Kankanay Songs

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Introduction

The Kankanay inhabit the center of the Cordillera Mountains of Northern Luzon, Philippines. Their songs contain, besides rhythm and rhyme, poetical expressions and terms that are not used in ordinary speech.—This paper presents their contents in plain English, in order to forego the necessity of reading either the native text or its literal translation.

I. The *Daing*

The *daing* are sung on the occasion of a solemn sacrifice, and consist in a dialogue between a man and a woman, and between a choir of men and one of women, who repeat the last part of their protagonist's

words.[1]

Daing 1.

Alin dudun si tanap—The locusts of the plain.

The woman urges the man to catch locusts for her. After several objections (the difficulty of the way, the departure of the locusts, and so on), the man consents, provided the woman bring him his food.

He complains of receiving nothing, but the woman says she went in search of him without reaching him.

Now both accuse their partner of loitering (the man, also of amusing himself with strange girls).

When the woman again complains of getting no locusts, the man tells her bluntly to content herself with edible snails, but the woman retorts that she does not like them.

Finally when the man complains of not being able to catch any locusts, the woman insults him by saying he seems not to be a man.

Exasperated at the insult, the man threatens a divorce, and so the woman excuses herself by saying she was merely "talking".

Daing 2.

Alin dudun si Mugaw—The locusts at Mugaw.

The woman asks the man to gather a basketful of locusts.

When he explains his way of doing it, she calls him a sluggard.

When she tells him that their child desires locusts, he accuses her of not bringing his food. She says she did and shouted, but that he did not appear, as he was in company with strange girls.

He acknowledges the fact, but says he went to barter his locusts for some of their food, because he was hungry.

After some more altercations the man excuses himself by saying that the locusts disappeared, and when she insists, he says they went to the place of their headhunting enemies.

The woman now tells him to disregard their weapons, and so the man says he will go to let himself be taken, so that she will be afraid, having no protector any more.

When the woman still insists, he curses her and tells her to go herself and give herself over to the enemy.

Finally, when she says she will not eat, so that he will be ashamed

1. The *daing*, text and translation, were published in *Anthropos*, Vol. XIV–V (1919–1920), 793–820; XVI–XVII (1921–1922), 22–50, 712–736; Vol. XVIII–XIX (1923–1924), 155–173.

when people see how thin she is, he curses her again and says he will divorce her.

The woman tries to make him change his mind by saying that she is pregnant, and later, that he will have to prepare the meals when the child is born.

Exasperated she teases him for being too lazy to feed his children.

The man now proposes to divide their children between them, but she retorts by accusing him of going to find those strange girls he had met before.

At this juncture the man says he will call his children to him and support them, but the woman disagrees.

Daing 3.

Dudun si pagpagapa—Young locusts.

This is a tale in the form of a dialogue.

Both parents send their daughter to the field to go in search of young locusts.

Here the girl meets a young man, and they agree to share the work; but when she finds out that the locusts are gone, they repair to the house of the young man and have a smoke (which means that they are in love).

When the father of the girl comes to look after his daughter he instantly understands the situation, curses her (you cannot see for the dirt in your eyes), because she fell in love with a boy who had no possessions, and leaves in a bit of anger.

At this juncture the young man wants to leave the girl and gives several reasons: the anger of the father, his love for his daughter, the poor food she would have in his house, the fact that he was the cause of the absence of the locusts.

But the girl dismisses all his arguments: let my father talk, I like that kind of food, and so on.

Finally the boy agrees, but warns the girl that she should not be astonished if their jars are cracked and the food is very poor.

The tale ends by stating that they married, she ates rich food and bore many children (the utmost of a Kankanay's happiness).

Daing 4.

Aw san dudun ay goknot—The numerous locusts.

The woman asks her relative to catch locusts for her.

But the man offers several excuses for not doing so: he can hardly breathe, he often tumbles down; and when the woman says he has been

seen playing at the foot of a certain tree, he retorts by stating its impossibility, the place being full of briars.

Then the woman addresses her husband.

He answers that the locusts reached the place of the headhunting enemy, before he could overtake them, and he was afraid to go there.

But the woman chides him for resembling a girl, and says she herself will go.

When the man says he will content himself with fish, she answers that she does not like fish.

The man says it is foolish of her to go over to the enemy and lose her head, but she says that she does so because he is weak and, besides, people say that he slept at the side of the read instead of looking for locusts.

Exasperated the man says he has found a love card in his pack and will go to the other girls; Tanggaka may take his place.

The woman agrees: "He is younger and whiter than you".

When the man contradicts this statement, the woman says they will laugh at him.

Finally the man is sad on account of her opinion of him.

The woman gives as a reason that he always opposes her desires, but she says it in such a way as to imply that the whole affair is not serious.

The man understands it that way and says that the reason is only in her imagination.

The woman ends by calling him a sluggard, in a playful way.

Daing 5.

Pagey si gusadana—Rice on the slope of the hill.

Both man and woman agree that it is harvest time.

The woman tells the man to go to their field and see if the rice is ripe.

Then she sends him to get bamboos to make bands for the bundles of rice.

When he tells her to call their companions to help in the harvest, she answers that the two of them are sufficient, as it is only the beginning of the harvest.

She tells him to go ahead and mark the place where the work has to begin, she will follow after having given the child the breast.

Then both man and woman, alternately, describe their activities: they keep the straw in the middle of the field, they gather edible snails

for the child and spiders for the man's mother, who always grumbles (says the woman); they take the rice out of the field, bind it up, place it in the basket and cover it.

The man helps the woman in taking up her load and tells her to wait at the river, where they will take a bath.

After bathing, they proceed homewards, the woman preceding, the man following.

After a while, the man says they should take a rest, have a smoke and look out for a place whither to bring the rice.

The woman points to a granary whose roof had been repaired recently.

Once there, the man enumerates the parts of the granary where the woman has to store the rice.

Daing 6.

Pagey ed Pudupud—Rice at Pudupud.

Both man and woman agree as to the beauty of the rice: the woman compares it to a fine-toothed comb, the man compares its color to that of a cock's tail.

Then the man tells the woman to go and see if the rice is ripe; she says it is, and then he tells her to mark only a part of the field for the work, so that she have leisure to take care of the child.

She does so and they go to work, the man saying again that they will only harvest part of the field, lest they get tired.

The woman gathers edible snails for the man's mother, who is a terrible grumbler.

At midday they stop the work and have a smoke; after a while the woman says there is rain in the sky and they should go.

She tells the man to bring the rice out of the field and place it in the basket, but he put only ten bundles in hers, because she has been delivered recently.

The man tells her to wait at the river, where they take a bath.

After the woman has praised his handsomeness, the man helps her to take up her load and they go.

Later on the woman says they should look for a place to spend the night, and the man answers by saying they will find his house in the forest with its roof recently thatched.

Once there they store the rice, in the granary, and the man says she should place the rest in the penthouse, so that they can easily draw it out when they want to sell it.

The woman says she will collect the money so that he can buy a hog and offer a solemn sacrifice.

Here the scene changes from fiction to reality: they are singing in the yard of the owner who had invited them to the sacrifice which he offered on the occasion of his marriage.

Both man and woman wish he should have many children, so that they may again be invited, later on, to sing in one of his sacrifices, and so be honored, because their wishes have been fulfilled.

Daing. 7.

San ukam ed Paling—Your rice field at Paling.

At the beginning we learn that it contains fish, that the rice has been transplanted in it, that the child is shouting the birds away and that the color of the rice resembles that of a copper armlet.

Then the man sends the woman to see if the rice is ripe.

She comes back and says that it is ready for the harvest, and so he tells her to invite their parents to do the work.

They agree and carry the rice home: it is so abundant that the granary leans sideways through its weight.

Now they have to look out for buyers: the woman tells the man to bless the rice by the sacrifice of a chicken, and the man tells her to look out for people who are in need of food.

With the money he will buy a hog, but she tells him also to prepare rice wine: being in possession of such gifts they are liable to be invited to other people's sacrifices, where she says she will dance and be compared to a green parrot.

Finally the man says that he will offer a sacrifice on the occasion of his marriage and bear beautiful children.

Here she teases him: "When a child is born to him, he will be superior to you (a bachelor), who pride yourself on your knowledge of songs".

At this he retorts: "When a boy is born to him, he will find a wife at your place (while you remain single)".

Daing 8.

Ukam ed Aliwangdey—Your rice field at Aliwangday.

In this song the ideas are scattered without much cohesion: the main preoccupation of the singers seems to consist in having all the verses end in "ey".

In the beginning we learn that the lower side of the field is very

large, that it contains weeds, that rice has been transplanted in it and that fifteen men are needed for the harvest.

They intend to store the rice in the house prepared for it surrounded by a stone wall, but when the reapers arrive, they tell them to place the product on the stone wall.

Then they call a strange woman to store the rice, but she runs away with it.

Finally they tell the husband of the woman to prepare rice wine for a sacrifice, so that he may have many children and they themselves may be invited to dance and sing in his yard.

Daing 9.

Umak ed Ambanias—My field at Ambanias.

This is a sample of a children's *daing*: they talk at random without connection of ideas.

I sowed *suqah* in it and it bore much fruit.

I ran away with it and the price of the rice was large.

You cannot run away with the liver of the young pig.

Somebody offers a solemn sacrifice and you go to dance there.

Daing 10.

Tugim san patpatiling—Your sweet potatoes are of a special variety.

When the man makes a disparaging remark about her sweet potatoes and her hoe, the woman says that she was able, with her hoe, to cut the bamboo grass. She adds that the sweet potatoes she planted were of good quality.

When the man remarks about the way she breaks wind, she merely answers that the sweet potatoes she eats are of the right kind.

Then she adds that she wears a beautiful headdress whenever she goes to dance at somebody's solemn sacrifice.

When the man says that her ankle bone is out of joint and that her legs are like twigs, she contradicts the first statement and, for the rest says that her legs move nimbly.

When the man says that she is blear-eyed, the woman says that her eyes are bright like glass.

When the man says that her hair is blonde, she agrees, compares it to the haulms of rice and says that he follows her, like a man in love.

When the man denies it and says that one of her legs is shorter than the other, she says that she is about to execute all the graceful movements of a dancer.

When the man says she lies and is one-eyed, she merely repeats her former statement about her eyes being like glass.

When the man says she is hopping, she agrees and says she does so because she is full of joy.

When the man seems to take pity on her, such a robust girl, she says that he nevertheless follows her.

When he denies it, she insists by saying that he does so although he is a married man and there are many children.

Finally the man denies this strongly and says that he is firmly attached to his wife because she is a beautiful woman.

Then the woman merely says that she, younger, is much more handsome.

Daing 11.

Lutud ed Talikud—Sweet potato vine at Talikud.

The man says there are weeds in the field of that sweet potato vine and the woman says she will weed it.

The man says nobody tore off any leaves from those vines, and when the woman says relatives tore off some of them, he says it does not matter as they are relatives.

The woman says she will be careful at her weeding.

The man says their fruits (tubers?) are delicious.

The woman says she will mind her work so as to be able to feed the children.

When the man says that she is lazy weeding and that the rats have nibbled at the vines, the woman answers merely that she has finished weeding and that the vines are luxuriant.

The man, however, finishes by saying that through her laziness the rats have ravaged the field.

Daing 12.

Gabat ed Angkabat—Tare at Angkabat.

The man says the rhizomes of that tare are as big as posts, and the woman says the weeds are ferns.

When the man tells her to weed them carefully, she asks him to stand guard, as she has seen the enemy in the distance.

The man agrees but asks her to invite also a relative to be his companion in standing guard.

When the man says that they are ready to be dug up, the woman says they are as big as posts and so abundant that they fill the penthouse.

Then both agree to sell them for money, and when the woman has gathered the money, she tells the man to buy a hog with it.

She also tells him to fill a jar with rice wine, and when the man says they will dance, the woman completes the sentence by adding that it will be done at the celebration of a solemn sacrifice.

Then both agree that this sacrifice will make the celebrants prolific and that numerous children will surpass all other singers and dancers.

In conclusion the man says this result will show that their song was not useless and the woman hopes that the children will "imitate us".

Daing 13.

Sammang ed Buyangyang—Italian millet at Buyangyang.

The woman asks him to prepare a scarecrow to keep off the birds.

When the man says they should send the child to drive away the birds, she agrees, but when he changes his mind, because the boy would be useless, she again mentions the scarecrow.

The man now makes it and uses wire in its construction.

When the woman says it grows mature and must soon be harvested, he wants her to tell her father to call up the girls to do the harvest, and when she agrees he also asks her to join them in the work, and she agrees again.

When the crop arrives, he asks her to help the girls to put down their load and she asks him to store it.

Here follows a dialogue in which they draw out the Italian millet, sell it, gather the money and buy a hog with it so that they can offer a solemn sacrifice and invite all the people of the village.

Now the woman, who has up till then impersonated the wife of the man, impersonates one of the girls who are singing at the feast.

She begins by extolling her beauty.

When the man says he is attracted by the girls, she says she will find out if he has been allured by her and, and when the man demurs because his wife is more important, she insists saying she does not know that woman: "Let us remove her to the foot of the bed".

The man says that separation is impossible because two solemn sacrifices have put a definite seal on their wedlock.

But the girl says that, although he is a strong man, he nevertheless is obliged to follow her because he himself avowed to be attracted by her.

When the man says he cannot leave his wife because she resembles a lady, the girl says she herself resembles a doll (thus: is handsome), and besides she has seen his wife and she resembles hyacinth beans.

(thus: is ugly).

Finally the man repeats his former statement that a solemn sacrifice has fixed the business.

And the girl ends by saying that he shall follow her anyway, as it has been decided in the yard, where they are actually singing.

Daing 14.

Sammang ed Dagdag—Italian millet at Dagdag.

The man says that a jungle fowl has scratched the Italian millet.

The woman asks her husband to prepare a place for her to lay the millet out.

When the man says that the enemy is threatening him, the woman denies it.

Then he accuses her of failing to weed the field, again she strongly denies it.

When he insists on her failure, she retorts by accusing him of being negligent in arranging the place she asked him to prepare for her.

Then the man says he will cleave wood to have fuel for the servants' dinner and the woman agrees.

When he has wounded his hand, the woman attends to it.

When he says that he saw a strange man with her, she acknowledges it, because she must be cared for, having so many children.

When he says he will go away, she tells him that he cannot do so, as they have a numerous offspring.

Finally the man says he will hold house for a while with the girls, and the woman ends by thinking he will regret it.

Daing 15.

Sammang ed Dagdag—Italian millet at Dagdag.

After having said that they sowed Italian millet in their field, the man says that a jungle fowl scratched it, and the woman asks her husband to construct a scarecrow, because she takes pity on it.

But the man's mind is on other things: here follows a dialogue in which the man says that he is attracted by a handsome woman, and the woman first mentions their numerous offspring, and then says that four children are sufficient to keep him back.

The man, however, persists and takes up the woman's own argument by saying that four children are enough to keep her company.

Exasperated the woman says he can go, the children will grow up and she will go and dance at another man's solemn sacrifice.

When the man says that she may go when the children are grown up, the woman retorts by saying that she may go now, because her mother-in-law will take care of the children.

Finally the man comes back to his former love, and when the woman says she thought he was following the handsome woman, he says he repents and wants to procreate more children.

The woman ends by warning him against further mistakes.

Daing 16.

Sanggapmo san sinalong—Your hoe is a knife.

When the man says she strikes the field with her hoe, the woman says she does so indeed, because she is sewing cowpeas.

