather to sing the chorus to his lines, although men will sing it while the women are being assembled. There is a clear sense in which the chorus affirms the content of a song. If a song is particularly obscene or otherwise objectionable, women have been known to refuse to sing a chorus if it goes on for more than a few lines. Regional variations in both soloist and chorus styles and in tunes require adjustments in the choral responses, especially if there are sizable groups of women from other areas.

#### **Topics and Composition of Ba'liw**

Most *ba'liw* pertain to the occasion in which they are sung and although there are no really fixed texts, the content of most compositions is predictable and widely known. At wedding feasts, singers congratulate the newly-weds, exhort them to hospitality, thrift and diligence, and invoke the spirits to bestow fertility and a successful life. Apart from lamentations at the death of a kinsman or friend, *ba'liw* at death feasts praise the dead, urge the deceased's spirit to depart speedily, and implore its aid in guaranteeing a sound future for the descendants.

Ba'liw-singing at weddings and prestige feasts offer greater scope for innovation in the language and subject matter of the songs, as well as in the activities between songs. For the most part, compositions sung on these occasions follow the convention of praising the feast sponsors for their hospitality and for honoring their ancestors, commanding them to the ancestors and other spirits, and calling upon these to bless the celebrants with wealth and long life. This convention dominates the first singing session at a feast, where there is a conscious effort to bring together acknowledged elders among the guests, especially those who have been sponsors of similar feasts. Here the aim is to have an uninterrupted sequence of invocatory songs that celebrate the occasion and that are sung by the celebrants' status peers. Once the more "serious" singing is over on the first day, a more carnival-like atmosphere takes over the singing groups, there are longer intervals of conversation, joking and laughing between song performances, and less experienced singers feel free to participate in the singing.

While most *ba'liw* content is predictable because it is composed for the occasion and its themes are widely known, there is no verbatim memorization of *ba'liw* texts. The only exception would be those poems learned by beginners, short aphoristic compositions or obscene verse that are generally familiar. A common practice is to copy one or two couplets from another song, but the use of these couplets depend entirely on the singer's ability to adapt them to the situation in which he is singing. By combining portions of songs from other singers with his own experiences, a singer can produce a song he has never sung before and may never sing again in exactly the same

form. A singer's favorite songs for specific occasions undergo continual refinement and adaptation. It may be that a singer will preface his performance with comments on where he heard the song before and from whom, but what he eventually sings is not an exact rendering of the original but a composition that contains the sense or intent of the other person's song.<sup>4</sup>

Ba'liw are associated with a social control and an educational function that flows from the role of old people as dispensers of authority. In part because the opportunities for singing ba'liw have decreased with the decline in feasting, there is some pressure on singers to make every performance count towards speaking to social problems and to issues of solidarity and local identity. This becomes especially true because prestige feasts, which traditionally provided the main opportunities for the public expressions of old people's authority, are now shared with elective officials and government representatives who are anxious to assert their newly-acquired public speaking roles. At the end of the next chapter, I present a brief discussion of the way in which ba'liw, taken out of their performance context, have become part of modern entertainment in Kayapa.

Examples A and B below<sup>5</sup> are a ba'liw sung at a wedding feast and one from a death feast (See Appendix for more detailed translations). The themes of both songs are easily identified. The first invokes divine blessings on the marriage, asks for an abundant and fertile life for the new couple, and looks forward to another feast at which they may share their wealth. The reciprocal relationship in which supernaturals bestow prosperity and humans honor the spirits at feasts is as frequent a theme in ba'liw as it is

in 'invocations'. The singer begins the following song with a spoken comment which identifies the topic.

**Example A: Ba'liw Sung at a Wedding Feast**

[Spoken comment from singer:

'This has to do with weddings.'

*Pu'un ni kasal 'iyay.]*

1. God, Kabuniyan

*Diyusa kabuniyan*

2. Bless this

*Imbindisiyunim 'iyay*

3. This marriage of our children

*Ngilin ni 'a'annak 'iyay*

4. Give them small change

*Ay 'i'usdungmuy bintin*

5. The newly-weds will make it

*Pambalin ni nanngilin*

6. Into a thousand

*Ay 'isus ni sanlibu*

7. It will be their fortune

*Si'gatuy 'igasatda*

8. This couple

*Ni duwan san'asawa*

9. May they have many offspring

*Mambunabunat 'ida*

10. They will bear a male child

*Iyanakda 'et laki*

11. He will know how to trade

*Amtatun mambiyakki*

12. They will bear a female child

*Iyanakda 'et bii*

13. She will know how to plant

sweet potatoes

*Amtatun mantanem ni 'ubi*

14. They will feed it to pigs

*Ay 'ippakandad bu'bu*

15. An occasion for us to gather

*Kasa'sa'nupan tayu*

16. If God wills it.

*Nu way ka'asin Diyah*

The second performance, by a descendant of the deceased, has two parts. The first, longer portion is a common kind of lament at death feasts. It contains an apology for the "small" volume of offerings at the feast (the deceased was a prominent man and the feast was large, by local standards) and appeals to the dead man's spirit to grant them ("cast a glance in our direction") good fortune.

In a spoken comment at the beginning, the singer self-deprecatingly professes his lack of experience in singing *ba'liw*.

At the end of his first song (14 lines) the singer shifts to normal speech to introduce a second song. Here he says he wants to make a personal and more specific request for himself and his household, after having made a general one earlier. In this song, which is unusual in having an odd number of lines, the singer describes the location of his house, and asks the spirit to leave off some 'taro' (*Colocasia esculenta*, a metaphor for 'wealth') for his wife to plant. It ends with another spoken comment, calling on others to "take over" from the singer.

**Example B. Ba'liw Sung at a Death Feast**

[Spoken introductory comment:

'I shall now try out my *ba'liw*'.

"Nammatenku nguy ba'liwku."]

1. Our grief for you is deep

*Aballeg 'i nangismin si'gam*

2. At your passing, father

*Ni 'ingkalangbusmun 'ama*

3. For now it is obvious

*Tep 'iyana timma'nil kami*

4. That from us, your children

*Ni 'inaya 'anakmu*

5. You have nothing

*Ya 'andi mutinumpungan*

6. To take along

*Ni 'ipaw'itmin si'gam*

7. Our tears are all

*Lagdeng may nangismi*

8. That you will carry there

*Inay mu la 'isabi*

9. To the ancestors

*Inay ni ka'apuwan*

10. We leave you to decide, father

*Yet 'ulaytu may nemnem mun 'ama*

11. Whether or not to grant

*Nem 'agyu kami 'iwingngi'an*

12. Success, good fortune

*Ay ni gasat ni suwilti*

13. To us, your sons

*Si'gamin 'anakmun laki*

14. To us, your daughters.

*Si'gamin 'anakmun bi'i*

[Spoken comment: 'Wait! Now I want this (i.e., to make an appeal) all for myself, for I included you all (in the last song), so you can't complain.' *Egay, palawku ngun hi'gak, tep 'inla'kam takayu, hay 'agkayu 'unma'geh.*.]

1. My house is by the wayside

*Iyammay dalan 'i balayku*

2. When you leave for home

*Ya kamun ngun 'un'akadka*

3. Drop us off some taro

*Ya pangispadkan 'aba*

4. So my wife can plant it

*Say 'imula nen kadwak*

5. Hopefully it will flourish

*Balang 'en ngu 'ungabay.*

[Spoken comment: 'There, take over.'

*Hiya, 'albatyu.]*

The appropriateness of *ba'liw* themes to given occasions receives the greatest attention at wedding and death feasts. Here, songs are expected to address the transitions marked by the feasts and to seek supernatural guidance: in the case of weddings, for the beneficiaries of the feast in their new status as a married couple; and in death feasts, from the beneficiary of the feast in his new status of ancestor. By comparison, *ba'liw* sung at prestige feasts consist of more generalized appeals for wealth and prosperity, both

for the individual sponsor household and for the community as a whole. In addition, prestige feasts allow for more variety in *ba'liw* compositions and topics, including conventional rhyming songs, highly allusive songs, overtly political expositions, bawdy compositions, and even sequences that are defined locally as nonsensical.

**The Invoking of Public, Positional Identities.**

The expression of general and eternal truths in *ba'liw* compositions is in keeping with a lack of interest in personal histories and with the focus, instead, on public, positional identities as well as on the group significance of events. The examples of *ba'liw* given in this chapter amply illustrate how *ba'liw* refer to actions appropriate to collectivities or categories of persons, to 'children', 'parents', 'ancestors', 'descendants', and 'kinsmen'. In the fourth *ba'liw* below, even where the introductory section is recognizably autobiographical, the singer masks the personal references of his song with natural metaphors. The song's larger message, "Don't blemish the reputation of the community," is typical of many songs sung at large prestige feasts, when appeals to tradition are directed at members of the community in their roles as members of a polity.

**Framing of Ba'liw**

The musical channel clearly marks *ba'liw* apart from other speech activity. However, it is metalinguistic framing that accounts in large part for its formal character. Many singers will make statements to indicate their intent to perform or make comments following their performance about their decision to end it.

Occasionally, these statements form part of the sung composition itself, coinciding with the first line in the case of the introduction or the last line if it makes reference to the end of the song. In large feasts attended by people from outlying regions, longer commentaries from the singer may follow a *ba'liw*, to explain obscure references or to elaborate on points he is able to state only in very general terms in his song. The first line of the song may contain the announcement "This is what I have to say..." (*Hayyay mangu 'i kanku*) to mark the beginning of a performance from within the song itself. A corresponding last line to the song is "That then is my contribution (to the entertainment)" (*Hiyattan 'i 'allibayku*). The most common spoken comment at the beginning of *ba'liw* is a very brief, sometimes inaudible "kuy..." ('I say...') just before launching into a song.

Other spoken introductions are:

*Mamba'liwak 'I will ba'liw'.*

*Pu'un ni kasal 'iyay 'This has something to do with marriage'.*

*Dengelyu 'a 'Listen!'*

*Pan'a'tub kayu 'a 'Sing the chorus!'*

*Nahul ni hayyay 'i kanku 'That's why I will say this' (usually as a follow up to a spoken comment or as a response to a previous song).*

At the end of a song, a singer may invite the audience to respond to, or augment his *ba'liw*:

"*May, hungbati yu*" 'Come, answer it!' or,

"*May, tubtubi yu*" 'Come, add something to that!' or

"*Hiya, 'albat yu*" 'There, take it up!'

Alternatively, he may indicate the end of his contribution to the exchange with

"*Hiya, hiyattan 'anak ngu*" 'There, that's what I have to say'

or

"*Anhan nem 'idukkey* 'It won't be right to go on for too long.'

#### Code-structuring: Lexicon

Of all public styles of speaking, *ba'liw* present the widest scope for colloquial Kallahan words or expressions taking on allusive or figurative meanings. This kind of lexical elaboration is a large part of what makes a good *ba'liw* performance. Members of the audience are quick to note unfamiliar metaphors in the compositions of singers at feasts. Local descriptions of the entertainment offered by *ba'liw* compositions always refer to the "play" ('ayyam) that becomes possible with the clever use of images as well as the multiple interpretations of everyday words and phrases.

There is a small amount of vocabulary which are stereotypically associated with *ba'liw*. A few items (for example, *megmegan* 'chickens', *mapakkan* 'pigs', and *'ubaya* 'offering') are shared with religious invocations. However, unlike the special vocabulary of 'invocations,' these lexemes rarely occur in isolation in *ba'liw* but

almost always form part of formulaic sequences involving a pair of synonyms or metaphors. The examples below illustrate one common type of expression in *ba'liw*, consisting of two nouns related as metaphors or synonyms of each other, arranged in parallel constructions within a line:

*di Ahbang, di Kayapa* 'In Ahbang, in Kayapa'

*di Killet, di Dangatan* 'In Killet, in Dangatan'

*di Uwak, di Bay'angan* 'In Uwak, in Bay'angan'

*hi 'ama, hi binngisan* 'father, progenitor'

*di duntug, di palanday* 'ridge, mountain'

*ni kapi, ni 'ubaya* 'of kapi-rite, of 'ubaya-rite'

*ni wanas, ni 'insiwasiw* 'meat, that dipped in sauce'

With the exception of the first example, the first nouns of these pairs belong to everyday speech and the second nouns belong to *ba'liw* compositions. Only some, not all, of the latter are considered archaic and "deep." The first three examples above show the special *ba'liw* names for the regions of Kayapa, Killet and Uwak. Some historically important settlements have *ba'liw* names which are not used outside of these synonym-pair sequences, although they are said to have been actively used at one time.<sup>6</sup>

In a second kind of construction, two synonyms are joined by a connective, usually *-a*, *ya* or *ni*. Kallahan words of Spanish, Ilokano and Ibaluy origin frequently occur in these synonym pairs.<sup>7</sup> In the examples below, *diyus* 'God' and *papaltidu* 'kinsmen' are ultimately Spanish; and *'amarsuwa* 'creator' and *nangigapu* 'originator' are Ilokano loans. Thus,

*diyusa kabuniyan* 'God who is Kabuniyan'  
*diyusa 'amarsuwa* 'God who is creator'  
*bunata papaltidu* 'kinsmen, relations'  
*manuka mamegmegan* 'fowl, those fed food for fowl'  
*ka'unga mapakkan* 'sows, those fed pig slops'  
*nangiha'ada nangigapu* 'builder who is founder'

#### Prosodic Features

In an ethnomusicological study of Ibaluy *ba'liw* conducted in Agno River communities, Maceda (1972:33) describes three oppositions on which the song is built. The first one is that between a lead singer and a chorus. The second contrast is between a short solo melody, which he labels as an "introduction," and the elongation of that introduction in a long chorus melody marked by "prefix" and "suffix" notes at both ends. The third opposition is between one set of a leader's and chorus' melodies (*a* and *a<sub>1</sub>*) and the following set (*b* and *b<sub>1</sub>*). This pair of melody sets, which corresponds to a couplet in the song text, is repeated over and over with little variation. Kallahan *ba'liw* display a similar set of contrasts.

In performance terms, the first musical opposition corresponds to the whole interactional structure of *ba'liw*, which involves two sets of participants, one set of which makes a response to the speech of the first. The second and third musical oppositions above correspond to the line structure and to the couplet structure, respectively, of *ba'liw* prosody.

#### Line Structure

The ideal *ba'liw* line is a seven-syllable line, with occasional six-, eight- or nine-syllable lines. The heptasyllabic line is the standard metric form used in 'riddles' (*bunbuntiya*), in traditional songs and in children's improvisations as well. It is the principal regular prosodic pattern employed in Kallahan poetic compositions.<sup>8</sup> Examples of children's rhymes and riddles are presented in a discussion of speech play in Chapter Ten.

In singing, the seven-syllable line is rendered as a line of eight or more syllables, with lengthening accompanied by laryngealization. Lengthening is achieved by adding *-hv* to a CV-syllable or adding *-C<sub>2</sub>a* to a C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>-syllable. Thus,

'ay 'inak nansiwatan 'where I passed the time' is sung as:

'ay 'ihinak nansiwatan; and

'ay pinsaw tuy sabangan 'he went downriver at the crossing' is

sung as

'ay pinnahasaw tuyya sabangan.

Obligatorily, the second syllable of the line is repeated or lengthened; sometimes the third or fourth syllable is lengthened as well. In singing, there is a strong, slightly higher-pitched two-syllable introduction to each line, regardless of word boundaries. In cases where the initial word is disyllabic, the lengthening of the second syllable avoids coincidence of the word boundary and the shift in pitch. Each line takes about four to five seconds to sing.

The choral response is a repetition of the soloist's line and begins while the soloist is singing the last syllable of his line. In practice, only one or two whole words may be repeated, although it is

common to enunciate all the words of the line. With few exceptions, nouns, verbs and proper place or personal names are repeated. The choral melody is longer--about three to four times longer than the solo introduction--and is slightly higher in pitch than the soloist's line.

This line structure of *ba'liw* is marked by a number of other devices. One type consists of "filler" expressions that have no semantic value but are used to make up the seven-syllable count. In the last example of a line given above, '*ay*' is such a conventional expression. The two-syllable '*inay*' and the three-syllable '*ay inay*' or '*ay isus*' are two others that appear at the beginning of a line. (See lines 4 and 6 of Example A below). A second kind of line marker is the juxtaposition of synonyms within a line, either in parallel constructions or joined by a connecting particle, as described in the discussion of *ba'liw* lexicon.

In local characterizations of *ba'liw* composition, informants speak of a couplet as a minimal unit. In coaxing a person into singing *ba'liw*, it is common to hear someone say, "Come, even just two" (May, '*anggen duwa*'). The third musical opposition described above, between one set of the soloist's line and the choral response on one hand, and the following line and its repetition by a chorus on the other, supports this definition.<sup>9</sup> In practice however, no one ever sings only two lines and the shortest *ba'liw* I have heard have four lines. *Ba'liw* with an odd number of lines do occur, but very rarely.

### Parallelism

Syntactically and metaphorically parallel constructions are the stylistic hallmark of *ba'liw* form. Although they also occur in 'invocations' and are a prominent marker of ceremonial speech in general, informants associate parallel constructions primarily with *ba'liw* compositions, particularly because they are more extemporaneous and less specialized in *ba'liw* than in *bunung* and also because the performances in which they are heard are more public than the latter. Experience with the structure of parallel speech starts early however, in the riddles and improvisations of child play, such as in the examples above. There are of course numerous *ba'liw* that do not employ parallelism at all. Also, I have not heard *ba'liw* that consist solely of parallel couplets.

The most common kind of parallelism in *ba'liw* involves two or more lines that are identical except for the replacement of a single word, usually a noun or a verb, with both words belonging to the same semantic field and the same grammatical class. Most often, the pair of words will have only a slight difference in meaning, but sometimes a pair of words with opposite meanings may occur. In the examples below, the first word pair are adjectives that are antonyms; the second pair shows a replacement of the verb and the third pair the replacement of a noun. In the first case, 'female child' and 'male child', though opposites, are the only components of the semantic set 'children', which gives the meaning intended in the song. (Line numbers in the following examples correspond to those in Example D, for which a full text appears in the Appendix).

*A'annaka maddikit* (21)

'Female children'

*A'annaka balullaki* (22)

'Male children'

*Agyu biyubiyugi* (26)

'Don't blacken it'

*Agyu gitgitli'i* (27)

'Don't blemish it'

*Siged 'i talna niti* (28)

'Peace is truly best'

*Siged 'i 'adiglu niti* (29)

'Harmony is truly best'

The following *ba'liw* (Example C, with full text and glosses in Appendix) illustrates a fairly dense distribution of parallel constructions within a short song.

1. *Sigeda nakasudsura*

'It is good to tell you'

2. *Intenengku lan 'ama*

'What I heard from father'

3. *Intenengku lan lallakay*

'What I heard from old men'

4. *I naklinipliplipan*

'When I went stalking'

5. *Di gilig ni dingding*

'Along the edge of a wall'

6. *Di 'aluduh ni dingding*

'Near the margin of a wall'

7. *I nakapanduwaduwa'i*

'It is what I am ambivalent about'

8. *I nakadandannagi*

'It is what I am worried about'

9. *Andiy nakpansesgeran*

'There will no longer be occasion'

10. *Ni wanás ni 'insiwwasiw*

'For meat, what we dip in sauce.'

[Spoken comment at the end, from mother of bride: *May, uwaytu.*  
*Han mi ngu la 'eh'ela* 'Well, never mind. We'll talk to them  
about it later.]

This song was sung at the wedding of a Kayapa woman to a Christian lowlander. It expresses the fear that Kallahan traditions of hospitality (as "occasions for dipping meat in sauce") will not be kept in the new, mixed household. As in many *ba'liw*, a narrative account, ostensibly autobiographical, forms the background to an assertion that is developed at the end of the poem (see also the next example).

This song features a series of parallel constructions that build up suspense, through repetitions or small accretions in meaning, toward the last two lines, in which the singer finally shows his intent. Gossen (1974: 399) invents the phrase "metaphorical stacking" for these patterns of repetition and redundancy in speech. Along with verbatim repetition (more common in 'invocations') and such paralinguistic factors as loudness and slow speech, these serve to emphasize the importance of messages and themes in formal speech.

A longer example is given below (Example D in Appendix), another *ba'liw* by the singer of the song above. Although it was sung at a wedding feast, it gives a different kind of advice from that conventionally given to a newly-married couple and was meant to address the public at large during a singing session on the day after the actual wedding rituals were completed. The partly

autobiographical first half of the composition consists of a metaphorical account of a man of small means ("small house") who becomes a leader of his community ("goes to Malakaniyang," the local symbol of the country's presidency) but is unable to go further because "you need education" to get ahead. The end of this first half, in which the person completes his service and "returns home," is signalled by the set of four lines (14-17) which repeats the images of the small house and of passing the days trapping rice field birds. These four lines form a parallel construction with lines 2-5, producing a "ring composition" from the image of returning to one's origins.

This narrative, all of 17 lines, prefaces the second part of the song, which contains the social message. After a transitional "aside" (Lines 18 and 19), in which he laments a lost opportunity to invest money, the singer shifts to an exhortatory vein and calls upon the young people to live in harmony with others and to uphold the prestige of Kayapa as a region. The high density of parallelisms (10 out of 12 lines) in the second half of the composition help to mark this section out for carrying the more explicitly directive message of the poem.

**Example D: Ba'liw Sung at a Wedding Feast**

[Spoken comment from singer: *Alibyen kudda nguyya 'a'annak* 'Now I will entertain the young people.]

1. *Balaykuy nakinggitan*

'My house is narrow'

2. *Balaykuy nan'ukitan*

'My house is small'

3. *Di Killet di Dangatan*

'In Killet in Dangatan'

4. *Ay 'inak nansiwatan*

'Is where I passed the time'

5. *Ni sulu ni bagitan*

'Trapping bagitan birds'

6. *Ay kinnak 'iy 'immaktup*

'A bird landed and the trap snapped'

7. *Ay pinsawtuy sabangan*

'It went downriver at the crossing'

8. *Singgeptuy Malakaniyang*

'It arrived at Malakaniyang'

9. *Kankuy 'usilenku*

'I thought of pursuing it'

10. *Linabsankus Pilnandu*

'I passed Pilnandu'

11. *Ay sinudsudtu numan*

'He told me all about it'

12. *Ampat way 'addal diman*

'You need education to get there'

13. *Surengtuy 'un'uli'ak*

'In the end I returned'

14. *Ya di balaykun 'ukkit*

'To my small house'

15. *Di Killet di Dangatan*

'In Killet in Dangatan'

16. *Ay 'inak nansiwatan*

'Where I passed the time'

17. *Ni sulu ni lagaran*

'Trapping lagaran birds'

18. *Agak 'et nangabangan*

'Instead I could have borrowed'

19. *Ay ni pilak ni baknang*

'Money from the rich'

20. *A'annaka maddikit*

'Daughters'

21. *A'annaka balullaki*

'Sons'

22. *Iya man' innawat tayu*

'Let us understand each other'

23. *Bastun ni baryu tayu*

'The staff of our community'

24. *Bastun ni 'ili tayu*

'The emblem of our region'

25. *Tanda'an ni tanda'an*

'Remember well'

26. *Agyu biyubiyugi*

'Don't blacken it'

27. *Agyu gitgitli'i*

'Don't blemish it'

28. *Siked 'i talna niti*

'Peace is truly best'

29. *Siked 'i 'adiglu niti*

'Harmony is truly best'

30. *Satan 'i piyan nen Diyus*

'That is what God wishes'

31. *Ay piyan nen nanlaga*

'What the Creator wants'

32. *Pansa'ad ni parsuwa*

'Of his creatures.'

[Spoken comments following end of song: One man, the feast sponsor, objects to singer's self-deprecation, and accuses him of undue modesty. The singer responds, "What shall I do, praise myself? I shall wait for others to praise me." A woman teases the singer, "Let's praise ourselves, for we don't know when we will ever get it from others."]

**Grammatical Features**

The *ba'liw* line is related to Kallahan sentence structure in a number of ways. It may make up an equational sentence consisting of two noun phrases linked by a substantive marker '*i* (or its variant after a vowel, *-y*), where one phrase comments on the other. An example is Line 1 of Example B:

'aballeg    'i   ma'ges   min      si'gam  
large       SMt   grief   our-SM you (sg.)  
'Our grief for you is deep.'

It may consist of a dependent clause introduced by *nu* ('if'), *hay* ('so that'), *kamun* 'when, if' or *'anggen* 'although' such as in Line 16 of Example A:

nu      way                  ka'asin              diyuh  
if      PrM-SMt              pity-PM              God  
'If God wills it.'

Or it may form a part or the whole of a verbal predication. Verbal predictions consist of a verb followed by at least one (but as many as five) "complement" noun phrase(s).<sup>10</sup> Verbs are formed by adding one or a combination of two or three prefixes, infixes or suffixes to a stem to indicate case, aspect and a variety of contextual and semantic features. A complement noun phrase may be the grammatical agent-actor, object, instrument, or dative of the verb. It may consist of a pronoun or of a noun preceded by a complement marking particle (see Appendix). Other noun phrases, not occurring as complements to the verb, may indicate spatial or temporal location. Where an animate actor-agent is involved in an action, its noun phrase or pronoun immediately follows the verb.

In the following sentence, the stem '*amag* ('to make') takes the affix *nan-* ('completed action') and this verb is followed by noun phrases indicating first, the agent (her child), then the object (enclosure), location (the other side), the instrument (new planks) and finally, time ('yesterday'). (See Appendix for abbreviations in texts).

<i>Nangamag</i>	'i	'anaktu	ni	kebkeb
naN-)+make	St	child+3M	S	enclosure
	<i>ni ballun tabla nunta ka'alman.</i>			
	S new+L planks EPo		yesterday	
'Her child made an enclosure with new planks yesterday.'				

Thus, a line may consist of a whole verbal predication, or of one or a sequence of noun phrases that relates to the verb of the preceding line as grammatical agent, object, instrument, dative, or

as location or time indicator. Either the agent, object, instrument, or beneficiary may be the topic of the sentence. This is marked by a substantive marker for topic (St).

The disyllabic character of the large majority of Kallahan stems puts constraints on the possible composition of a seven-syllable line. A verb and a noun in one line take up at least 4 syllables, leaving prosodic "space" for only 3 more, including a pronoun, particle or affixes. Line 4 of Example A is an example of a verbal predication consisting of a 3-syllable verb phrase, a 1-syllable pronoun to which the clitic noun marker (-y) is attached and a 2-syllable noun. The filler 'ay makes up the seventh syllable and introduces the clause:

'ay    'i'usdungmuy               bintin  
F      look-down+2M+St    25-centavos  
'Give them small change.'