After the woman has said that they grew luxuriantly, the man tells her to weed out the reeds carefully, and she says she did, but her husband denies it and says that the reeds withered the cowpeas.

The woman in turn denies that and says that they are loaded with fruits.

When the man insists on her laziness and her failure of grubbing out the reeds, his wife says it is impossible, because she had to call the neighbors in order to help her in carrying the cowpeas.

When the man says his wife lies, because he did not get much of them, the woman says he did though, and she cooks the cowpeas.

Finally the man says he will go away and go to a woman who is more handsome.

At this the woman says she will follow him, but the man says she may do so, but he does not like her.

The man now ends by saying that he will stay with her.

Daing 17.

Itab ed gagawa—Hyacinth bean in the middle.

The woman asks her husband to gather the hyacinth beans carefully.

He answers by saying that he started a plantation of elder shrubs and tells her to mend her planting, to which she agrees.

Then he says he made a fence for the field, and the woman tells him to make it tight so that nothing can enter that field.

He again tells her to grub up all the elder shrubs, and she again agrees.

Then he accuses her of allowing her field to be full of weeds, and when she denies it, he says she is bragging, but she says that whatever

she says is true.

Now he says she used her basket as a gong, instead of doing her work, but she says, on the contrary, that the plants are laden with fruits and that she brings them in.

Then the man says she does not bring in anything for them to cook.

At this juncture the woman understands that he has another woman in sight and seeks quarrel, and she tells him so.

The man acknowledges that it is so, and when the woman says she thought they would both feed their children, he wants to divide them; he will take the handsome one and the woman may take the girl whose head is wounded.

When the woman rejects that division, he says he will take care of all of them, and the woman says she will content herself with her hyacinth beans.

Finally he accuses her of laziness, but the woman says that this is only a subterfuge, his mind is set on the other woman.

The woman ends by saying she is unfortunate, because she never quarreled with her husband, and he insists on a separation.

The beginning of this song is far from clear, but it should be remembered that two of its terms have, both of them, two meanings: "hyacinth bean" is also used as a palliative for "vulva", and "elder shrub" often stands for "penis".

Daing 18.

Kidis ed Payusapis—Pigeon pea at Payusapis.

When the man says that the pigeon peas are ready for eating, the woman says that nobody eats them raw, but when the woman says that his sister-in-law ate them, he himself says that nobody eats them raw.

Then they gather the pigeon peas, take them out of their pods and fill the house with them.

Now the man tells the woman to guard the house, while he goes to sell them.

When he comes back he says that he did not get their worth in money, a mere ten centavos, and accuses his wife of not guarding the house faithfully with the hint at the visit of a strange man, but the woman strongly denies it.

Here the woman laments because whenever she goes to the field to sow her pigeon peas, she is pricked by young cogon leaves.

When the man repeats his accusation about the strange man, she ignores it and accuses him of lying about the price he received for the

pigeon peas.

Now the man pretends that the money was stolen, but the woman merely says it is a pity, because they could have had the means to buy a hog.

Finally the man says that he was very tired going very far to sell his pigeon peas, and the woman says he must have gambled and lost.

The man ends by saying he has witnesses who saw how much he received for his pigeon peas.

Here also the beginning of the song is obscure, and it should be remembered that "pigeon pea" is sometimes used as a palliative for "vulva".

Daing 19.

Ta eyak menpabsa—I shall go to have forged.

The man has his hoe forged into a crowbar to prepare a new field and his wife sows green gram in it.

When the man tells her to grub up the weeds, she consents to do so, and then he tells her to gather the pods.

Both agree that their baskets are full of them, and the woman gives as a reason that she planted much green gram.

When the man says he will go abroad to sell them, his wife warns him on three accounts: first, he must come back if he meets with a bad omen; second, he must be careful in carrying so much produce; and third, he must see that he gets their worth in money.

When the man interrupts her saying that a person was seen leaving her house, hinting at a strange man, the woman acknowledges it: his mother came to visit her.

When he says he got nothing for his wares, the woman says he lies, and then the man agrees that he bought a hog with the money.

Now fiction gives way to reality: the man tells her to call people in order to pound rice in preparation for a solemn sacrifice, and the woman tells him to invite people to attend the feast.

Finally the man says the people are all present and the woman ends by saying that the one who offers the sacrifice will see all his belongings increase on that account.

Daing 20.

Mo maid din kolidaw—What if there be no velvet beans.

When the man says he has no velvet beans to invite people, his wife says she has a remedy, but he insists that it is preferable to have velvet

beans.

Now the man shifts to another topic: he was shouting on the top of a hill and nobody came to help him, but the woman says he lies because she brought him food.

When he repeats the same accusation, the woman also repeats her former denial.

Then the man says he glided down and the food in his net was scattered abroad.

The woman says he must have done it on purpose.

The man again says he was starving and she did not bring him food, but the woman contradicts this strongly.

Then he says she was sleeping instead of bringing him his food.

She retorts by saying that he was afraid when he saw her basket appearing in the distance, but the man denies this.

The woman ends by saying that he was hiding and did not look into his net where his food was located.

Daing 21.

Ananguan di dipolio—Cabbage leaves.

The man having mentioned the cabbage, his wife asks him to offer a sacrifice at the fence so that no wild boar may leap over it.

Then the man tells her to grub up the weeds, and the woman consents and finds everything in good shape.

When the man says that the weeds have increased, the woman says it cannot be so because she left at cockcrow to go weeding.

When he says he saw no result of what he sowed, the woman says she asked her sister-in-law to carry the child, when weeding, and found the cabbage increased.

But the man says she was sitting on a stone and catching her lice.

At this juncture the woman takes the offensive: he wants to find a subterfuge for leaving her.

The man immediately acknowledges it and proposes the division of the children: he will take the strong one and she may have the stinking one.

When the woman says she will take them all and feed them, the man says he himself will take all the strong ones and feed them.

Then the woman laments: being a girl she needs help; and the man answers by saying that the stinking one will suffice for that purpose.

The woman again laments, because he favors a strange girl.

Finally when the man insists on marrying that girl, the woman ends

by saying he can go, because she has been thoroughly shamed.

Daing 22.

Pandan, pandan ed Lagan—Pineapple, pineapple at Lagan.

The man begins by saying that girls long for pineapples.

Then follow on the part of the woman eight requests for an article of food: orange, buzzard, sugar cane, shrimps, fresh-water fish, mango, pineapple, marine fish; and refusal of them, because they are unsavory, after her husband has fetched and prepared them for her.

At her request for locusts, the ninth, the man bewails his fate, and when she insists on eating them, he says that it is impossible, as the road is infested by the enemy and he should need a shield to keep off the weapons.

Here the woman says he is to be pitied if he does not use a shield.

Exasperated, the man says he cannot stand it any more, the soles of his feet are flayed, and he will leave her.

Finally she says he is afraid to feed the children, and when he insists on going to the other girls, she ends by saying that she herself will feed them.

Daing 23.

Ananguan di ngawey—Leaves of the sugar cane.

Both man and woman state that the leaves of the sugar cane will become straight if they are turned up.

When the woman tells her husband to cut down more sugar cane, although he be tired and his perspiration is trickling down, the man acknowledges that he is tired indeed and that his perspiration is trickling down.

When the woman insists upon it, because she herself is working for wages in order to feed the child, the man accuses her of sitting down and catching her lice instead of working.

Now she herself accuses him of doing nothing but drawing rice wine.

At this in a fit of anger the man says he will leave her.

She agrees, but says he should leave behind a blanket she wove for the child.

But the man says that he gambled it away.

When the woman says she grieves very much because it is the blanket of the child, he merely states that he also gambled away his G string.

After further recriminations on the part of the woman, the man

says he is going to the other girls.

The woman now ends by saying he can go: the children are growing up and when they grow old she will go to dance and sing at the house of a man who offers a solemn sacrifice.

Daing 24.

Tabako ay panpano—Panpano tobacco.

The man begins by telling his wife to shake the dust out of the tobacco.

Then she asks him to build a fence around the field and he tells her to water the plants.

Later she says that the leaves are sprouting and he answers by saying they are growing tall.

Now the woman asks him to gather them and separate the long ones from the bad ones, giving the latter as a present to his brother.

When the man says that he wrapped a large amount of them in banana leaves, she tells him to lay them by, but he says he will go abroad and try to sell them, after he has offered a sacrifice.

When she tells him to see if it forebodes good, he asks her to go for instructions to her father.

The sacrifice foreboding good, he tells her to forbid entrance to any stranger during his absence and goes on his way.

To this the woman agrees and says she will guard the house.

He comes back disappointed because he did not get the usual price for his wares, and hints at the visit of a stranger at his house during his absence.

The woman denies it; only her mother-in-law came to see her.

She adds that the reason of his disappointment might be a bad omen which he disregarded, but he says that his omen was good.

She accuses him of cruelty and says that she heard that he had sold the tobacco for a large sum.

He denies it saying that his brother-in-law saw the price he got for them.

He again hints at the presence of a stranger in the house who had replaced him.

The woman says he looks for subterfuges to leave her, but he insists on his accusation.

Then the woman laments, because she has so many cares and so many children.

Finally she tells him he may go, but when he proposes to divide the

children she disagrees and says she will feed them all.

At the end they leave out fiction and come back to reality: the man says that their singing is entirely wrong, and the woman says he should be more careful in his singing.

Daing 25.

Dangnga ed Innaba—Palm lily at Innaba.

The man begins by saying that they use the palm lily as an ornament and that it serves as an amulet for the multiplication of hogs and men, so that the latter may dance and sing.

Then both man and woman say that they will pass the night singing.

When the woman says that usually nobody is kissed at the time, but if it happens that somebody is kissed, people will laugh at him, the man answers by saying that it is his own business.

Finally the man says that at dawn they will go elsewhere and sing at that place, and the woman ends by saying that the man, when dancing, jumps on one foot.

Daing 26.

Mat-ebka din kawwayan—Fall down, bamboo.

The man wants a bamboo to be thrown down, so that he may have a passage for going to hear the voice of the fishes (usually this is heard only in the realm of the dead).

The woman qualifies the fish of the sea as a proud and lucky fellow.

When her husband tells her not to say such a thing, she says she won't eat if he does not bring in a fish from the sea.

When the man objects, because the road is a trap, she says he should use a shield.

He then offers her several kinds of food (shrimps, fresh-water fish, chicken), but she refuses them all.

He then presents her the liver of a chicken, but she says she cannot eat it, she would vomit.

Her husband now understands that this is the whimsical appetite of a pregnant woman: he asks her when the child will be born, and she answers: after two months.

Now he again says he is afraid to go to the sea as the road is beset by enemies, but when the woman says she won't eat for a month, he consents to go.

Unfortumately, however, the fish has disappeared and so the man is unable to bring it to her.

When she tells him to keep watch at the sea he says it will be the death of him.

Here the woman blames her unborn child for its longing.

The man now consents to go and keep watch, but when she complains again, he tells her it is her own fault, because he offered her various kinds of food and she turned her back on them.

At this juncture the woman says that fish will be the cause of a divorce, and the man immediately agrees and says he will go to the other girls.

Although she laments about it he insists in going.

When she tells him again that the longing of the child is terrible, he merely answers he will join the other girls.

When she tells him she will follow him unremittingly, he tells her to go and leave the house.

Now the woman takes the initiative and asks why she should leave the house.

When her husband blames the fish of the sea for the whole affair, she tells him not to be jealous if she goes to attend another man's solemn sacrifice.

When the man asks why she would leave her children she says she would go to dance at the feast.

Here the man stops being aggressive and says he will come back to his old love.

But the woman tells him he can stay out because he has been replaced by another handsome young man.

When he proposes to give her more children, she repeats her warning and says a boy has taken his place.

When the man says he will not allow him to enter the house, she chides him for saying so.

Finally the man says he himself will go and the woman ends by saying he should remain with her: she was talking that way only because she was angry.

Daing 27.

Ikan ed kabaybayan—Fish at the sea.

The introduction to this song is very strange: the man says that the moon is standing on the coast and that the fish of the sea is touching it, and the woman says that the fish is troublesome and that its pointed snout is two palms long.

Then the man says that the fish is getting acclimatized, and the

woman again says that it is troublesome and that its drivel is a hairdress.

Now the talk becomes normal: the man asks his wife why she does not eat and the woman says it is because the food is unsavory.

When he asks her what she wants and he will fetch it, she gives an evasive answer.

Then the man offers her three articles of food in succession: a pineapple, a buzzard and mushrooms, but she refused them all.

At this juncture the man understands that it is the whimsical appetite of a pregnant woman, and he asks his wife if she is pregnant; she answers by saying she thinks so, but is not sure.

The next worning the man invites his wife to take a meal together, but she refuses because the food is unsavory.

When he intends to store it, she tells him not to do so, because it might become sour.

Then he proposes to go and look for that fish, wondering why his wife refused to partake of a meal with him.

His wife tells him to be careful: should he meet a snake on the road, he must build a hut and pass the night at that place.

He answers by saying that this is his own business and that she must not think he is afraid of the road; then he tells her to fix a stick near the house as a sign for strangers not to enter the house.

His wife consents to do so.

When he says that he passed a month on the seashore, she again laments about the absence of that fish of the sea.

When the man says his provisions are consumed, she says that she will not eat, become thin and, his being observed by the people, he will be talked about.

When he asks her how to avoid being shamed, she merely says that it is worse with her, because the food is bitter.

Exasperated the man lies the whole blame on that strange kind of fish (as described by the woman in the introduction to this song), which cannot be seen any more, and the woman agrees that it is shameful.

Then he prepares for her another kind of fish and she partakes of it.

After she has finished eating he tells her to go to bed, he himself will go away, because she might again be pregnant and long for something.

When she says she will hinder his departure, he merely answers that he will go towards another girl.

Finally the woman politely asks him to prepare her food before leaving, and she ends by saying that the song is at an end.

Daing 28.

Bakbak si mabannaken—A frog like the fruit of an *Elaeagnus Philippinensis.* Perr.

The man presents a strange frog that does not seem fit to be sighed on, to be adopted as a child.

Both husband and wife want to take a look at it: the woman to find out its qualifications, the man to see if it is beautiful.

It must have pleased them, because the woman says they will give it a hat and shoes, and will not use it as a servant.

The man agrees to it: they will not send it on errands and they will make it gamble, make it lead a free life.

The woman objects to this: they should rather make it study.

The man, however, keeps to his opinion so that it grow up quickly, but the woman says he should not at all worry about that.

Finally the man says they will end by honoring their beautiful child.

Daing 29.

Kasingey di sikina—His feet are yellow.

The man begins with the description of a strange frog, that is miserable, worries about his food and offers his service to a Spaniard, but the latter wants a human servant, and so the man ends by asking his wife to go, if she likes.

The woman refuses: he himself should go, as it was he who was offered the job.

When the man says he is not able to do the washing, the woman says she also might pretend not to be able to do it.

When he says the Spaniard is hoping to see her, she says he will be much ashamed, as she will be seeming to run away from him.

The man now asks for the blanket of their child: he will carry it; but the woman says that girls are more fit to care for children.

Now the man says he cannot become a girl, and it is a girl the Spaniard is calling for.

Here the woman again says he will be much ashamed and will not dare show his face outside of the house yard, while it is he who is constantly communicating with the Spaniard.

The man ends by saying that he will not leave it indeed.

Daing 30.

Alin kadew ed Bag-ew—The frog at Bag-ew.

The man, who personifies a frog, has offered a small chicken in sacrifice and now roams around with a light in the darkness, in search of a white one (thus: a handsome one), which delays him very much.

The woman pities him on account of all his troubles and proposes to light him on his way, but he declines it: he will go astray.

The woman ends by saying there is no reason for him to go astray, because the white one is actually here.

Daing 31.

Bayyek ed wanga—Tadpole at the river.

The man begins by praising the agility of the tadpole.

The woman asks her husband to catch one by means of poison, but the man says the water of the river oozed out.

Then she tells him to take a crowbar, to go digging and to stay a night at the river.

The man consents to do so if she will prepare his provisions.

The woman consents to do so and to bring them to him together with rice wine.

The man now says that it is useless because the tadpoles have gone down the river.

At this the woman says she will not eat and the people will blame him for it.

The man complains: his hand is blistered while handling the crowbar.

She puts the blame on the longing of her unborn child and asks him to allow a fifth child to be born to him, but the man says that it is too much, if the fetching of the tadpole is to be the condition.

When the woman says he must not think that she is talking that way out of greediness, the man abruptly says he will go away.

The woman again says that it is the child that is longing, but the man says that this is the story whenever she is pregnant, and curses her.

The woman now asks him to prepare her food before he goes away, and the man again says that he will go to younger girls.

When she repeats her request, the man agrees to prepare meat for her. The woman then asks him to send his mother to her so that she have a companion and he consents: she will prepare her food.

This seeming unsatisfactory to the woman, she warns him not to make the whole affair public property.

The man now cools down and says he will stay with her.

The woman, however, takes the initiative: she has been delivered

and the child they were talking about is here now, so he can go.

The man wants to add more children, but the woman says he can go: being a man they will accept him.

Now the man protests: it is better that we remain together, the children would be miserable if they married a second time.

The woman ends by consenting: when the children grow up they will live together as if they were single.

Daing 32.

Buaya ed Inudaya—Crocodile at Inudaya.

This song begins with a fantastic description of the crocodile: the man says that his teeth are long, and the woman that he rubs them in the forest; then the man says that nobody has teeth like him; then both state the worth of parts of his body: the man, of the side of his thigh; the woman, of the hollow of his hand; finally the man states the worth of his ear, and the woman says he is proud.

When the man tells her to go to him if she likes, the woman says she will weep if he forces her to do so.

When he again tells her to talk to him, she says that there is nothing between them, as he entered the water.

When the pan praises him for his beauty, the woman says it were better not to marry (than to marry a crocodile).

At this the man says that in that case (not to marry), the girls will be content.

Now the woman corrects her statement: it would be better to marry a man who lives in the forest and wears only half a G string.

When the man accuses her of having had intercourse with the crocodile, the woman denies it, and when he insists on it, she says that is mere chattering of the girls.

The woman having been weeping, the man says he did only say that to tease her, and the woman excuses herself for weeping at the time of singing on the occasion of a sacrifice.

When the man teases her by saying that she is covered with hair (like a cat), the woman says that, on the contrary, she is similar to a new-born babe.

When he says that she is entirely red (thus: ugly), she says that she resembles the tail of a duck: something fit for boasting.

When he says that she would do nothing but dance, if he married her, she says that he looks as if he wanted her to sleep with him.

When he strongly denies this, because she has sore eyes, she says

that her eyes are as clear as a spy-glass.

When he accuses her of bragging, she says it is impossible for him to be compared to a girl.

When he repeats his accusation, she says that the next morning he will don his best coat and follow her on the road.

When he says that she will never be able to catch a man who wears beautiful apparel, she says that he will divorce his wife, that she knows him intimately and that he will follow her.

When he says that it were impossible to marry her, because we are close relatives, she says that she was only offering what it was thinking.

The man ends by saying that he thought the whole affair was merely a question of singing, as is customary at the time of a solemn sacrifice.

Daing 33.

Unay si longayana—Quail at the outside of the town.

They begin with pitying the poor situation of the quail: he is alone, he has no neighbor, his house is a hut, his jar is cracked, his cup is broken.

Then follows a short description: his feet are yellow, his eyes are a kind of beans.

Again they relate his hardships: when he gathers sweet potato leaves or fuel, his companions steal them, when he draws water, they pour it out, and he weeps bitterly.

Then the man describes his former happiness: his house was made of boards, he had everything at his disposition.

When the woman says that the quail is looking for a servant, the man tells her to take that position, if she likes it.

Now both man and woman excuse themselves: the woman says he should go, because he is a man, and the man says she should go because she is a woman and can wash; the woman again says he should go because he is a man and knows how to wash blankets, and the man says she should go because she is a laundress.

At this juncture the woman laments, because he sends her to be a servant, and when the man insists on her going, she says he will be put to shame, when people learn that she has become a menial.

The man says that she should go nevertheless and clean his jars.

Finally the woman consents to go but says she will shed tears in so doing.

Now the tables are turned: when the man says he sees her at work

on the jars of the quail, she says that, on the contrary, she is a lady, and when he says that she belongs to an inferior class of people, she rebukes him for despising the house of the quail, where she lives like a lady.

The man, however, does not give up: when she arrives at the house of the quail, she had to sweep cow dung.

The woman ends by saying he should stop that kind of talk; she became a lady when she arrived at the house of the quail, and she is now the equal of a man: she may carry a spear, and so on.

Daing 34.

Tangtangadek san batang—I look up at the pine tree.

The man begins by saying that beads are hanging all over the pine tree and the woman says she will borrow them, when she goes to sing in the house yard of a man who offers a sacrifice, and will use them as a hairdress, and be a handsome girl.

When the man says that he might be her partner and be allured by her, she denies it: he may have thrown down a carabao (thus: be a strong man), but there is another young man courting her.

The man knows this is a subterfuge: the beads, a hairdress for rich people, might allure even a man like himself, who has twice sealed his marriage by the offering of a solemn sacrifice.

When the woman says by to-morrow he will go to sing at her house, the man says nobody will meet her, as if singing were a sign of divorce.

The woman, however, insists: it is his fate and he will be her partner when they sing in her house yard.

The man ends by saying that it is impossible to separate a man from his wife, when he has thrown down a carabao and has twice offered a solemn sacrifice.

Daing 35.

Tangtangadek san batang—I look up at the pine tree.

As in the preceding song, the man begins by saying that beads hang all over the pine tree, but the woman says that it is so because she hung up her hairdress at the tree.

When the man says she always goes to sing whenever somebody offers a sacrifice, she says she does indeed and resembles a beautiful bird.

When the man says the young men turn their back on her, she says that the one with the red headband is very much affected by her.

The man ends by saying that nobody is affected by her, because she is mad.

Daing 36.

Ayyew et san bokalla—Alas the *bokalla* stone.

This is an oblong white stone used as ornament in the hairdress of women.

When the man says that this kind of stone is useless, the woman protests and tells him to look at her and see how it adorns her.

When he says that it does not agree with her hair, which is red (thus: ugly), she again protests and says he should look at her and see that she resembles the tail of a duck (thus: is handsome).

When he says that she goes to sing in the house yard of a man who offers a sacrifice, while she is covered with hair (like a cat), she says that she is like a doll.

When he says that she is bragging, she says she tells nothing but the truth.

When he says she is talking that way, because they are singing, the woman takes the offensive and says that he seems to be allured by her.

The man strongly denies this, because, if she were his wife, she would do nothing but turn the hollow of her hand (as women do, while dancing).

When she insists on it and says that very soon he will be touching her, he denies it again, because she is waddling like a duck.

Again the woman says that the next morning she will decoy him, but the man ends by pitying her, because she will remain a girl (without husband) for many moons to come.

Daing 37.

Ananguan di ludpak—Ear of a jar.

The man warns his wife against breaking the jar, because he is going abroad to sell it, and the wife agrees and she says she will put up a sign which forbids entrance to strangers.

When the man leaves a wing for her to eat, she says he should eat it himself: she wants only beans as playthings.

On his return he accuses her of spoiling his basket and says that the children told him she had slapped them in his absence.

The woman, however, says that she opened his basket only to look for that wing, which she wanted to use as a plaything for the children; and then accuses him of slapping and chiding her, as if she were a childless woman.

The man says her actions are far worse; she conceals all her doings

from him.

The woman merely answers that she prepares his rice, and for the rest contents herself with beans, as plaything for the children.

When he accuses her of consuming by herself all the frogs he is catching, she says she never tasted any of his frogs; and then she says she is overburdened looking for food for the children.

At this the man proposes to divide the children between them: he will take the handsome one and she should take the wounded one, so that she may clean his wounds.

The woman refuses it flatly and says she will take care of all of them.

Here the man cools down and finds that it is really the business of a woman to take care of the children, but when she says he can go and she will take it upon herself to take care of all of them, he says he will call the handsome one to follow him.

Subdued she asks him politely to hand her the blanket of the children, so that she can take care of them.

Now the man is wondering at the behavior of his wife, and she ends by lamenting, because she has been denounced in public in the house yard of the man who offers a sacrifice.

Daing 38.

Kulkuling di naganak—Jar of the prolific one.

The woman begins with the mention of a jar that belongs to a man who has many children, all of them white (thus: handsome).

Then the man tells his wife that he will go abroad to collect a debt and that she should put up a sign forbidding entrance to outsiders, lest he be replaced by another man; and the woman consents to do so, for the same reason.

When he comes back, he accuses his wife of having flayed a wing which he had left there.

The woman says she thought to open his basket and take out the wing as a plaything for the children, but he began to box her ears, to slap and chide her as if she were a childless woman, while she contents herself with gathering beans to use as a plaything for the children.

Wondering at the behavior of his wife, the man says he will go away.

When the woman is sorry on account of her abandonment, the man proposes to divide the children: he would take the white one and she should take the wounded one so that she might wash his wounds.

When the woman refuses, he says he will go to a whiter one and take all the children with him.

Now the woman says she will put the children in a basket, because the other woman might chide them.

But the man ends by rejecting the proposal and saying that he himself will take care of the children.

Daing 39.

Salliding di kawwayan—Branch of the bamboo.

When the man says that he cut a branch of bamboo into a yarn beam, his wife says she will use it at her weaving.

When he says that she should not do her weaving negligently, she says that she will arrange it like a footprint of a rat (thus: the acme of beauty in woven tissues).

When he says that she was slow in doing her work, she says that the tissue is finished and that he should try to sell it.

When he says that it was done negligently, she ignores this and says that she will put up a sign that forbids entrance to outsiders during his absence.

Then the man tells her to ask her mother-in-law for a cock, so that he may offer a sacrifice, as he might meet with danger on the road.

When the mother-in-law brings the cock, the woman tells her to go to sleep.

Then the man relates his actions: he went with the cock to the outskirts of the town and built a hut there, but the omen was ill-boding and the people wanted to get the tissue for nothing.

The woman is sorry that she was mistaken about her tissue, but on the other hand she thought that perhaps he had gone to a gambling place.

The man says that the reason of his failure was their negligence in failing to offer a sacrifice.

When she says that perhaps he gave the tissue as a present to the girls, he says that he had to stay with them for a whole month and, besides, that the work was done negligently.

Then the woman is sorry because she got no return for her work.

Here now follows a dialogue in which both seem to talk at cross purposes, up to the end of the song: three times the man gives his reasons for leaving her and three times the woman is only concerned about her tissue: 1. he says he will go away because his sleeping place has been occupied by another man, and the woman says she had picked out

the best cotton yarn for her tissue. 2. the man says he gave away to another man the provisions she had laid by and she says that he should have stayed at home and she should have gone and would certainly have sold her tissue. 3. the man says he will go to another girl who is handsome and seems to be willing to take care of him, and the woman says he should have told her to try herself to sell the tissue.

When the man repents and says he shall come back to his former sleeping place, the woman seems now only to have realized the draft of his former talk: she is sorry because the children are still young.

When the man says it is the business of a woman to take care of the children, she says he may go to the other girls, but he should not be jealous if she went to sing at the house of a man who is offering a sacrifice.

When the man says it is a pity for the children if she joins people in singing she says that it would be nice not to join them in singing, but there is another handsome young man whom she wants to introduce into her house.

The man ends by telling his wife to stop: he will come back and they will add more children to those they have at present.

Daing 40.

Abem sin niliklik-o—What you wove is a tissue of a special kind.

Both man and woman say that what the woman wove is a tissue of a special kind.

Then the man tells his wife to put a sign that forbids entrance to outsiders, while he goes to the outskirts of the town to look for a good omen, and she says she will do so, lest somebody enter during his absence.

When the man says he will go abroad to sell the tissue, the woman wants him to get a decent price for it.

Coming back, the man says people did not even want to look at his wares.

Here follow accusations on both parts: when the woman says that she heard that he had received a nice sum for the tissue, he accuses her of lying and of having diluted with water the rice wine he had laid by.

When the woman says he must have gambled and lost, he accuses her of allowing a strange man to share their bed.

The woman says that this cannot be true, because her mother-in-law was all the time sitting at the head of their bed.

When the man says that he will leave her and go to another girl, she accuses him of being afraid, because he gambled away the tissue

she wove.

When the man says it is her duty to feed the children, she says that she is sorry, because she is being abandoned on account of that tissue.

When the man corrects her and says that the real reason in her allowing a strange man to share their bed, the woman takes the offensive and says that she will go and sing with people, while they pound rice, when he goes to the other girls.

When the man says she should not do that but take care of the children, she says that the children will grow up and that then she will go while he goes to the other girls in their miserable dwelling.

Finally the man gives in and says he will come back to her, and bring forth more children but the woman refuses, because she is already on her way out.

The man ends by saying that he will be quick to intercept her and that they will live together in their hut: his accusations were only a subterfuge to justify his own conduct.

Daing 41.

Kupilan ed Ganduyan—Jew's harp at Ganduyan.

After a strange introduction, in which a Jew's harp and velvet beans, eaten by a woman, are mentioned, the woman asks her husband to fetch that Jew's harp for her.

Then the man asks her to go to the other side of the sugar cane field and prepare rice wrapped in leaves of sugar cane.

When the woman consents to do so, the man explains why he wants it: he will offer a sacrifice, because the road to the Jew's harp is barred.

The woman tells him to offer also a cock, and he does so.

The woman says she cannot eat before she gets that Jew's harp.

When the man says that they ask much money for it, the woman tells him to work for it and stay there a month, if necessary.

The man consents, but she must pound rice for his provisions.

The woman promises that her rice will be ready.

When the man says he is sorry, because he is troubled on account of that Jew's harp, the woman says she will certainly eat, when she gets it.

Now the man goes and brings her that Jew's harp, and the woman says she will play on it: it is the reason why she did not eat for half a month.

Becoming impatient, the man tells her to make a husband out of

that Jew's harp and he will leave her.

But the woman says that her intention was that both of them should play on it by turns.

Subdued the man calls her his beloved, but says that she is troublesome and the cause of all his troubles.

The woman ends by saying that there is no remedy for it, if he does not agree with it.

Daing 42.

Bato ed Alimpudupud—A stone at Alimpudupud.

The introduction of this song consists of two sentences that seem, at first, not to be relevant: the man says that the stone is removed by strength of current and the woman tells her husband to be patient.

When the man says that she should group up her sweet potatoes and bring them to him, she says she will take charge of them.

When the man tells her to call his brother-in-law so that he have a companion to drag the sweet potatoes out of the field by strength of current, she says that he cannot be found.

The man says that he will have patience, and the woman tells him to go ahead, she will follow with the basket.

When the man complains about his nails, she again tells him to be patient.

When he says that he wants a return for his expenses on behalf of that field, she says he will get them, but he should not be hindered of going forward.

When he says he is stumbling, she says he does it on purpose.