More commonly, a verbal sentence is split between two lines, thus allowing for more elaboration around the verb (such as more complex affixation) in the first line and a second line containing one or two noun complement phrases or a phrase denoting location of action. Thus, in Lines 4 and 5 of Example C:

'i      nak      linipliplipan  
St      1M      -in-...-an)+R)CVC+stealth  
'When I went stalking'

di gilig ni dingding

L edge Po wall

'Along the edge of a wall'

There is a number of grammatical devices which occur throughout ordinary conversation which are markedly absent in *ba'liw*. One group of these are adverbial particles which I call "dialogue markers." They are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 10 as part of the description of 'conversation.' Dialogue markers qualify or modify the propositional force of a statement, and reflect situational constraints that are attended to in speech as well as relevant aspects of the history of the current interaction. Examples of these are *kuma*, a particle which indicates that a condition is desirable from the point of view of the speaker; *tepey*, which asserts that the condition is a result of other conditions known to the speaker; *keteg*, which indicates resolve or determination on the part of the speaker; and *bengat*, which indicates that the action involved is considered minimal.

One member of this set of dialogue-marking particles is an exception: *niti* has been noted in many *ba'liw*. Its occurrence affirms the proposition contained in the clause, and has a meaning similar to English *indeed*. Contrastively, upon hearing the use of *kuma* ("I wish...") in a *ba'liw*, one critical informant said its use was a sign of "ambivalence" (*kamanduwaduwa*) that is out of place in *ba'liw*.

The absence of these particles in *ba'liw* results in the impression of detachment from details of the immediate context and accounts for an authoritative, somewhat aphoristic quality to *ba'liw* messages. By the same token, affixes expressing incomplete or ongoing

action, pretense, hedging, uncertainty or a request are relatively infrequent in *ba'liw*. To this extent, *ba'liw* shares with 'invocations' some of the performative, spell-like character of ceremonial speech.

#### Ba'liw as Performance

*Ba'liw* are sung only at large feasts. In these contexts there are periods which are defined implicitly as times for singing *ba'liw*, in which singing activity predominates. In these assemblies, long stretches of oral monologue are not easily accepted and people who get involved in them are often called upon to return to *ba'liw*-singing.

However, there are situations in which a person may launch into a *ba'liw* in the middle of an extended conversation. In these instances the decision to sing is a clearly marked alternative to ordinary speech. Observations of these shifts are not easy to make, since they usually occur in small, private groups engaged in conversation away from the main activities of feasts. Older informants say that in their parents' generation, *ba'liw*-singing was not limited to feasts and it was not uncommon for people to "speak in *ba'liw*," i.e., to intersperse their everyday speech with short *ba'liw*. Most of these consisted of riddles, proverbs, and aphorisms, sung as they were found to be appropriate to a situation.

In cultural terms, these shifts to *ba'liw* constitute what Hymes (1981:79) describes as "breakthroughs" into performance. They constitute an assumption of a responsibility for an appropriate presentation at the same time that they make a demand for greater attention by the audience. As a strategy for interaction generally,

shifting to *ba'liw* has the main result of creating distance from the current scene. This is achieved through invoking categories of people and events, thereby putting aside the individual instances under present discussion, and invoking the wisdom of generally accepted truths expressed in aphorisms. The use of ambiguity and of esoteric speech in songs serve to reinforce this distance as well.

In turn, the creation of distance can have a softening effect on the impact of an authoritative message. However, if it signals a rejection of the prevailing terms of discussion completely, it may end conversation altogether. In the example above of the specialist who went into a *ba'liw* style to object to the feast sponsors' decision regarding offering rituals, the song constituted a threat for two reasons: first, because of the song's content, it did not allow for a continuation of the discussion on the same terms. The family had cited legitimate financial reasons for not prolonging the feast, but the officiating priest's song made references to the prestige of ancestors, to the demands of tradition and made insinuations of supernatural sanctions.

The second reason brings us to the function of shifts to *ba'liw* in communicative interaction more specifically. The shift to song caused anxiety to its audience because the specialist's decision to sing rather than speak put pressure on the family to respond in *ba'liw* form, something no member was able to do under the circumstances. Once a breakthrough into performance happens, it poses a challenge to maintain that frame by responding in *ba'liw* form.

### Cultural Meanings in Ba'liw

In his work on Apache joking performances, Basso (1979:99) calls attention to two facets of metacommunicative messages: "those that communicate about the conceptual content of cultural symbols," and "those that communicate about the structural and affective components of situated social relationships." This distinction, which he describes (Basso 1979:19) as one between "cultural meanings" and "social meanings," respectively, is especially relevant to this discussion because it is implicit in Kallahan evaluations of *ba'liw* performance.

Cultural values expressed in *ba'liw* are universal "sacred" themes: well-being (*liteng*), wealth (*kinadangiyán*, *baknang*), and fertility (*gabay*). In addition, there are the themes of hospitality, cooperation and the honor of ancestors that are considered more specific to traditional Kallahan life and thought. For many Kallahan, these constitute the centerpiece of their identity as a highland people. Because *ba'liw* performances form part of the festive observances that are the very exemplars of these ideals, their importance as cultural symbols can not be appreciated separately from these celebrations or from the other ways of speaking and communicating that are specific to them.

The institution of *ba'liw* is the primary, ceremonial, public means by which traditional values are reiterated and transmitted. In focusing on its authoritative functions, people variously describe *ba'liw* as "a way of" 'scolding' (*heg'ang*), giving 'advice' (*tugun*, *bilin*), giving direction ('*addal*), or 'insinuating' (*pakpakiyaw*). Through *ba'liw* compositions, old people express anxiety over the disappearance of customary life and make appeals for the continuation

of a traditional order. Indirectly, attention is directed to these ideals when feast sponsors are publicly commended for fulfilling their responsibilities toward the community and when supernatural guidance is invoked on their behalf.

In considering what the kinds of messages are that get conveyed through *ba'liw*, it becomes clear that, while providing a medium for social control, these performances touch upon what Kallahan consider to be the most important symbols of the identity that they share with other Igullut. Generosity at feasts, the boundaries of kinship and local groupings, cooperative endeavour, the authority of elders, and the honor of ancestors--all the cultural ideals that come into focus and also become instantiated in Kallahan feasts--are themes most repeatedly stressed in *ba'liw*. To this extent, *ba'liw* may be viewed as an expressive means of constructing images of "Igullut" and, through these images, for affirming their identity vis-a-vis the lowland Christian world. At the same time, because it is a traditional means of communicating these symbols, *ba'liw*--as performance and as genre--is itself part of what constitutes the concept "Igullut."

#### Social Meanings in Ba'liw

Kallahan understanding of the social significance of *ba'liw* is expressed in their description of it as a "kind of" 'play' ('ayyam), of 'visiting' ('allibay), and 'conversation' (tabtabal). These characterizations primarily point to the social closeness and mutual coordination that are aspired to in singing performances, and more generally to the role these performances play in developing solidarity in interpersonal relationships. The processes through

which this intimate exchange is achieved in *ba'liw* are displayed both at the level of discourse and in the social interactional contexts of *ba'liw*.

Kallahan say that all *ba'liw* "must land somewhere" (*way kayhedpakantu*), and the more "playful" a *ba'liw* is in use of words to get there, the more appreciated it is. The last *ba'liw* (Example D) above was judged "good" by a critical informant who said that while it had many "riddles" (*bunbuntiya*), everything "came together" (*kamannanayun*) in the end to produce a coherent whole. Experienced singers speak of the indirect references in their songs as "giving people something to play with" and of "offering entertainment." Much of this notion of "play" refers to the way in which multiple meanings, artful uses of words and well-timed allusions in songs provoke reactions in people and lead to discussion and argument. One man described this as "baiting people with words (*tukapantappangin 'ehel*)," another as "applying a whetstone on their minds (*ma'ubbul 'i nemmem*)."

Another aspect of skillfully crafted *ba'liw* that relates to this "playfulness" has to do with the expectations created by cryptic allusions, sequences of parallel constructions, repeated lines, and other devices that effectively lengthen songs. Apart from highlighting certain themes, length increases the possibility of moderating messages in *ba'liw* that are regulative in intent. Thus it becomes possible, over the entire performance of a song, to offset the aphoristic and authoritative quality of individual *ba'liw* lines that results mainly from their grammatical organization. This result is also partly achieved by the sheer length of time it takes to

enunciate a message, an aspect that makes it possible to liken *ba'liw* to the kinds of exchanges that take place in informal discussion, where qualifying and "hedging" allow individuals to manage confrontational situations. Through small qualifications in meaning or shifts in emphasis expressed in parallel couplets, a kind of indirectness and lightness is produced in songs that is not only aesthetically pleasing but also socially functional. Part of this pleasure and "lightness" in *ba'liw* flows from the musical channel employed as well.

It is clear from informants' responses to *ba'liw* that there is a large range of background material that is brought to bear on their interpretations of songs, from messages in songs and other interaction prior to the present song, to a history of the feast itself, to personal lives of the singer and members of the audience. A description of some of the reactions to *ba'liw* example D will illustrate this: Although the singer prefaced his song by saying that he intended it to 'entertain' the young people, the song has so many allusions that could only be understood by the man's contemporaries. References to the "staff" of the community and to its image were considered especially appropriate at this feast, which marked the marriage of a well-to-do cattle owner from the Agno valley and the daughter of one of Kayapa's richest men. It was attended by a large number of outsiders from both Kallahan- and Ibaluy-speaking areas and there was an air of expectancy as singers from other areas were coaxed into joining the singing.

In remarks after his own song, the singer pointed out that past officials in Kayapa, including himself, had worked toward peace in

the region and that he hoped the young people would follow their example. In one corner of the room, an old man from a Kallahan area to the south stood up and said loudly that he wanted an end to the feuding with Kayapa which stemmed from accusations that his kinsmen had collaborated with the enemy in the last war. There was a brief moment of silence as people, stunned by what seemed to be a provocation, looked to the singer for a response. He nodded slowly in the direction of the speaker, smiled weakly and said nothing. The host of the feast, who himself had strong ties with the region to the south, quickly diverted the discussion by chiding the singer for being unduly modest (and cynical) in describing himself as a poor man. The singer responded that he would wait for others to praise him. One woman teased him, saying there was no telling when other people would offer praise.

How songs draw elements out other songs and out of the interaction between songs determines the way in which an emotional context for *ba'liw*-singing is created. Through the bringing together of referential meanings and symbolic formulations in the song with extratextual aspects of the performance (including participants' ideas of the singer's intent and any cues that point to how the performance is to be interpreted), singers and members of the audience become engaged in the construction of a communicative context in which interpretations of the performance take place. It is through this process that singers, as knowers of Kallahan traditional values, create followings through their songs and with their audiences achieve a Kallahan ideal of *ba'liw* as playful exchange.

A look at the immediate context of *ba'liw* shows that there is little that is stiff and "serious" about the groups of men and women engaged in singing *ba'liw*. The intervals between performances are filled with enthusiastic exchanges about individual songs and their messages, about news from other places, especially as they have been heard over the radio or brought from guests from other regions. The atmosphere of sustained informality and camaraderie in which *ba'liw* are performed completely belie the regulative nature of many of its messages.

It is within the small, well-knit gatherings of older men and women at feasts that it is often possible to observe examples of the suspensions of ordinary norms of speaking decorum that Norbeck calls "ritual reversals" (Norbeck 1970). Here, trading of insults, bragging about wealth and prestige and raucous exchanges of a wide range of sexual and scatological humor appear to be largely taken for granted. People say that feasts are not complete without such shows of potentially hostile speech behavior. For the particular age and status group involved in singing performances, these "sanctioned deviations" (Faris 1968) represent an extreme extension of the idea of speaking interaction as "play". Occasionally, when jokes go too far as to provoke real hostility or when sexual allusions get repeated too often, calls to "return to the frame" may be heard from the audience.

The brief episodes at feasts during which norms of appropriate and formal speech are held in abeyance conjure up many of the attributes of "carnival" described by Bakhtin (1968 [1965]:10). In his description of rituals and public spectacles in the Middle Ages,

he refers to how carnival "marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions." He contrasts this to the official church feast, which he calls "a consecration of inequality," because it validated the ranks and statuses within the religious hierarchy. The "ambivalence" that Bakhtin (1968 [1965]:13) says characterizes carnival laughter, in the way it is "gay and triumphant, and at the same time, mocking, deriding," has its parallels in the contradictions posed by *ba'liw* performances and their contexts with regard to their social goals.

Social control functions such as those associated with *ba'liw* are ordinarily achieved in situations where formal speech takes on an explicit role in conveying authority. Bloch's (1975) widely-described studies of the relationship of language to political authority attempt to show a direct relationship between formalization in speech and coercive power in traditional authority situations. His primary thesis is that the efficacy of "formal" performances derives not so much from their semantic content as much as from the manner in which this is presented and from the relationships among the participants in the speech event. Speech acts in which structuring of code is a prominent characteristic of their being "formal" have highly predictable content and, according to Bloch (1975:12), are associated with rules of politeness which act not only to limit the creativity in linguistic and other behavior in situations in which they occur but also rule out any kind of disagreement.

Kallahan attitudes about speech in general and particularly as they are expressed about *ba'liw* tend to qualify this view, even though they support Bloch's principal argument. The highly structured

nature of *ba'liw* prosody as well as its predominantly serious themes contrast with the frequent proclamations of informality that surround its performance. In conceiving of *ba'liw* as "entertainment" or as 'conversation', Kallahan highlight the aesthetic and ludic aspects of its performance and its immediate context while focusing on the dialogic exchange and the highly self-conscious expressions of "being together" that 'visiting' ('allibay) implies.

However, in pointing to the nondirective aspects of *ba'liw*, Kallahan are not necessarily playing down the regulative message of its text, as much as insisting on a social exchange within which they can claim the possibility of negotiation. The authority attributed to *ba'liw* and to its singers because of the latter's age, knowledge, and prestige must constantly be measured against the requirements to achieve coordination and to reassure the audience of their autonomy. It is within the social event, including the "carnival" episode, that unfolds from the joint metacommunicative activities of singers and their immediate audience that this balance is achieved.

Some aspects of *bunung* performances show that something similar is at work in 'invocation'. Contrary to my first impressions, audiences of offering performances do not long remain passive throughout a formal recital of etiological myths, invocations, or presentations of offerings. Instead, individuals seek opportunities for joining the officiating priest in presenting supernaturals with offerings and making their individual personal appeals. The reality of the prestations and of the reciprocal relations with the spirits unfolds through the mutual interaction, however brief, between individuals in the audience, the specialist and supernaturals. The

social meaning of *bunung*--its function in bringing about communication with spirits--flows from the metacommunicative activity that parallels its text as well.

Ba'liw as "Ceremonial Dialogue"

One final aspect of *ba'liw* form will be discussed here, with respect to its interplay with Kallahan ideals about social interaction in general. *Ba'liw* is fashioned after (in other words, is "a model of" (Geertz 1975a:123)) 'conversation' in two major senses. First, the line corresponds to a "turn" in conversation, to which the choral rendition of the line, although not making a semantic contribution, may be considered the second part of the dialogue. This corresponds to phatic responses in conversation, in which the existence of interaction is acknowledged through verbal or nonverbal means by hearers in the course of a monologue.<sup>11</sup>

Second, the whole *ba'liw* itself is regarded as similar to a turn in conversation. When singers call upon others to "listen to", "answer" or "augment" (*dengel yu*, *hungbati yu* or *tubtubi yu*), their songs, they are marking the beginnings or ends of their turns as well as going through an exaggerated form of what speakers in ordinary discourse do to elicit comments on what they say and to keep a conversation going. The "exaggeration" results from a verbally specific use of metacommunicative devices which in ordinary discourse would be highly redundant.<sup>12</sup>

Kallahan *ba'liw* closely resemble a type of "ceremonial dialogue" characterized by Urban (1986) in a study of South American ritual speech genres. In this interpretive study, Urban (1986:378) shows how predictable patterns of responses to a singer's or

chanter's lines allow ritual dialogues to project an interactional norm for hearing the other person out and for social coordination more generally. Apart from their semantic content, ceremonial dialogues, as forms of linguistic interaction, provide exemplars of the cohesion and mutual monitoring that people aspire to in ordinary conversation, thus also serving as a "model for" (Geertz 1975a: 123) linguistic as well as social solidarity.<sup>13</sup>

For its participants, including its audience, the attentive responses and the intimacy within singing groups at feasts most closely approach the Kallahan ideal of solidary interpersonal relations. This mutual coordination is particularly sought after at large feasts, which bring people together from diverse regions and backgrounds and where *ba'liw* singing takes place within groups which, as in Urban's (1978: 381) South American examples, are potentially confrontational. Here, old feuds, regional differences and demands of opposite sides are almost certainly raised or at least hinted at, either in song or in speech.

The requirement that a person who starts a song must be heard out is so well entrenched that it is often put to use by individual singers to defuse verbal arguments between members of an audience in a singing session. As soon as a *ba'liw* is begun, people are required to listen and a group of women must make a choral response or be summoned to do so if they are not present. The song may in fact be about the argument itself and therefore fuel the conflict as well, but there is a commitment on the part of the audience to let the singer get to the end of his song. Also, once *ba'liw*-singing begins again, there is an expectation that others in the audience will

continue in this medium for a certain amount of time. Disgruntled members of the audience are known to walk out of the singing group at points like this, if they are unwilling or unable to engage in the dialogue through song.

An incident at a death feast illustrates some of these points more clearly. At the end of the last day of the funerary feast for his father, a high ranking local official decided to take advantage of the presence of a large number of officials and prominent elders by calling them to a quiet part of the houseyard to "have a meeting" (*manmitting*) over the issue of legalizing cockfighting in the Kayapa area. It was an issue that had been informally discussed in Kayapa over many months, and some officials had seen it as a revenue-raising opportunity.

After the initial confusion over such an unusual announcement-- formal political conferences are not called at feasts-- objections from some of the old men began to be raised in earnest. One said he was at a death feast and affairs of government were to be kept out of such an occasion. Another said that he had come to honor a dead kinsman and implied that his presence there had not been influenced by the status of the dead man's son. Others pointed to the use of the (English-derived) word *miting*, saying that these were not to be associated with funerals. Some others excused themselves, saying they had drunk too much and were too tired and sleepy to think properly anyway.

It appeared that the official had anticipated these objections because he tried to speak above them, stressing the need for "talking it out" (*tabtabal*) and for hearing as many sides as possible on the

cockfighting issue. He pointed out that cockfighting and betting on cocks took place in people's backyards illicitly anyway and that it would bring a substantial revenue if it could be scheduled and taxed. He admitted that the idea of "calling a meeting" was a mistake but said that since there were a lot of important people present who would not be found in the same place under ordinary circumstances, he was appealing to their public spirit and inviting them to have an "informal discussion" (*tabtabal*) instead, so they did not have to feel they were there to make a formal stand. However, despite this appeal and more cajoling, none of the old men would allow themselves to be drawn into the discussion.

Quite unexpectedly, an old man in a corner of the houseyard launched into a *ba'liw* appropriate to a death ritual. As if on cue, a few women who were chatting at the margins of the group spontaneously began to sing the response to the first line while slowly moving closer to him. The whole scene changed entirely, for now the people who were assembled for the "meeting" turned to listen to the singer and chorus and the crowd fell silent. Calls from the edge of the group for more women to sing the response ("Akukullaw, *man'a'tub!* 'Women, sing the chorus!') were made. At the end of about half an hour, two more *ba'liw* had been sung, one more to praise the dead man and the other which made the point that there were "other days for other kinds of things." A group of young men who had joined the group out of interest in the cockfighting issue began to walk away. No attempt was subsequently made to revive the discussion, and gradually people took their leave and went home.

There were spirited discussions of this incident after the festivities. Some people noted that the *ba'liw*-singing was a way of chastising the official. Others were impressed that, once the singing began, no attempt was made by anyone to stop the singing, considering that the group gathered were supposed to be having a "meeting." Many recognized this as a sign of the conflict between old people's and young people's values regarding what feasts are for. Other pointed out that traditional feasts were commonly used for electoral campaigns and conferences with provincial officials in Agno River communities. Most of all, people were amused by the way in which a song could change the course of a "serious" gathering entirely.

As it happened, the assembly never quite got to the topic for which they had been brought together, and more "talk about talk" ensued than talk about cockfighting. However, the most forceful comment on the whole proceedings proved to be the *ba'liw* performance itself; it was the most striking metacommunicative act of all. In the act of its performance, it spoke to all the anomalies raised during the previous half hour of hemming and hawing and thus to the oppositions of feast and non-feast, of death feasts and other kinds of feasts, of what is appropriate to a feast and what is not, and of traditional and modern outlooks.

Finally the *ba'liw* drew attention to the requirements of its own form: the contrast between *ba'liw* and verbal monologue that is characteristic of 'meetings' was particularly marked out here, interactionally as well as metacommunicatively. Because *ba'liw* form requires that its audience respond to it, minimally by singing the chorus and, if possible, by responding to it in kind, this

performance channeled the audience's effort to the task of participating in a "dialogue." Urban (1986: 384) aptly describes this process as one in which linguistic interactions "model the communicative situation in which they are actually being employed."

Ba'liw and bunung. To end this section on ba'liw and to foreshadow the discussion in the next chapter of 'speech' or 'oratory', the other formal speech event in Kallahan culture, it will be fruitful to consider bunung and ba'liw together in their roles as the two ideal styles of speech traditionally associated with large feasts. As the most public of formal occasions in Kallahan life, these feasts require the widest range of economic and social resources that a household can muster at any one time. It is in the spectacular displays of animal slaughter, dancing, and meals shared by large numbers of people at feasts, that we find a dominant component of the identity that Kallahan present to themselves and to the lowland Christian world. In these contexts, formal verbal assertions of this identity are embodied in proclamations of solidarity and reciprocity, with supernaturals on the one hand and with their kinsmen on the other, that are expressed in esoteric and metaphorical language in bunung and ba'liw.

However, the symbolic and referential content of invocations and songs and their linguistic characteristics present only a partial picture of the workings of these performances in presentations of Kallahan identity. Characterizations of these speech events as sociolinguistic resources in Kallahan culture require us to take into account the aspects of their performances that shape them into kinds of social action. In ba'liw, metacommunicative behavior between

performers and audience follows a model of dialogic exchange in which the songs are conceived of as responses to previous songs or comments or as demanding response from members of the audience. In *bunung*, priests and members of the audience orient themselves to the symbolic material of the invocations and interpret this in the light of their own life histories. Through this interaction, participants create a social reality within which prestations to supernaturals and appeals for their reciprocity take on personal meanings. In both speech events it is clear that, at least in the Kallahan case, a definition of "performance" must make reference not only to the display of competence of performers but also to "emergent structures of performance" which, as Bauman (1977:39) implies, follow from metacommunicative activity engaged in by the central actors and members of the audience during a performance. Here, its main product is the potential of negotiation, of "conversation," that Kallahan idealize in their evaluations of speaking and of social relations in general.

In the next chapter, which deals with public speaking, a comparison is presented with a speech event in which such potential for dialogue does not exist. 'Speeches' are recent alternatives to traditional formal kinds of communication and primarily function in mediating Kayapa Kallahan relations with the modern world. At the end of Chapter Nine, I describe contexts in which *ba'liw* are presented as part of scheduled entertainment where they take on characteristics of monologic performance.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>A brief discussion of Kallahan *ba'liw* in a region south of Kayapa is found in Rice 1971. Descriptions of content and texts of Ibaluy *ba'diw* are found in Leano 1965, Perez 1979, and Pungayan 1983. An ethnomusicological discussion of this genre is given in Macea 1972.

<sup>2</sup>Until recently, wedding rites (*ngilin*) and the small feast (called *timbal*) at which a water buffalo was slaughtered to mark the agreement between two families for marriage, did not involve *ba'liw* performances. Today however, for economy, wedding ceremonies are often combined with one of the smaller prestige feasts (called *batbat*), which a couple would ordinarily be expected to sponsor a few years after their marriage. Informants are careful to point out that the *ba'liw*-singing and the dancing at wedding feasts actually belong to the *batbat*-part of the celebrations, although the whole feast and complex of rites is now called *timbal*. The word *kasal* (ultimately Sp. *casar* 'to marry') is often applied to a wedding feast if the couple are married in a church or in a town hall. In many such cases, the traditional prestige-feast component of such celebrations, including *ba'liw*-performances, is underplayed and any invocatory rituals are often conducted quietly by older members of the family away from public view.

<sup>3</sup>The difficulty of making natural recordings of *ba'liw* become obvious. The drone of priests reciting invocations, the squealing of pigs or the beating of gongs and drums often form the background for singing. In addition, all the joking and laughter between songs often means that first lines of compositions are difficult to hear or record. Quite apart from all this, most of the singers have lost most

of their teeth and besides are quite inebriated by the time they join a singing session.

<sup>4</sup>All this became obvious in my attempts to transcribe *ba'liw* from tape with singers. Lines that could not be understood from the tape were easily replaced by other lines that had no semblance in sound with the original but which were grammatically and semantically appropriate to that position. In hearing recordings of their own *ba'liw*, singers made enough criticisms of their songs that it was obvious they would not sing the same text twice. It is interesting that outside the contexts of actual performance, texts of songs under discussion are always recited, with a slight pause at the end of each line, but they are never sung..

<sup>5</sup>Example A: Libgan, at wedding feast in Killet, 1 March 1969; and Example B: Leon (Hiyun) Lumiquio, at death feast in Killet, 13 May 1969.

<sup>6</sup>Pungayan 1983 supplies some *ba'liw* names for some eastern Ibaluy settlements.

<sup>7</sup>Studies of other Southeast Asian traditions that feature parallel constructions or synonym pairs in poetry show that it is common to have one synonym of the pair from a neighboring language or dialect (See Fox 1974: 80, Kuipers 1982: 108 and Fox 1988). The occurrence of Kankana'ey synonyms in western Ibaluy *ba'liw* and of Kallahan synonyms in Agno River Ibaluy compositions partly account for speculations among people in these areas that Kankana'ey and Kallahan languages are "older" or have more "ritual vocabulary" than Ibaluy. References in the Agno valley to the existence of a "ritual speech" called *kisang* (one of the Ibaluy names for Kallahan speech)

are related to this. This is an area of sociolinguistic convergence which needs further exploration, particularly in its contribution to an areal perspective.

<sup>8</sup>In Lumbera's (1986) work on Tagalog poetry he gives examples of heptasyllabic rhymed couplets and says that this is probably an indigenous Philippine metric pattern.

<sup>9</sup>In Kallahan thought, a couplet conforms to a widely-recognized ideas about ritual pairing (*tinukmangan* from *tukmang* 'pair, opposite') that people say were much more pervasive in the past. Its cultural importance is revealed in a variety of activities in Kallahan culture. Traditionally, a person who sang *ba'liw* at a feast was expected to sing a second time during the feast, not successively, but on the next day. Thus, many people who arrived on the last day of a feast would refuse to sing at all because they would not have a chance to sing a "pair." In such circumstances, giving a 'speech' has evolved as an alternative to singing. At death feasts, all food offerings are in pairs and male-female pairs of animals "accompany" the newly-deceased to the spirit world, where they are said to "reproduce." In the prestige feast cycles called *pedit*, feasts are conceived of as being celebrated in pairs, even if the second of the pair takes place years away from the first. Thus, the first *pedit*, involving a three-pig offering, must be repeated before the sponsor goes to the next stage in the cycle, which are numbered "5," "7," "9," "11," "13" and "15," according to the number of pigs offered at one time in the major rite of the feast. Each of these successive stages are repeated as well. This number sequence is different in other localities: in Tinek, for example, it is 3, 5, 8,

10, 15. In some localities, one set of non-repeated stages may be performed and the cycle completed with the repetition of a second set of the same series.