When he says she should not compel him, because he has not the means to pay wages, she is wondering at his behavior.

At this he accuses his wife of having replaced him in her bed, and the woman says that very soon he will be cursing.

Now the man mentions a young man's presence at their house.

At this juncture the rhythm and the rhyme of the song is spoiled, and when the woman makes a remark about it the man acknowledges that the singing is indeed spoiled, and the woman says that he himself is to blame for it.

From now on, the woman does not represent his wife any more, but another girl.

When he says he will pay her a visit and stay with her until daybreak, she gives an evasive answer.

When he says that she minds nothing else but singing, she denies it:

the green gram she sowed is laden with fruits.

When he says that he does not like her looks, she again denies his former statement: if she did nothing but singing, they would not have enough to eat.

When he says that she does not mind anything else but going to church (as Christians do), she agrees: she is arraigned in beautiful attire for that purpose, at this very moment (literally: in the middle of now).

When he says that she looks all right when seen from behind, but is despicable when seen face to face, she answers in the same vein and says that he smells like stinking sesame.

Now in derision, the man says that the singing is becoming unharmonious, but he blames the girls for it.

Here the woman takes the offensive: he may say what he likes, but she is sure that he will follow her.

The man denies this, because his children are still young.

The woman, however, insists: they should put aside his wife who looks like wanting a second sacrifice (thus: another marriage); he promised her to stay with her, so that she could bear children for him.

The man ends by giving his consent: she is better than anybody.

Daing 43.

Danum ed Natakbugan—Water at Natakbugan.

In this song the name of the man is Wigan, and that of the woman, Bugan.

When the narrator is telling something, his text is sung by both men and woman.

A very similar song is used as an invocation, which is sung on the occasion of some sacrifices, where Wigan (or Lumawig) is the chief of spirits, with Bugan his wife.

The second verse reads: Bugan lets it down (from the sky?).

For its hidden meaning and that of the introductory verse, cf. the remark at the end of the next song.

The man begins by helping the woman to take up her load of rice, and the woman says she will also carry a cock.

Now they go traveling and visit thirteen different places, all of them being announced by the narrator, except the twelfth one, which is mentioned by the woman.

At six of those places (first, third, fifth, seventh, tenth and eleventh), the man wants to have a smoke, and at two others (second and third), the woman wants to take a rest.

At the fourth, the man says they have gone far enough.

At the sixth, he takes a look at the place.

At the eighth, the woman asks him to help her put down her load, because she is tired.

At the ninth, the man says they have gone far enough, and then says he will go ahead, and the woman says she will follow him.

At the twelfth, the woman says they need a rest, and the man should look for a place to pass the night.

At the thirteenth, the man says they will pass the night at the house whose roof has been freshly thatched.

Here the narrator says that they come down; and they enter the house: the man from below, and the woman through the smoke hole in the roof.

The man tells the woman to bring her load of rice, and the woman asks him to open the poultry yard, so that she may put the cock in it.

Then they look for the man who offers a sacrifice and they get the best kind for the singers.

Now the narrator says that they return home (to the sky?).

There they end the song by saying that they roast a cock, in order to charm the spirits.

Daing 44.

Alin danum ed Pakda—The water at Pakda.

The introduction to this song consists of three parts: the man says that the water flows continually and that its source is dammed, and the woman says that it flows continually because there is no hill from where it may issue.

The man says it needs elder wood and the woman says they bathe the new-born child in it.

The man says she is the bathing place and the man built his house in the middle.

After this introduction the man says that the man just mentioned is calling for a servant, and that she should go, if she likes.

The woman refuses and says that he should go as the man prefers him for a servant.

The man says she must go because she knows how to wash his clothes, but she insists that the man wants him.

The man again insists on her going; he will guard the house in her absence, but his wife says that he will be shamed if she goes, as if she left him.

The man tells her to leave her child in his care and go, but the woman says it is a pity for the babe, as it is new-born.

The man tells her to go anyway, he shall take care of the child.

For the explanation of the strange introduction to this song, cf. the remark at the end of *daing 17*, where "hyacinth bean" is here replaced by "water at N."

Dain 45.

Danum ed Malusbo—Water at Malusbo.

The man says that the man put a spout into that water and the woman says they bathe a strong young man in it.

When the man says that she should marry that young man, if she loves him, she says that she does not like him.

When the man says that she should marry that man with the very long penis, whom she met casually, she says that she will marry a man of the choir.

When the man insists on his opinion, she says that she will marry the man who wears a beautiful headband.

When he says she will be seduced anyhow, she says that she will marry the man who threw down a horse (thus: a strong man).

Finally the man says that she should not leave before she hears what he will sing about: he put the jar erect in (indecently poetical for: he married) the rich man's child.

The woman ends with two remarks: she says that he quickened the singing and he says that she made it longer.

In order to understand the first verses of this song, cf. the remark at the end of the preceding song.

Daing 46.

Danum ed Balas-ian—Water at Balas-ian.

The man begins by saying that, as a man, he cannot pass that water, but that the girls are worth more, because they can do that, and the woman says that the man can stand on its bank.

Then the man says that he would not be able to step out of it, if there were no girls, but the woman says she will step out of it (thus: stop that business), and go on her travels.

Now follow the woman's visits to four different places, marching ahead and letting the man follow her, and the man at each of those places, asks the woman to stop and have a smoke; at the last two places, however, he complains because he is deserted in the middle of the road,

not being able to follow the quick steps of the woman.

Finally the woman again says they will go on, and the man ends by saying that they will look at their home town and stay there.

In order to understand the first part of this song, cf. the remarks at the end of *daing 44*.

Daing 47.

Danum ed Namatek—Water at Namatek.

The man begins by saying that this water is very cold, and the woman says she likes it and plays with it.

When the man says that he harvested one bundle of rice, the woman says she pounded it and obtained one handful of rice.

When he says that he will put the rice in the jar, the woman says he should not drink the rice wine before it is ready.

When the man says that he will draw it out and give her a drink, she says that she is glad, because in that way she may get a companion to share that water.

The man ends by saying that she by herself is sufficient: he will take care of her.

In order to understand the first verses of this song and a later mention (of the water), cf. the remark at the end of *daing 44*.

Daing 48.

Natibang ay engnga—A child covered with scars.

The man asks the woman if she saw it pass on the level road: it places its enormous penis full of rice powder on the shelf.

When he tells her to marry that boy, if she likes him, she curses him and says that it is better to have no husband than one with such an enormous penis.

Daing 49.

Nalipew si nenngayew—Nalipew is the one who shouted.

The man begins by saying that he shouted (when headhunting) and the woman confirms that statement.

When the man tells her where his hut is situated, the woman says that he surrounded it with a stone wall, but is sorry he offered all their chickens in sacrifice.

When the man says that his provisions consist in taro, the woman says that she will bring them to him.

Now the man accuses his wife, three times in succession, of failing

to bring him his provisions.

At the first accusation, she replies that she brought them, cooked in pieces of hollow bamboo, and when he says that she snatched away the young enemy he wanted to catch, she says that he did nothing but loiter all the time.

At the second accusation she says that she brought them to him at the resting place, but that he did not appear and so she was much delayed; and when he again complains of being unable to catch an enemy, she says that he is sitting down and so they leave him behind.

To the third accusation he adds a hint about a white man (thus: a handsome man) to whom she gave the provisions.

The woman insists that she brought them to him, and when he says that he did not see them, she says that there is no question of a young man meeting her.

Now the man accuses her openly of having given the provisions to a strange man and of having allowed him to touch her indecently.

The woman denies it: she has always remained faithful to him; and she ends by saying that she is sorry that the young enemy was not caught.

Daing 50.

Enka et mensagsey—Go.

The man begins by telling the woman to go to Intikgey, but the woman refuses because she is ashamed on account of the children who are poor.

When the man insists because Intikgey covets her, she says that she will take the man who is dancing: he is a slender man and resembles nicely twisted rattan (thus: is handsome), then the man says she should take them both alternately.

When the woman says that the dancer will soon be coming to her, the man agrees, because his father has become rich through sacrifices.

The woman is sorry that she has to take the young dancer, because the children lack food.

When the man says that the dancer will not come to her because she had gone to Intikgey, she acknowledges that she did so, but when he says that she breaks into laughter through love for Intikgey, she denies it strongly, because the dancer is preferable.

Now the man says that she is handsome when she goes and lies down at the meeting place, and she says that she will use her hairdress to beckon to the young dancer and that he will come to her.

The man wonders how easily she is able to tempt young people, and she says that she dies of love for the young dancer and wants him to appear to her.

From now on the speaker represents the young dancer: he finds it foolish for the woman to be gadding about while they have not enough food.

The woman says she needs relaxation, but afterwards she will be able to weed the field.

When the man says that she should remember the children who lack food and the people who despise them, she says that she will plant all kinds of vegetables, all of them fruitful, so that he will eat them "ten times".

Now the man changes the topic of conversation and says that there is reason for "crying", because the residence of the woman is ruled by a Spaniard who makes people carry loads, but the woman says he should not worry, because she would meet the policeman who comes to fetch him and sing, so that he would be allow to sit in a chair under the house.

Now the man tells her to open a box, and the woman says that the policeman will fetch him, if he does nothing but make other people work.

The man, however, says that this was only one of his tricks, because he wanted her to "cry", and the woman ends by saying that crying while singing would be bad indeed.

Daing 51.

Bilbiligek ed Nagey—I am walking on the hill at Nagey.

The man begins by saying that he is walking on the hill and looking down on a house whose roof is thatched anew.

Then follows a description of the house: the woman says that its stone wall is curved (thus: beautiful), and the man says that its ladder is made of a special kind of timber.

The woman says that its bundles of rice are small and the man says that its mortar has only one hole.

When the woman says that this may be due to poorness, the man finds it easy for a rich one to talk that way.

Now the woman says that Intikgey is calling him and the man says that she should go to him.

The woman, however, insists: a letter has come from Intikgey to call him.

The man tells her to go and he will take care of the children, but the woman says that it would be impossible, because the children are still weak.

When the man says that she should go and be worthy of desire, because she would be eating rich food, his wife answers by saying he himself should be "worthy of desire", and she would go to work for wages.

When the man again says that he will take care of the children, she says he should go, because he is a man.

Now the man replies to her former statement: she could not go to work for wages, because she is weak, but the woman says that she always went to work for wages in the fields of the rich.

When the man says she should go for a while, as she is doing nothing, the woman laments, because she is abandoned by her husband, but the man says he will take the responsibility of that on himself.

Finally the woman consents to go, and tells him to take care of the children.

Now the man accuses his wife of being in love with Intikgey.

The woman says she is really "worthy of desire", because she has no work to do and is resting all the time, although, on the other hand, she is to be pitied.

The man ends by saying that the children are to be pitied, because his wife is in love with another man.

Daing 52.

Babai s' maymayupen—A very virtuous woman.

The man begins by saying that the woman does not approach the "narrow" mat (occupied by only one person), but the woman says that she does not like the man at whom they have gnawed (thus: ugly).

When the man says he will give a child the chance to be conceived, the woman says she will turn away from him.

When the man says that he will take hold of her smooth and light-colored thigh, she says that she will accept a young man as the father of her child.

When the man says he will take care of him, she says that he should remain away and she will rub the young man's perspiration and so on.

Finally when the man says that he does not like the young man carrying the child, the woman agrees and says she does not love him.

Now they leave fiction and come to reality: the man complains because the woman stops him whenever he says something, and the

woman says it is because they are singing and the whole business is only talk.

When the man says that she is bragging, the woman agrees that perhaps it is so, but she wants to strike up the song (in honor of the spirits) that refers to the fecundity of the chickens and the children of the people who offer the sacrifice, so that they, men and women, may be of some use when they assist at it.

The man ends by agreeing and telling her to strike up that song.

Daing 53.

Aney nan pis-uy dana—Ah the teasing of these ones.

The woman begins by complaining because they are teasing her.

When the man says that she is bragging although an idler, she says that she is not idle, but does two things at the same time.

When the man says that she is covered with hair (like a cat), she says that she resembles a China rose (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis. L.).

When the man says that she is always the first to go to entertainments, she acknowledges that she attends sacrifices that are being offered.

When the man says that her way of singing becomes disgusting, she replies by saying that he is never absent at meals.

Now the woman takes the offensive: when the man says that she should remember that he is laughing at her, she says that he surely is in love with her.

When the man says that they would not be satisfied, if she were his wife, she says that he soon will be caught.

When he denies it, she says that he will poke the fire (as married people do).

When the man says that she cannot get him, a man who threw down a cow, she says that the spirits of the sky are lucky because they cannot lose their wives, but that she is still better, because she is newborn.

When the man says that he cannot leave his wife, because she resembles a lady, the woman says that she saw his wife, and her feet were like hyacinth beans (thus: she was ugly).

When the man says that his wife is preferable, she denies it because she herself resembles a lady.

Then the man says she resembles a duck, and that she will soon ask him to carry her on his back (as husbands do), but that he will not leave his wife, but she says that he most certainly will be caught.

Now the man tells her to take Alaska for a husband, as he will give

her a part of his dainty food, but she says that she prefers a man who wears a black coat, with whom a contract has been signed.

When the man insists on her taking Alaska, she tells him to follow Alaska on the road, but that she will stop at the resting place, take off her jacket and fan him.

When the man says that her duty is toward Alaska, she says that she will take his ghost and put it in her waistband, because he dreamed about her (because he married her in her dreams).

The man ends by giving it up: these girls are going beyond all bounds, he cannot get the better of them.

II. The *Dayyakus*

The *dayyakus* are *daing* songs that are used at the time of a head-hunter's sacrifice.[2]

Dayyakus 1.

Bakgengmon aluy-uyan—Your basket is a large one.

The man begins by saying that the woman is strolling around in her field with a basket, and the woman says that it is full of larvas of the dragon fly.

When the man says that he did not taste any of them, his wife says that she had left by some of them for him.

When he says that she consumed them all by herself, she says that very soon he will be drawing some out and cook them.

When he says that she should weed her field instead of roaming around gathering larvas, she says that she did weed her field, but that she had to gather larvas because otherwise he would not eat.

Now the man tells his wife to weed a field he has been preparing.

Then the woman says that the beans she sowed are bearing fruit, so that his stomach will be satiated.

Again the man accuses her of eating all the larvas by herself, and she again says that very soon he will be eating them without having time for sleeping.

When the man wonders at her answers, she again says that she had left by some of the larvas for him.

At this the man says he will leave her, and the woman asks his

2. The *dayyakus,* text and translation, were published in Anthropos, Vol. XVIII–XIX (1923–1924), 173–179; 819.

reasons for doing so.

When he says that he does not like her conduct, she says that she always served him diligently.

When for the third time he accuses her of consuming the larvas by herself, she merely answers by saying that she always screened him, that she never chided him.

Finally he says that he will go away anyway, and the woman ends by saying that he may go: she has noticed his habits, he is looking for subterfuges, and besides, there are enough children for her to be loosed of her husband.

Dayyakus 2.

Dak-e ta gaygayanmi—Let us invite.

This is a typical headhunter's song: the man regrets old times, because the Spaniard restrains him from his former practices.

The man begins by inviting the sweet potatoes of another town to come to him and the woman tells him to coax them and make them multiply, so that, when she goes to dig them up, her basket be filled and she may come home after a short absence.

When the man invokes the sacred tree (at whose base gifts are offered to the spirits) and asks him to bring back old times (headhunting: a fertility rite), so that their rice increase and the sweet potatoes and so on from other towns be coming to them, the woman wishes the plants of other towns to be added to theirs and augment them so that they may stop going to Masla (where rich people are living).

The man says he had reasons for weeping, because he went to sell a G string and they took it for nothing; then he invokes the spirits of the sky, so that the Masla people be obliged to come to them, and the woman agrees: so that she recover the money she gave them for a single kernel of rice.

Then the man tells her to make ready for their coming, and she wishes the green gram to increase like the other plants.

The man agrees and gives the reason: so that they have something for dinner and for presenting to the visitors when they arrive.

The woman, however, says that it is useless because even if there were a whole trunk of provisions they would run away with them.

But the man wishes that there be enough for them and also something for the Spanish governor who lives, says the woman, in their town.

The man ends by saying that they, the young men, are of importance to the Spaniard, because they serve him as a shield, and he adds that

his eyes are bathed in tears (of regret for old times).

Dayyakus 3.

Petkam et san doklang—You dance a long time.

The man begins by saying that the woman dances a long time, and the woman says that she is an ornament of the house yard.

When the man says that she is longing for (roasted) young pig, she says that he is lucky for having a wife who has leisure to dance at people's sacrifices.

Now the man accuses her of failing to weed the field he has been clearing, but the woman says she did weed it and, besides, drained it with canals.

When he says that it is a nest of rats, she says that the cowpeas she planted are growing luxuriantly.

When the man says that his sides are bursting with grubbing at the weeds with his crowbar, she says that she leaves at daybreak in order to plow her field.

When the man says that it would be worse if there were a child, the woman says that in that case she would quit dancing.

Now he takes her at her words and says she could stop dancing, but she says she will do so as soon as there is a child.

Now the man says that he will leave her and go towards other girls, and immediately the woman promises to stop dancing if he remains with her.

After having repeatedly said that there was no child, the man now accuses his wife of failing to give sufficient food to the children, but the woman merely says that she is unfortunate on account of his conduct.

The man now accuses her of grubbing up the roots of the cowpeas she planted.

The woman finds this ridiculous and, after repeating that she is unfortunate on account of his conduct, she says that dancing was his reason for leaving her.

At this the man says that the reason is that he had been replaced by another man, but the woman denies this and says that it is her duty to guard her mother-in-law.

Here the man says that she talks about going to dance, as if he did not know what she was doing, insinuating that she met another man.

Exasperated the woman says that he himself knows very well what he has been doing: he fingered the fruit of the night (he touched a girl indecently), at the resting place.

Dayyakus 4.

Ay-ayyew din palikewkew—Alas the chicks.

The man says that all his chickens have been offered in sacrifice, that he was delayed in his shouting (as headhunters do when successful), with looking for a good omen, and that he caught nobody because his wife did not bring him his provisions.

The woman denies his statement about her failure of bringing his provisions; he pretends to have looked for a good omen, but he loitered with the Pandayan girls, and she was surprised to find there new-born children; he gives her failure as the reason why he did not catch any "sole of the foot" (thus: man), but the real reason is that he did not his work carefully: he did not impede the access of strangers to his house, and so they have had not a single day of rain during the whole dry season (no heads, no fertility).

III. The *Ayugga*

The *ayugga* are *daing* whose tempo is much quicker than that of the ordinary *daing* songs.[3]

Ayugga 1.

Indalasta s' madalas—Let us do it quickly.

The man begins by saying that they should sing quickly and then promises the woman to pay her a visit, to which she agrees.

Then he accuses her of being a frequenter of the house yard: she goes to sing whenever somebody offers a sacrifice.

The woman says that she has to do so because she is handsome and has to answer the men at the singing.

Then the man says that is the reason why she will remain single for many moons, because nobody talks or makes love to her, but the woman says that a young man, who wears a black coat (thus: handsome apparel), like a Spaniard, has come to her.

Now the man says that she is covered with hair, like a cat (thus: ugly), but the woman says she is new-born and similar to a doll.

When he accuses her of bragging, the woman takes the offensive and says that soon he will climb on her handsome back (marry her).

3. The *ayugga*, text and translation, were published in Anthropos, Vol. XVIII–XIX (1923–1924), 820–824.

The man says that it is impossible, because he threw down a cow (thus: is strong), and thrice offered a solemn sacrifice (sealing the marriage), he also prayed over the food offered to the spirits.

When she says that she causes him to divorce his wife, he says that she is not as good as his wife.

When she says that she will take him anyhow, even though he knows all about solemn sacrifices, he says that his wife is desirable.

The woman says she does not know his wife, but they should remove her to the foot of the bed and he should put his leg over her; besides, the legs of his wife resemble hyacinth beans (thus: are ugly).

When the man insists about the superior state of his wife, the woman says that she was the first to whom his ghost has been coming (they married in their dreams).

When the man says that she lies, she foretells that they will meet at her house and he will make a mistake with her.

Now the man complains about her conduct: she is a mere chatterbox.

At this the woman says that indeed it is bad, he will soon be crying at her teasing.

When the man says they should arrange the singing as if they were not participating in a sacrifice (thus: leave fiction for reality), the woman agrees: she will stop teasing him: his wife is really better because there are many children.

The man confirms her statement and ends by saying that the singing is sufficient: they have answered one another for a whole night.

Ayugga 2.

Babai si maymayapit—A slender woman.

The man begins by saying that he thought the woman was slender, but she has a cast in the eye, and the woman says that she was lurking behind the briars and he groped after her.

When the man says she should cut down some of the briars and plant sweet potatoes, she merely repeats her former statement, with an allusion to her hoe.

Then he says that there are no sweet potatoes because she is too squint-eyed to be able to cut down the briars.

The woman, however, wishes he had children so that she were free to break off relations with him.

When the man says that he will leave her, she immediately agrees to his proposal.

When he gives as his reason that there was not enough food for him, she retorts by saying that he must have known for a long time that she was lazy.

When the man proposes to give her children, she says he should arrange matters with those other girls, lest he be ashamed.

He thinks, however, that he cannot do so as he called one of them to take care of him.

He thinks, however, that he cannot do so as he called one of them to take care of him.

The woman ends by saying that it is not shameful for her to go to the house of a desirable young man.

Ayugga 3.

Anakdaka san nangintongdo—You are a child of those that live above.

The man tells the woman, who lives higher up, that she must have seen a man passing early in the morning, with a pestle, which he went to sell for a basket full of dried slices of sweet potatoes, and asks her to receive him.

The woman, wondering at the behavior of the man, says that he may come in, but she must talk to him, because he looks much like a spirit.

When the man says that he is not a spirit but a handsome young man, the woman says she does not like him, even though he be a handsome young man, because he is certainly a spirit.

IV. The Swinging Songs

Most swinging songs are very short, and are sung either by a man or by a woman. Others are dialogues, a kind of contest, between a girl who sits on a swing and a young man who stands beside it. Should the girl break down and lose in the contest, she cannot refuse the boy's suit. But, of course, the girl would not take that risk if she were not in favor of the boy, and, besides, the risk is very small, as the Kankanay girls are usually much more clever at this business than the boys.[4]

Singing song 1.

Ine galongayban—Hollo, girl.

4. The swinging songs, text and translation, were published in Anthropos, Vol. XXI (1926), 586–594; Vol. XXIII (1928), 665–681.

The boy begins by telling the girl that he will see and follow her, and that he will fetch wood and bring it to her house yard as a gift to his betrothed; he asks her to tell her father not to shake the stairs and not to forbid his entrance by thrusting a stick covered with soot in the ground, but the girl tells him not to bother about that stick, because it is placed there only to frighten the crows.

Now the boy describes his journey from the forest where he gathered wood for the house of the girl, and says what happened at six places: at the forest he arranged his load, at the waterfall he took a bath and had a smoke, he smoked strong tobacco, he started singing while patting his load, he wiped off his perspiration, he drank water.

The girl always told him to walk quickly to avoid the rain that is coming: he would get wet and that is unbecoming, he should not get wet because they are betrothed only very recently, the rain has reached the place he has just left (twice), her lips (with an obscene meaning) are parched very much and he is still loitering, he should bring in his load.

Arrived at the house of his betrothed the boy puts down his load near the stairs which he uses as a support, and the girl washes off his perspiration.

Then he asks her to draw cold water for him.

When she invites him to eat, he agrees provided his mother-in-law has prepared the meat, and the girl says she did, and asks him to weed their field, because the girls are lazy.

The man, who now stands for her husband, consents so that sweet potatoes may be planted in it, and the woman says she will sit under the house meanwhile.

When he tells her she should go and work for wages in order to feed the children, she says she will sit under the house and do nothing else.

Exasperated he says he better did not exist and will leave her to go elsewhere; he mentions four places: 1. because there are enough children; 2. he has seen a girl some time ago; 3. he will leave the main road and go another way; 4. he merely mentions the place.

The woman answers each statement by saying that she will stop him on the road by changing into: 1. a big snake; 2. a crow; 3. an adder; 4. a rat.

The man says he cannot stand it any more, as the children lack food and the woman says he may go, she has another man in sight.

When he says that he will keep guard so that nobody take his place, she says that she will not give herself to him.

Finally he changes his mind and says he will come back, because he has not been replaced, and will add more children.

When the woman asks him why he wanted to leave her, while she did not send him away, he says that he talked that way yesterday, because she was lazy.

The woman ends by saying it is all right and they will produce more babies.

Swinging song 2.

Mapangpang ya mapangpang—Be it cut down, cut down.

The woman, having trouble with her husband, wishes that a young couple, just married, may be separated, like a pine tree cut down, and she will fill up the void; she wishes the man's property might be destroyed, so that both eat common food.

After this introduction, the woman says she has done singing and comes back to reality: she has to bring up her son, but her husband, who is a gambler, stands in the way.

The man has three reasons for complaint: 1. he has to buy a rib (a dainty) for the children; 2. he buys a blanket for the child; 3. he brings home a young pig and his wife roasts it.

The woman retorts: 1. when he finished eating, he did not give the rest of the rib to the child; 2. he lost the blanket gambling; 3. he it was who roasted the young pig, and he did give nothing to the child.

When the man says he will divorce her, she says that it is impossible because there is a child.

Then he says that he will go to the people that live on the other side.

The woman now accuses him of jealousy, when he failed to give the child the rest of the rib.

When he says that the people at the other side are all "shiny" (thus: handsome), the woman says he talks that way because they gave him rice to eat, while at home he had only millet.

The man denies this: his reason for talking that way is that his wife stole the young pig.

When the woman says he should be careful, as she might bring him up for trial, the man ends by saying that it is her own business if she does so.

Swinging song 3.

Puntek man san namidang—The one who wears a red cloth stands in

the way.

This is the monologue of the girl who stands for the woman in trouble with her husband.

He stands in the way: he is a gambler and loses everything, even the cloth of the child; it is better to have no husband.

He steals a carabao, cooks the meat and gives nothing to the child.

The child complains because it gets nothing from the rib (a dainty) which his father brought; the child is wondering at his behavior.

He finds a subterfuge for lying down on other women.

While she contents herself with poor food, she gets tired looking for precious food to present to him.

He however, never gets tired looking after the child: her mother-in-law takes care of it, while she is at work.

He should not gamble away the basket her father bought, so that the child might inherit it.

When they go to assist at a sacrifice and she wants some tobacco, she will ask it of him on the road; if she did so while in the house, he might be shamed, when he makes love to a girl, who would notice that he is a married man.

The children are dispersed and he abandons them.

When she looks for something, he is angry, because he wants to monopolize everything to give presents to strange women.

He should be careful, because she might bring him up for trial, and he would be called to Vigan, the residence of the governor, and be imprisoned there.

He would be shamed doing the dishes while she was sitting in a chair.

This might teach him a lesson for abandoning her and also those other women.

Swinging song 4.

Ulay bumanggilat—Although it glitter.

The woman is not afraid when the young man threatens her with a glittering knife; she will not ascend his stone wall nor enter his house (will not marry him), because he did not place in a row (did not arrange nicely) the jars he had thrown down (for her dowry).

Swinging song 5.

Ulay mapokkey—Let her be separated.

The woman wants the girl to be separated from the young man with

whom she intends to begin housekeeping, she does not want her to approach the hook (on which people hang things before going to sleep), she wants everybody equal (no favorites), while she herself intends to enter the young man's stone wall (to marry him).

Swinging songs 6 & 7.

Ulay umiddaiddas (or: *umiddaiddang*)—Although he be dragging.

In both songs the woman tells her lover that, although his father be bragging (whatever he does), he will have nothing to do with the young man's field, whose fruits form a big heap (or: a heap that is narrower in the middle).

At the end of the second song, the woman remarks that, at sowing time, the fruits of that field are consumed.

Swinging song 8.

Ulay umab-abila—Although it unfurls itself.

Although the young man's G string unfurls itself (exposes its beauties), the woman does not accept him, because she does not like the kind of house in which he resides.

Swinging song 9.

Ulay kumilatkilat—Although it be shining white.

Although the young man's blanket be shining white, the woman does not like it and will not ascend his stone wall (marry him).

Swinging song 10.

Ulay kumiluskilus—Although they are clinking.

Although that girl's earrings are clinking, the young man is not impressed, he has an eye on another girl.

Swinging song 11 & 12.

Ulay maaptud (or: *masektang*)—Let it be grubbed up (or: break).

The woman does not mind it if the leaf of the horsetail be grubbed up (or: if their vine be broken).

At the end of the first of those two songs, the woman remarks that all of them will guard the house.

Swinging song 13.

Nauney san babasang—The girl is worthy of desire.

Having praised the girl in a single sentence, the young man now

starts teasing her: her cooking is unsavory and her husband is to be pitied, although he offer sacrifices (as a married man does).

The woman retorts by saying that the very short one (such men are considered ugly) is bad: his cooking smells of birds (thus: badly).

The young man answers in the same vein: her cooking smells of dogs, and the young men do not like her; thus the girls should monopolize her: the young man, whom she despises, is preferable.

Swinging song 14.

Nauney nagundayan—He is worthy of desire.

A native of Bauko, who resides at Gensadan, has a very dear friend, who is married and lives at Bauko.

Should that friend come to stay with his friend at Gensadan, the man could not go back to his native village: because should he go there and visit the house of his friend, where the latter's wife is now living, in the absence of her husband, he would certainly meet with a bad omen on the road.

Swinging song 15.

Nauney nan longayba—the girl is worthy of desire.

The young man praises the girl, who is exceedingly in love with him.

Swinging song 16.

Nauney din namidbidang.

He is worth of desire the one that wears a red headband.

When the man says that all girls are in love with that man, the woman retorts by saying that he divorces his wife on account of a granary.

Swinging song 17.

Nauney nan longab-ey—The girl is worthy of desire.

The man says that the girl whose tapis is swinging is lovable.

Swinging songs 18 & 19.

Nauney din kadangian (or: *san iloko*)—The rich man (or: *the Iloko*) is worthy of desire.

The woman deems both of them desirable on account of what they are eating, and the rich man, besides, on account of his leisure.

Swinging song 20.

Kalaw sin namadbado—The one that wears a coat is bad.

When the woman says that a young man is bad, because he does nothing but sit in the meeting place, the man retorts by saying that he good and should be facing (should marry) her, because he is a handsome boy.

Swinging song 21.

Kalkalaw pay sin labaan—The buzzard is still worse.

The woman finds the buzzard bad, because he feeds on the cheapest variety of taro.

Swinging song 22.

Kalkalut san an-ando—The tall ones are bad.

When the man says that the tall (thus: ugly) girls are bad, because their cooking smells bad, the woman retorts by saying that the short (thus: ugly) young man suffers from the same defect, and, besides, that he passes through the brambles and satiates the stomachs (of blood suckers).