<sup>10</sup>The usage of "complement" derives from Constantino 1965:10.

<sup>11</sup>Yngve (quoted in Goffman 1974: 214) and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) call these "back channel responses."

<sup>12</sup>An application of a conversational model to ritual speech, focusing on the patterning of "scenes" and "stanzas," is found in a study of Weyewa prayer by Kuipers (1988).

<sup>13</sup>Urban's (1986) essay is grounded in a semiotic tradition and makes valuable observations about the functions of metacommunication in social action generally.

Chapter Nine  
Speech Events: 'Oratory'

Besides 'invocations' and 'sung poetry' which were addressed in the last two chapters, the third formal way of speaking recognized by Kallahan is 'oratory', called *palawag* or *dihkulhu*, which is also the term for 'speech' as 'talk' or 'address'. Both terms come into Kallahan from Ilokano: the first is based on the Ilokano stem *lawag* 'bright, clear' and the second is ultimately from Spanish *discurso* 'discourse, speech'. Although the two terms are synonymous, *palawag* is the more general of the two usages. It refers primarily to monologic speech longer than a conversational turn, whose ostensible purpose is to 'explain' or 'clarify'. In context, it is more likely to be applied to the less formal end of the continuum that includes extended monologues on the occasion of the presentation of a man's suit by a go-between, monologues addressed to a dead person at a funeral feast, 'talks' at meetings, oratory in Christian church meetings including 'sermons' and 'testimonies', and the more polished 'addresses' or 'speeches' expected of high government officials. *Dihkulhu* tends to be used for the latter end of the continuum and implies a more serious and refined oratorical style. Although *palawag* will substitute for all occurrences of *dihkulhu*, the reverse is not always true. In this discussion, *palawag* will be used for the full range of public speaking performance styles.

The form of *palawag* performance in Kayapa derives from lowland Filipino speechmaking practice, which in turn is an imitation of western speechmaking. It is only one part of a complex of non-traditional "styles" of action called "'inilluku," ('in the Ilokano manner') whose most commonly cited features are Christianity, Ilokano language, national government, and a "modern value system" which older Kallahan consider at variance with their own. Expectedly, the people who are most proficient in these performances gain experience during residence in areas away from Kayapa and in local political office.

#### Participation

Public speaking in Kayapa is overwhelmingly a male activity. Traditional community leaders, government officials, and Christian church leaders deliver most of the speeches and the majority of them are male. Occasionally, brief speeches will be heard from close female kin of newly-weds at a wedding or of the deceased at a funeral feast. The few women who are called upon to speak in public in Kayapa are either teachers or health workers. For education and health are the two fields most often chosen by women who obtain post-secondary training. The other exception are in Spiritist church services, where a small number of women hold major speaking roles.

A 'master of ceremonies' (*tusmaster*, from English *toastmaster*) usually introduces speakers to an audience. The person chosen for this task is one who, through higher education or residence in an urban area, is familiar with Western-style formal introductions and protocol conventions. However, this role is not required for all occasions in which speechmaking takes place.

No one is barred from listening to oratory, and the audience of speechmaking is the widest that is possible for any formal speech event. This is especially true at feasts, where speeches are combined with various entertainments, and less true at meetings called to discuss specific topics, which are primarily attended by officials and interested residents.

#### Performance Contexts

Oratory may be heard in any public gathering in Kayapa that is festive or that is convened for the purpose of discussion of prescribed issues or for public entertainment. Other occasions involving large gatherings of people, such as agricultural, house-roofing, or road-building work groups do not involve speechmaking, an activity considered quite inappropriate in these circumstances. Most commonly, 'speeches' are delivered as part of 'programs' (*prugrama*), specially arranged series of performances that include talks by guests and local leaders and musical and dramatic renditions. . The latter usually feature dances, solo, or choral singing, and skits either learned through the local school or during residence outside of Kayapa. 'Programs' take place at the local primary school to mark the graduation of sixth graders from the school and during occasional celebrations, including visits of officials from the provincial capital. These usually coincide with Christmas or Independence Day (12 June) celebrations or with electoral campaigns.

Over the past two decades, *prugrama* have become part of entertainment at wedding feasts and large prestige feasts as well. On such occasions, this form of entertainment is organized by a small group of young people in consultation with the hosts and is

recognized by older people as a concession to the more outward looking, younger segment of the community, who traditionally do not participate in the communicative activities of feasts outside of the work groups. At wedding feasts, programs always include talks from prominent members of the bride's and groom's parties and from public officials, the singing of *ba'liw* and intervals for modern dancing, for which battery-operated audio equipment is brought in from a town. On these occasions, a conscious effort is made to bring together contributions from more traditional segments of the community and from public officials with the performances of young people to as wide an audience as possible.

Speeches occur at two other kinds of assemblies: *miting* 'meetings' and *tungtung* 'negotiation sessions'. Both kinds of gatherings are convened solely for the purpose of talk: informants say they go to them "to listen" ('en *makidngel*), in contrast to "going to share food" ('en *makikkan*), which is how they describe attendance at feasts. The distinction between *miting* and *tungtung* lies in their goals: in the first, people are called to discuss and to decide on a particular issue, and in the second, the requirement is that disputing parties reach an agreement or that a ruling be handed down on a case.<sup>1</sup>

Public officials and school teachers call 'meetings' to discuss fund-raising activities for the school, working bees for construction work on public buildings and roads, and preparations for visits of provincial officials. These gatherings are usually held in houses of public officials or at the primary school. If they involve the visit of officials from outside Kayapa, 'miting' usually involve a festive

meal which is paid for from local contributions. Depending on the participation in *miting*, their allotted time and the topic of discussion, opportunities for informal public discussion may be presented to the audience. In the early 1970's, a building locally designated as the "barrio hall" was built at the eastern end of the Kayapa valley to serve as a venue for community-wide meetings.

*Tungtung* 'negotiation sessions' are convened by one of the parties to a dispute and take place in the house of the convenor. Participation in these assemblies consist of 'arbitrators' (*menungtung*), members of the two parties in the dispute and their supporters. In every community there is a grouping of old people, usually male, from which negotiators or arbitrators are drawn to preside over these assemblies. Although not usually scheduled during *tungtung*, 'speeches' commonly occur in these contexts and may be delivered by anyone among the parties involved. The host of a 'negotiation session' provides a meal for the assembly, although the cost of this is borne by both parties in many cases.

#### Topics and Functions

Oratory can be expected at all festive occasions and in any public assembly that is convened to allow people to listen to opposing sides on an issue, including litigation and the small gatherings to arrange betrothals and weddings. At celebrations attended by prominent people from other localities, it is common practice to honor guests by asking them to stand up and give a speech. The themes of speeches at feasts vary little from that of *ba'liw*: advice and congratulations to newly-weds at wedding feasts, felicitations addressed to celebrants at prestige feasts as well as

invocations to ancestors on their behalf, and finally, at death feasts, praises for the dead person and prayers for a swift and unhindered departure. Occasionally, a speaker at a feast, usually a member of the sponsoring household or someone close to it, will take the opportunity to clear the air on a current source of discord within the group by launching a highly personal appeal, couched in forceful and impassioned language, and expressing his anger and frustration. It is obvious that, with respect to their messages, speeches fulfill a function similar to that of *ba'liw* at feasts.

In recent years, 'speeches' have deviated from this function somewhat by becoming more frequently associated with externally-derived issues and with external sources of authority. It is increasingly common for public officials to take advantage of the large attendance at feasts to explain the operation of government institutions, including health and family planning schemes, electoral campaigns, land boundaries, taxation, and education. Religious meetings with Christian missionaries provide another, less frequent context for oratory.

In Kallahan thought, all oratory is meant to sway opinion in a specific direction. While most speeches present and explain new material to audiences and thereby have an explicitly referential function, it is the regulative function that is central to any evaluation of the impact of public speaking. The social status of speakers, the "serious" key, and the formal, staged aspects of such performances strongly reinforce this function. Thus, the association of formal speech with authority is easily apparent in the case of government officials delivering rehearsed speeches in specially

scheduled ceremonies, and is perhaps less so when traditional leaders affect a more relaxed and familiar style.

#### **The Framing of Palawag**

*Palawag* come closest to what would be called "formal speech" in most societies and to fulfilling the criteria for formality given here. They are prepared in advance and take place in venues set aside for the purpose of assembling people for the performance. Their publicity entails a commitment to the staging of a performance, one in which positional identities of participants are highlighted and in which the use of such stylistic devices as deferential speech, parallel constructions, and repetition are frequent and highly predictable.

In speeches, the metalinguistic as well as the nonverbal boundary markers are explicit and unequivocal. This is most true in 'programs', where each speech is preceded by an announcement from a presiding official, who acts as 'master of ceremonies' and introduces each speaker or performance in turn. The speaker stands in front of the audience to deliver his piece and his performance is preceded as well as followed by applause (*palakpakan*, from Tagalog 'clap hands').

Exceptions to this pattern may be observed at death feasts. Here a person may choose to deliver a speech addressed to the corpse, rather than sing *ba'liw*. In these cases there are no introductions, no applause and the speaker may sit rather than stand.

Speeches involve louder, slower delivery, and a higher pitch than ordinary speech. Speakers often look away at a distance, keeping their eyes just slightly above their audience. Animated gestures and pacing up and down in front of the audience, both associated with a

bombastic style, often occur in Kallahan parodies of lowland speakers, but they are uncommon in Kayapa oratory.

At the beginning of his performance, the speaker commonly addresses a list of individuals or categories of persons by title. The simplest form is the following, most often used alone when there are no officials from outside Kayapa or when the speaker is unfamiliar with official titles of people in the audience.

"A'amma, 'i'inna, 'a'aggi tan 'a'annak"

'Fathers, mothers, siblings and children.'

More commonly, this form is used at the end of a list of other titles, used primarily by officials and teachers. The following list of titles reflects some of the range of officialdom familiar to Kayapa people by name. The form *Apu + Title* is a very productive one and involves non-kinship title names of public offices, professions, and occupations. Past occupants of public offices, addressed with *Pasadu* (ultimately Spanish *pasado*) + *Title*, are recognized as well.<sup>2</sup>

*Apu kungrisman* 'Congressman'

*Apu gubernadur* 'Governor'

*Apu bisi gubernadur* 'Vice-governor'

*Apu miyur* or *Apu miyul* 'Mayor'

*Apu bays miyur* or *Apu bisi* 'Vice-mayor'

*Apu superbaysur* 'Education supervisor'

*Apu kunsihal* or *Apu kansilman* 'Member of local council'

*Apu sikritari* 'Secretary'

*Apu trisuriru* 'Treasurer'

*Apu prinsipal* 'School principal'

*Apu ma'istra* 'Teacher (female)'

*Apu ma'istru* 'Teacher (male)'

*Apu midwa'ip* 'Midwife'

*Apu duktur* 'Medical doctor'

*Apu pastur* 'Pastor'

*Apu pasadu bisi* 'former vice-mayor'

Other opening expressions of address, also from Ilokano, are *nadaydayaw nga 'upisyalis* 'honored officials' and *nadaydayaw nga bisita* 'honored guests'.

Speeches end with a brief statement of thanks such as, *Man'iyamanak* 'I am grateful'; or an indication of the end of the performance, as in *Hiyattan bengat 'i 'eh'elenku* 'That is all I have to say'. The end of the turn is marked by the applause as the speaker seats himself.

Other kinds of metacommunication in Kallahan oratory are numerous. One kind consists of statements by the speaker about what acts he is performing; they point to acts of speaking, of orating, of listening, of understanding, or other communicative responses. Speakers intersperse the main points of their presentation with assertions that they "will orate" (*mampalawagak*), that they "will enunciate what they mean" ('*ibulikahkuy piyan kun 'eh'elen*), that they want people "to listen" (*dengelyu*), and that they want people "to understand" ('*awatyu*). One man began his talk with the following:

*Na'ingadnanak ni man'eh'el 'et dengdengelyu hay  
man'i'innawat kihhu.*

'I have been called to speak, so listen so we may come to  
an understanding'.

Another speaker directs a plea to members of his children's  
generation with:

*Ibulikah ku nimana timpu, ni kawara tayu, hay 'itetneng  
yun 'anak kun 'edum.*

'I will say it at this time, while we are here, so the  
rest of you, my children, will hear it.'

In this same class are disclaimers of performance, which often  
imply a plea for understanding or for dialogue. Examples are:

*Egak mampalawag, tep man'isturiya'ak bengat).*

'I will not orate, for I just want to tell a story.'

*Aliwan palawag 'iyay, tep mahappul ni matatabbal kihhu.*

'This is not a speech, for we need to have a conversation',  
[said while assuming all the other aspects of formal public  
speech.]

A second kind of metacommunicative statement points to the  
occurrence of the present occasion, to its rationale and to its  
expectations. One speaker made repeated references to "our presence  
here" (*kawara tayu diyay*), "this time, this occasion" (*ni hayyan  
timpu, ni hayyan 'ukasiyun*) and to "this small matter" (*hayyan banag  
ni uttik*, i.e., 'this feast') as a way of rationalizing and  
contextualizing the highly personal content of a speech. A third kind

of metacommunicative statement makes reference to the quality of the statements made in the speech, such as indications of their length, their veracity, their tone, their ease of being understood, or their moral authority.

#### **Positional Identities**

The specification of categories of persons and of positional identities of participants, a common device in formal Kallahan speech, is most prominently displayed in *palawag*. The forms of address enumerated above that mark the beginnings of most speeches exemplify this most obviously. On formal occasions individuals also prefer to use their "official names" (called *ngadan di sidula* 'name on identification certificate', ultimately Sp. *cedula*), consisting of a first name and a surname, as it appears on identification documents or tax receipts. In most cases, this differs from the name by which they are called in everyday interaction. Speakers refer to themselves, to addressees, and to third parties either by these official names or in terms of roles and social categories which they occupy. Kinship categories and kinship labels feature most frequently in these identifications. Discourse participant roles, ethnicity, age, regional membership, and sex generate other kinds of oppositions in *palawag* texts. For example, phrases like the following appear repeatedly in speeches:

*hi'gayun wadan mandedngel* 'you who are here to listen'

*hi'gayun 'akay ba'legtu* 'you who are young (lit. recently grown)

*hi'gamin 'amayu* 'we your fathers'

*hi'gatayun nan'abung diyay* 'we who reside here'

*hi'gatayun Igullut* 'we Igullut'

While pointing to the dimensions along which identities are contrasted in a piece of oratory, these categorizations invoke local evaluations and expectations of these roles and their occupants. Their use informs the listeners of the bases for the claims to authority of the speaker and serve as rhetorical expressions of the authoritative function of speeches.

In some speeches on sensitive or controversial topics, such use of positional identities may be suspended temporarily. The speaker may introduce himself at the start of his speech, going into details of his biography to highlight the idiosyncratic nature of his message as well as to assert that he "speaks only for himself." A frequent use of *hi'gak* 'I', the non-enclitic form of the first person, and of the corresponding second person pronouns *hi'gam* (singular) and *hi'gayu* (plural) in emphatic constructions in which the pronoun precedes the verb, is common in speeches of this sort. Although the speaker may appeal for immunity from criticism for being highly personal in his speech by invoking age, status, or life experience,

at the same time he repeatedly claims responsibility for the message and content of the speech. Through devices of this sort, *palawag* provide a license for people in authority to legitimately engage in confrontational speech and to abandon the tact and indirection that are expected of public discourse.

#### Linguistic and Prosodic Features of Palawag

Phonologically and morphosyntactically, Kallahan oratory differs little from ordinary monologic speech. In phonology, the main exceptions derive from the use of words from other languages whose phonology differs from Kallahan. The degree to which loan words are pronounced with their original sounds differs greatly among speakers, and primarily depends on education, length of residence in those language areas, and the desire to sound "correct". Ilokano and Ibaluy borrowings into Kallahan, which make up the majority of loans, assimilate quite easily into Kallahan speech. The one Ilokano phoneme which is retained in Kallahan speech is /s/, whose usual Kallahan reflex is /h/.

Of the internal linguistic features that mark *palawag*, the most prominent ones are the high incidence of Ilokano, Ibaluy, English, Spanish, and Tagalog expressions and the high frequency of code-switching to Ilokano. The foreign lexicon occurring in Kallahan speeches is the same as that in informal discussion. It primarily consists of Ilokano and Tagalog terms, a large number of them of Spanish or English origin, and includes whole phrases as well as vocabulary. Many of these words have been part of Kallahan speech for a long time, simply because there is no local vocabulary for the concepts they denote. The fields of government, politics, the courts,

Christianity, technology (especially medicine, agriculture and education), are well represented. Words such as *gubilnu* ('government'), *butus* ('votes, elections'), *kuwis* ('judge'), *piskal* ('public prosecutor'), *multa* ('fine'), *'usgadu* ('court'), *bista* ('hearing') and *mimbru* 'member', ultimately from Spanish *gobierno*, *votos*, *juez*, *fiscal*, *multa*, *juzgado*, *vista* and *miembro* are repeatedly heard in adult Kallahan speech, as single words and in affixed form. So are English-derived words such as '*apidabit*, *pinding*, *puspun*, *kalkulisiyun* and *imbitisiyun*, from *affidavit*, *pending*, *postpone*, calculation and invitation. Government officials, including primary school teachers and Kayapa residents who have lived in lowland towns and other urban areas, play a vital role in the introduction and diffusion of these loan words.

Whole phrases and clauses from Ilokano have become formulaic in the oratorical style of some Kallahan. Some of these, like *tapnu 'iti kasta* (Ilokano 'so that') and *sapay kuma ngarud ta* (Ilokano 'hopefully it will come about'), formal equivalents for Kallahan *hay* and *kuma*, are forms taken from Ilokano oratorical speech or are learned through readings of the Ilokano Bible. While these and other similar forms (below) occur individually in ordinary speech, their preponderance in oratory, and especially in combination with other Ilokano lexemes and with actual code-switching to Ilokano, serve to distinguish formal speech. The following Ilokano phrases are given with their glosses in that language:

*bareng ngarud nu* 'hoping it comes to pass'  
*ti kina'agpaysuna* 'the truth is...'  
*kasta met kadatayu* 'it is the same with us'  
*ti sumagansd* 'the next (in sequence)'  
*diyay sanguwanan ni publiku* 'in public'  
*gapu ta* 'because of'  
*'agsipud ta* 'on account of'  
*nangnangruna* 'most especially' and  
*'iti pu'un ken gapu* 'the origin and cause'

Emphasis in oratory, supported by slow, loud speech and forceful hand gestures, is achieved by repetition, translation, and parallel constructions. Whole sentences in Kallahan may be translated into Ilokano, or vice versa, with this occurring more frequently if Ilokano guests are present. Synonym pairs, with one member of the pair being an Ilokano word, are distributed liberally throughout speeches. Parallel constructions, a prominent characteristic of invocations to supernaturals and of oral poetry, occur frequently in speeches as well. These devices enable palawag to fulfill their function as acts of "explaining" or "making clear" and, most of all, they give speeches the length that lends importance to a speaker and to an occasion.

Since the subject matter of much public speaking is learned in Ilokano originally, it is not uncommon and is quite acceptable to switch to Ilokano in the middle of a speech, especially when going into technical detail on a subject. In many instances, these passages consist of reported speech or literal or slightly modified

repetitions of messages in Ilokano. Often these will be preceded or followed by elaborations or translations into Kallahan.

A segment of a *palawag* is given below. The speech is delivered during a feast to commemorate the fortieth day after the death of a young man. The feast is held in the man's father's house, and this speech is the first in a series of performances that include hymn singing and inspirational talks. The program takes place in the early evening, after the major meal of the day, in the verandah. About forty people are seated on wooden stools, on the floor, and a few guests are seated at a table at one end of a room that opens out to the verandah. Approximately the same number of people are seated on benches in the yard immediately beyond the verandah. Kerosene lanterns light up most of the houseyard and the house interior.<sup>3</sup>

The speaker attempts to explain the celebration by a Christian family belonging to the Spiritist Church of a feast marking the fortieth day after the death of their son by suicide. The audience consists of relatives and neighbors, many of whom are not Christians. It is an explanation that is necessary, for traditionally, no feasts were held to mark death by suicide. The family had been taught that on the fortieth day after death, when the dead person's soul ended its sojourn on earth and went to meet God, its reception in heaven would be made easier by prayers from his church. The speaker is himself a Christian but as a high official of the municipality and as an older kinsman of the feast sponsors, he is a natural choice for the task. Without actually asking them to pray in the Christian fashion, he is at pains to show the people that they had come for a purpose that was not alien to what they were used to expecting from a

festive gathering. He makes an appeal to their sense of solidarity, saying that their mere presence and goodwill was sufficient to achieve the Christian goals of the family.

The following example of a 'speech' shows a high proportion of Ilokano words in a Kallahan speech. This is partly accounted for by the fact that most Christian missionaries prior to the 1970's<sup>4</sup> spoke Ilokano and scriptural readings were always from the Ilokano translation of the Bible. A large number of these words have everyday Kallahan equivalents, so their function is largely rhetorical rather than to facilitate communication. This segment shows a number of sequences of synonymous phrases in which at least one main word or phrase is in Ilokano. Examples are *huta panunutmu*, *ya mapalagipan* 'i 'ulum 'your thought, what goes on in your head', and *tayukapan*'addala 'unu *tayukapan*'unna'i 'learning about or observing'.

Note that a long sequence of three clauses are wholly in Ilokano. They mark a portion in which the speaker shifts from a neutral explanatory style into hortatory discourse, at which point God is first mentioned in the speech. This sequence displays properties of what Hymes (1981:90) calls a "breakthrough into performance," in the total switch to Ilokano and the declamatory tone projected by the set of two coordinate clauses (each starting with 'adu tayu...' 'there will be many...'). At the end of this interlude of reported speech, he shifts back to Kallahan and into a metacommunicative frame, to talk about his own speech ("That is one thing we have been learning...") and its context.

In the examples that follow, Ilokano terms will be underlined, as will the English glosses of these terms.

Anggen bilang 'iy 'alliwwen huta 'un'algeya mangkararag, huta panunutmu, ya mapalagipan i 'ulum 'unu panunutmu yiy hiyamman 'i napasamak ni hakeya 'anak unu kabsat, et waran gandat 'i maipalagip di 'ulum. Itatta, nu ngantu ta nemmemenmun pehed, hiyattan 'i mantutulung ni bassibassit, tapnu iti kasta, hiyayyan kararuwa niyan tayukapan'aramata...'adu tayu nga mangitulud, 'adu tayu nga mangidawdawat ken ni apu diyus, tapnu iti kasta, ni 'apu diyus ti maka'ammu 'iti dayta nga maysa nga kararua tapnu nasay'at ti pagtungpalan na.

Hiyettan 'i hakeya tayukapan'addala 'unu tayukapan'unna'i ya rebbeng ni kinakristiyanu. Ta nuntan kayman la, dakel i naiparit nen hi'gatayu, nem 'andi ma'iparit ni hayya la ket nu pehed i pantitinnulung, pan'in'u'urnus.

'It does not matter whether you actually stand up to pray, it is your thought, what goes on in your head, about what has happened to this child or this sibling, for it is certainly going to cross your mind. Now, whatever good thoughts you may have, those will all help in some measure, so that this spirit that we have before us...there will be many of us to send him on his way, there will be many of us to plead to God on his behalf, and God will care for this spirit and all will end well.

That is one thing we have been learning about or observing in the realm of Christianity. For before, many

things were forbidden to us, but now nothing is forbidden  
as long as we show cooperation and order.'

Parallel constructions invariably include synonyms from Ilokano, such as in the following sequence from the same speech:

*Hiyayay 'i maika'pata pulun 'aggew yet  
hakey 'i kapangibannag,  
hakey 'i kamadammag,  
hakey 'i kama'awwati  
hakey 'i kamadngel ida nunta kamangiisplikar.*

'This is the fortieth day and  
there is one way of interpreting,  
there is one way of learning,  
there is one thing that is understood,  
there is one thing that is heard, by those who will  
explain it.

In the next example, which consists of sections of a speech<sup>5</sup> delivered on the occasion of a prestige feast (*pedit*), more of these devices are illustrated. The speaker is the father's brother of the feast sponsor and is the first participant in a 'program' that has been drawn up in consultation with a 'master of ceremonies'. In anticipation of some entertainment, people have moved closer to the front of the house, and are seated on wooden and bamboo benches close to the house wall or on flat rocks or logs on the ground under some small trees. The speaker walks briskly up to the front of the

audience; he looks slightly agitated, and begins his speech in a high pitched voice.

In an earlier segment of the speech, he begins by identifying himself by name and, in the section illustrated below, he expresses his thanks to all the people who have come to the feast in which, it becomes clear in the speech, he has played a major financial role.

*Aballega 'iyamanku ni kawara tayu diyan timpu,  
diyan 'ukasiyun. Et 'itnengyun 'a'annak 'unu hi'gayun  
pangannakanku 'iyan banag 'et 'ibulikaskuy piyankun  
'eh'elen nen hi'gatayu. Tep wara kitu nimana timpu.  
Nakamanhalammat ni kawara tayun 'emin, 'a'amma tan 'inna,  
diyan banaga 'u'utik... Hay makata'ud ida niyay ni banaga  
na'ulungan tayu 'unu nahi'nupan tayu, hi 'apuk Bugnay,  
'i makata'ud niyan banag ya kanda 'iy kelut 'unu pedit...*

'I am grateful for the presence of all of us at this time, on this occasion. And you my children or my nephews and nieces, listen to this matter, and I will tell you what I want to say. For we are here at this time. I am thankful for our being here, fathers, mothers, for this little matter... The reason for our being gathered here, for our being assembled here, is my grandfather Bugnay, the reason for our presence here, at this feast, at this celebration...'

The proliferation of synonym pairs is evident here: Expressions of thanks ('*aballega 'iyaman, nakamanhalammat*'); 'this time, this

occasion' (*diyan timpu*, *diyan 'ukasiyun*); 'children, niblings' ('*a'annak*, *pangannakan*); 'gathering, assembly' (*na'ulungan*, *nahi'nupan*) and 'feast, celebration' (*kelut*, *pedit*).

In another segment of the same speech (presented below), the speaker explains, in a rather emotional sequence, the reasons for his having gone into a great deal of expense to support his nephew's need for a feast, at the risk of being accused of playing favourites. His nephew was suffering from hypertension, and a mild stroke some months previous was diagnosed as having been caused by an ancestor who desired a feast.

Here the speaker elaborates, through a series of concrete and parallel images, on the celebrant's active role in his daily life and why he deserves his uncle's affection. He closes with the most potent argument possible in Kallahan culture: a statement about his own death and his nephew's responsibility for the death feast. At the end of this section he shifts to Ilokano for an entire sentence and then restates it in Kallahan.

*Ta anggen hipay lawwanku, tuka'ibbagay lawwan ku. Anggen waray nuwangkun nak'ippagud, tuka'ibbagay, "Tuy nangipaguran tatang ni nuwang?" Tu'i'a'tan. Unmutukak, nem 'unmutukak muwan, nu nangkabayyu'ak, tualha'en 'i kabayyuk. Tuipahtul. Hiyattan 'i agpaysun 'iteneng yun 'anakkun. Agyu 'eh'elen 'iy hakeytun 'enhemekku. Talaggen katutu'wantun hi'gatuy 'enhemekku. Ta intuka nu mateyyak, hi'gatuy mangipunpun hi'gak. Pan'itneng yun 'anakkun 'edum. Data ti 'agpaysu nga 'ibagak kadakayu. Hiyattan 'i piyankun 'eh'elen. Ibulikahku nimana timpu, ya kawara tayu, hay 'itetnengyun 'anakkun 'edum.*

'For wherever I go, he asks to know where I am going to be. When I have a water buffalo out to pasture, he asks, "Where has father tied the buffalo?" Then he goes and moves it to another spot. And then again, when I arrive and if I am on horseback, he helps me to dismount. He then takes the horse to pasture. That is the truth that I want you, my children, to hear. Don't just say that it is he alone whom I have affection for. It is the truth that he is the one I most love. For when I die, it is he who will bury me. Hear that, some of you children. That is the truth that I want to tell you. That is what I mean to say. I will announce it at this time, that we are gathered here, so the rest of you, my children, will hear it'.

While a version of this sequence might conceivably occur in ordinary interaction in small, more private groups, the metalinguistic devices, the code-shifting, the stacking of synonyms; and the numerous references to the speech act itself, to its truth value, to the speaker's intent, and to the audience's need to listen, combine to mark it as oratory. Note that a whole sentence uttered in Ilokano at the end is a repetition of 'That is the truth I want you...to hear', spoken in Kallahan earlier. All the exhortation in this segment has to do with communicative acts, of 'listening' ('iteneng, *pan'itneng*), of 'saying' ('eh'elen) and of 'enunciating' ('ibulikah').

Much of the content of the speech and the explicitness with which it is presented mark this event as a "sanctioned deviation," in that it violates basic Kallahan practices and norms about what to say in public and how to say it. Individuals do not introduce themselves

by name and they do not refer to the celebrations they sponsor by name ("kelut," "pedit"). They do not speak of their own deaths in such a facile manner, nor do they describe their affections for other individuals at such length. The obviously confrontational character of the whole event is acceptable in this context only because of the use of Ilokano and a communicative form associated with "directness" and overt intent.

#### The Cultural and Social Meanings of Kallahan Oratory

Given all the elements common to formal speech, Kallahan evaluations of oratory relate most closely to aspects of its publicity. *Palawag* may be most profitably compared to *ba'liw* in this regard, since these are the two public, formal speech events that involve non-supernatural addressees. In general, speeches involve larger audiences and, especially at feasts, are heard by people of all ages and varied backgrounds. The spaces in which *ba'liw* are performed, their stylistic requirements, and their goals make them (and *bunung*, for that matter) relatively exclusive events.

While 'speeches' vary from the most conventional congratulatory messages to technical expositions, and to highly personal protests, there is a general expectation that in all these, speakers make an effort to reach as wide an audience as possible. The responsibility for finding an appropriate medium of communicating to people of different ages and backgrounds is reflected in frequent references to common goals of the gathering as well as appeals for attention, for deliberation, and consensus. It also means that people who are judged as good speakers are those able to relate issues from the world outside of Kayapa in terms of local themes and images.

For Kallahan, *palawag* are fundamentally conceived of as an expression of authority. People are not called upon to speak unless they are known to "have something to say," because of age, experience, or training. For the most part, this claim to authority is based on externally-derived knowledge and related to recently-achieved statuses gained through public service, education, and experience in political and economic centers away from Kayapa. It is clear that a new set of local leaders owe their rise to their access to this knowledge and to external politics. The large majority of speeches heard in Kayapa today consciously serve to disseminate and explicate knowledge regarding all aspects of modern Philippine life and on the whole, *palawag* provide the expressive link between Kayapa Kallahan and the lowland Christian world.

The social distance between the audience and the speaker in *palawag* is greater than in any other speech event; and there is an implicitly hierarchical relationship between those who speak and those who are spoken to. Kallahan recognize this as a principal difference with sung poetry, which is generally exchanged among social peers. However, many informants describe *palawag* as being more egalitarian than traditional ways of speaking because it allows for the recognition of new sources of prestige. Thus, some young people who have gained knowledge of lowland speaking forms are able to take on the role of 'master of ceremonies' and acquire some expertise in formal speaking roles in early middle age, long before they would be able to otherwise.

The functions of Ilokano in speeches. Code-switching to Ilokano plays an important role in communicating this authority in speeches.

A good proportion of the use of Ilokano in speeches goes beyond the technical vocabulary necessary to facilitate conversation. This includes connective particles, whole phrases, sentences, and sequences of these. Many expressions are stereotypical and all are recognizable by Kallahan as indications of oratory.

Numerous studies of code-switching (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972, Basso 1979, Gumperz 1982, Wolff and Poedjosodarmo 1982, Marasigan 1983) show that, as part of this basic "framing" function, language alternations convey a variety of messages about the organization of the social situation in which they occur. For one, they display the bilingual skills of the speaker as evidence of his education, residence, or previous experience in an Ilokano-speaking area, a common source of local prestige. For another, they say something about the appropriateness of the current situation for 'speeches'. As the incident at the death feast described in the last chapter implies, a speaker's wrong judgment regarding alterations of the current terms of communicating invites immediate criticism or resistance. This aspect of Kallahan shifts to Ilokano puts them in the class of sociolinguistic devices that Gumperz (1982:98) calls "situational switching." He describes this as follows:

...where a code or speech style is regularly associated with a certain class of activities, it comes to signify or connote them, so that its very use can signal the enactment of these activities even in the absence of clear contextual cues. Component messages are then interpreted in terms of the norms and symbolic associations that apply to the signalled activity.

In addition to making reflexive statements about the social interactional context, the use of Ilokano makes reference to the association between Ilokano language and culture with urban and

national life. In effect, it presents a claim to authority by invoking the political power of Ilokano officials whose style of public speaking serves as the model of the speech act.

Parodies of speechmaking among Kallahan illuminate the extent of this reflexive function of linguistic alternation. Apart from the imitations of posturing, loudness of voice, other paralinguistic as well as proxemic features, it is the authoritative assertions and the use of Ilokano expressions that are exaggerated in joking about speechmaking. One incident involves a young man, holding his infant son on his knee while watching a group of other children playing. He was overheard imitating an official trying to urge people to contribute labor toward the construction of a road. He addresses his son (Ilokano portions are underlined):

"*May, pandihkulhuka. Kanmuy, 'Hayyay 'i 'ammagenyu. Nu 'agyu 'ubla'en, mayamyaman kayu. Amagyuy 'ubla yu, tapnu 'iti kasta. napintas ti kalsada yu.'*

Now, you give a speech and say, "This is what you have to do. If you don't work, you will be criticised. Do your work, so that you will have a nice road."

Kallahan ideas about "modern" ways of speaking are congruent with the formulations of the concept "Ilokano" that are presented with every extended use of Ilokano language. One view proclaims the need for language that is "direct" (diritsu, ultimately Sp. derecho) and explicit, and with a style that is frank and open. Allusive, indirect language, such as that associated with ba'liw and with the deliberations of old people is regarded as "distracting"

('unlingling) and a waste of time. It is associated with concealment of intent and with manipulative motives which are described locally as *pulitika* (Spanish *politica*).

A related view calls for forthrightness and plainness between people as necessities of modern life. People cite such diverse contexts as present-day courtship, involving candid approaches between individuals; urban life and its schedules, and bureaucratic requirements, as examples of the need for people to be clear and to "say what they mean". The use of formulaic Ilokano phrases, as well as technical terms from other languages, are regarded as part of the effort to lessen ambiguity in speech. Unlike traditional speech which has "few words but many meanings" (*hakhakey 'i 'ehel nem dakel 'i banag tu*), the language of modern government, science, and church is thought to have only one interpretation.

In M. Rosaldo's discussion of Ilongot oratory (1973), she refers to a contrast which Ilongot make between "crooked" speech and "straight" speech which is similar to the distinction described here. Styles of argument depicted by "straight" speech are, according to Rosaldo, associated with authoritarian norms and with new claims to authority, centering around the Bible, government, science, law, and other hierarchical institutions that impinge on modern-day Ilongot society. Because of the older and more intense continual relations between Kayapa Kallahan and Ilokanos in the lowlands to the east and in the city of Baguio, these sources of authority are even more firmly entrenched in Kayapa society today. Middle-aged people in Kayapa have memories from their childhood of the kind of oratorical

exchanges that Rosaldo describes for the Ilongot, but few traces of this are heard in Kayapa today.

Occasionally, *palawag* are loud and forceful harangues characterised as *yamyam* ('extended vehement expression of anger') or expressions of sorrow and grief (*ginat*, *ma'geh*) addressed to very specific individuals or groups (See last example above). Interestingly, such assertive speeches are justified, by speakers as well as hearers, as fulfilling the requirement to be "direct" and straightforward. Although dealing with traditional themes, such speeches partake of a modern ethos that extolls attitudes of candor and plain truth. When one is heard at a feast, it is delivered by an older member of the sponsoring household or a close kinsman; only a person in the position of host has the license to launch into a unique, once-off confrontation that states his group's side of a particular conflict. Such speeches do not invite public debate; although never ostensibly scheduled, they are acknowledged after the fact as the singular result of long-term feuding and innuendo that have needed a public airing.

#### **Summary and Conclusion**

The discussions of 'invocations to spirits', 'sung poetry', and 'speeches' present the full range of public formal ways of speaking in the Kayapa Kallahan sociolinguistic repertoire. In this and the previous two chapters, I have described the components of these speech events and their performance contexts with a view to explicating aspects of their formality and, following Silverstein's (1976:13) suggestion, to discovering their characteristics that are media for a communicative function.

I have made frequent reference to observations made at feasts because these provide the fullest opportunities for displays of competence and artistry in all three types of ceremonial speech. Comments from people at feasts about their enjoyment and pride in the special uses of language in these contexts led me to a first approximation of "formality" in Kallahan speech and its functions in Kallahan culture. Kallahan have a keen sense of their being on display at feasts. It is on these occasions that the role of language in the articulation of a Kallahan Igullut identity is best exemplified.

Of the three formal speech events, *bunung* is the most specialized with respect to texts, goals, and procedures. It is a relatively private performance, involving smaller spaces and groups of people. Moreover, it is considered inseparable from the religious complex that includes the more visible events of livestock slaughter and dancing, which in turn strongly reinforce the esoteric quality of invocations, and at the same time serve as convincing symbols of traditional Kallahan culture.

Ba'liw and palawag. Ba'liw and palawag represent the ideal speech styles at the other end of a fixed-flexible continuum. Sung poetry and oratory at feasts make up the totality of formal, oral communication from persons of influence in a Kallahan community. Each type of communication employs distinguishable kinds of carefully-crafted speech: in the case of *ba'liw*, "deep speech," poetical constructions in Kallahan, and an indirect style; in *palawag*, Ilokano oratorical conventions and an open, direct style. As political discourse, both "ways of speaking" reflect the differential access to

knowledge about the world at large that is gained through age and through experience in public life within Kayapa and away from it.

Since their referential content can overlap greatly, it is in aspects of the performance of *ba'liw* and *palawag* that we find the key differences in how these two speech events may be construed as social acts. The most important distinction between them in terms of social consequences lies not in text or prosody but in the fact that the *ba'liw* is performed as a "ceremonial dialogue" while the *palawag* is not. The potential for conversation-like exchange in *ba'liw* is generated by structural and interpersonal features of its immediate context. Nothing comparable exists in the case of *palawag*, for these are marked off as separate individual monologues with little attempt to evolve a mutually coordinated series of performances. Metacommunicative framing of *palawag* is primarily formulaic and performances receive responses of either applause or silence. If, following Urban (1986), ceremonial dialogue projects a model of solidary interpersonal relations, the formal extended monologues in *palawag* depict the opposite; i.e., socially distant, non-solidary relations.<sup>6</sup>

Ba'liw as monologue. In recent years, the singing of *ba'liw* has been included in 'programs' at feasts and other kinds of community-wide celebrations. These performances give us an opportunity to compare the relevance of monologic and dialogic patterns to the social meanings of *ba'liw*. On these occasions, *ba'liw* take on many of the features that characterize *palawag* as a performance. The one exception is the presence of a chorus, who seat themselves near the front of the audience. First, the singer stands in front of the crowd

of people, rather than being part of a group of people seated in a circle or semicircle, thus creating a physical and emotional separation from his audience. In doing so, he loses most of the opportunities for the phatic communication that is characteristic of usual *ba'liw* settings. Conversation, joking, and other interaction between songs are eliminated, and the sense in which a singer is responding to a previous song or comment or is seeking a response to his song is absent.<sup>7</sup>

Second, the framing conventions in *ba'liw* are further altered by the presence of a master of ceremonies, who introduces the singer by his official name, describes his background, and tells the audience what is going to happen. The implications of this for the evaluation of the performance from both the singer and the audience's point of view are clear. With *ba'liw* "stripped down" to its text, prosody and melody, it assumes many of the performance aspects of *palawag*. There is now a great deal more demand for the singer to be "correct" and to have minimal hesitations and false starts. Consequently, masters of ceremonies are prepared to call upon only the most articulate singers whose songs are known to have suitable social messages. The relative anonymity that attaches to *ba'liw* in dialogic exchanges is replaced by individual accountability for the content of one's performance. A result of this is that *ba'liw* in programs are fairly stereotypical compositions, prepared and rehearsed for occasions of this sort.

The ambiguous images of *ba'liw* that invite "play" in other songs find little appreciation in more serious *programa* contexts. Experienced public speakers often feel compelled to deliver a short

speech after singing, to interpret their songs and elaborate on their messages. This is partly an accommodation to the social diversity in the audience as well as a response to the loss of the closely-shared context in which *ba'liw* are usually sung. Moreover, it stems from a belief that there is one interpretation that should be transmitted to one's listeners, itself an attitude associated with a didactic, regulative function of speech. Understandably, some older informants consider this unnecessary and somewhat patronizing, but they concede that it may be the only way an old verbal art might be understood by their descendants.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the performance of *ba'liw* within 'programs' subjects them to evaluation as events that project hierarchical relations. Ironically, taking *ba'liw* to a wider audience has invested it with a more pronounced regulative function.

The appearance of *ba'liw* in a program format reflects a shift in local thinking about speech functions generally and about the association of this speech event with Igullut identity more specifically. Much of the responsibility for this change has come from educated Kallahan, especially primary school teachers, who are concerned about the lack of traditional input into entertainment organized by primary schools for the community. Their search for verbal art and music for public presentation, especially to audiences that include important people from lowland areas, has led them to encourage the inclusion of *ba'liw* performances, of dancing to drum and gong music, as well as the wearing of traditional women's dress. Objections to taking gong and drum music out of the context of offering performances appear to have been overcome by the need, now widely felt in the Kayapa community itself, that selected Kallahan

"cultural items" be displayed alongside of entertainments whose source and ethos are overwhelmingly derived from lowland Christian and Western culture. Such self-conscious "nativistic" responses make up a vital focus for local metacommunicative activity as well.

In this attempt to characterize specific forms of Kallahan language in use, it has become clear that a key to language as social action in Kayapa today lies in the way it is employed in expressions of an Igullut identity. Kallahan assertions of their identity are made within polities created by talented speakers in formal performances. A useful way of looking at the varieties of Kayapa Kallahan formal speech and one that is employed by Kallahan themselves is that these comprise ways of confronting threats to Kallahan society from "others". Thus, while *bunung* "take care" of supernaturals, *ba'liw* and *palawag* formulate responses to competing social and cultural orientations from the outside, the former through reiterations of traditional values, and the latter through efforts to narrow the gap between local statuses and institutions and those of the majority culture.

Insights into the role of speech in constituting authority, gained from studies of societies similar in size and political organization to that of Kayapa are relevant here.<sup>9</sup> As Myers and Brenneis (1984) show, in societies such as Kayapa, where a premium is placed on consensus and nonconfrontation, and where hierarchical relations based on public office do not traditionally exist, speech events take on a major role in establishing and sustaining followings. For example, in a study of Central Sulawesi Wana poetic compositions called *kiyori*, Atkinson (1984:62) notes that

...metaphoric concealment and reference to external political orders are used to construct a sense of unity and solidarity among members of *kiyorī* audiences.

Similarly, in *ba'liw*, poetic exchanges create a framework for interaction in which solidarity and fellowship are affirmed in a shared emotional context. In large part, this is accomplished through a strong emblematic quality that *ba'liw* gains through its contrasts with other varieties of formal speech and through the metaphorical expressions and indirect style that Kayapa Kallahan consider unique to theirs and to neighboring highland cultures. It is no accident that political innovators, in their search for "idioms" for a Kallahan identity, choose to juxtapose *ba'liw* with an oratorical genre in which knowledge of outside languages is a major component. In the instance of a traditional *ba'liw* performance, a singer draws attention to a cultural form which has become symbolic of Kallahan identity at the same time that it is a part of a social process of defining that identity.

Herein lies the irony in detaching *ba'liw* from its traditional performance sphere and moving it into the realm of "culture" (*kultyur*, from English) as defined by the younger educated segment of the Kallahan community. In presenting *ba'liw* as monologic speech, its performance has been separated from the metacommunicative process that is itself fundamental to the traditional Kallahan projection of the image of Igullut.

The claims to authority evinced in *palawag* are based on participation in urban Christian society and in public life in general. However, it has been noted that many of the people who deliver speeches are among the most accomplished *ba'liw*-singers as

well, so that the followings created through *ba'liw* and *palawag* overlap greatly. Although they are easily characterized as standing for two separate cultural orientations and although they evoke divergent symbols, there is little sense in which people view these speech genres as having conflicting functions. Their joint occurrence in organized entertainment such as 'programs' attests to the adaptability of *ba'liw* as a speech form as well as acknowledges the complementary political functions of the two genres. Taken together, *ba'liw* and *palawag* support a cultural emphasis on seeking accommodation with the categories and institutions of a larger social system. It is a syncretist posture that can be explained by the recent history of Kallahan migrations and their marginal status in a predominantly Ilokano society.

In this conclusion, I have tried to present formal speech events as cultural forms that are related to ongoing social processes in a Kallahan community. This has required going beyond the referential content of texts and attending to aspects of their performances that themselves contain messages about how they are to be interpreted; i.e., to metacommunicative events. Interpretations that demonstrate the link between speech events and ethnic processes comprise an important feature of culture change in Kayapa and are embodied in Kallahan evaluations of speech as well. Leadership in Kayapa today depends not only on claims to knowledge about the world beyond the local community but also on being able to channel formal speech interaction toward the political goals of affirming and maintaining group boundaries.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Frake's (1980:175-201) discussion of Yakan litigation indicates a larger range of semantic discriminations of kinds of talk involving groups of people. In general, Kallahan *miting* cover Yakan 'discussion' (called *miting*) and 'conference'; and Kallahan *tungtung* have the properties of Yakan 'negotiation' and 'litigation'. The comparison involves more than terminology however: for one, Yakan *miting* appear to include informal discussions that Kallahan would class as *tabtabal*. Furthermore, the Malay and Arabic traditions brought to bear in Yakan litigation sessions give the impression of a much more well-defined legal domain for the latter than exists in Kallahan culture. In his study of Kallahan social organization in Imugan, southern Nueva Vizcaya, Rice 1974 refers to *tungtung* as 'conference'.

<sup>2</sup>While '*apu*' is a kinship label in both Kallahan and Ilokano, its usage in office titles derives from Ilokano. In Kallahan '*apu*' labels kinsmen in the third generation above and below Ego. In Ilokano a difference in stress between the penultimate and final vowels of '*apu*' signals a distinction between higher and lower generation, respectively (see Notes, Chapter Five).

<sup>3</sup>Speech, 29 November 1969, on *kurinta diyas* feast. Cassette 12.

<sup>4</sup>In the 1970's some Protestant missionaries arriving in Kayapa spoke Ibaluy and a few residents had obtained copies of the Scriptures in Ibaluy.

<sup>5</sup>Speech, 27 Jan 69. Tape 14.

<sup>6</sup>M. Rosaldo's (1973:219) characterization of traditional Ilongot oratory shows that it shares features of ceremonial exchange.

associated more with *ba'liw* in Kayapa. 'Speeches' in Kayapa are more similar in style to "modern" Ilongot public speaking.

<sup>7</sup>Many singers find singing *ba'liw* while standing in front of an audience "awkward" ('en'ewwel) and "inappropriate" ('ag tu 'anam). Some interesting "hypercorrective" reactions have been noted in *ba'liw* performances at *prugrama*. One man tried to find a compromise between song and speech by reciting his *ba'liw* lines in a slow monotonic staccato. This completely confused and frustrated the choral singers, who could not find a proper melody or pacing for his rendition. In a feast in another region, a man attempted to *ba'liw* in Ilokano, the language associated with *palawag*. This attempt lasted four lines in all and the singer was applauded gaily for his effort. Such "violations" show up the intrinsic connections, in Kallahan thinking about public speaking, among such features as standing in front of an audience, speaking Ilokano and giving a speech. In the rare occasions (always at funerals, in front of a corpse), when a person decides to orate without rising, there is minimal switching to Ilokano and the voice is lowered to the pitch of ordinary conversation.

<sup>8</sup>Duranti's (1981, 1983) studies of Samoan speechmaking (*lauga*) as it is performed within meetings of village chiefs and orators (*fono*) and outside of these contexts has some parallels to this one of *ba'liw* in its traditional context and in *prugrama*. His are good examples of how the variations in the performance of a genre are predictable from features of the immediate social context. Apart from goals of the social events, their temporal setting and the social identities of participants, Duranti (1983:17) points to the

difference in the weight given to "performance" in speech delivery and interpretation as being a crucial part of this variation. This analysis of *ba'liw* in two different settings differs from the Samoan speechmaking example because in programs, *ba'liw* are taken away from their interpersonal context and subjected to a new set of evaluations regarding performance.

<sup>9</sup>Bloch's (1975) study of Merina meetings in which he sets forth a theory of the relationship between oratorical form and function is an extended statement of how speaking can be described as a constitutive activity in social relations. It is criticised and amplified in Irvine 1979, and in ethnographic studies in Atkinson 1984, Myers and Brenneis 1984 and M. Rosaldo 1984.

## Chapter Ten

### Non-Ceremonial Speech

In this work I have presented Kallahan speech through a variety of approaches--in terms of the linguistic resources of a speech community in Chapter Three, the evaluation of speech and its functions in Chapter Six and, in the last three chapters, the characteristics of the formal, ceremonial speech events of invocations, sung poetry and oratory. This final ethnographic chapter is devoted to the non-ceremonial portion of the Kayapa Kallahan speech repertoire. It presents the contexts, procedures and linguistic components of ordinary everyday communicative activities, including greetings, leave-takings, making requests, performing commands, and conversation. It also includes some observations regarding silence as a communicative pattern in Kayapa Kallahan culture. The chapter will conclude with a summary of the dimensions of speech behavior that are involved in differentiating the two main contrastive patterns of Kallahan speaking, conversational exchange and directive speech, that cut across ritual and everyday communicative interaction.

Informal communicative activities constitute the speech acts and events through which daily interaction is conducted and ordinary everyday tasks are accomplished. They conform to Sherzer's (1983:155) description of Kuna every day speech in that they are

frequent rather than rare, ordinary rather than special, routine rather than carefully programmed, unscheduled rather than scheduled, relatively personal rather than communal, and private rather than public.

However, the distinction between ceremonial and nonceremonial speech events is not an absolute one. Rather, it involves a number of different continua, with ritual discourse involving communication with supernaturals being least flexible in text and most restrictive with respect to its participants, event sequences, timing and setting. At the other extreme is ordinary everyday conversation among social peers or the talk involved in daily interactive tasks, which is spontaneous and flexible with respect to all components of the speech situation.

All ordinary speech activities may take on aspects of formality and performance as one or more components of the event is singled out for conscious attention, the goal of interaction is closely specified, or a commitment is made to a show of competence in speech. Two Kallahan speech acts, 'inviting' ('awit, 'ayag) and 'persuading' (*kalun*), illustrate how common everyday speech acts may be redefined in ceremonial contexts and take on features of performance. When a feast sponsor sends a person to invite specific persons, either human or supernatural, to the feast, the act of 'inviting' or 'summoning' (also called '*awit* or '*ayag*) calls for careful attention to speech, particularly in references to the feast at hand. It requires a deliberate choice on the part of the feast-giver of a person qualified to be a "summoner" (*kamangawwit*), who has knowledge of the statuses of the individuals he is to invite and of the appropriate ways of approaching them.<sup>1</sup> Here, participants, goal of the interaction and topic determine the shift to a more formal register.

Similarly, within the context of marriage arrangements, the act of 'attempting to persuade' (*kalun*) is redefined to mean 'to present

a marriage suit to a woman's family' (also *kalun*) and implies verbal strategies appropriate to the role of 'go-between' (*kamangallun*). Gatherings in which a suit is presented to a woman's family take place at a prearranged time and place, usually at night time, in the woman's house. In both cases of 'inviting someone to a feast' and 'seeking to persuade someone to marry', a closer specification of communicative goal is accompanied not only by increased structuring of code but also by stricter rules of cooccurrence (Irvine 1979) among other components of speaking (i.e., among setting, participants, goals and norms of interaction). These rules of cooccurrence are much looser in everyday speech.

**'Greetings' (Ti'bay)**

The nature of greetings--spoken or nonverbal acknowledgements of co-presence--is determined by the closeness of relationships between individuals, the public statuses of persons involved, the settings in which encounters take place, the length of time elapsed since the last meeting, and whether or not further interaction is expected or desired. Nonverbal greetings, consisting of a nod of the head, raising of eyebrows, eye contact, or a slight wave of the hand, commonly occur when people do not know each other well or when interaction is not possible, expected or desired, such as between people who have recently spoken to each other, who have little to do with each other or who encounter each other in a setting where extended interaction is not possible. It is common for older people to greet children and young adults whom they do not know well without speaking and this is also usual between men and women who do not know each other well.

There are very brief verbal greetings, such as '*a'a*' and *mmh*, a short low hum, which are utterances with no translated meanings but which merely serve to acknowledge co-presence. Typical verbal greeting formulas between people who know each other well are grammatical questions, such as *Tuway lawwanmu?* 'Where are you going?' and *Tuway nalapu'anmu?* 'Where have you come from?' The usual response to either is a place name or an orientational or other locational description, such as *Di Pangpang* 'To Pangpang', for the first or *Diman 'ali pi'ig* 'From over there, from the other side' for the second. It is common to enquire about the health of a member of the family (e.g. *Ha'nus 'amam?* 'How is your father?') and the customary brief response to this kind of question is *Wada* ('He's there').