Swinging song 23.

Kawas san basbasang—the girls are bad.

When the man says that the girls are bad, because they are tardy at their work, the woman retorts by saying that the young men always urge them, but that they themselves do nothing but sit in the meeting place and smoke.

Swinging song 24.

Kawas san babasang—The girl is bad.

When the young man says that the girls are bad and needed only for facing you (in marriage), the woman replies that nobody desires him, although he unfurls the beauties of his G string and wears a fine blanket.

Swinging songs 25 & 26.

Kawas sin namangpangio (or: *kawas man nan namidang*)—The one that wears a handkerchief (or: a red headband) is bad.

The woman deems the young man bad, because he does nothing but sit in the meeting place (or: because he does nothing but face you

in the house yard) (thus: dance).

Swinging song 27.

Ayyew et din muyang—Alas the child.

This is the complaint of a husband about his lazy wife, who does nothing but sit under the house: she does not give sufficient food to the child, who becomes very thin; when he comes back home from the forest, where he went to fetch wood, she does not prepare food for him.

And so he will go away and marry another woman, and his wife may take the child to keep her company.

Swinging song 28.

Eyak tumatamang—I look down everywhere.

The young man uses all means to obtain a partner in marriage: he keeps aloof till late in the morning, so that the girls may be fretting for him; he goes abroad to look for a handsome girl who may be his companion at meals.

Swinging song 29.

Kaawatak labey—The dickens, if I were a bird.

The woman wants the husband to divorce his young wife, with whom he started housekeeping: she asks him to stick her in the eaves of his house, so that she may snatch away that girl, leave her outside in the house yard and replace her; so that she herself be the owner of his stone wall, of his ladder and of his hook (on which they hang their things before going to sleep).

Swinging songs 30 & 31.

Kaawatak ud (or: *pay*) *labey*—The dickens, if I were a bird.

In both songs the young man looks for a partner in marriage: in the first one he wishes to stick in the eaves of the house so that the girl may reach him when she comes on the roof to dry rice in the sun; in the second one, he wishes to be used as an ornament of the head in the house of the girls.

Swinging songs 32 & 33.

Kaawatak madaklang (or: *nawitang*)—The dickens, if I were a chantress (or: were slender).

In both songs the woman says that she would marry a rich boy, if a certain condition would be fulfilled.

In the first of those songs, however, she begins by saying that she would divorce her husband, before doing so.

Swinging song 34.

Kaawatak nawitang—The dickens, if I were slender.

The young man says that he would marry a girl from another town, if a certain condition were fulfilled.

Swinging song 35.

Kaawatak napnapsed—The dickens, if I had thick calves.

The woman says that she would marry a diligent young man, if a certain condition were fulfilled.

Swinging songs 36 & 37.

Kaawatak anando (or: *basbasang*)—The dickens, if I were tall (or: a handsome girl).

In both songs the woman says that she would divorce her husband, although strongly bound to him by sacrifices, if a certain condition were fulfilled.

Swinging songs 38 & 39.

Kaasita s' bumagang (or: *pobli*)—We poor people are to be pitied.

The singer laments because poor people have to feed on a poor variety of taro (or: on sweet potatoes).

Swinging song 40.

Numnum-ak ed Likud Bato—My field at Likud Bato.

This is the lament of a woman: she built a fence around her field of sweet potatoes, nevertheless the wild boar broke in and rooted them up, so that she gets tired going around to buy dried slices of sweet potatoes.

Swinging song 41.

Num-ak ed Likud Batang—My field at Likud Batang.

This is the lament of a woman whose field of Italian millet has been ravaged by a carabao.

Swinging song 42.

Num-ak ed Pangusan—My field at Pangusan.

When the woman complains about the ruin of her field by a wild

boar, the man retorts by accusing her of allowing the rats to do their work.

Swinging song 43.

Demdemangek ed demang—I am looking in front of me.

The woman is full of contempt for the man she is observing: he is ashamed to appear in public, on account of the kind of blanket he is wearing, and, when he is cutting ribs, he is not able to separate them.

Swinging song 44.

Demdemangek ed demang—I am looking in front of me.

The numerous footprints, which the woman observes on the ground, are those of a popular hero, who is looking for girls.

Swinging song 45.

Paypayongak kadak-an—I look down on the large river.

The numerous footprints observed by the woman are those of a popular hero and his bride, who are on their way to get married.

Swinging song 46.

Paypayongak ed wanga—I look down on a river.

The woman sees lots of edible snails, but warns people to walk bowing down, lest they be pricked by sharp sticks stuck in the ground.

Swinging song 47.

Paypayongak Bantis—I look down on the town (of Cervantes).

The tomatoes being ripe, the woman counsels people not to walk among them in the dark.

Swinging song 48.

Tangtangadek ed daya—I look up at the sky.

When the man hears the gong ring harmoniously, he wants to beat it.

Swinging song 49.

Babasang ay babasang—Girl, girl.

The young man, not liking his boy companion, asks the girl, who is confronting him, to lead the way into the thicket, when he goes to fetch a load of ornamental beans (Abrus precatorius. L.).

Swinging song 50.

Adu man en dayawdaw—There is much talk at random.

The woman says that her hairdress, which she describes, is going to a distant village (with herself, of course), for there is a handsome young man.

Swinging song 51.

Sia adi ta masektan—Let it break.

The woman wishes the swing to break down, so that she be thrown into the house yard of a rich young man, where they are busy offering a sacrifice.

Swinging song 52.

Masoktup ya masoktup—It breaks, it breaks.

They do not care if a certain vine is broken, because there is a place where they have a supply of them.

Swinging song 53.

Malasngi ya malasngi—It is torn off, it is torn off.

The first cousins do not care if the leaf of the Chile pepper is torn off: they hold one another in their lap.

Swinging song 54.

Maplay, maplay—it breaks off, it breaks off.

The married couples do not care if the leaf of the silk cotton tree is broken off: they cross their legs.

Swinging song 55.

Mensebiang ya men sebiang—She dances and sings.

The woman tells the young man that she will hang her things on his hook (will marry him), although there is another girl, who dances and sings.

Swinging song 56.

Mapekuang ya mapekuang—She marries after separation from her husband.

The woman says that she herself will marry the man who recently married a divorcee.

Although he dearly loves his wife and has thrown down a carabao

(is very strong), he will not be able to resist her allurements: he will divorce his wife, and she herself will lead an easy life, with nothing to do.

Swinging songs 57–59.

Magmagsi ya magmagsi (or: *magmagsa ya magmagsa*)—It cracks, it cracks.

Magmagpong ya magmagpong—It snaps, it snaps.

They become brothers (or brother and sister), although a certain jar is cracked.

They fall in love, although a gong is cracked.

They form a family, although a certain jar is snapped.

Swinging song 60.

Magmagpong—It snaps.

After stating that the leaf of a certain plant is snapped, the man says that he stretches his arm (or his leg) over his sleeping mate, wondering at the behavior of his friend, who always acts in the same way, with all his neighbors.

Singing song 61.

Enkan si balobalo—Go you that feigns to be a young man.

The woman rejects him because he pretends to be young and does nothing but sit down idling.

Swinging songs 62 & 63.

Anggey ay nagadgad-ang—When the sun has risen high.

Anggey ay madsem—In the evening.

The man says that, at noon, he thinks about his sorrow, and, in the evening, he meditates.

Swinging song 64.

Bilig ay naulilig—Mountain situated between two brooks.

The man qualifies a certain mountain as a meeting place for people who lull their children to sleep.

Swinging songs 65 & 66.

Inanang Dinalaginas (or: *Dinalaginang*)—Mother D.

They tell a certain woman that she will never get hold of their field, whose products, when piled up, form a precipice (in the first song), or take the shape of an hourglass (in the second song).

Swinging song 67.

Batang, batang ed Payangapang—Pine tree, pine tree at Payangapang.

They do not care if that pine tree is cut down.

Swinging song 68.

Keppew, keppew ed Bag-ey—Shrub, shrub at Bag-ey.

This shrub is desired by handsome people.

Swinging song 69.

Sili, sili ed Pusili—Chile pepper, Chile pepper at Pusili.

All people hanker after that pepper.

Swinging songs 70 & 71.

Pamgdan, pangdan (or: *udang, udang*) ed Soagayan—Pineapple, pineapple (or: shrimp, shrimp) at Soagayan.

The girls like that pineapple, and the parents-in-law like that shrimp.

Swinging songs 72–76.

Bika, bika (or: *pepa, pepa*) ed Masla—Bamboo, bamboo (or: duck, at Masla.

Tubong, tubong (or: *kuddong, kuddong*) ed Lug-ong—Internode of bamboo, internode of bamboo (or: bird, bird) at Lug-ong.

Tangnin, tangnin ed Bangnin—Cold, cold at Bangnin.

In the first two songs, a married person claims to be neglected (not to be looked at) by the partner; in the next two, a person claims to be neglected (in the same way) by the neighbor; in the last song a married person claims to be neglected (not to be nipped) by the brother-in-law (the cold).

Swinging songs 77 & 78.

Tubo, tubo ed Am-o—Grass, grass at Am-o.

Ket-an, ket-an ed Latian—Edible snail, edible snail at Latian.

In both songs, following the grass (or: the edible snail) is said to be a good thing.

Swinging song 79.

Sapiak, sapiak ed Tikak—Bird, bird at Tikak.

The bird is said to long for a dish of rice cooked with sweet potatoes.

Swinging song 80.

Itab, itab ed Linggawa—Hyacinth bean, hyacinth bean at Linggawa.

This bean is said to be pointed at by something that is situated in the middle.

To understand this, it should be remembered that "hyacinth bean", in songs, is a palliative for "vulva".

Swinging song 81.

Pao, pao ed Amti (or: *Am-o*)—Bamboo grass, bamboo grass at A.

When the man says that they should give lodging to the woman, the woman answers by saying that they should give lodging to the young man.

Swinging songs 82–85.

Yugtanko si Giba (*Gawa, Maula, Andeman*)—Giba (&c.) is my younger sister.

Four sisters are mentioned: the first one cooks beef, the second one cooks a variety of hyacinth beans, the third one is taken care of and weeps, the fourth one catches mice.

Swinging songs 86 & 87.

Bangek sin taktakalli (or: *din bagayayya*)—My hairdress is made of Job's tears (or: of beads).

In both songs, the woman says that young men strive among each other for the possession of her hairdress (thus: to marry her), but she will wait for the appearance of a handsome man (in the first song), or merely stoops her head (in the second song).

Swinging song 88.

Ine bedbedkon tayubang—Hollo, my headband is made of an amaryllidaceous plant.

The man says that girls are fretting enormously on account of his headband (wanting to marry him), there being good reasons for doing so.

Swinging songs 89 & 90.

Bedbedkon tayubang (or: *sin kuba*)—My headband is made of an amaryllidaceous plant (or: of bark).

The man says that his headband is not liked, neither by girls (first song), nor by old women (second song).

Swinging songs 91 & 92.

(bad)badok san menngadda (or: *din pintado*)—My shirt is red (or: has different colors).

The man states that he knows Ilocano (the language of the Christians; first song), or American (the language of scholars; second song).

Swinging songs 93 & 94.

Galeykon tinulo—My blanket made of three pieces.

Lallaeykon galanggang—My blanket with alternate red and white stripes.

In both songs the man says that he lost his blanket, playing cards.

Swinging songs 95–97.

Waneskon linapnitan (or: *sinkategma*, or: *sinkapegtang*)—My G string made of dry banana bark (or: made of one piece, or: torn off from a piece of cloth).

In these three songs the man says that his G string is covered with fleas (first and third song), or with body lice (second song).

Swinging songs 98–100.

Batekkon tinulo (or: *inik-ikan*, or: *binulbul-o*)—My tattooing is triple (or: has the shape of fishes, or: has the shape of algae).

The woman states that two third cousins (first and third songs), or two first cousins (second song) were married.

Swinging songs 101–103.

Imak sin nasagakoeng (or: *napalikut*), or: *nasasango*)—My hand is palsied (or: rolled up, or: curved).

The man mentions three actions of his hand: it steals cooked vegetables, it can enter the anus, it touches a woman indecently.

Swinging songs 104 & 105.

Ladaykon kaman getget—My penis resembles a bamboo receptacle.

Ladaykon paiwayan—My penis (two terms).

The man says that his penis entered into darkness, or was sent into the dormitory of the girls, who did not like it.

Singing song 106.

Akupankon nagugupit—My basket is flatted.

When the man opens his basket he finds it full of crabs.

Swinging songs 107–109.

Sanggapkon sangkaan—My hoe is a big one.
Sanggapko san langtay—My hoe is a bridge.
Sanggapkon pagadaan—My hoe is a handle.

In the first and the third song the woman mentions the time at which the hoe is brought home: before the evening; while in the second song she mentions its place: the middle of the shelf.

Swinging songs 110–112.

Bangbangak din damili—My pipe is a clay.
bab-angak din istang (*ko*)—My pipe has the shape of an hourglass.

In the first and third song, the man mentions the time at which his pipe (with himself) is traveling: every night (when he goes to court the girls in their sleeping place), or at cockcrow (when he is leaving them).

In the second song he says that his pipe (and himself) hankers after girls.

Swinging songs 113 & 114.

Bawik ed Manugtugawi (or: *ed Pagpagudpud*)—My hut at M. (or: at P.).

These are the complaints of a man whom nobody comes to visit, neither his mother nor his relatives.

Swinging songs 115–118.

Nignigaykon (or: *nignigayko*) *din wading*—The prey I caught is fresh-water fish.
Nignigayko din bakbak (or: *gaki*)—The prey I caught is a frog (or: crab).

When the man has caught fishes, his companion either approaches the lower part of the wall (to take a look at them, the man sitting under the house), or smiles; and when he has caught a frog, his companion breaks out into laughter (or: laughs).

Swinging song 119.

Asok ay putut—My dog with pointless tail.

The man says, in a coarse way, that he wants to sleep with a woman.

Swinging song 120.

Mo malondan malondan—If she is neglected, she is neglected.

The man says that he does not care if the girl is neglected.

Swinging songs 121 & 122.

Mo maid san siksiken (or: *oiokso*)—If there is no black fungus (or: young inflorescence or bamboo grass).

The singer claims to be unable to grow (or: to live), if one of the two items just mentioned is absent.

Swinging songs 123–125.

Ukam ay linmakboboan (or: *nababagiwbiw*, or: *men-esiaya*)—Your swollen (or: curved, or: gaping) vulva.

The man says, in a coarse way, that the woman has exchanged herself for a large (or a narrow; or part of a) rice field (thus: has acquired such a field by marriage).

Swinging songs 126–128.

Danum, danum ed Ueg (bis) (or: *Pakda*)—Water, water at Ued (or: Pakda).

In these songs the meaning is far from clear, as the rhyme seems to be the chief aim of the singer.

In the first of these songs, the partakers of that water seem to be congratulated, while in the two others, they are merely mentioned: the whole row or a married couple.

It should be noticed, however, that "water at N.", in songs, usually stands for the pudenda of women.

Swinging songs 129 & 130.

Salanggitok di boto (or: *tili*)—A vulva is sweet.

Swinging song 131.

Adiak dumawdawey—I won't marry.

The woman does not want to marry: her fifty carabaos are sufficient for the work that has to be done in her field.

Adiak dumawdawat—I don't ask for any(body).

The woman does not ask for any more jars: the four in her possession are sufficient for her needs of them in her house.

She does not want anybody's help: she herself will answer the man

who offered himself in marriage to her four times in succession.

V. The Mourning Songs

The mourning songs are of two kinds: the *soso* are used on the occasion of the death (3 & seq.) or of a burial (1 & 2), and the *dasay* which are used when a person is at the point of death.[5]

Soso 1.

Lekuabem san dapanmo—Lift up your foot.

The dead man is sent toward the seashore: on his way he stops at seven places where he has a smoke.

When he arrives at the seashore he again has a smoke, sees many footprints of men who went shouting (thus: headhunters) and meets with a crow (a bad omen), which prohibits him from going farther.

On his return he stops at ten places, where he has a smoke and collects all the hogs, the chickens and the farm products.

Reaching home he gives all those things to his living relatives, sees that the bench under his house has been removed, noticing thereby that he is dead, he weeps loudly and retires to the realm of the dead.

Soso 2.

Lekuabem san dapanmo—Lift up your foot.

The dead person is told to go and smoke tobacco in two places and then to go into the sea.

There he is told to gather rice, hogs and chickens and, while they multiply like the mist, to offer them to his dead children.

On his return home, he is told to bring those things to two places before looking down on his house whose roof has been repaired (which shows that he is dead), and then to distribute his gatherings to his (living) daughters.

Finally he is asked kindly to stop tightly the roof lest somebody follow him in death.

Soso 3.

Si Budiakan—Budiakan (speaks).

This song is a medley; three persons have something to say: the

5. The mourning songs, text and translation, were published in Anthropos, Vol. XXXIII (1938), 585–613.

narrator, the Spirit Budiakan and the dead woman, but sometimes one of them has his speech put in the mouth of another.

Budiakan invites the woman to play with him and then to pass the night at his house, but the woman soon suspects that he is a spirit, and this for two reasons: he uses dried slices of sweet potatoes as rice and deposits of running water as sauce or viands; and when he lies down to sleep, his breech is uppermost and his head adheres to a post of the house.

When she asks him if he is a spirit, he answers in the affirmative.

The next morning the woman returns to her father and asks him to tell Budiakan that she is not there if he comes to look for her; then she conceals herself.

When the spirit comes, her father says that nobody passed that way, but Budiakan espies the woman and tells her to come to his house: if she won't, he will compel her to do so.

And so the woman goes to his house.

When her father goes to pay her a visit, he finds her stiff (dead).

Soso 4.

Kaasika si lalaki—You are to be pitied, man.

This is a dialogue between a woman, who stands for death, and the dead man: the idea is that death has not yet absolute power over a person as long as he is not buried and is still in the power of his relatives.

The woman pities the man because his digging is only superficial (he is dead, but not yet buried), and the man says that the woman failed to weed the edge of her field (she weeded the center, she killed him, but the edge remained weedy, he is still at the power of his relatives).

When the woman says that his sweet potatoes are like excrements (that he is stinking, dead), the man retorts by saying that he cannot yet satiate the potsherds (he cannot go to the cemetery, where potsherds usually abound).

Then the woman says, in derision, that in that case he should go and cultivate his field (like a living man).

The man teases her by saying that she acts like a person without a penis (without power).

At this the woman curses him and forbids him to approach her, as he is always finding excuses for not following her.

The man, however, says that he is making preparations for doing so (for being buried).

Soso 5.

Degiasem nan degaypan—Drive away sleep.

The dead man is told to stop sleeping, to guard his place and to tell them, his companions, about the light he brought from the lowlands and which is now covered (to tell them what he learned when he went to the seashore, which is not hidden).

Then probably as a joke, they tell him he might by doing so triumph over death.

Soso 6.

Soso bayaw ay soso—Mourning, mourning.

The widow complains about the behavior of her husband: he should have died when the children were tall.

Then she asks him to guard the children and keep them alive so that there be somebody to invoke him.

Should some of them become crazy (fail to behave), he should lift them up and carry them into his house (let them die).

Soso 7.

Kaasiak mo bal-o—I am to be pitied being unlucky.

The woman complains about the behavior of her child: it should have died when it was tall, while now her sorrow is exceedingly great.

Then she asks it not to cause any more dead, so that it be the only one to go to the abode of the fathers.

Soso 8.

Mo sia ya dumolto—Let us sing.

Whereas the dead old man has a numerous offspring, they want to sing about it, so that he may tell it to his dead forefathers.

Then they ask him to give breath to the throats of the sitting (the living; the dead do not sit, but lie down), so that they be able to sing.

While making this request, the singer observes somebody copying his words, so he interrupts it to say that now people are writing down those mourning songs, in order to bring them to the lowlands (to publish them outside of their mountains).

Soso 9.

Aneyak san inyatmo—I am to be pitied on account of what you did.

The man complains about the behavior of his brother before he

had brought up his children, because he was afraid of doing so.

He should have been patient and died only after they had grown tall, so that his brothers would not have blamed him for failing in his duty.

Then the dead is asked to guard his children so that they be living and grow up.

He is also asked to let the pigs be living, so that his children may have something to offer to him.

Then again he is asked to multiply their pigs and their rice so that they cannot be kept under the house on account of their abundance.

After asking him to make his children prolific, they praise the dead man.

Soso 10.

Entako et mensayno—Let us go.

The inhabitants of the city of the dead want to go to their abode so that this dead man may invoke them, and then scratch him (as a reward) for doing so.

When they say that they left their rice at the place where they abode while still alive, and that now they feed on deposits of running water, the dead man says that he does not like that kind of food and that he regrets of having died.

Soso 11.

Kenka baw napalloko—Why, you died.

They are afraid of the dead person, because his body is swollen exceedingly and it is impossible to use the usual invocations on account of its unbearable stench.

Soso 12.

Aney waswasem san suyup di titiagu—Ah, you drive away the sleep of the men.

They blame the old woman for dying: she keeps her relatives awake; although they took good care of her, she disregarded the instructions they gave her for her own welfare; she seemed dissatisfied, although she annoyed them very much.

Then they tell her to come back to life again.

After this they explain why she stopped breathing and became a spirit: the spirits coaxed her and she thought it was to sleep with men, but they fed her with deposits of running water and with stinking rice,

and she liked it, although she regretted having died.

When she was on earth, the children supplied all her wants; they gave her excellent rice; when there was something in her basket, she was the first one to taste it.

And so they ask her again to remain alive, and the children will satisfy her every whim.

Soso 13.

Wada kano si Biloblo—There is, they say, Biloblo.

This is a mere narrative.

A woman goes to gather leaves of sweet potatoes, but they are dry; then she goes to gather sweet potatoes, but they are stones.

Her husband fetches water, but it is muddy; he gathers canes of bamboo grass for fuel, but they are young.

Unable to feed his eight children, he goes to work for wages.

He digs an irrigation ditch for a rich man and wants dried slices of sweet potatoes for salary, but gets only a glass.

On his way home, a teacher gives him a horse in exchange for his glass.

At home, the horse multiplies, so that both husband and wife get rich.

Soso 14.

Ine inan Lolo—Hollo, mother of Lolo.

This is a poor, shortened version of the preceding song.

A man goes to gather canes of bamboo grass for fuel, and they are young; and a woman goes to gather leaves of sweet potatoes and they are dry.

Then the man goes to work for wages, and he wants to buy dried slices of sweet potatoes for money, but they offer him a sow for the same sum.

Soso 15.

Ad-u ya pep-en enyo nan bayyaw—Now stop the mourning song.

The singer tells the family to stop mourning: he wishes the deceased to come back to life, because there are many children, who are an honor to him indeed, but a burden to them.

Realizing this to be useless, he asks the deceased to guard his children, and he will teach the family a mourning song.

The reason of the action of the deceased seems to be a kind of

revenge: he was sad, because he thought they had stolen something from him, but the family is sad indeed, on account of his action (of dying), and they will mourn him.

Soso 16.

Umeyka ed kamposanto—Go to the cemetery.

This is an invocation: they ask the deceased to bring rice and hogs to the living, so that they may pay off their debts, and to multiply their offspring, so that many people may remember him.

Soso 17.

Anggey enka nasayno—You are gone.

The singer reproaches the action of the deceased: you left your house to go to the abode of your forefathers, your intellect is tainted, stop at the house of the teacher, and he will show you the way to the realm of the dead.

Soso 18.

Besatko sin inyatmo—Woe to me on account of what you did.

A widow complains about the behavior of her husband, who died because he was afraid of having to feed his children, although there was enough rice for the purpose.

She wants him to be cautious in what he tells his dead forefathers, who will feed him with deposits of running water (the usual fare of the dead), and asks him to guard his children so that there will be people to invoke the forefathers.

Soso 19.

Besatko, besatko—Woe to me, woe to me.

The singer being afraid of the dead man's body which is swollen enormously and full of worms, tells him to leave his earthly house and go to his new abode, but to leave something for his children, so that they may feed the living so that they may pay the hogs that were sacrificed on the occasion of his death, so that they may retch (thus: live), so as to be able to bring him offerings.

Soso 20.

Besatko—Woe to me.

The singer complains about the behavior of the dead man, and

ends by waiting to have a look at him, because he is said to have died.

Soso 21.

Besatko—Woe to me.

The singer complains about the behavior of his father-in-law, who died without paying his debts, which the heirs are unable to do, and wants him to go to his new abode and guard his children, so that they may become numerous.

Soso 22.

Besatko—Woe to me.

The dead man is asked to have pity on the living: he should let them live, so that people may know that they are alive.

Then he is requested to be the only one to go to the house of his forefathers, and to bar the way to any followers, but to leave his luck behind, so that his children thrive, so that their rice fields be productive, so that their hogs may be abundant which will allow them to bring him offerings.

Should he ever become crazy, he should nevertheless impede and bar the way to any person who would try to follow him, and abstain from haunting his children when they go abroad: he should leave the way open.

Soso 23.

Anggey et any napokdo—He died.

The son begins by saying that his father resembles a stone wall in strength, and then asks him to guard them.

It was his will to long for the house of the forefathers (thus: to die), and so he should forget the rice wine he drank on earth.

He ends with a lament: we are unfortunate, because we are all young and you leave us.

Soso 24.

Isagongmo san demetmo—Leave your luck behind.

The dead man is asked to bestow on the living a numerous offspring and an abundance of rice.

Then he is requested to be the only one to go to the realm of the dead and to bar the road to others: he alone should lie dead on the floor of his house.

Soso 25.

Naey ay anggey ay sinmaydan—Now you have gone.

The dead man, being on his way to the realm of the dead, is asked to bar the road, to enclose it with thorns and to besprinkle any prospective follower with fine sand.

Then he is reminded that he went there by his own desire, not wanting any more eating rice consumed by mortals.

Now they feed him with rice mixed with human blood, and he wants to come back; but they laugh at him: it is absolutely impossible and, besides, it was his own fault if he has been entrapped.

Soso 26.

Kenka buppay natey—Why! you are dead.

This song is an indirect invocation: the singer induces the dead man to bless his living children by telling him the following story: the deceased went to the realm of the dead in order to eat taro, of which he was very fond.

On his arrival the spirits were very glad and, whenever they gave him rice to eat, it was changed into taro.

This is, of course, mere fiction: the food distributed to the inhabitants of the realm of death is only disgusting and repulsive: deposits of running water, rice mixed with human blood, and so on.

But the dead man is so much pleased with it that he goes to collect panicles of bamboo grass, changes them into taro and distributes them to his living children, who become fat and multiply.

That is the reason why there are many people who invoke him.

Soso 27.

Nauney et sin aggey—The Job's-tears are worthy of desire.

This is also a kind of indirect invocation.

The son, who dislikes taro, invited his dead mother to go with him to the realm of the dead and eat Job's-tears, which are as tasty as the middle of the liver (thus: very palatable).

They do so and the children become fat.

Soso 28.

Nemnemmo ay natagab-ey—It was your will to long to go.

The deceased is said to have gone to the realm of the dead by his own will, in order to eat either a special kind of rice with taro or Job's-

tears, which are very tasty (as in the preceding song).

The dead man, however, is sorry, he is shedding tears, because the rice he ate when on earth was much better than the food he is getting here, but there is no remedy: then his widow asks him to guard their children, to make them prolific, and to bar the road to anyone who might be tempted to follow him.

Soso 29.

Naey anggey natey—Now he is dead.

The deceased went to the realm of the dead in order to eat Job's-tears and to wear their ornaments; but once there, he repents.

The survivors want him to wait until he is buried; and they are very sad, because he is leaving them in the lurch.

Soso 30.

Namasem et ay natey—That's it, he died.

At the realm of the dead the deceased is a guest at the house of a female spirit, who eats taro and brings a beverage obtained from Job's-tears.

He finds her house beautiful, but the rice wine he drank on earth was much better; he continues to long for it.

Soso 31.

Nay pay enka natey—Now you died.

The dead man wants to take a look at the houses in the realm of the dead, and the forefathers are very much pleased at his arrival.

Soso 32.

Wada kano si Kakadin—There is, they say, Kakadin.

This song begins with a description of the sweet potatoes, the rice, the broken-down stone wall and the numerous weeds of a spirit who makes people ill.

In this description, all the qualifying words, in the Kankanay text, have the ending, which is also that of the qualifying words of the stick and of the house, in the following verses.

Then that spirit says he will take his stick, jump on one foot and go close to the house of the deceased.

Soso 33.

Kankanaen Siplokan—Siplokan says.

The man begins by saying that he is to be pitied because his wife died.

Then he relates what happened during the last days of her life: she made a knife with the hope of finding a buyer for it; but her husband took it upon himself to go and try to sell it for a hog.

At the first place he went to, they offered him nothing; and at the second place, they offered him a bundle of rice.

After going to several places where they offered him nothing, he finally came to Balawa, where he sold it for two hogs.

On his return with the hogs, he intended to pound for their meal; but on reaching home, he found that his wife had died, although much against her will.

While she was brought to the realm of the dead, she had taken hold of stones, in order to impede their progress.

The man ends by saying that he is sad because he is now the only survivor.

Soso 34.

Mat-ebka sin kawwayan—Throw down a bamboo.

They begin by wanting a bamboo to be let down, so that the deceased may use it as a bridge to go and hear the voice of the fishes (when a man dies, he proceeds towards the seashore).

Then they tell the man to bar the way to any prospective followers: he should be the only one to go, because he always wanted to hear the voice of the fishes (heard only in the realm of the spirits).

Now they remind the spirits of their promise: whenever the living send a person to them, they receive a reward for every part of his body: for his head a peso (the highest possible price), for his hands half a peso, for the palm of his hand one fourth of a peso.

Then they ask the deceased to guard his children here on earth, to cause them to multiply, and to do the same to their chickens and their hogs.

They end by saying that they are glad that he is dead, on account of the many benefits they now obtain by him.

Soso 35.

Ugsa ed Namaytokan—Deer at Namaytokan.

The spirits invite the deer (the deceased) to accompany them on a trip through the air; They visit successively nine places; at each place (except the second) they look down to see the fruits of (to bless) the

sweet potatoes, which the owners had weeded the day before (thus: of which the owners took good care).

When they arrive at Mount Kalawittan, the realm of the dead, the deceased, like a pod of velvet beans (?), descended.

Soso 36.

Wada kano si Inkeplew—There is, they say, Inkeplew.

In this song the chief concerns of the singer seem to be rhythm and rhyme.

It consists of three parts, probably happenings in the realm of the dead, which are unconnected and interspersed with ornamental verses that do not affect their meaning.

In the first part appears a man with a torch who shows the way to a light-colored woman; in the second there is a light-colored child who is a chief of thieves; in the third, we meet a man who possesses a chicken that resembles another species of bird, he is very indignant when it is stolen, and another man is called to salt it.