People who know each other well will often greet each other with banter or with direct, sometimes whimsical comments. An older woman teases a nephew who comes down the trail with *Kalay, hakeymu?* 'How come you're alone?' ; and another meets her brother-in-law as he comes toward her house on a horse with *Ampay hiyattan 'i nangkabayyun pehpehed, nan'atip?* 'Is that how a man on a beautiful horse should be dressed, wearing a knife?' Close friends may greet each other with specific demands, such as *Tuy tabakkum, tep 'idtana nallapukad Pangpang?* 'Where's your tobacco, now that you have come from Pangpang?' or with *Unna'an 'ita hinakbatmu!* 'Show us what you are carrying!' In the pond fields or swiddens, people who cross paths frequently will hail each other with brief comments about the work at hand (e.g. *Nakdeng 'angka* 'You're finished (with your work)!'') or launch into conversations about their work with little or no introductions.

Ilokano-derived patterns of greeting are called into play in the presence of special guests, public officials, or of Ilokano-speakers. Settings for these will be large feasts, meetings, and on the occasion of visits from distant kinsmen or other outsiders. Typically, greetings in these formal contexts include handshaking and the frequent use of the Ilokano phrase *Kumusta kayu* ('How are you?', ultimately Spanish *como está* and the Ilokano second person plural pronoun), optionally followed by *Apu* + Title. Thus, the mayor of the municipality may be greeted upon his arrival by another official with a handshake and *Kumusta kayu 'apu miyur*, which can be glossed as 'How are you, Mr. Mayor?'

Longer greeting events occur upon the arrival of guests, of kinsmen who have been gone for a long time, or of friends brought to Kayapa from other regions. Women who are closely related and who have been separated for a long period will embrace each other. Guests are often greeted with profuse thanks for their having come a long way and many comments are made by hosts about the isolation of Kayapa, the lack of importance of its people and the feelings of being honored by the arrival of visitors. Examples of such greetings are as follows:

The host of a large feast goes up to meet a group of prominent men and women from Pangpang as they arrive at the edge of the houseyard. He says to them, as he shakes hands vigorously,

*Halammat ta himmawang kayu. Man'iyaman kamin pahiya.*

*Hiyayay 'iday nangitungaw ni tu'ud Pangpang. Halammat ta wada kayu.*

'Thank you for coming. We are very grateful. These are the leaders of the people of Pangpang. We thank you for being here.'

A woman greets friends of her daughter who are distant kinsmen who have never visited Kayapa, as they approach the front of the house: *Madayay 'ali! Halammat ta yukami kapanhabbi'a diya kad'an min 'adawwi*).

'Over here! (as she directs them into the house). We are thankful that you have come to visit us in such a far away place.'

One kind of greeting is negatively valued and this is the "greeting" communicated by the spirit of an ancestor to a descendant, usually a young child. This is a common source of illness among children and requires an offering ritual (also called *ti'bay* ) involving slaughter of a chicken. It is to avoid the notice of ancestors that small infants are not addressed or referred to by name, and are not carried out of the immediate house and yard until they are a month old. Often children are given uncomplimentary names (such as *Ta'i'an*, literally 'place of excreta', *Bigih* 'worm' and *Tulingan* 'dark, black') so as to make them unattractive to their capricious ancestors.

### Leave-Takings and Farewells

The ways in which people end interaction and take their leaves are determined by factors similar to those that influence the nature of greetings. It is obligatory to give notice that one is ending interaction once a person participates in a conversation that extends beyond the minimal greeting event. In general, longer and more formal leave-taking procedures characterize situations in which people expect to be separated for a long period or in which outsiders or persons associated with public office are involved.

In the most informal of encounters, a person may briefly indicate that he is leaving by saying *May!* or *Ti!* (with rising intonation) as he rises or turns to leave. These expressions have hortatory functions and serve to prompt the interlocutor into participating in the action at hand. The other person responds with either *Pehed* ('Good!'), *May!*, *Ti!*, or *Hiya!* all of which have a meaning similar to 'Go ahead!'

Other common expressions of farewell are *Ullawak* ('I'm going') and *Un'akadak* ('I'm going home). It is polite to give an explanation for leaving and this may constitute the farewell itself. For example, a person may say, *Nak ga 'unna'an 'ima nuwang* 'I must go see about the buffalo', or *Nagiwid!* 'It's getting late' (literally 'It (the sun) is low') to excuse himself as he rises to leave. The other responds with *May!* or *Ti!* or *Hiya!*

Occasions for 'seeing people off' (*palibuwatan*, from *libuwat* 'to rise (from being seated)'), especially when close kinsmen are going away for a long period or when outsiders leave after a visit, call for special attention to speech as well as to communication in general. Feelings of 'tension' (*kel'ew*) and sadness over departures,

mainly expressed through silence, are eased by soft calls of *Pehed* 'It's good, it's all right' addressed by older people to persons departing.

Farewells to close kinsmen, especially young people, often involve giving advice and a *bindisiyun* ('blessing', from Ilokano, ultimately Sp.*bendicion*). *Bindisiyun*, obviously copied from Catholic church ritual, are pronounced while the speaker places his hand on the person's head or shoulder. Examples of *bindisiyun* are the following:

*May, pehed. Bindisiyunan taka. Unnungen mu'aka naba'kul.*

('Carry on, it's all right. I give you my blessing. May you grow old as I am'). [From an old woman to her granddaughter who is off to high school in a lowland town].

*Pehed 'i pan'akkadanmu 'et pehed kami ngun tayyananmu.*

('May your return home be safe and may we whom you leave behind be safe as well'), and

*Bindisiyunan taka. Liteng ni 'uway 'i pan'aka'akadmu.* ('I give you my blessing. May your travels always be safe').

Farewells to visiting officials and to other important outsiders always involve handshaking and expressions of thanks for the visit. Ilokano expressions, such as *Salamat* ('Thanks'), *Diyus ti 'agbati kadakayu* ('God remain with you') and *Diyus ti kumuyug* 'God go with you' are often exchanged. Handshaking is common in taking leaves and bidding goodbye, especially among young people and with outsiders and government officials.

### Silence as Communication

In this section, I will discuss the functions of silence in Kallahan communication and the social situations in which silence is considered appropriate.

There are ritual occasions during which silence and only limited domestic activity is allowed within a Kallahan settlement. These are on the day (called *leben*) after a burial, or after a ritual in which offerings to ancestors are made. Traditionally, the day after the conclusion of a ritual celebration is the day on which people stay home to watch for omens through which ancestors communicate their verdicts regarding the recent rituals. These omens are to be found in unusual events (such as breaking of cooking pots, of large tree branches near the house), in the unusual behavior of animals (particularly birds and snakes), or in dreams that would come to the celebrants.

The burial of a corpse and the last stages of labor in the delivery of a child require silence, for these are crucial stages of transition in which attention of ancestral spirits is not welcome. During internment, the spirit of the recently dead may indicate his desire for a kinsman to "accompany" him; and at birth a lonely ancestor may "take" the child away and cause it its death. For the same reason, the mention of personal names of major participants during burials and during childbirth is taboo.

Outside of ritual contexts, Kallahan cultural interpretations of silence relate to their ideas of how the contact and the directive functions of speech are expressed. They believe that silence in individuals that constitutes withdrawal from interaction in a given situation either reflects a kind of emotional state, or may be employed

to communicate an emotional state. People say that grief, sadness, confusion, fear or embarrassment may prevent a person from interacting with his fellows temporarily, and that silence is not necessarily intended, but results from a change in a person's emotional make-up.

In most cases however, silence is deliberate, and is a choice an interlocutor makes among communicative possibilities available to him. The kinds of situations in which silence is required or is considered appropriate are few. At meetings, litigation, offering performances and other focused gatherings, members of the audience are expected to be quiet unless addressed by an officiating member, although in these situations, small groups of people may talk in low tones among themselves from time to time without being censured. Kallahan describe silence in these contexts as being "respectful" (*nadayaw*) toward persons in authority.

Basso's (1972) study of silence in Apache society isolates ambiguity in the status of "focal characters" in a situation as the determining factor in the choice to be silent. He then generalizes the lack of verbal interaction to all situations characterized by uncertainty and unpredictability. His differentiation between focal participants, the individual or individuals with respect to whom silence is defined as appropriate, and nonfocal participants, who must maintain silence, is an immensely useful one and will be used in this discussion.

Unpredictable situations in which verbal interaction is absent or at least toned down in Kayapa society show many resemblances to those described for the Apache. People are expected to remain silent or to show restraint in speech in the presence of elders, of

strangers, of members of the opposite sex whom they do not know well and of persons who are experiencing extreme emotional distress, especially grief, pain or rage.

The Apache study lays little emphasis, however, on the deliberate and strategic use of silence. In Kayapa Kallahan explanations, many circumstances in everyday life dictate that silence be used to forestall confrontation or, in situations where it has already begun, to prevent it from expanding. Such decisions may result in a focal character walking out of a divisive debate or an embarrassing predicament. Where such a situation is foreseeable, a potential focal character might deliberately absent himself from it in the first place. In such cases, silences indicate embarrassment or fear of censure and are calculated attempts to show displeasure, disagreement, or caution. The individual involved is usually at pains to show his restraint ('*upupen kuy bungutku* 'I cover my mouth') and his desire to cease being party to a controversy or to cause any further embarrassment.

Reflexive references to acts of silence, in the form of covering one's mouth, pursing one's lips, or shaking one's head may occasionally be observed. People say that when all the talking has been done and there is nothing more to say, it is more effective to show your objection by not speaking than to continue to protest verbally. A story is told of an old woman who, after many altercations over a piece of property, attended a *tungtung* called by the opposing party to which a high-ranking official related to her opponent was present. Realizing that the odds were against her, she convinced her family to attend the gathering but to refuse to utter

any words throughout the deliberations. Because many members of the audience supported her claim to ownership and also were put off by the presence of the official, they raised protests on her behalf and tacitly encouraged her stonewalling. When the meeting was ended without a decision being reached, the old woman turned to the opposing party as she rose to leave, and signed to them the most profound non-verbal curse Kallahan know: she raised her eyes and open palms to the heavens to invoke the deities, and lifted her skirt to expose her genitals. A loud murmur rose above the crowd, as her opponents reacted first, with silence, and then with alarm. Months later, when a settlement was finally agreed upon between the two parties, a pig, paid for by the woman's family, was slaughtered in a rite to counter the effects of this curse.<sup>2</sup>

As Sherzer (1983:190) points out, the relationship between silence and talk is closely related to private and public uses of language. This brings us to one final semantic distinction to be made about 'silence', that between a deliberate act of withholding information and a deliberate act of 'informing' or 'explaining' (*hudhud*). A person sent to apologize, to explain something, or to offer a compromise to another is sent off with the reminder, *Pakihudhudka lan pehed!* 'Explain it well!' While many transactions are conducted in private exchanges between individuals, some of these transactions must eventually be "made known" (*hudhud*) to other individuals who would be affected by their outcomes. Agreements to marry and all transactions involving communal property of any kind, including real estate, produce, livestock, tools and other implements or houses, must be validated in the presence of witnesses, in the house of one

of the participants and involve the sharing of a drink (*haliw*) or a meal. Failure to make these transactions public invariably lead to disputes and may even cause them to be annulled. As I describe in Chapter Six, the meaning of *hudhud* (in the form *panudhudan* 'the means of informing') is metaphorically extended to the 'meat gifts' distributed from livestock that is slaughtered to seal an agreement.

**'Visiting' (*Li'ngay*)**

'Visiting' (*li'ngay* or '*allibay*), has the implication of an extended and self-conscious effort to keep another person or persons company, and constitutes a vital communicative context in Kallahan culture. Kallahan say that 'visiting' eases the boredom of everyday routine and, especially if it involves people coming from other regions, makes up for the geographical isolation of Kayapa. It invariably involves the exchange of food: a drink or snack if the visit is short, or a small festive meal if longer, or if the status of guests call for it. 'Visiting' is the informal equivalent of large feasts: it has social functions similar to those of feasts, in which people who would ordinarily not encounter each other are able to meet, exchange news and renew ties.

Common nonfestive reasons for making visits in Kayapa, such as the birth of a child to a kinsman, the illness or old age of kinsmen, and the arrival of guests at a kinsman's house, underline the cultural importance of visiting in the establishment and validation of social relationships. Visits after a long interval or visits by kinsmen from other regions are always marked by a special gift called '*awil*', consisting of foodstuffs, or a live chicken, pig or, in an unusual case, a calf, presented by the host to the guest at his

departure. A visit to an aged person, especially one who is incapacitated, often involves doing household chores and, to mark of a specially close relationship, bathing the person. Women, more than men, become involved in the planning and routines of informal, nonfestive visits, both as visitors and as guests and to near as well as far-away places.

'Visiting' therefore makes up a highly desired form of interaction in Kayapa social life. In Kayapa Kallahan characterizations, *li'ngay* consists of such activities as 'entertaining' ('*allibay*) each other, 'exchanging news' (*mandamdammag*), 'telling stories' (*man'ih'ihtudiya*), 'conversation' (*tabtabal*), and 'play' ('*ayyam*). The common discourse thread that runs through these activities is mutually coordinated dialogic exchange. As I show in Chapters Six and Eight, a metacommunicative function, in contrast to a regulative, directive one, is closely associated in Kallahan thought to sociality, solidarity and the diffuse reciprocal relations of ordinary everyday life.

#### Speech for Entertainment

Speech play, defined by Sherzer (1983:190) as the "conscious or unconscious manipulation of linguistic elements, forms, and processes, resulting in a focus on language itself," comes in a variety of forms in Kayapa. There are traditional fixed genres, including 'riddles' (*bunbuntiya*) and a kind of traditional song called *dayyumti* that are recited or sung purely for amusement. The few *dayyumti* and riddles that are well known are heard only among children. Although adults know them, they think of them as part of children's play. Occasionally, riddles are exchanged among small

groups of people at feasts, but adults show little interest in expanding their knowledge of them. Riddles and *dayyumti* are similar to children's improvisations, of which two examples are given below, in that they employ a heptasyllabic line structure. As described in Chapter Eight, this is the principal regular prosodic pattern used in Kallahan poetic compositions.

A common kind of children's rhyme consists of a first line of nonsense syllables and a second line of seven syllables containing a predication. Many of these rhymes are taunts or insults, usually scatological in theme. The following were heard among children playing "feasts," although only the first had any relation to the context (see Appendix for abbreviations):

1. *Petek*      *petek*

'point      point'

*Kipay*      *manwa'tek?*

who-St      man-)+kill (by splitting the skull)

'Who will do the slaughtering?'

2. *Yudyudyudayud*

[rhythmic sequence]

*Na'gah*      'i    *ts'in*    *Bayud*

na-)+fall    St    feces   Bayud

'Bayud's feces has dropped.'

The next examples of riddles have the answers "sun" (*hegit*) and *Imperata* grass (*gulun*).<sup>3</sup> The first riddle compares the brightness ("ripeness") of the sun in the zenith to its reduced brilliance in

the morning and evening. The second identifies *Imperata* as having sharp, pointed shoots in the early stages of growth, causing great pain when trod on by bare feet.

1. *Ngalubuy nambinnangwah*

unripe-St naN-, -in-) + two-sides

'Unripe on either side'

*Na'tengan di nanggawwa*

na-...-an) + ripe L naN-) + middle

'Ripe in the middle'

2. *Mabunget 'i 'anaktu*

ma) + bad-temper St child+3M

'Its child is bad-tempered'

*Na'anus 'i 'inatu*

na-) + kind St mother+3M

'Its mother is kind'

The following are the best known *dayyumti* in Kayapa and are sung by small children while at play in small groups.

1.

*Gaggawwang gaggahu'li*

Crow [rhythmic sequence]

*Pantayatayab kalli*

Fly down to me

*Han taka laglagbu'i*

Then I'll reward you

*Ni putput'ing ni 'ubi*  
With bits of sweet potato

*Kamu ngun 'un'akadka*  
When you return home

*Han taka 'itulud la*  
Then I'll accompany you

*Hanak manta'ulilli*  
Then I'll return here

*Danum di Dullidulli*  
To the river by Dullidulli.

2.

*Kemkemti liyaliya*  
Firefly [rhythmic sequence]

*Kantuy babuytuy lima*  
He says five pigs are his

*Ma'nun kadin duduwa*  
But he owns only two

*Pambuwadan han'ina*  
One for his mother and one for him

*Andi 'anan hi 'ama*  
Father hasn't got any

*Na'ukat 'iy linmuwa*

He's gone out and is in tears

*Idman 'anka ni baka*

There's a cow for you

*Idman di kilkillaba.*

It's out in the old swidden.

The best known example of octosyllabic verse consists of a chant of a long string of nonsense sequences, sung primarily to entertain small children:

*gawistan, gawistanabul*

*bagbagtu, bagbagtulambik*

*tulambik, tulambawikan*

*bawikan, bawikalanay*

*kalanay, kalanapunay*

*napunay, napuniyagta*

*niyagta, niyagtakumpa*

*takumpa, takumpaya'aw*

*paya'aw, paya'atimbaw*

*'atimbaw, 'atimbawistan*

*bawistan, bawistanabul.*

There is one "Pig-Latin" type of linguistic play in Kayapa, also used only by children. It involves the insertion of the sequence -VI- after the consonant of every CV(C)-syllable of a word. Thus, *masam'it* ('sweets') becomes *malasalam'ilit* and *Tuway lawwanmu?* ('Where are you going?) is transformed into *Tuluwalay lalawwalanmulu?*

This kind of fun with speech is purely for amusement and is not used for secrecy or deception.

A common source of entertainment for both children and adults consists in imitating and repeating the speech of others. The sounds of speech are often as much a source of enjoyment as the semantic messages they convey. Humorous sequences, poetic elaborations, regional differences, interesting turns of phrase, and samples of emphatic speech heard in radio broadcasts or from visitors, are singled out and mimicked by children at play or by adults in discussions of the speech of others. The phonological contrasts between pairs of Kallahan and Ibaluy words are a frequent focus in this kind of play. In quoting other people in conversation, a speaker will imitate the style as well as the wording of the person being quoted. Visits of Ibaluy-speakers can be particularly stimulating in this regard, especially for children who have heard Ibaluy speech at various stages of their lives, because there are always Ibaluy-speaking adults in the community who will offer correction and encouragement. Kallahan-speakers are well aware of the implications of this playful interest in other people's speech patterns for the acquisition of bilingual skills.

The enjoyment gained from learning new sounds, sequences, and rhythms is most evident in the learning of modern songs (*kanhiyun* or *kanta*, ultimately Sp. *cancion* and *canta*). These are in Ilokano, Ibaluy, Tagalog and English, and are heard over the radio, learned at school or from individuals who hear them in the lowland towns. It is not uncommon for children to learn whole or parts of songs in another language without having any idea of what they mean.<sup>4</sup>

"Decorated speech." Kallahan consider euphemisms, metalinguistic expressions, repetition, metaphors and other instances of oblique speech found in both formal and informal speech as "decorated speech" (*na'alkuhana 'ehel*, from *'alkuh*, Sp. *arco*)<sup>5</sup> that is not only aesthetically pleasing but is also desirable for sociable interaction. Much of the immediate satisfaction derived from this kind of language use relates to the metaphors used in talking about speech itself, for they denote common human movements and activities. Thus, in descriptions of speaking exchanges, thoughts are said to "run" (*betik*) in certain directions; themes or topics "move" ('*andal*) along a track; and words "meet" ('*aphul*) you head-on in confrontations. In discussions of moral issues, gossip is said to be unavoidable because personal stories simply "arrive" (*hawang*) to illustrate a point. To interpret a text is to "catch" (*hikmat*) its meaning, after "chasing after it" ('*uhil*). Issues being explored are "laid bare" (*kamanka'ukkst*) in the process of being examined by "honed" (*na'ubbul*) minds or "probed" ('*ukit*), as with a sharp instrument. A man who has a persuasive argument "eats" (*mangan*) or "bites" ('*unkalat*). One who presents a baseless argument engages in "speech that goes nowhere" ('*andiy kayhaplatan ni 'ehel tu*) or "has no substance (as an empty fruit shell)" ('*andiy kababagahtu*).

The manipulation of speech for rhetorical, stylistic, or poetic purposes is a capability which few individuals in Kayapa possess and is one gained, according to Kallahan, in extended and relaxed encounters during visits with good storytellers, singers and speech makers at home and at feasts. Upon their return from feasts, people will be called upon to recount new jokes and stories they have heard and

usages they have learned from other people, including lexicon, figures of speech, parallel pairs of metaphors, and whole *ba'liw*.

There is also a strong sense among Kayapa Kallahan that artistry in speech is a limited and diminishing quantity, belonging primarily to the older generation. Informants tell of their feelings of urgency as they make plans to go to visit someone who has come from a big feast or who has an important guest visiting, knowing that such occasions for hearing interesting speech are few and far between. People speak of "receiving gifts (i.e., of speech)" ('*idya'i anak 'i digaluk*, from Sp. *regalo*), of coming away with "stories in their pockets" ('*ihtudiyan 'inbulhikuk*, from Sp. *historia, bolsillo*) and of speech to "keep in trunks" (*maytalud ba'ul*, Sp. *baul*) and taken out to be savoured when the occasion presented itself. These "gifts" are analogous to the presents people receive when they visit people they have not seen for a long time.

Indirectness in speech occurs across the whole range of informal and formal speech activities. The playful focus on speech that results from use of figurative language and the displays of multiple interpretations of language in the encounters described above is a major ingredient of what Kallahan consider enjoyable social interaction. In the discussion of Kallahan evaluations of speech in Chapter Six, I pointed out that allusive speech contributes to this enjoyment in the following ways: first, in heightening the relationship among participants in the discourse event, by the joint activity of interpreting the ambiguities presented to them. Second, ambiguous speech allows for references to potentially divisive issues without necessarily precipitating confrontation, thus creating an ambience of

suspense and anticipation. Third, as I indicate in Chapters Eight and Ten, the use of esoteric speech in formal contexts plays a major role in displays of group identity. Oblique speech creates a communicative context in which the contact function of language is highlighted and assertions of Kallahan identity become realizable.

**'Conversation' (Tabtabal)**

By far, the dominant communicative activity in Kayapa is conversation. Conversational activity (*tabtabal*) is one in which one person addresses another and the other makes a response, with or without the presence of an audience. Informal talk, even when it involves more than two people, usually results in one main speaker addressing a second party and the rest of the participants serving as "audience" that listens and occasionally comments on what is being said.<sup>6</sup> 'Telling stories' (*man'ihtudiya*) and exchanging news, (*mandamdammag*) typically involve this kind of lead speaker-addressee-audience pattern. Other similar situations are making plans for an activity, discussing disputes and making decisions about sharing work or other responsibilities.

In the following, I will discuss the linguistic devices Kallahan use to indicate their orientation to conversational activity. One set of these devices involves the marking of turns. A second consists of feedback or back channel responses, and a third consists of modifying particles whose main function is to point to background experience or aspects of the context shared by the interlocutors.

**Turn-taking**. Kallahan employ a number of linguistic markers to indicate the beginning of a conversational turn. The most common ones are *kuy* 'I say'; 'et, a connective with positive meaning; *nem*, a

connective with negative meaning, somewhat like 'but'; *hiya* and '*a*', both particles indicating assent. In most instances, these particles signal acknowledgement by the current speaker of what has been said by the previous one and serve to connect the last utterance to the present one.

Of these particles, only *kuy* always occurs in utterance-initial position; the others may occur in other positions within a stretch of speech. The sequence is a short form of *kanku iy* 'I say that...', and commonly appears in *ba'liw* performances, where it is spoken immediately before a song is begun. In both *ba'liw* and conversation, it functions primarily to indicate that the speaker has taken possession of the floor.

Back-channel responses. In conversation, stretches of monologue from one speaker are punctuated by brief spontaneous responses from an addressee or from the audience. These "back channel responses"<sup>7</sup> may signal assent or dissent; in general, they are a measure of the level of attentiveness and commitment of the addressee or audience. Some of them are nonverbal, such as head nodding or shaking, eye-contact, or laughter. Verbal back channel expressions in Kallahan are '*un*' or '*u'u* 'yes', '*a*', '*a'a*', '*mm*', '*m'm*', '*ayya* 'really', '*wey!*' 'exclamation', *hiya* 'all right', *niti* 'indeed', '*un kayman* 'he's right', and *hiya numan* 'of course'. While some of these expressions (such as the last four) may under other circumstances be used to begin a turn, a back channel response does not itself constitute a speech turn.

In a description of Subanun formal speech, Hall (1987:46) includes four other types of back channel responses, which may also

be found in Kallahan conversation: sentence completion, a request for clarification (e.g. *Hipa?* 'what'), a brief restatement, and the verbatim repetition of a word, phrase or sentence from the end of the utterance of the speaker.

Feedback responses for the most part indicate assent and may be ignored by the speaker or at least are not always visibly attended to. However, Kallahan know them to be important in guiding a speaker's orientation to what he is saying and could aid him in deciding the length of his turn. This interpretation evolved from people's reactions to conversations with a slightly deaf man who visited Kayapa often. The man was well-to-do, travelled widely and was an articulate storyteller, but people said they tired of listening to his stories because he could only partially hear their brief responses, implying that the lack of conversational interaction with the speaker hampered the audience's enjoyment of his novel accounts. In these encounters, some members of the audience would exaggerate their nonverbal responses by increasing eye contact, nodding vigorously, thumping the deaf man on his back, or tapping him on the arm to encourage him. In contrast, interaction with the blind appears to elicit a different set of responses, including an increased volume of verbal activity, to make up for the lack of eye-contact.

Negative responses (e.g. '*aliwwa* 'that's not it', '*andi kadi* 'that's not right', *nahama* 'it's a mistake') and other expressions of disagreement are usually perceived as disruptions if they occur too often, and will be resisted with calls from the rest of the audience like *Agmu linglingen!* 'Don't interrupt him!' or *Egetka!* 'Be quiet!' Kallahan norms of interaction dictate that a speaker, especially if

he is an older person, be allowed to finish what he has begun to say, and in informal conversation, lack of feedback for a long monologic turn could mean disagreement rather than disinterest.

"Dialogue markers" in Kallahan. For Kallahan, the most important social interactional aspect of conversation relates to its being dialogic exchange. In associating *tabtabal* with "play" ('ayyam) and with 'visiting', Kallahan refer to characteristics of conversation as joint sociable activity involving collaboration and mutual ratification. As adumbrated in Chapter Six, this coordination evolves from the metacommunicative activity within conversation that functions to monitor the speech situation. Kallahan speak of a 'measure' or 'beat' (*kumpah*, Sp. *compás*) to the exchanges in conversation, and liken the coordination involved to that required in the pounding of rice in a mortar by two or more persons.

Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) have introduced the idea that the contexts in which communication takes place cannot be taken as given but must be constructed by participants in the act of communicating. In conversation, people pay attention to the message--to the referential content--and also to its contextualization. In Gumperz' and Cook-Gumperz' (1982: 13) words, "we simultaneously signal both content and about content." Their view takes it for granted that cooperation in conversation depends on its being governed by shared expectations, and that this sharedness is negotiated within the interaction itself, through processes in which participants interpret communication for its intent and then respond to it according to their interpretations.

It is possible to make reference to this coordination at the level of the individual contribution (i.e., the turn) in a conversation. In Kallahan, there are a number of particles that broadly function to indicate emphasis and to signal shared expectations between interlocutors. I call them "dialogue markers" because their use reflects orientation to background information common to the participants in a conversation. They are frequently found in ordinary conversation, but occur less often in formal speech and in long monologues. As I point out in Chapter Eight, the absence of such particles in *ba'liw* is consonant with the aphoristic character of propositions in it and other formal genres and with the lack of interest in situational detail.

In grammatical terms these particles are adverbial and modify a whole utterance. In verbal predication, they follow the verb, or if an agent pronoun occurs, they follow this clitic pronoun. In equational sentences, they may occur either at the end of the sentence or following the subject phrase, with no change in meaning. This may be illustrated with the particle *kunu* 'they said, it is said' in the following:

*Hiyamman* 'i 'abungtu. 'That one is his house.'

*Hiyamman* 'i abungtu *kunu*. 'He says/it is said that that one is his house'.

*Hiyamman* *kunuy* 'abungtu. 'He says/it is said that that one is his house.'

The contribution of the use of these particles is complex and difficult to describe. These words do not mark relations between

words and phrases or sentences but instead modify the meanings of these by introducing orientational or attitudinal elements into a sentence. They bring in evaluative meanings which serve to focus on the situation of the speech event and therefore act to contextualize the utterance. Also, they are involved in the "collaborative procedures" (Levinson 1983:315) necessary for the introduction of topics into conversation, for their ratification and generally for constructing topical coherence across turns.

Jakobson's (1957) distinction between "speech event" and "narrative event" is relevant here. For the most part, the information introduced into the clause by these particles involve the relationship between the speaker and the addressees within the "speech event" and stands outside of the "narrated event." They are reflexive in that they point to ways in which the assertion contained in a clause is to be interpreted and have implications that have to do with such matters as relative location, the definiteness, timeliness, desirability, optionality, or necessity of the action or state expressed in the verb or adjective. In indicating features of the interactive situation to the addressee, these particles also serve as "tying" devices (Moerman 1972) that make references to prior statements, acknowledge the implications of these, and ultimately act to signal the cooperative quality of conversation. In conjunction with turn-taking devices and the use of pronominal and locational deictics, these dialogue markers play a major part in the organization of the transitions from one individual contribution to the next in conversational activity.<sup>8</sup>

The particle *ga* illustrates the import of the distinction between "speech event" and "narrative event" in this analysis. It generally expresses a "minimal" evaluation by the speaker (e.g. of the time or effort involved in the action, the affective component, or the social worth) of the verb in the clause. In an imperative sentence requiring a second person agent, *ga* may be interpreted as a request particle ('Please'), such as in (2) in the set of examples below. However, when the actor of the clause is the first or a third person, the use of *ga* approximates the English use of just in "I'm just going to fix the fence," when the implication is that the activity is not going to take much time or effort. The interpretation of minimality is one shared between speaker and addressee and lies outside the narrated event. In the case of imperatives, this actor in the narrated event and the addressee happen to coincide.

(1) Mu 'i''amag 'ima 'alad.

'You go fix the fence'.

(2) Mu ga 'i''amag 'ima 'alad.

'Please go fix the fence' ["It's a small job."]

(3) Nak ga 'i''amag 'ima 'alad.

'I'm just going to fix the fence'. ["Nothing much."]

In addition to the hearsay particle *kunu* mentioned earlier, other dialogue marking particles are *kuma*, which signals that the condition given by the clause is desirable from the point of view of the speaker (who may or may not be the grammatical actor or agent); *dedan*, that the action or state is a necessary precondition to some-

thing else; *mangu*, that the condition is one of several options; and *tepey*, that the condition given by the clause is a logical consequence of something that has happened before that is known to the interlocutors.

Something of the range of effects of these particles may be illustrated in the following paradigm:

1). *Ullaw hi Huwan di Wagan.*

'Huwan will go to Wagan'.

2). *Ullaw kumah Huwan di Wagan.*

'I wish Huwan would go to Wagan'.

3). *Ullaw tepey hi Huwan di Wagan.*

'Huwan will go to Wagan, (as discussed at an earlier time).'

4). *Ullaw manguh Huwan di Wagan.*

'Huwan will go to Wagan, despite what others are doing'.

5). *Ullaw dedan hi Huwan di Wagan.*

'It is necessary that Huwan go to Wagan'.

6). *Ullaw nitih Huwan di Wagan.*

'Certainly, Huwan is going to Wagan.'

7). *Ullaw kadih Huwan di Wagan.*

'Huwan is going to Wagan, despite what we thought.'

To take the first two examples, the difference between the neutral *Ullaw di Wagan* 'He will go to Wagan' and *Ullaw kumad Wagan*<sup>9</sup> is that in the latter the speaker points out that the trip to Wagan

is something he, the speaker, would like to happen (irrespective of the attitude of the actor in the narrative event). In *Ullaw tepey di Wagan*, the particle *tepey* implies that the addressee shares information or expectations with the speaker that is relevant to the trip to Wagan. In 4), *mangu* signals comparison, in that the action of Huwan going to Wagan is one of several alternatives, including not going to Wagan, going somewhere else, someone else going to Wagan, and so on.

In the example of a conversation below, the tying functions of *niti* in 6(b) and *kayman* in 7(a) are illustrated. *Niti* expresses the relation between the utterance in which it occurs to the prevailing topic or assumptions, and has a function similar to that given in English by phrases like "As you have said..." or "Indeed" at the beginning of an utterance. Other particles like *kayman* that have evaluative meanings are *numan* (identification or empathy), *keteg* (compulsion or determination) and *na'mu* (uncertainty or indecision).

A conversation. In the following conversation, D is a man in his late sixties and has come to K's (his niece's) hamlet to visit. She is in her thirties. He is slightly deaf and has a taciturn manner. He hesitates at a corner of the yard and she calls out to him to where there is a bench under a tree. D's son's wife had died three weeks earlier and K asks questions about the widower and the fate of the orphaned children.

Framing devices are underlined, and explanatory comments follow each utterance in brackets. A fuller presentation of text and translation are found in the Appendix.

1(a)

K. *Madayay 'ali.*

'Over here!'

[D walks over, sits down, mutters to himself. K is sweeping the yard and stops her work to talk. In this utterance, 'ali describes the direction of movement as one from addressee towards speaker.]

1(b)

D. *Kankuy nak ga ngu mampapahiyal hay 'unna'an ga nem hipay ma'unna'an.*

'I decided I'd just go for a walk to see what there is to see.'

[D. is not a frequent visitor to this hamlet and feels compelled to explain his arrival. The particle *ga* signals a request for attention from the addressee and deprecates his motives for being present in another hamlet. The sequence of *ga* *ngu* reinforces the deprecatory meaning contained in the reduplication in the following word (*mampapahiyal* 'going for a walk', Sp. *pasear*).]

2(a)

K. *Hiyamman 'a hay 'ittibew nguy 'ama.*

'That's what should happen, so we see our fathers.'

[The use of '*a*' signals K's acknowledgement of D's meaning in the previous utterance. When used by itself, as a back channel response, this particle is uttered with a slight nod of the head to indicate assent. See also 7(a) below.]

[A couple of minutes of silence ensues while D prepares some tobacco from his bag.]

3(a)

K. Et hipa law 'i pambuwada kunu ma 'ungnga?

'And what now of the news that the children will be split up?'

[The use of 'et' to begin this sentence marks the introduction of a new topic after the preliminary pleasantries. *law* refers to relative temporal location: it implies that the question is about something which both speaker and addressee know 'has been developing and the speaker wants to know what "the latest" is on the issue. *kunu* is a hearsay particle; it indicates that the addressor is expected to give a report.]

3(b)

D. *Hipa?*

'What'?

4(a)

K. Kuy hiyamman 'ida ka'ihingmu, nem hipay kanda?

'I say, about your in-laws, what do they say?'

[The use of *kuy* here emphasizes that K is reformulating her previous utterance. Her new question has little of the content of the original, but is considered an acceptable restatement of her question in 3(a). This confirms my analysis (and the interlocutors') that the topic (i.e., the conflict between the bereaved spouse's family and his in-laws) is one that D can be expected to be asked about. Here, the unelaborated references to 'splitting up the children' and 'in-

laws' appear to be sufficient to indicate K's meaning. 3(b) and 4(a) are an imbedded question-answer pair between 3(a) and 4(b).]

4(b)

D. *Ampat hiyay bakamma 'ungnga 'et pambuwa? Uwaytu 'et ga nem 'umballeg 'ida 'et manhimbabagga. Bagga'en ni hakey 'iy bagga'en nima hakey.*

'Why, are children like cattle in a herd, that they can be split up? Let us wait till they grow up and then we can all send them on errands. One side can ask them to help and then the other can do the same.'

[Here '*ampat hiya* 'why?' (in the sense of "Does it necessarily follow?"), marks the utterance as a direct response to the previous one. In the second sentence, *ga* reinforces an appeal ("Let's wait...") to the addressee's good sense. Here, D. covers both points of K's questions, i.e., of what will happen to the children and about the two sides of in-laws.]

5(a)

K. Et hutta tinayyananmud man ngay, na'ukat ngu la 'a?

'And the one you left behind at home, has he come out of the house yet?'

[Here 'et' and 'ngay' mark an introduction of a new topic. 'ngu' modifies the verb 'na'ukat' 'has come out, left the house', and signals the speaker's comparison of the widower's action with that of the addressee's present activity (i.e., of having left his house). 'la' means that the action is 'away' from his house. 'a' is a common phatic particle.]

5(b)

D. Hutta timmukgung 'i kanmu?

'You mean the one in mourning? (lit., 'the one who squats with head bowed')'

[Here D. is ascertaining the reference to his son ("You say the one mourning?"), whom K refers to euphemistically as 'the one left at the house' and whom he now refers to as 'the one who squats'.]

6(a)

K. Kuy 'u'u.

'Why (I say), yes.'

[5(b) and 6(a) is a question-answer pair that is imbedded in the question-answer pair of 5(a) and 6(b). Both 'kanmu' and 'kuy' derive from 'kuwan' 'to say', and mark the reflexive function of the last two utterances.]

6(b)

D. *Ampat masa'naran 'i bulan. Nem nu 'un'un'anku niti 'ida ket, wayawaya met 'i kawad'anda. Ampat malimmuh 'i bulan. Hiyamman 'i 'inturu ni napangpanglu.*

'No. A month must pass first. But when I see them, I notice that they go about as they please. The month must pass first. That is what our predecessors taught us.'

[The particle *niti* recalls the question in 5(a) ("Has (the widower left the house?), and its use acknowledges the implication that there is a rule about when mourning is ended. *met* reinforces the speaker's objection to the bereaved persons' disregard of the rule about a mourning period.]

7(a)

K. A 'un *kayman*. *Hipay pahding nem hi'gatuy ta'ud?*

'Yes, that is the way it should be. What can we do if that is what has been handed down?'

[Again, '*a*' acknowledges the previous contribution. Here, the use of *kayman* shows K's sympathetic agreement with D's opinion (i.e., that spouses should mourn for a month), as well as implies that K accepts the statement as appropriate, and as one to be expected of a man of D's age and circumstances.]

In every turn in the segment of this conversation there is an element that makes reference to the implication of the previous contribution, to the addressee's role in the discourse (e.g. *kanmu* 'you say' in 3(b)), or to the speaker's own role (*kuy* 'I say' in 2(a) and 4(a)). It is my impression that the close topical focus of this

conversation is partly responsible for the high rate of tying devices, and that less focused discussions have a lower incidence of dialogue framing. In casual meetings between people who do not know each other very well and where there is little attempt to sustain a conversation beyond the greetings, responses are brief and show few of the dialogue markers described here. In groups where there are more than three people talking, the need to gain the floor in a conversation could result in a large number of reflexive statements at the beginnings of turns.

Note that in the whole conversation, no personal names occur, only kinship terms or euphemistic references. The widower is referred to as 'he whom you left at your house;' 'he who is squatting', and his in-laws are referred to by a kin term. Embedded question-answer pairs in this conversation are devoted to confirming the referents of euphemistic description.

Dialogic exchange is an important pattern of speech in the more closely-focused discussions in 'meetings', 'negotiation' or in 'programs'. However, in these activities, topics are set in advance, turns are "pre-allocated" (Levinson 1983:301) for a large part of the interaction, and rules against interruption are more strictly enforced. A "master of ceremonies" may be appointed to distribute turns. Despite such arrangements and depending on the extent to which an interaction is considered formal or "serious," it is common for participants to "break frame" from time to time, and to claim to be "only conversing" (*mantatabtabal bengat*). Such reiterations of the ideal of conversational exchange within performances are common.

### Commands, Requests, and Questions

*Baga* is a word base in Kallahan with the basic meaning of 'requiring action of another person or persons.' Depending on its affixation and its context, *baga* can be translated by 'command', 'request', or 'question'. Thus, *baggaen* (object focus) 'to command, send someone on an errand'; *ibbaga* (object or instrument focus) 'to ask for or about something; to ask a question'; *mambagga* (actor focus) 'to ask for something (an object or a service)'; *ibag'an* (beneficiary focus) 'to ask another a question about something'. The noun *baggaen* (lit. 'the person ordered') has the specialized referent of 'slave', also called *himbut*.

Imperative meaning in Kallahan is marked grammatically in a number of ways. "Basic" imperatives are formed by the use of an uninflected verb followed by the second-person pronoun (*ka* or *kayu* for actor-focus, *mu/-m* or *yu* for object-, instrument- or benefactive-focus). The following illustrations will use the verbs '*ala* 'to get, obtain' and *bu'lay* 'to take out / to bring out in the open' (see Appendix for text conventions):

'alam        'i        ta'ed  
get+2M       St       knife  
  
'Get the knife' (Object focus)

'alaka       ni       ta'ed  
get+2M       P       knife  
  
'Get a knife' (Actor focus)

The following affixes indicate the imperative: *pan-* (actor focus); *'i-* (object or instrument focus); and the prefix sequence *'i-...an* (benefactive focus). Thus,

*pangala kayu ni pagey*  
paN~)+get+2M S rice (unmilled)

'Get some rice'.(Actor focus)

*'ibu'laymu 'ima pagey*  
'i-)+bring-outside+2M St rice (unmilled)

'Bring the rice outside'. (Object focus)

*'ibu'layim ni pagey*  
'i---an)+ bring- outside+2M P rice (unmilled)  
'Take some rice out for him.' (Benefactive focus)

The additional meaning of 'immediate action', 'urgency,' 'emphasis' or 'authority' may be added to this basic construction by placing the actor pronoun before the verb rather than after it. Typically, this would be used in addressing children or people much younger than the speaker. Thus (see Appendix for lists of pronouns):

*Mu 'ala 'i taed*

'You go get the knife now'.

*Ka pangala ni pagey.*

'You go get some rice now'.

*Mu 'ibu'layi ni pagey.*

'You take some rice out for him now.'

The presence of *ga* immediately following the actor pronoun depreciates the impact or quality of the action given by the verb. This particle appears with high frequency in Kallahan conversation. In imperatives, its occurrence "softens" the command and makes it

into a "request". For example, the use of *ga* in the following denotes a show of politeness such as might be expected in imperatives addressed by adults to their contemporaries or to older people or in requests made in formal situations:

*Pangalaka ga ni pagey.* 'Please get some rice'.

*Ka ga pangala ni pagey.* 'Please go get some rice now'.

*Mu ga 'ibu'layi ni pagey.* 'Please go take some rice out for him now'.

The affix *pangin*-+R- in actor-focus imperatives has a similar "softening" effect. It refers to action performed perfunctorily or with little effort. Thus, in *Pangin'a'alaka ni pagey* ('Please pick up some (unmilled) rice'), there is the added implication that the service requested should not take too much time or energy, and that the imposition is therefore not great.

Other means of toning down the authoritative voice of a command consist of the use of *kuma*, which expresses the desirability of an action, as in *Law kayu kuma* 'It would be good if you went'; and of the Ilokano expression *panga'asi*, from '*asi* 'pity, mercy' as in *Panga'asiyu law kayu* 'Have pity and go.'

When the context and the intonation of the speaker provide an interpretation of the imperative, single nouns, verbs, or other verbal affixes expressing uncompleted action may serve as commands or requests. Thus, calls at a feast such as *Akukullaw*, *man'a'tub!* 'Women, come to sing!'; *Danum!* 'Water!' or *May*, *mangam'am!* 'Come on, set out the dishes!' are easily interpreted as urgent calls for common procedures familiar to all adults, even if they are not

grammatically marked for the imperative. Abbreviated commands like these are expected only from older persons who have authority on a particular occasion.

Reflexive statements regarding the intent or goal of a speech activity comprise the main marker of patterns of directive speech, as opposed to the directives themselves. Comments like the following all signal monologic directive speech:

*Man'eh'elak law.* 'I will now speak'.

*Eh'elenku* 'I shall say it'.

*Ibbagak ga?* 'Let me ask you then?'

*Aliwwen nga'aw iya eh'elenku, tep bilin.* 'There's nothing wrong with what I have to say, it's advice'.

*Pakihudhudka lan pehed!* 'Explain it well!'

In conversations, expressions like 'Let's talk first' (*Mantabtabal kihu nin*) and 'Let's discuss this first' (*Pantatabalan tayu nin*) set a deliberate focus on a goal and introduce careful and purposive speech.

*Baga* 'question', 'request or 'command', is the exemplary Kallahan act of speech, to the extent that it demands immediate "uptake" (Levinson 1983:237) from the addressee. For Kallahan, imperatives illustrate speech that "goes somewhere" and "is not wasted." As mentioned in Chapter Six, the capacity to respond to simple requests or commands is thought by Kallahan to mark the onset of social maturity in a child. Correspondingly, speech to direct, counsel, instruct, persuade, or organize is a major component of the speaking roles of old people, particularly in their relationship to the young. Thus, elders are expected to take advantage of formal as

well as informal gatherings to give counsel, explain tradition, and make reference to a code of behavior. Feasts and, for that matter, any extended interaction between old and young people, are said to "go to waste" ('unkawah) if they are not used for these opportunities.

'Counsel' (*bilin*) constitutes a major part of directive speech. As a speech act, it differs from *baga* in that it requires a more diffuse response. People receive advice and instructions as part of the 'blessings' (*bindisiyun*) from their elders before they go on a journey. *Bilin* denotes not only the guidance given to individuals or groups about appropriate courses of action; it also refers to the act of warning and reprimanding individuals for a misdemeanor. At wedding feasts, the only extended formal interaction between newly-wed couples and their older kinsmen involves 'counsel' in the form of speeches or *ba'liw*.

It is not surprising then that the most common characterizations among young people of the conflict between generations consists of criticisms of the speech of their elders. The contrast between the kind of participation expected of young and old people at feasts was illustrated by way of an explanation of the phrase *Ma'nuy kakanmu...* ('While you eat a lot...'). The informant said that if this phrase, an expression of contempt usually uttered in this short form, were addressed to a young person, it might be completed as *Ma'nuy kakanmu 'iy 'andiy mukahakbata* 'You eat a lot, but you don't carry anything on your shoulder (i.e., firewood for the feast)', implying that the person has not helped with the work of the feast. However, if the phrase were addressed to an older person, the expanded version would

more likely be *Ma'nuy kakanmu ni lamdang 'iy 'andiy kayhaplaten ni nutnutmu* 'You go to a lot of feasts, but your sounds make no sense.'<sup>10</sup> The implication is that at feasts, it is speech, not labor, that is the main contribution of old people and that it is substantial, directive speech that is expected of them.

**Summary: Directive Speech and Dialogue**

Kallahan characterizations of speech as social action confer paramount importance to its goal and its social achievement. The metalanguage for specifying communicative goals and, more generally, for describing how speech is to be interpreted, consists of speech act names such as 'directing' or 'questioning' (*baga*), 'counseling' (*bilin*), 'informing' or 'explaining' (*hudhud*), 'instructing' (*tudu*), 'persuading' (*kalun*), or 'summoning' ('*ayag*, '*awit*). While these goals may involve a variety of verbal means, they are achieved primarily through conversational patterns and patterns of directive speech.

In this summary, I will contrast patterns of directive speech and conversational exchange in terms of the relevant social dimensions that have emerged in this work: the archetypical contexts associated with their occurrence, goals of interaction, functions of speech, participant role structure, the relative focus on positional (as opposed to personal) identities, the degree of explicitness of intent and the character of social relations associated with each.

	Directive speech	Conversational patterns
Archetypical contexts	feasts, public occasions	visiting
Goals of interaction	social control	solidary relations
Functions of speech	regulative function	contact function
Participant role structure	primarily monologic	dialogic
Positional identities	maximal emphasis	minimal emphasis
Relative focus on intent	maximal	minimal
Social relations	hierarchical	non-hierarchical

This chart displays two ideal speech patterns. Directive speech is purposive speech; it is deliberate and overtly regulative. It is closely associated with social control functions and is expected at all public formal occasions, in the form of orders, counsel, instructions or explanations. Thus, speeches, 'sung poetry', 'meetings', litigation, public entertainment at the local school and feasts all provide a variety of opportunities for purposive and purposeful speech. Religious rituals, in which specialists address ancestors and other supernaturals with speech that seeks to influence them and instruct them, may be viewed as employing directives as well. However, patterns of directive speech can be expected to predominate in all contexts, whether ceremonial or nonceremonial, in which interactional, ritual or group goals are self-consciously focused on by participants. As a cultural category, it is unmarked, and depicts asymmetrical, nonsolidary relations (Brown and Gilman 1960), associ-

ated with basic sources of power and rank in Kallahan society, including age, sex, wealth and public office.

At the other pole, conversational patterns depict symmetrical solidary relations and are associated with social situations in which non-hierarchical relations prevail. Archetypically associated with the relatively private and informal contexts of 'visiting', dialogic exchanges allow for the maximal elaboration of the metacommunicative or contact functions of speech. They characterize communicative activities in which there is minimal explicit focus on communicative goals and where mutual coordination has priority.

To end this discussion, I illustrate the salience of the dimensions described above, by considering the extremes to which solidary and non-solidary relations find expression at feasts. Here are the exceptions that prove the rule. One may be found in the raucous, often obscene joking exchanges among old people, especially in interludes between *ba'liw* singing; and the other in the highly personal speeches that appear to disregard all norms of smooth interpersonal relations. In their coming close to "breaking frame," these kinds of departures from polite intercourse provide much of the color and many of the surprises of celebrations, the first through a loud and boisterous display of fellowship, and the second through an assertive display of privilege. The two cases portray a level of regulative intent desired by their speakers; in the Kallahan view, they are the ultimate in "getting to the point," or of speech that is *diritsu* 'direct'. As "sanctioned deviations," both kinds of interaction depend on a temporary rejection of the public, positional identities that are a defining feature of Kayapa Kallahan formality.

However, despite a similar focus on personal identities, they have quite opposite social consequences, for while festive joking exchanges extend the limit of solidary interaction, formal harangues depict the extreme in social distance.

The idealized patterns of directive speech and conversation represent a fundamental opposition in Kallahan evaluations of speech behavior. They mirror the contrasts described in Chapter Six exemplified by the root word *tebal* 'to speak to' and its affixed form, *tabtabal* 'to have a talk with'. There I point out that the lexical pair *tebal-tabtabal* embody a pivotal cultural distinction in Kallahan culture. In the conclusion, I will expand on how this distinction relates to other major themes in this work.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>The terminology for invitations to a prestige feast reflects the division between 'kinsmen' and 'nonkinsmen': invitations to kinsmen are labelled '*ayag*' and to the latter *bikat*. One informant explained the difference as one between "summoning" and "inviting," in that kinsmen are expected to be present at a feast and therefore are merely "called" to it, but non-kinsmen are chosen and are "asked" to a feast. The Spanish-derived Ilokano word '*imbital*' (Sp. *invitar*) is familiar to many people; for some, it applies to the "others" who are invited to feasts who do not fall in the first two categories, including outsiders such as missionaries, Ilokano government officials, and traders.

<sup>2</sup>The distribution of this gesture of contempt is probably quite wide. It is certainly known among Ibaluy and Kankana'ey and Salmond (1974:212) has an entertaining account of its use in Maori culture.

<sup>3</sup>The procedure for riddling is as follows: A person recites a riddle and says to his audience, "Hapul<sub>u</sub>mu" ('You guess it') or "Hapul<sub>u</sub>yu" ('You (pl.) guess it'), to elicit a response.

<sup>4</sup>A small note may be made here regarding a possible cultural connection between verbal play and language change. In Kallahan, there is a small number of single-morpheme four-syllable words which exhibit what may be described as "internal chiming" in that they show repetition of vowels and consonants within the word. Their construction shows repetitions which resemble the play with nonsense syllables in children's speech. Since Kallahan is similar to other Philippine languages in being primarily disyllabic, such long single-morpheme words are rare. Often, their use is considered either esoteric or for humorous effect. Examples of this vocabulary are *galabugab* 'a disorderly and badly managed event or presentation'; *hindumhuki* 'repeated disruption or interruption of an activity'; *halawahaw* 'a gossip, busybody' and *kalawakaw* 'a person who is unruly, uncooperative or disruptive.' All my requests for clarification of the meanings of these words were greeted with laughter and many people did not seem to think they were "legitimate" Kallahan words. Note the common references to disorder, irregularity, or lack of propriety in the meanings of these words. These examples point to a linkage between language and culture whose explanation must begin with an exploration of what "nonsense" is in Kallahan speech play.

<sup>5</sup>The derivation from Spanish *arco* 'arch' through Ilokano is not obvious. It is based on an analogy with the decorated arches constructed over strategic entrances during feast days (Kallahan and

Ilokano *piyasta*, from Sp. *fiesta*) linked with Catholic saints in lowland areas.

<sup>6</sup>For a contrasting pattern, described for Antiguans and American Blacks, see Reisman 1974 and Abrahams 1974.

<sup>7</sup>See Duncan 1974, Goffmann 1974 and Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974. For examples in another Philippine language, see Hall 1987.

<sup>8</sup>A distinction is made here between 'conversation' as a unit of speech activity that has openings and closings, and patterns of 'conversational exchange', which I use synonymously with dialogic interaction and conversational activity. Kallahan do not make this distinction, and both the genre of conversation and the social interactional aspects of dialogue are called *tabtabal*. However, as presented in Chapter Six, the social interaction involved in conversation is frequently described as "play," "visiting" or "entertainment."

<sup>9</sup>When *di*, *hi* or *ni* follows a word ending in a vowel, it reduces to a single consonant (see Appendix).

<sup>10</sup>*Lamdang* refers to food eaten outside of a main meal, without an accompanying starchy staple such as rice, sweet potatoes or taro but usually with a beverage. At feasts, *lamdang* will often consist of boiled marrow or choice cuts of grilled or boiled meat, first served to prominent guests and especially old men. In such contexts the term may be used metaphorically for 'old men's food' and for festive food in general. Literally, the sentence says, "You eat too much meat, but your words don't stick to anything."

## Chapter Eleven

### Conclusion

This study has been an exploration of relationships among language, culture, and society in a Kallahan community. A search for social and cultural correlates for the Kallahan language began this work. It concludes with the isolation of two dominant and contrasting patterns of speech--directive speech and conversational speech--that cut across formal and everyday communicative interaction. In this final essay, I would like to draw together the different threads that run through the study, by showing how the cultural distinction underlying this contrast is reflected at various levels of the Kallahan language-culture-society relationship.

This tripartite relationship is presented here in terms of the users and uses (Halliday et al. 1964) of language. It is examined through the speech community first as an areal, geographical, and historical entity, and second, as representing communicative resources employed by interacting groups of people who share rules for conducting and interpreting speech. In the task of accounting for these two aspects of the speech community, this study has focused on social and cultural boundaries, particularly on their historical context and their cognitive and social-interactional content.

The ethnohistorical material and the written record of the early exploration of the southern Cordillera illustrate the interplay of ecological, geographical, demographic, and political factors in

the formation of "peoples" in this region and in the transformation of social, linguistic and cultural discontinuities into "ethnic" lines. Kallahan folk ethnological and ethnolinguistic categories depict an *Igullut* cultural entity encompassing the linguistically closely-related *Kallahan*, *Iballuy*, *I'uwak* speech communities and a fourth, linguistically more divergent, *Kankanaey* speech community. The salience of this ascriptive grouping is justified by the relatively recent rise of ethnic boundaries in the southern Cordillera, which came about through gradual but major changes in their ecology with the introduction of wet rice cultivation. At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Spanish and American administrative policies delineated the "tribal" divisions of this territory and helped consolidate local ethnic identities.

The cognitive aspects of these boundaries are reinforced by the nature of the bilingual interaction across these language lines. Described in this work as "dual-lingualism," this kind of interaction involves each speaker using his own home language in informal exchanges with people of different linguistic background. It is a linguistic situation that reflects fairly fluid interaction across linguistic lines, for it heavily depends on widespread passive bilingualism, and indicates common positive attitudes toward learning neighbouring languages, particularly their lexicon. As a communicative strategy, the major impulse as well as the effect of dual-lingualism is the "undercommunication" of cultural distinctions between groups of people, thus underlining shared values and interests. The historical as well as the social-interactional background to

linguistic diffusion and convergence in this highland area emphasizes the difficulty of drawing clear boundaries around "languages" and "cultures" in this region or of making evaluations of "mutual intelligibility" solely based on linguistic data.

The analysis of the second facet of a speech community--as comprising "ways of speaking"--similarly proceeded in terms of cognitive and social-interactional boundaries. A principal source of data consisted of normative and interpretive comments from informants about 'speech' and 'language', including their evaluations of the functions of speech and of what is "appropriate" speech. Another source of data may be broadly described as "metacommunicative," in that it comprises the means by which speech activities are "framed" verbally and nonverbally. One of my major aims has been to discover from this material the cultural themes and underlying values that cut across all kinds of communicative interaction.

The primarily ethnographic analysis of this work concentrates on the three formal speech events that Kallahan recognize-- *bunung* 'invocations', *ba'liw* 'sung poetry', and *palawag* 'speeches'--and examines them as part of the range of sociolinguistic resources available to Kallahan speakers. Each of these forms of speech are described in terms of the various aspects of their formality, including relevant linguistic characteristics, the differences in their temporal and spatial contexts, the relative focus on personal vs. positional identities, and the metacommunicative framing of their performances.

A major determinant of the formal character of these speech events lies in the explicit marking of their occurrences, in the way

their settings in time and place are discussed and prepared for, in the judgments people make regarding their performance, and in performers' and audiences' comments to indicate the beginnings and ends of performances. A large portion of this "talk about talk" that delimits the boundaries of a speech event is primarily about what kind of activity is taking place or about what the performer is achieving when he speaks.

Another kind of metacommunicative marking may be verbal or nonverbal, and it is nonreferential, in that it pertains not to propositional meanings, but to aspects of the speech event that make it a form of social activity. The greater part of the discussion of metacommunication underscores the emergent properties of performances, by examining them as social events that are constituted through the interaction of performers and audiences, as they pursue the goals they have come to a performance for.

Traditional Kallahan performances of 'invocations' and 'sung poetry' aptly display the contribution to the construction of a communicative context by this performer-audience exchange. By going beyond the texts of prayers and songs and paying close attention to the content and goals of interactions between performers and their audience, it becomes possible to delineate the roles of these speech events as sociolinguistic resources in a community. Both kinds of social acts depend on "dialogic" interaction, in the first case involving prestations and appeals to supernaturals and in the second, involving reiterations of group solidarity and other traditional sentiments among kinsmen. I point out that it is in the course of mutually coordinated exchanges of *ba'liw* and the participation of

audiences in their development, that it becomes possible to offset the authoritative content of songs and the regulative connotations of their performance situations.

'Sung poetry' contrasts with 'speeches' not only in the extent to which this dialogic exchange occurs within them, but also with respect to the fundamental premises that underlie their performances. A recapitulation of some of the principal points raised in this work will be presented here to further clarify the bases for the differences between traditional formal speech and "modern" oratory. The grammar of verb stems and their affixed forms yields a fundamental opposition between focused, deliberate, goal-oriented action and unfocused, less deliberate action in which goal is deemphasized or depreciated. The first meaning is given by an unaffixed verb and coincides with its imperative. The second meaning is given by the CVC-reduplication of verb stems, and is described here as the grammatical category of 'diminution, pretense or indirection.' This affix appears frequently in children's and women's speech and is stereotypically associated with play activity or with a modest, euphemistic style.

Folk linguistic discussions of 'speech' evolve a corresponding distinction between verbal activities in which there is increased specificity of goal (or increased consequentiality for its actors) and those which are neutral or less explicit with respect to its goal or outcome or in which these ends are depreciated or denied. This contrast is inherent in the distinction between the stem -tebal- 'to speak to', which also carries imperative meaning, and its reduplicated form, tabtabal 'to chat with, have a conversation with'.

In Chapter Six, I have shown that a division between regulative and generally metacommunicative functions of speech lends support to this semantic distinction. At the end of Chapter Ten, I demonstrated how the idealized patterns of directive speech and conversation speech are expressions of this basic cultural classification as well.

The semantic dimension at the base of this opposition between directive and conversational patterns has social-interactional and strategic implications. For one, this meaning underlies Kallahan ideals of indirection in speech and a cultural focus on the avoidance or deflection of conflict in social life in general. In describing 'conversation' as an exemplary mode of interaction, Kallahan invoke a whole range of interactional and metacommunicative features of this speech form that enable speakers to avoid confrontation, to maintain autonomy, and to exploit the contact functions of speech. Furthermore, in describing performances of 'sung poetry' as 'conversation', Kallahan appeal to attributes of what Bakhtin (1968 [1965]:10) calls 'carnival', which vitally implies solidarity and depends on the suspension of hierarchy and authority relations.

The etymology of *tabtabal* ('conversation, discussion, to talk to') gains much significance in this discussion for two reasons: first, the reduplicative affix of 'diminution' gives it the meaning of 'small talk' in both the English and Kallahan senses of light, inconsequential conversation. Second, the same affix has the meaning of 'pretense', and brings us to the social interactive aspects of *tabtabal* that equate it with 'play' ('ayyam) and sociability in Kallahan thought. The Kallahan concept of 'ayyam refers to all expressive behavior in which contact or phatic functions have

priority, as opposed to that which overtly indicates regulative goals.

In a discussion of the concept of 'play' in quite a different context, Abrahams (1974:245) points out that play relies on the distinction between it and the real or "serious." Its success depends on a blurring of the line between play and seriousness. For the Kallahan, the obscuring of this boundary in formal events takes the form of conferring on "serious" (directive) speech the semblance of 'play'. In accordance with the ideal of indirection and of nonconfrontation, speech that is not 'conversation', i.e., traditional formal speech, is "modelled upon" (Geertz 1975b) conversation by the imposition of a dialogic form on its performance.

As a study of boundaries at a number of levels of the language-culture-society relationship, this work has also dealt with how these limits are crossed. I have referred to the discussions of "breakthroughs" into performance, the "breaking of frame" in interactional descriptions of speech events, and the extent to which frames are manipulated creatively through speech. Such marginal acts result in "sanctioned deviations", including exchanges of insults at feasts, *ba'liw* being sung as if they were 'speeches', and 'oratory' that has a high personal content. These in themselves make up another dimension to the "play" at feasts.

A second kind of boundary crossing takes place in Kallahan interactions with other Igullut of different linguistic backgrounds. Here, dual-lingual interactions work on the same strategies as those employed in "playful" speech, in that they call attention away from

linguistic and cultural aspects that underline differences and instead highlight shared values and motivations.

In the table below, I briefly summarize the archetypical cultural features that have been discussed so far and that define the ideal types represented by *tebal* and *tabtabal*. Here I expand on the conclusions of the last chapter, which dealt with more broadly social dimensions, and refer to a) grammar, b) norms, c) speech patterning, d) stereotypical speaking roles, e) interpretation for social interaction, f) metaphorical extensions, g) folk ethnological category and h) strategy for inter-group interaction.

<i>Tebal</i>	<i>Tabtabal</i>
a) Grammatically unmarked; unaffixed stem used in imperatives	CVC-reduplication 'diminution, pretense'
b) authoritative, confrontational	non-confrontational
c) formal speech genres	conversation
d) men's speech	women's/children's speech
e) consequential, "serious"	"play" ('ayyam)
f) marriage (sexual relations)	"visiting"
g) non- <i>Igullut</i> ( <i>Illuku</i> )	<i>Igullut</i> , kinsman
h) use of outsider language or <i>lingua franca</i>	own language (dual-lingual interaction)

In pointing out how the ideal patterns of directive speech and conversation are mirrored in the semantic and grammatical contrasts between *tebal* and *tabtabal*, I have located a congruence between cultural and social categories on the one hand and language on the other. However, this picture remains incomplete unless, as Sherzer

(1987a:300) stresses, we can show how "language use in discourse creates, recreates and modifies culture." In this work I have shown how grammar generates a semantic contrast whose cultural associations are manifested at the level of discourse. The grammatical category of depreciation and pretense is actualized in Kallahan discourse in which the metacommunicative framing of conversational patterns takes place. A second level to this mediatory relationship of discourse appears when the regulative function of formal speech in *ba'liw* is dissimulated through the adoption of a conversational pattern in its performance.

The conceptualization of 'sung poetry' as a speaking exchange has received much attention in this work. *Ba'liw* constitutes the most salient application of a conversational model to a formal speech event in Kallahan linguistic culture. This modelling builds upon the minimal requirements for sociable and reciprocal intercourse in Kallahan culture: a social structure that involves a speaker, an addressee and turn-taking conventions that govern the interaction. In addition, modelling relies on a distinction the Kallahan make between the social interactional aspect of conversation (variously described as "play," or "visiting") and its discourse aspect (*tabtabal*). In performing *ba'liw* as if it were a conversation, it becomes possible to temper its directive message and to set aside the hierarchical attributes of formal situations involving old people's speech. As a cultural form that exemplifies the resolution to the underlying tension between play and "seriousness," the *ba'liw* has emerged as a cogent symbol of Kallahan identity.

Comparisons between 'sung poetry' and modern Kallahan 'oratory' provide insights into some major foci of change in Kallahan culture. As speech events, *ba'liw* contrast most sharply with *palawag* with respect to the metacommunicative devices by which their performances are framed and to the fundamental ground rules for their performance. Modern 'speeches' are always "serious:" they do not partake of the dialogic structure that is the basis for 'play'. The major metacommunicative features associated with 'speeches', including 'program' formats, masters of ceremonies, standing in front of audiences rather than being seated among them, and code-switching to Ilokano, all project basic meanings of authority and rank.

However, it is in Kallahan evaluations of the performance and function of 'speeches' that we find the more far-reaching implications for cultural change. As Bauman and Sherzer (1974:89) point out, community ground rules of performance "represent the means for establishing the continuity between speaking and other forms of expressive behavior." In the demand for technical and "straight" speech in modern oratory, modern Kallahan norms are closely similar to those M. Rosaldo (1973) describes for the Ilongot. Her study proposes that the shift in attitudes of many young Ilongot toward the content and performance of oratory is not a simple rejection of traditional attitudes toward speech but is motivated by more wide-ranging changes in thinking about understanding and truth. Kallahan characterizations of their corresponding objection to 'play' in formal performances project a similar change in cultural values: in Bakhtin's (1968 [1965]:11) more dramatic terms, modern Kallahan norms portray a refusal to acknowledge "the freedom and equality of

persons" as well as "the sense of the gay relativity of prevailing truths and authorities."

Rosaldo's study links the indirect 'crooked' speech style of traditional Ilongot oratory, characterized by linguistic elaboration and supported by a "reflective interest in rhetoric," with "indigenous egalitarian norms." On the other hand, the public use of 'straight speech' is associated with "externally imposed authoritarian relationships (1973:193)," which in modern Ilongot life mean the missionaries' God, science and government armies. Her (1973:222) definition of egalitarian societies includes those "in which no one can command another's interest and attention, let alone enforce his compliance."

In this study, I have shown that the opposition between "seriousness" and "play" or between directive and conversational speech, generates an overall semantic structure in the Kallahan speaking domain that enables me to posit a Kallahan speech community. In addition to this semantic feature, I have discussed three other cultural aspects of this speech community: normative, social-interactional, and cognitive. The semantic dimension is embodied in communication styles that reflect fundamental Kallahan values favoring the avoidance of confrontation in interpersonal relations. Apart from its social-interactional and rhetorical bases, this underlying meaning can be shown to emerge from Kallahan folk categories of 'speech' and 'peoples'. From the Kayapa point of view, this "way of speaking" coincides with the area of dual-lingualism, with the Igullut area, and overwhelmingly ratifies a sociolinguistic area that encompasses the southern Cordillera.

In examining the continuing interactions between contexts of performance, performers, and community ground rules of speech performance it is possible to isolate some focal areas in Kallahan cultural change. One of the repercussions of modern Kallahan demands for changes to a "straight" (*diritsu*) speech style is the more explicit marking of the distinctions between 'public' and 'private' events, topics and places; and between 'formal' and 'informal' performances. The relative definitions of 'privacy' and the expressions of formality as a continuum that I describe at the beginning of this work have less validity for many young Kallahan. This insistence on more formal definitions of publicity and formality is accompanied by greater consciousness of the strategic use of positional identities in formal as well as informal interaction.

The associations of these explicit discriminations with modern Ilokano- and western-derived ideas of rank and authority appear to point to an accompanying affirmation among Kallahan of their place in Philippine national life, albeit as a low-articulating minority group. Because traditional ground rules for performance are so fundamental to Kallahan images of their identity as *Igullut*, it is possible that modern Kallahan also repudiate the fuzzy boundaries (and therefore the potential for cooperation) between themselves and other *Igullut*, by rejecting the flexibility of communicative norms and the possibility of 'play' in expressive behavior. One area of learning and interaction that supports this trend involves Kallahan verbal repertoires and their attitudes toward bilingualism and dual-lingualism. Compared to their elders, young peoples' linguistic resources, both oral and written, increasingly involve English,

Tagalog and more active and extensive bilingualism in Ilokano. The new generation also acquires its bilingualism primarily in formal contexts at school, in church, and in government offices.

## APPENDIX

### I. Kayapa Kallahan Names for Acts of Speech

The following is a preliminary list of Kallahan speech acts. Synonyms and explanations of meanings of affixed forms or metaphorical usages appear in parentheses.

A. One set of speech acts are formulaic in character and are "keyed" (Bauman 1977: 15) by special codes, paralinguistic features, and other aspects of performance. Kallahan describe such speech acts as having "special ways of saying" (*way bulikahantu*).

A1. The following subset involves supernatural addressees:

'abig/butbut 'to curse, swear' (e.g. *Kabutbutka* "I curse you;"  
*Manhehhelungkad namag'anan* "May you walk aimlessly in  
waterless places").

'uwag 'the shouted response from the audience to a *la'tuk*  
(q.v.).

*ba'uh/'ibayuh* 'to threaten another with supernatural punishment'  
(e.g. *Hi'gama 'aggew, hi'gama bulan...* "You sun, you  
moon...").

*bindisyun* 'blessing' (Sp. *bendicion*) (e.g. *May, pehed 'i*  
*pan'akkadan mu et pehed kami ngun tayyananmu*. "Go, return  
safely and may we whom you leave behind be safe as well")

*burung/baki* 'invocation to supernaturals

*duwit* (lit., 'to touch lightly with a finger') 'to pronounce the marriage of a couple'; the invocation to pronounce the marriage of a couple. This brief ritual involves an older kinsman touching the knees of the couple with a finger dipped in clean water and saying, *Duwwiten taka. Unnungen muyya danuma mali'naha liteng.* "I touch you (with water). May you be like this clear water")

*hangba* 'to swear an oath' (associated with ordeals; e.g. *Anggen hangba'an*... "I'll swear on it..." ; *Kenen tu'ak ni kilat*... "The lightning will strike me (ie., if it is I who did it...") ; *Mabayyang 'i baklangku*..."My body will be filled with sores (i.e., if I am to blame)."

*kararag* (Ilk.) 'Christian prayer'

*la'tuk* 'the blessing addressed by a religious specialist to a person of status in the course of dancing during a prestige feast' (e.g. *La'tukan taka pangpanguluwan. Unbaknabaknang ka 'et ma'ubanan ka 'et 'ingadngadnan daka ni 'apum.* "I bless you, old man. You will become wealthy, you will have white hair and your descendants will repeat your name.").

*madmad* 'to address an offering to supernaturals'

*peltik* 'a libation; to address drink to supernaturals'

A2. The following subset includes speech acts that do not ordinarily involve supernatural addressees:

*ba'liw* 'extemporaneous sung verse'  
*bunbuntiya* 'riddle'  
*dayyumti* 'type of traditional song'  
*kanhiyun* 'modern songs'  
*palawag/dihkulhu* (Sp. *discurso*) 'oration'

B. A second set of speech events are not formulaic or performative.

B1. One subset consists of "directives" (see M. Rosaldo 1982). Very roughly, these are speech acts intended to influence a person's behavior or to cause him to respond.

'*aluk* 'to cajole, console someone'  
'*ariglu* (Sp. *arreglo*) 'to settle a dispute amicably'  
'*awit/ayag* 'to summon or invite someone'  
'*eleg/ka'leg* 'to prohibit someone from doing something'  
*baga* 'to order someone, make a request, ask a question'; (see  
    *haludhud*, Ilk.)  
*bilin/tugun* 'to give counsel'  
*dagdag* 'to urge someone to hurry'  
*haludhud* (Ilk.) 'to ask a question formally (e.g. at a  
    'meeting')  
*heg'ang* 'to reprimand someone'  
*hingil* 'to nag, demand something repeatedly'  
*humlek* 'to accuse someone'  
*hu'ya* 'to confuse someone with irrelevant or irrational  
    comments'  
*kalun* 'to persuade someone'; ('to persuade X to marry Y')  
*kedaw* 'to ask for an object, service'

*peked* 'to urge someone to stay'  
*tebal* 'to talk about something to someone'; ('*ittebalan* 'to recommend someone to another')  
*ti'bay* 'to greet, acknowledge someone's presence'  
*tudu* 'to teach, instruct, point out something to someone'  
*tungtung* 'to examine and discuss a dispute with the purpose of finding a resolution'

B2. A second subset of non-formulaic speech acts consist of those intended to assert or to inform. They approximate Searle's (1976) "assertives" and "declaratives" and do not carry implications of a response required from the addressee.

'*abig* 'to make threats'  
'*andi'an* 'to refuse, to say "Andi" ('no')'  
'*ebah* 'to answer, respond'; (*hungbat*, Ilk.) '  
'*ehel/hapit* 'to say something'; (*dakahappihappita* 'to speak of someone repeatedly, gossip')  
'*ihtudy*a (Sp. *historia*) 'to tell a story, a chronological account'; (also, '*um'umat*)  
'*ikuwan* 'to say'  
'*isplikar* (Sp. *explicar*) 'to explain in detail, to translate'  
'*itek* 'to brag, boast, taunt'  
'*uwenen* 'to agree, acquiesce, say "*Uwen*" ('yes')'  
*baliw* 'to side with, defend someone'  
*bunget/'angat* 'to express anger'  
*diba* 'to recite traditional knowledge, especially genealogies, ritual procedure, mythological background'

*dihkulhu/palawag* (Sp. *discurso*) 'to address an audience, to orate'

*ha'ut/'uwap* 'to lie'

*henggit* 'to tease, insult another lightly'

*hudhud* 'to explain, give an account, to apologize'

*hulug/'angit* 'to kid, joke, amuse'

*humang* 'to criticize, demean, belittle someone'

*kapeh* 'to taunt, attack another verbally' (Stereotypical examples: *Ma'nuy kakanmu...* "You eat too much (and do nothing in return)."

*lamga* 'to call attention to something embarrassing'

*pakyaw* 'to ingratiate oneself with hints, flattery'

*ta'del/hagut* 'to attest to the good character of someone'

*tawweyan* 'to deny knowledge of something; to say "Tawwey" ('I don't know'))'

*tulag* 'to enter into an agreement'

*tungtung* 'to convey information in a deliberate manner'

*tuntun* 'to talk sequentially about details of the past; to trace genealogies'

*tuyu* 'to reject (something presented)'

*yamyam* 'to scold, berate, lecture'

## II. TEXT CONVENTIONS

The glosses for each orthographic unit of text are presented with the following conventions. These conventions cover most of the more common representational problems posed in the texts by Kallahan morphophonemics.

1) The component glosses of each unit are separated by a plus (+) sign.

2). Affixed stems, including verbs, nouns and adjectives, will show the affix or affixes first, separated by a single parens from the gloss for the stem.

3). Monosyllabic particles and enclitics. The following monosyllabic morphemes reduce to a single consonant following forms ending in a vowel:

- (1) *ni* (*ni<sub>1</sub>*) = -n (linker)
- (2) *'et* = -t (coordinate particle)
- (3) *ku* = -k (pronoun, 1M) (See pronoun list below)
- (4) *mu* = -m (pronoun, 2M) (See pronoun list below)
- (5) *nen* = -n (substantive marker)
- (6) *di* = -d (substantive marker)
- (7) *hi* = -h (substantive marker)
- (8) *'i* = -y (substantive marker)
- (9) *ni* (*ni<sub>2</sub>*) = -n (substantive marker)

The post-vocalic alternants are written as part of a preceding unit. Thus, /*tallu 'i barutu*/ = *talluy barutu*, but *pehed 'i barutu*.

4. Clitics. Single syllable enclitic pronouns are bound to the preceding or following verb or noun, and polysyllabic pronouns are written separately. Thus, '*abungtu*; '*abungmu*; but '*abung tayu*; and *nakmangalla*, but *kitu mangalla*.

5. Alternative meanings and other explanatory notes are enclosed in square brackets.

III. Abbreviations for Word Classes:

B, ritual usage

C, coordinating particle (e.g. 'iy, 'et)

Ex, exclamatory particle (e.g. *wey!* 'apaw!)

F, introducer (e.g. *yii...*, 'a, *men*)

In, interrogative particle (e.g. *hipa*, *tu*, *tuwa*)

L, linking particle (e.g. *ya*, *ni*)

N, negative particle (e.g. 'apil, 'andi, 'aliwwa)

Q, quotative particle (e.g. *kunu*)

P, particle without gloss whose meaning is  
incorporated in the translation.

R, reduplication

Su, subordinating particle (e.g. *nem*, *nu*)

D, demonstrative particle

ED, emphatic demonstrative particle

ExD, exclamatory demonstrative particle

S, substantive marker

St, substantive marker, topic

ES, emphatic substantive marker

Lo, locative markers

LoP, locative particles

Po, possessive marker

EPo, emphatic possessive marker

PoP, Possessive particle

EPoP, emphatic possessive particle

Pr, presence marker

PrD, presence demonstrative particles

M, minimal membership ( $M/\bar{M}$ ) (for pronouns)

1, inclusion of speaker

2, inclusion of addressee

1,2 inclusion of speaker and addressee

3, no inclusion of either speaker or addressee

#### IV. Deixis: Personal Pronouns.

There are three sets of personal pronouns: one set of long pronouns (Set I) and two sets (Sets II and III) of short, clitic pronouns. The members of Set I occur as the subject of passive sentences, as pre-verb topic and as pronominal predicate. When preceded by *nən*, this pronoun functions as an indirect object or location.

The members of Set II are possessive pronouns and occur as the agent of passive sentences.

The members of Set III occur as the subject of active and stative sentences.

The glosses given below follow Conklin (1962:135, Conklin 1989): M, minimal membership; S, inclusion of speaker; and A, inclusion of addressee. In the lists below, *nak-* in both Sets II and III is a pre-verb form and *-ak* and *-ku* occur after the verb. All other short nominatives may occur in either position in relation to a verb.

M (minimal)                    M̄ (nonminimal)

**Set I**

SĀ 1	<i>hi'gak</i>	<i>hi'gami</i>
ĀS 2	<i>hi'gam</i>	<i>hi'gayu</i>
SA 1,2	<i>hi'gata</i>	<i>hi'gatayu</i>
ĀS 3	<i>hi'gatu</i>	<i>hi'gada</i>

**Set II**

SĀ 1	<i>nak- , -ku (-k)</i>	<i>mi</i>
ĀS 2	<i>ma (-m)</i>	<i>yu</i>
SA 1,2	<i>ta</i>	<i>tayu</i>
ĀS 3	<i>tu</i>	<i>da</i>

**Set III**

SĀ	<i>nak- , -ak</i>	<i>kami</i>
ĀS	<i>ka</i>	<i>kayu</i>
SA	<i>kita</i>	<i>kihu/kitu</i>
ĀS	[zero]	<i>'ida, (-dda)</i>

**v. Deixis: Demonstratives**

Demonstratives are differentiated according to whether the object referred to is near the speaker, near the addressee, or distant from both. The lists below show submorphemic units *-ya-*, *-ta-*, and *-ma-*, respectively, associated with this set of contrasts. Another set of particles, consisting of *hu*, *hutta*, *huttan*, *nunta*, and *nuntan* are neutral with regard to position of speaker or addressee.

Six other submorphemic units may be analyzed from the following lists. They are listed below with their meanings:

'i (substantive)

ni (possessive)

di (locative)

hiya (emphatic)

mma (exclamatory)

'id (presence)

"Markers" are grammatically differentiated from "particles" in that the former occur before noun phrases, while the latter substitute for nominatives and may constitute pronominal predicates.

The abbreviations used in the following are: SĀ, 'near speaker'; ŠA, 'near addressee'; ŠĀ, 'far from both speaker and addressee'. Forms in parentheses are post-vocalic alternants.

#### D, demonstrative particles

(SĀ) 'iyay (-yyay)

(ŠA) 'itan (-ttan)

(ŠĀ) 'iman (-mman)

#### ED, emphatic demonstrative particles [including clitic forms]

huttan

(SĀ) hiyayyay, hayyay, hi'aday ['ayya]

(ŠA) hiyattan, hattan, hi'attan ['attan]

(ŠĀ) hiyamman, hamman, hi'amman ['amman]

#### ExD, exclamatory demonstrative particles

(SĀ) 'iyamma

(ŠA) tamma

(ŠĀ) mamma

St, substantive markers, topic

*hi* (-*h*) [preceding personal names and titles]

*'i* (-*y*)

(SĀ) *'iya* (-*yya*)

(SĀ) *'ita* (-*tta*)

(SĀ) *'ima* (-*mma*)

ES, emphatic substantive markers

*hu, hutta*

(SĀ) *hiyayya/ hayya*

(SĀ) *hiyattha/hatta*

(SĀ) *hiyamma/hamma*

Lo, locative markers

*di* (-*d*)

(SĀ) *diya* (-*dya*)

(SĀ) *dita* (-*dta*)

(SĀ) *dima* (-*dma*)

LoP, locative particles

(SĀ) *diyay* (-*dyay*)

(SĀ) *ditan* (-*dtan*)

(SĀ) *diman* (-*dman*)

Po, possessive markers; also substantive markers, non-topic

ni (-n)

nen (-n) [preceding personal names or titles]

(SĀ) niya (-nya)

(SĀ) nita (-nta)

(SĀ) nima (-nma)

EPo, emphatic possessive marker: *nunta*

PoP, possessive particles

(SĀ) niyay (-nyay)

(SĀ) nitan (-ntan)

(SĀ) niman (-nman)

EPoP, emphatic possessive particle: *nuntan*

Pr, presence markers

wada, wa

(SĀ) 'idya

(SĀ) 'idtan

(SĀ) 'idman/'igman

PrD, presence demonstrative particles

wada

(SĀ) 'idya'i

(SĀ) 'idtani

(SĀ) 'idmani/'igmani

VI. Partial list of bunung vocabulary

Colloquial speech	-	<i>bunung</i> vocabulary and gloss
'abung	-	baley; ('house')
'ala	-	la'baw ('get')
'anhakit ni 'ulu	-	'inulu ('headache')
'anhakit ni wakeh	-	ginitang ('pain around the waist')
animal	-	matannudan, maybiyakkian ('large livestock')
'apu	-	'ammed ('ancestor')
'ibbunung	-	tandengen ('to summon the spirits')
'ihhingpet	-	'ihhaliput ('to arrange in place; to make comfortable')
'ikeleng	-	'ihu'ut ('to bring into effect')
'inum'an	-	habal, kinnaba, killaba ('swidden')
'unbangun	-	'iba'wat ('to arise')
'untaba	-	'unbuginek ('to grow fat')
'untuluk	-	'umabulut ('to agree')
bikkaten	-	palga'en ('to invite to a feast')
bu'lay	-	dallin ('land, house lot')
buki	-	tinangatang ('meat')
butbutug	-	dinuldul, 'amulih, giggigellan, babuy, mapakkan ('pig')
hakit, degeh	-	dinggeh ('pain, illness')
han'ahawa	-	hambaley ('spouse pair')
linawa	-	'alimaddu ('soul')
lubung	-	kaluta'an ('earth, world')
magabay	-	malyad, malaha ('abundant')

makitetbal	-	makitanud ('to negotiate')
manuk	-	megmeggan ('chicken')
mapungngah	-	madammut ('to cause to disappear')
mata'weng	-	man'amunganga ('to be confused')
naitipuy	-	naidi'mul ('to assault')
nga'aw	-	lepad, pu'ug, da'eg ('misfortune, disaster')
tapey	-	bahi; bubud, tebul ('rice beer')
tu'u	-	'ippugaw ('person, people')

VII. La'tuk text

1. *La'tukan taka kalading.*

-an)+la'tuk 1M+2M spirit-of-dead

'I pronounce *la'tuk* for you, spirit of the dead.'

[Beginning just before the first line ends, the audience responds with a loud long drawn-out call of "Uway, 'uway, huy, huy!." Then the priest continues.]

2. *Pantayatayawka Batu.*

pan- )+R)CVC:dance+2M Batu

'Dance, Batu.'

3. *Di baley ni 'anakmu 'iy 'apum.*

Lo house Po child+2M C descendants+2M

'At your children's and grandchildren's house.'

4. *Men 'ipalyahmuy binaknang kinadangiyen.*

F 'i-)+hand-down+2M+St -in-)+ wealth -in-..an)+honor

'Give them wealth and honor.'

5. *Hiyay way pantayyawanyu,*

so+St Pr+St pan-...-an)+dance+2M

'So you will have occasion to dance,'

6. *Pan'innumanyu ni mali'neng ni bahi*

pan-...-an)+drink+2M S clear L rice-beer

'Occasion to drink clear rice beer.'

7. *Itibewyu kadiy tukapabaknang 'i 'anaktu*

'i-)+look+2M now-St 3M+ka-..pa-)+rich St children+3M

'You look now at him who makes his children wealthy.'

8. *Et timmayaw 'iy nan'inum 'iy dimmul dul.*

C -imm-)+dance C nan-)+drink C -imm-)+received-pig-

sacrifice [B]

'For they danced and drank and received pig sacrifices.'

9. *Hu binaknang 'et 'i 'ippalyahyud*

ES -in-)+wealth C St 'i-)+hand-down+2M+S

'anakyu 'iy 'apuyu

children+2M C descendants+2M

'It is wealth that you present to your offspring and  
descendants.'

10. *Hiyay way pantayyawanyu.*

so+St Pr+St pan...-an)+dance+2M

'So you will have occasion to dance.'

11. *Way pan'innumanyun mali'neng ni bahi*

Pr+St pan...-an)+drink+2M+S ma-)+clear L rice-beer

'There will be occasion to drink clear rice beer.'

12. *Pakiduldulanyu ni dinuldul.*

paki...-an)+receive+2M S -in-)+animal-offerings [B]

'There will be a place for sharing in offerings.'

13. *Ihhangabyuy 'anakyud 'awwalawal.*

'i-)+face+2M+St children+2M+Lo bright-side

'Give your children long life. (Lit., Make your children face the brightness).'

I bless you, spirit of the dead! Dance, Batu, at your children's and grandchildren's house. Give them wealth and honor, so you will have occasion to dance and to drink rice beer. Look at those who help their descendants become wealthy, for they dance, they drink and receive pig offerings. It is wealth that you hand down to your descendants, so you can dance, drink rice beer and receive offerings. Give your children long life.

VIII. Liyaw text

Part I.

Yi ma'alla        kunuh Kabigat    ni han'agin        Ballituk.

F ma-) +R+take    Q+St    Kabigat    L han-) +sibling+S    Ballituk

We are told to choose Kabigat and his brother Ballituk.

Nangamag        'idad        dallindad        Liwah    ni 'abungda.

naM-) +make    3M+Lo        land+3M+Lo        Liwah    S    house-3M

They made a house on their land in Liwah.

Nanhabet        'ida.

naN-) +prepare-wood    3M

They prepared wood.

Men diman kunu 'iy        dakakednga.

F        LoP        Q        C        3M+ka-...-a) +finish

And then it is said they finished it there.

Kan        kunun        biyaw        Kabigat 'iy,        "Kuy        'alayu

Said    Q+Po        spirit        Kabigat    C        1M+say+Sc        take+2M

dedan        'i        babuyyu        'attan        'et        liyawuy        'abungyu

P        St        pig+2M        D        C        liyaw+2M+St        house+2M

'et        hiyay        'ag        kayu        'unhakit.

C        so+St        N        2M        'un-) +ill

They say that biyaw Kabigat said, "I say take that pig and do the liyaw for your house so you don't become ill."

Hiyay 'ag kayu mapiggut.

So+St N 2M ma-)+thin

So you don't grow thin

Hiyamman kunu law 'iy kanda kunu 'iy daka'al'a  
ED Q now C say+3M Q C 3M+ka-...-a)+get

hutta babuydan 'amulihamman.

ES boar+3M+L pig[B]+ED

And then it is said they went to get their pig.

Tandengendah Amkidul, Bagillatan di kabuniyan  
-en)+recite+3M+St Amkidul Bagillatan Lo kabuniyan

'et hiya 'et kunuy nanliyawanda.

C thus C Q+St naN-...-an)+liyaw+3M

They called upon Amkidul and Bagillatan in Kabuniyan and that was how they performed the liyaw .

Liniyawda hu 'abungdan 'immagdan  
-in-)+liyaw+3M St house+3M+L -imm-)+make+3M+L  
tinabla.

planks

They did the liyaw for their house that they made of planks.

Man diman kunu muwan 'iy kamakdeng muwan 'iy  
F D Q again C ka-,ma-)+finish again C

hegpenda            'iy        magabay        hu        tu'u    'iy  
-en)+enter+3M      C        ma-)+prolific ES        people C

magabay        hu        gamengda.

ma-)+fertile ES        herds+3M

And there again it is said they completed it and they entered  
the house and the people were prolific and their herds were abundant.

Yi 'ag law        ma'dep        hu        'apuyda.

F    N    now    ma-)+extinguish St        fire-3M

Their fires would never be extinguished.

Man diman kunu muwan        kanda        kunu        muwan    'iy, "Tuy  
F        D        Q        again        say+3M    Q        again        C        In+St

kadalladallangan        'apuy 'ayya?"

ka-...-an)+CVCV+blaze        fire+D

Then again they said, "Where is that fire that is blazing?"

Hiyamman kunu kanda        kunu, "Amtam 'apuy ni Amkidul?"

ED        Q        say+3M    Q        know+2M        fire Po        Amkidul

Then they said, "Don't you know that that is the fire of  
Amkidul?"

Man diman kunu huttan 'iy        kanda        kunu 'iy, "Liyawyu  
F        D        Q        ED        C        say+3M    Q        C        liyaw+2M

'et tep wada man 'i 'illayun... waday naki'magyun  
C for PrM P St -in-)+get PrM+St naki-)+make+2M+L

kinan ni kidul 'iy 'inhakem ni Amkidul.  
-in-)+eat S thunder C 'in-)+defile S Amkidul

Then they said after this, "Perform the liyaw for you have taken...you have used wood that has been eaten by thunder, has been defiled by Amkidul.

Inhakem ni Kabuniyan.

'in-)+defile S Kabuniyan

Defiled by Kabuniyan.

Inhakem ni Bagillatan di Kabuniyan.

'in-)+defile S Bagillatan Lo Kabuniyan

Defiled by Bagillatan in Kabuniyan.

## Part II

Nem 'idya 'a liyyawenda 'et nem way  
Su PrM L -en)+liyaw+3M C Su PrM+St

nangituwenandan pu'ug ni 'abung.  
nangi---an)+build+3M+S misfortune Po house

But here now they perform the liyaw if in case they have built this house to cause misfortune.

Waday nangituwenandan da'eg ni  
PrM+St nangi---an)+build+3M+S disaster[B] Po

'abung 'amman.

house ED

In case they have built it to cause disaster.

Idya 'a liyyawen daka nem way  
PrM L -en)+liyaw 3M-2M Su PrM+St

naiha'dantu

nai---an)+construct+it

And now they perform the liyaw for you in case it has been  
improperly constructed.

Ag 'et magullid 'i hi'gadan hampangabungan  
N C ma-)scabies St 3M+L hampaM---an)+house

'iy 'ag 'ida madiggah 'iy magabay 'et 'i  
C N 3M ma-)+illness C ma-)+fertile C St

pakipakkanda 'iy pakimegmegda 'iy hi'gada  
paki-)+feed+3M C paki-)+chicken-feed+3M C 3M

'unbuginek 'ida tep 'idyan linyaw daka nem  
'un-)+healthy 3M because PrM+L -in-)+liyaw 3M-2M Su

waday      'inhakem      ni    Amdikul   di    kabuniyan 'iy   waday  
PrM+St   'in-)+defile   S    Amkidul   Lo    kabuniyan C   PrM+St

'inhakem      ni    Bagillatan   di    kabuniyan   niyan  
'in-)+defile   S    Bagillatan   Lo    kabuniyan   Po+L

nangituwenanda.

nangi---an)+construct+3M

Spare this household from scabies and spare them from poor health and make their care of animals successful and their feeding of fowls as well. May they have good health, for here now they perform the liyaw for you, if Amkidul in Kabuniyan has defiled it and if Bagillatan of Kabuniyan has caused corruption in the construction of this house.

Unu    hiyayya   kiyewa   'inlada.

Or      ES        wood+L    -in-)+get+3M

Perhaps it was in the wood that they used.

Man 'idyan   liyyawen       daka       'abung.

F      PrM+L    -en)+liyaw   3M-2M    house

For here now they perform the liyaw for you, house.

### Part III

Kuy            hi'gayu   kunu   muwana       limmiyaliiyaw,  
1M+say+St   2M            Q       again+L    -imm-)+CVCV+liyaw

'ikayu      'a      mangkabunung .

come+2M      L      mangka-)+rite

I say, you who have performed the liyaw in the past, come, all  
you who have performed rites.

Nangi'ah'a'ah'ah      ni      'abung.

nangi-)+R)CVCCV+build      S      house

All you who built houses.

Tulingngan 'amman 'et      linyaw      muy      'abung.

Tulingngan ED      C      -in-)+liyaw+      2M+St      house

Tulingngan, for you performed liyaw for houses.

Hi'gayu Kaha''ung 'amman 'et      hi'gayuy 'immah'a'ah'ah

2M      Kaha'ung ED      C      2M+St      -imm-)+R)CVCCV+build

ni 'abung.

S      house

Kaha''ung, for you built houses.

Baniwwah 'amman 'et      linyawmuy      'abung.

Baniwwah ED      C      -in-)+liyaw+2M+St      house

Baniwwah, who built houses.

Idya'a      liyyawenday      'abung 'ayya      nem waday

Pr+L      -en)+liyaw+3M+St      house      ED      Su      Pr+St

nangiha'danda      'amman nem mapteng 'et 'i

nangi---an)+construct+3M ED      Su      good      C      St

kayha'dantu      tep      'idya'a      naliyawka.

kay-...-an)+build+it since Pr+L na-)+liyaw+2M

For now they perform the liyaw for this house in case it was built improperly. But make it good, for now they have performed the liyaw for you.

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**IX. Ba'liw example A: Singer: Libgan, 1 March 1969, wedding feast**

[Spoken comment]: Pu'un ni kasal 'iyay.

base Po wedding D

'This has to do with weddings.'

1.Diyusa kabuniyan

God+L kabuniyan

'God, Kabuniyan'

2.Imbindisyunim 'iyay

'in-...-an)+bless+2M D

'Bless this'

3.Ngilin ni 'a'annak 'iyay

marriage Po children D

'This marriage of our children'

4.Ay 'i'usdungmuy bintin

F 'i-)+look-down+2M+St 25-centavos

'Give them small change (lit. 25 centavos)'

5.Pambalin ni nanngilin

paN-)+transform S nan-)+marriage

'The newly-weds will make it'

6. Ay 'isus ni sanlibu

F F S one-thousand

'Into a thousand'

7. Si'gatuy 'igasatda

3M+St 'i-)+good-fortune+3M

'This is what will bring them good fortune'

8. Ni duwan san'asawa

S two+L one-pair

'this pair of newly-weds'

9. Mambunabunat 'ida

maN-)+CVCV+multiply 3M

'May they have many offspring'

10. Iyanakda 'et laki

'i-)+offspring+3M C male

'They will bear a child and it will be male'

11. Amtaturun mambiyakki

know+3M+S maN-)+trading

'He will know how to trade'

12. Iyanakda 'et bii

'i-)+offspring+3M C female

'They will bear a child and it will be female'

13. Amtaturun mantanem ni 'ubi

know+3M+S maN-)+plant S sweet-potato

'She will know how to plant sweet potatoes'

14. Ay 'ippakandad bu'bu

F 'i-)+feed+3M+Lo pigs

'They will feed it to pigs'

15. Kasa'sa'nupan tayu

Ka-)+R)CVC+gathering 1,2M

'An occasion for us to gather'

16. Nu way ka'asin diyuh

Su Pr+St ka-)+pity+Po God

'If God wills it'

---

X. Ba'liw example B. Singer: Leon Lumiquio, 13 May 1969. Death feast of mother's brother, Burunnu.

[Spoken]: Nammatenku nguy ba'liwku.

-en)+try-out+1M also+St ba'liw+1M

'I want to try out my song too']

1. Aballeg 'i ma'gesmin si'gam

large S grief+1M+Po 2M

'Our grief for you is deep'

2. ni 'ingkalangbusmun 'ama.

Po 'ingka-)+finish+2M+L father

'at your passing father.'

3. Tep 'iyana timma'nil kami

since S+L -imm-)+stand-out 1M

'For now it is obvious'

4. ni 'inaya 'anakmu  
Po F children-2M  
'we your children'
5. ya 'andiy mutinumpungan  
L N+St 2M+ -in---an)+chanced-upon  
'you have not been fortunate'
6. ni 'ipaw'itmin si'gam.  
Po 'i-)+send-along+1M+S 2M  
'to have us send (something) along with you.'
7. Lagdengtu may nangismi  
end+3M now+St weeping+1M  
'Our tears are all'
8. 'inay mula 'isabi  
F 2M+there 'i-)+arrive  
'for you to carry there'
9. 'inay ni ka'apuwan  
F S ka---an)+ancestors  
'to the ancestors.'
10. Yet 'ulaytu may nemnemmun 'ama  
C leave+3M now+St thought+2M+L father  
'We leave you to decide, father'
11. nem 'agyu kami 'iwingngi'an  
Su N+2M 1M 'i---an)+glance  
'(whether or) not to grant us

12. 'ay ni gasat ni suwilti  
F S success L good-fortune  
'good fortune'

13. si'gamin 'anakmun laki  
1M+L children+2M+L male  
'to us your sons'

14. si'gamin 'anakmun bi'i  
1M+L children+2M+L female  
'to us your daughters.'

[Spoken comment]:

Egay, palawku ngun hi'gak, tep 'inla'kam  
wait pa-)+direct+1M also+S 1M for 'in-)+include  
takayu, hay 'agkayu 'unma'geh.  
1M+2M so-that N+2M 'un-)+sorrow  
'Wait, I want this all for myself, for I included you all  
before, so you don't feel left out.'

1. *Iyammay dalan 'i balayku*  
ExD+St trail St house+1M  
'My house is by the wayside'

2. *Ya kamun ngun 'un'akadka*  
F if+L also+S 'un-)+return-home+2M  
'When you leave for home'

3. Ya pangispadkan 'aba

F pangi-)+set-down+2M+S taro

'Drop us off some taro'

4. Say 'imula nen kadwak

so-that 'i-)+plant Po spouse+1M

'So my wife can plant it'

5. Balang 'en ngu 'ungabay.

in-case 'en-) also 'un-)+flourish

'Hopefully it will flourish'

[Spoken comment]: Hiya, 'albatyu.

so take-over+2M

'There, take over.'

---

XI. Ba'liw example C: Singer: Martinez (Akwadi) Cuyangan, 7 March 1982 wedding feast)

1. Sigeda nakasuidsura

good+L 1M+ka-...-a)+tell

'It is good to tell you'

2. Intenengku lan 'ama

'in-)+hear+1M before+Po father

'What I heard from father'

3. Intenengku. lan lallakay

'in-)+hear+1M before+Po old-men

'What I heard from old men'

4. I naklinipliplipan

St 1M+-in-...-an)+R)CVC+stealth

'What I overheard'

5. Di gilig ni dingding

Lo edge Po wall

'While behind a wall'

6. Di 'aluduh ni dingding

Lo edge Po wall

'While at the edge of a wall'

7. I nakapanduwaduwa'i

St 1M+kapan-...-i)+R)CVCV+two

'It is what I am ambivalent about'

8. I nakadandannagi

St 1M+ka-...-i)+R)CVC+worry

'It is what I am worried about'

9. Andiy nakpansesgeran

N+St 1M+pan-...-an)+wait

'There will no longer be occasion'

10. Ni wanasi ni 'insiwwasiw.

S lower-intestine L 'in-)+dip-in-sauce

'For meat dipped in sauce.'

XII. Ba'liw example D: Singer: Akwadi, 1 Mar 1969. Wedding feast.

[Spoken]: Alibyen            kudda    nguyya    'a'annak.

-en)+entertain 1M+3M also+S children

'Now I will share something with the young people.'

1. Balaykuy            nakinggitan

house+1M+St    na-...-an)+narrow

'My house is narrow'

2. Balaykuy            nan'ukitan

house+1M+St    nan-...-an)+small

'My house is tiny'

3. Di    Killet di    Dangatan

Lo    Killet Lo    Dangatan

'In Killet in Dangatan'

4. Ay    'inak            nansiwatan

F       1M            nan-...-an)+pass-time

'Where I passed the time'

5. Ni sulu ni    bagitan

S trap   Po    bagitan [bird]

'Trapping bagitan birds'

6. Ay    kinnak            iy            'immaktup

F       -in-)+catch+1M    C            'imm-)+break

'It landed and then (the trap) snapped'

7. Ay pinsawtuy sabangan

F -in-)+go-downriver+3M+St crossing

'It went downriver at the crossing'

8. Singgeptuy Malakaniyang

-in-)+enter+3M+St Malakaniyang

'He entered Malakaniyang'

9. Kankuy 'usilenku

say+1M+St -en)+chase+1M

'I thought of pursuing it'

10. Linabsankus Pilnandu

-in-...-an)+pass+1M+St pilnandu

'I passed Pilnandu'

11. Ay sinudsudtu numan

F -in-)+tell+3M indeed

'He told me truly'

12. Ampat way 'addal diman

necessary+C Pr+St education there

'You need education to get there'

13. Surengtuy 'un'uli'ak

end+3M+St 'un-)+return+1M

'In the end I returned'

14. Ya di balaykun 'ukkit

F Lo house+1M+L small

'To my small house'

15. Di Killet di Dangatan

Lo Killet Lo Dangatan

'In Killet in Dangatan'

16. Ay 'inak nansiwatan

F 1M nan...-an)+pass-time

'Where I passed the time'

17. Ni sulu ni lagaran

S trap Po lagaran [bird]

'Trapping lagaran birds'

18. Agak 'et nangabangan

N+1M C naM...-an)+rent

'Instead I could have borrowed'

19. Ay ni pilak ni baknang

F S money Po rich

'Money from the rich'

20. A'annaka maddikit

children+L female

'Daughters'

21. A'anakka balullaki

children+L male

'Sons'

22. Iya man'innawat tayu

St man'in-)+understand 1,2M

'Let us understand each other'

23. Bastun ni baryu tayu

cane Po community 1,2M

'The staff of our community'

24. Bastun ni 'ili tayu

cane Po locality 1,2M

'The emblem of our region'

25. Tanda'an ni tanda'an

remember L remember

'Remember'

26. Agyu biyubiyugi

N+2M R)CVCV..-i)+stain-with-soot

'Don't blacken it'

27. Agyū gitgitli'i

N+2M R)CVC..-i)+scratch

'Don't blemish it'

28. Siked 'i talna niti

good St peace indeed

'Peace is truly best'

29. Siked 'i 'adiglu niti

good St agreement indeed

'Harmony is truly best'

30. Satan 'i piyan nen Diyus

that St wish Po God

'That is what God wishes'

31. Ay piyan nen nanlaga

F wish Po nan-)make

'What the Creator wants'

32. Pansa'ad ni parsuwa.

state Po creature

'The state of His creatures.'

---

### XIII. K's CONVERSATION WITH D.

1(a)

Madyay 'ali.

ExD+Lo here

K: 'Over here!'

---

1(b)

Kankuy nak ga ngu mampapahiyal hay  
say+1M+St 1M P also maN-)+R)CV+walk so

'unna'an ga nem hipay maunna'an.

'un---an)+see P Su In+S ma---an)+see

D: 'I decided I'd go for a walk just to see what there is to  
see.'

2(a)

Hiyamman 'a hay 'ittibew nguy 'ama.  
ED P so 'i-)+see also+St father

K. 'That's what should happen, so we see our fathers.'

---

3(a)

Et hip̄a law 'i pambuwada kunumma 'ungnga?  
C In now St paN-)+divide+3M Q+S children

K. 'And what now of the news that the children will be split up?'

---

3(b)

Hipa?

In

D. 'What'?

---

4(a)

Kuy hiyamman 'ida kaihingmu, nem hipay kanda?  
say+1M+St ED 3M in-laws+2M Su In+S say+3M

K. 'I say, about your in-laws, what do they say?'

---

4(b)

Ampat        hiyay    bakamma    'ungnga    'et    pambuwa?  
necessary+C   In+S    cattle+S    children   C    paN-)+divide

Uwaytu        'et    ga    nem    'umballeg    'ida    'et  
Leave+3M    C    P    Su    'un-)+large    3M    C

manhimbabagga.

manhin-..a)+R)CVC+order

Baggaen        ni    hakey 'iy    baggaen    nima    hakey.  
-en)+order   S    one    C    -en)+order   Po    one

D. 'Why, are children like cattle in a herd, that they can be split up? Let us wait till they grow up and then we can all send them on errands. One side can ask them to help and then the other can do the same.'

---

5(a)

Et    hutta    tinayyananmud                          man    ngay,  
C    ES    -in-..-an)+leave-behind+2M+Lo    there   P

na'ukat        ngu    la        'a?  
na-)+open   also   there   P

K. 'And the one you left behind at home, has he come out of the house yet?'

---

5(b)

Hutta timmukgung 'i kanmu?  
ES -imm-) + squat-with-head-bowed S say+2M

D. 'You mean the one in mourning (lit., 'the one who squats with head bowed')?'

---

6(a)

Kuy 'u'u.  
say+1M+St yes

K. 'Why (I say), yes.'

---

6(b)

Andi. Ampat masa'naran 'i bulan.  
N necessary+C ma-...-an) + change St moon

Nem nu 'un'un'anku niti 'ida ket,  
Su Su 'un-...-an) + CVC+see+1M P 3M P

wayawaya met 'i kawad' anda.  
freedom also St ka-...-an) + exist+3M

Ampat malimmuh 'i bulan.  
necessary+C ma-) + disappear St moon

Hiyamman 'i 'inturu ni napangpanglu.  
ED St 'in-) + teach Po na-) + CVC + precede

D. 'No. A month must pass first. But when I see them, I notice  
that they go about as they please. The month must pass first.  
That is what our predecessors taught us.'

---

7(a)

A 'un kayman. Hipay pahding nem hi'gatuy ta'ud?  
F yes P In+St action Su 3M+St tradition

K. 'Yes, that is the way it should be. What can we do if that  
is what has been handed down?'

---

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