Soso 37.

Wada ed Salusalan—There is at Salusalan.

This is the story of a chieftain who goes to the meeting place of his village, where he receives orders from the governor to go to the realm of the dead with his people.

When he goes home he tells it to his wife, and says he will promulgate it in the village so that the people may obey the order, but she objects, asks him to take care of the child, and she herself will go and protest to the governor: he does not seem to be a chieftain.

Her husband, however, pacifies her and says that she should not make matters worse, but obey the order.

She finally consents and they go.

On the way they are annoyed by the heat of the sun and the woman again scolds her husband for his weakness, but he merely tells her to open an umbrella in order to protect the child.

When they arrive at the place, the woman goes to work for wages, but after some time, she gets tired and wants to return to their village on earth, where they eat rice and fish, while here they get only deposits of running water (the usual food of the dead).

Dasay 1.

Ine adi poonan—Hollo, father.

The son asks his sick father to listen carefully to what he will tell him: the road to the realm of the dead is terrible; he should remember the edible snails and the fish which his children catch in order to grow up, and wait until they do so; then he may die.

Then the son asks him to take their sorrow into consideration, and not to listen to those who entice him to the realm of the dead; they have no chickens yet and the children are still young; when they go to work for the rich, the latter take advantage of them and look down upon them.

He should wait until he gets well; should his sickness increase, he must shake it off, because the house of the forefathers is a fearful one.

Dasay 2.

Lalaki ya lalaki—Man, man.

This is a dialogue between a quarrelsome husband and his wife.

The man begins by saying that he prepared a field for sweet potatoes, and that his wife failed to clean its borders.

The woman retorts by saying that she did clean them, but that she cannot dig up the sweet potatoes.

At this the man replies that she digs only superficially, but the woman says that the reason why she cannot dig them up is that she has only a stick to do so.

Then the man says that he had forged a hoe for her, but that she took no care of it and it was wasted by rust, but the woman merely says that she has no hoe, but only a stick.

Finally the man says that he wove a basket for her, which the woman agrees he did, but it was done negligently and is now deteriorated.

VI. The *Daday*

The *daday* are sung at the outskirts of the town and consist in a dialogue between the women of the town and a strange girl who comes to marry a boy of the town. It ends with the triumphal entry of the girl and her acceptance by the women of the town.[6]

Daday 1.

Entako kad ilaen—Let us go and take a look.

The girls of the village begin by saying that they will go and take

6. The *daday*, text and translation, were published in Anthropos, Vol. XLI–XLIV (1946–1949), 177–183.

a look at their so-called sister-in-law (the girl who comes to marry a boy of their village) in order to see if she is handsome, and the stranger says that indeed she is very handsome.

The girls, however, compare her to a dead person, but she replies by telling them to come near and take a good look at her.

When they tell the stranger to return to her own village, she says that she cannot do so, because her mother-in-law is taking hold of her basket.

The girls, however, give another explanation to that: the mother-in-law scorns her, she puts out her basket so that she should return to her own village.

Now the stranger changes the topic: the boy came to her village at night in order to court her, and the girls agree that he did go, but his aim was not to court her but to look out for tobacco.

The stranger insists that he came to court her, and the best proof lies in the fact that now he brings her to his own village.

Now the girls insult her: she is shameless, lying in wait for their boy.

Then the stranger asks them why they did not go to visit his mother, so that he should have seen them and fallen in love with him.

The girls reply by saying that they were intimates with her mother-in-law, but that the stranger interfered with them.

Now the latter bluntly says that she slept with the boy.

Then the girls again insult her: she is shameless, imposing herself, while she is but a woman; but the stranger says that their actions are still worse: they romp with that boy which is none of their business.

When they accuse her of making the boy drunk, so that she can play with him, she merely states that her mother-in-law likes her very much.

The girls, however, are of another opinion: her mother-in-law sent them to pinch her; but the stranger does not believe that: it is only shameful and idle chat.

When the girls tell her to go to her village, even though it be evening, lest her mother-in-law be angry, she refuses to budge and says she will sit down there; and when they threaten to roll her up (like a mat), she is still persisting in her refusal to go.

Then the girls say they will prepare a torch to light her way home, the stranger says that it would be useless, as she and the boy have already interchanged blankets (thus: are already married).

When the girls say that they will snatch away her blanket, she says that it would make no difference: she will stay there anyhow.

Then the girls change tactics: the stranger stays, but they will use her as a servant, in order to pay any debt they may contract, which the stranger deems rather funny.

When they say that they will use her for a pillow (thus: with contempt) she answers by saying that they should wait a little while and the boy will soon make his appearance.

Then one of the girls poses as the boy's former sweetheart, and she says that the boy at his arrival, will surely come back to her, but the stranger denies it, challenges her to a comparison: she herself is much more handsome.

At this the girls tell her ironically that she resembles a star (thus: is very handsome), and the stranger says that it is the reason why she is preferred; and when they tell her, in the same vein, that she is dazzling, she says that people like her very much.

When the girls accuse her of bragging, the stranger acknowledges she does so, because they are singing.

Exasperated the girls finish by telling her that they feel like throwing her away.

Daday 2.

Into kud tak ilaen—Where is she that I may take a look.

The girls of the town want to take a look at their so-called sister-in-law, and find her to resemble fossil wood coiled into a pad (thus: very ugly).

The stranger says that, on the contrary, she is trimmed up and very handsome.

Then a girl insults her: she is shameless, coming here, while she is present (insinuating that she was the boy's sweetheart), but the stranger says that it may be so, but that it does not matter now.

The girls insist on her shamelessness: the boy went to her village as a porter, and she held him back and fell in love with him; the boy is shy, like a girl, and did not even talk to her, and now she comes to marry him.

The answer of the stranger is very brief: the boy does not like that girl.

Now the girls say they will prepare a torch to light her on her way to her own village, but the stranger says that her mother-in-law holds her back.

The girls deny it: her mother-in-law has put out her basket so that she could leave at once.

The stranger, however, says that her mother-in-law likes her very much.

Then the girls say that they will throw her out, and she will be changed into a fish for them to catch, but the stranger deems this talk extremely foolish.

Then again the girls say that they will throw her away, change her into pitch pine and split her (thus: make a torch of her), but the stranger repeats her former statement: her mother-in-law is very friendly to her.

Now the talk of the girls becomes a medley: they insult her for being shameless, because she puts down her basket (thus: meaning to stay); they curse her a couple of times, they say that they will pay her with cotton (thus: make a drudge of her, as cotton exacts much work), that they will throw her away and change her into bran; they tell her to go back to her own village and they compare her to a jar (thus: being ugly).

The stranger, however, rebukes them for following her boy, who does not want to talk to them.

Finally the girls state that the stranger enters their village.

Daday 3.

Entako kud ilaen—let us go and take a look.

The girls begin by saying that they will go and take a look at their so-called sister-in-law, and see if she is handsome; she resembles fossil wood (thus: is ugly), and they do not like her.

The stranger says that the boy came to her village at night in order to court her, although there were many girls in his own village.

Then the girls insult her: she is shameless, coming here, while they are present.

The stranger agrees that they are present; nevertheless the boy came to her village, because he did not like them.

Again the girls say that she is shameless, because she puts down her basket (thus: meaning to stay); but after all, they will allow her to stay so that she may lie in wait for the "child" (another boy); but the stranger says she does not like the child, she loves the young man.

When the girls tell her they will withhold the young man from her, she says that it is impossible: she is the handsome one, and she it is whom he came to court at her own village.

Then they say, that after their marriage, the man will sit down and she will have to do all the work.

But the stranger is of a different opinion: if there is no outside help, she will send him to the field.

The girls object: she will have to do what her husband wishes.

At this she asks them ironically if he is such a rich man as not to be obliged to do anything but guard the house.

Then the girls insult her: she is shameless, the boy did not like her, but she presented her body to him.

And the stranger bluntly answers that she will press him between her thighs and marry him.

When the Girls say that, in that case, the boy will not give her any of his property, she finishes by stating that they always say the same thing.

VII. The *Day-Eng*

The *day-eng* are sung at any time by either men or women.[7]

1. Dialogues.

Dialogue 1 (48).

Gindalo naey di ay-ayammo ay ol-olbo—Gindalo, here is a toy for you, a frog.

This is a dialogue between a father, a mother and their daughter Gindalo, interspersed with remarks sung by a narrator.

The mother begins by giving Gindalo a frog for a toy, and when her daughter asks her where she got it, the latter mentions the name of the place.

The mother scratches her daughter, and Gindalo's body is covered with blood.

Again the mother gives her a stout frog, and when the girl again asks her mother where she got it, the latter mentions another place.

The mother again scratches her daughter, so that her nails meet.

When the father comes home, he asks what happened there, and his daughter tells him that her mother scratched her.

Then in a fury he pulls his wife's hair, places his daughter in a basket and tells her not to leave it, while her mother is present; and the girl agrees.

Now the mother again mentions a fat frog, and when Gindalo says that she is in the basket, she opens it at once and scratches the girl's eyes.

When the father comes in, he again asks what happened and his daughter tells it: her mother had spoken about a fat frog, while there was none, and she had told her that she was inside the basket.

Then the father hides his daughter and goes to the field.

Later on the mother again says that she has a fat frog and inquires about

7. These *day-eng*, text and translation, were published in Studia Instituti Anthropos, Vol. VII, 65–128. The numbers between brackets are those of the original text.

her daughter.

When Gindalo says that she is hidden in the kettle, the mother goes to her and scratches her.

On coming home, the father takes his daughter and both decide to go away; and from now on the mother waits for them in vain.

Dialogue 2 (49).

Dalusam man witwitan sin dudun ay tayyawan—Pursue unremittingly the locust.

This is a dialogue between a mother, her son Gatan and a girl called Bangan.

The mother begins by telling her son to catch a locust for her.

When the son says that it clings to a precipitous acclivity, his mother encourages him by praising his strength.

When he says that it flew to a distant place, she advises him to take along provisions for the journey.

When he complains about the difficulty of the steep slope, she encourages him and repeats her advice.

The locust, however, flew away without Gatan's notice, and when he met Bangan on the way and told her that he would spread his net over the grass with the hope of catching a locust, he asked her where it was for the moment.

The girl told him the place, and Gatan cursed the locust, because that place was beset by enemies and the road to it was a trap: he should have carried a shield to ward off the glittering weapons of the enemy.

And so he decided to sit down at the resting place, and Bangan approved his decision, because his feet were wounded and he was very tired.

When Gatan saw that there were squashes in Bangan's garden, he asked her for one of them, so that he could arrange matters with his mother, as he had been scolded on account of the locusts.

The girl consented, as they were abundant; she told him to wrap one in his blanket and carry it to his mother.

Gatan did so, and told his mother that he had been unable to catch any locusts because their location was beset by enemies, and he was afraid to go there.

The mother found it funny for a strong man to have been afraid; she said, in derision, she would trim his features and his lovely feet.

When Gatan complains about the wounds in his body, his mother says that she feels ashamed, because she did not obtain a single locust; she tells him to remove his earrings and threatens to go away.

When he says that he had to walk through thorny thickets that pricked his body all over, she tells him to remove all his ornaments, one by one, and, instead of going herself, drives her son away.

Gatan consents, but claims all his clothing; he throws the blame of the whole turmoil on the locusts and the impossibility of catching them.

Finally he goes away and marries Bangan and his mother ends by calling him back.

Dialogue 3 (50).

Ines kalalakian, enka et nalugnayan—Hollo brother, you are to be envied.

This is a dialogue between Gatan, his wife Bangan and her brothers.

Bangan calls her husband a lucky fellow, because he had nothing to do but to sleep under his blanket, while she has to do work on cotton.

Gatan tells her to leave the cotton business to her mother and to do as he does.

But Bangan again calls the carabao a lucky fellow, because he has nothing to do but graze, while she has to do work on cotton, and then she enumerates, one by one, the large number of manipulations which the cotton has to undergo, beginning with the gathering of the bolls in the field, and ending with the sewing of the tissue into a blanket.

Now Bangan, being tired with weaving, gathered up her weaving implements, went away and changed into a handsome, white carabao, several of her implements having been changed into parts of her new body.

When Gatan asks where she was, they told him that she had gathered up her implements and gone away.

Gatan went in search of her and when he found her she allowed him to take possession of her personal property, rice field and chattel, in compensation for being held up (for being without a wife, for being abandoned).

When Bangan's brothers heard about it, they accused Gatan of being the cause of her change: he must have chided their sister.

Gatan denied it, he had always been kind to her, had even allowed her to use his arm for a pillow, and he himself was exceedingly sorry for being held up.

The brothers wanted to lay hold on Bangan's rice field and chattel, but she did not allow it: they should not steal what was Gatan's property.

The brothers end by going away in an angry mood.

Dialogue 4 (51).

Ay ta et san petiagan ken baw lugalugaman—Ah! the cotton, weeding it.

Bangan complains about the work she has to do on cotton, enumerating several of the many manipulations which it must undergo; once she interrupts this list by saying that Gatan, her husband, is a lucky fellow, because he does nothing but lying down, and she finishes by saying that the carabao is a lucky fellow, because he does nothing but graze; and so she decides to take the latter's place.

But Gatan objects to that decision, because he just bought a blanket for both him and his wife.

Dialogus 5 (52).

Ines ginalongayban, masalbet et san galiw-an—Hollo girl, the alternations of the song agree.

This is a dialogue between a man and a woman, a large part of which is interspersed with words without meaning, mere ornaments.

The man begins by asking the woman to answer his sayings in such a way as to make the song agreeable.

When the woman tells him to go out, he says that he will do so at cock-crow.

Then she sends him to four different places, in succession.

At the mention of the first place the man answers that they came from there.

At the mention of the second place he says that they went there the day before.

At the mention of the third place the man says that they are afraid of the weapons, and when the woman calls him a coward, he says that they did not try.

At the mention of the fourth place he says that they are afraid of the carabao, and when the woman again calls him a coward, he says that they should whet their weapons and go to the forest instead, in order to gather wood.

The woman agrees, and then the man asks her to help him to take up his load of wood.

Now the woman invites him to partake of her cooked sweet potatoes, and the man deems them tasty.

The woman ends by saying that they should take their meal together.

Dialogue 6 (53).

Ayyew et ed Tanglawan, ines kak si pangdan—Alas the field at Tanglawan, I planted pineapples in it.

The woman begins by blaming her husband: she had planted pineapples in her garden, but the wild boar had rooted up everything; because her husband had failed to fence it in; he had gone instead to the meeting place to play with his cock; and, besides, he did not take care of their little girl.

Thus he will go away, she and her daughter will build a hut in a farm of their own and live on the products thereof, which will be sufficient for their livelihood, in this way they will be able, at times, to have a smoke (thus: they will live a happy life).

The man finds that the reason of all this is his failure to take care of the child and his playing with a cock, and so he decides to go away, the more so that his wife had quarreled with him on account of his abandonment of their daughter.

Consequently he leaves them and goes to court the girls in another place.

Then the woman says that she will dance and sing in order to attract another young man, because she needs a companion who may help her to care for their daughter.

At this the man repents: it is shameful to be replaced by another man who may perhaps turn his back on (thus: spurn or neglect) the child, he needs his wife and will go back to his former place, and they will bear more children and prepare a house for their little daughter.

Dialogue 7 (54).

Sikiadam si asawam—Stretch out your legs towards your wife.

The woman begins by telling the man to spurn his wife and to come to her, but the man refuses because he loves his wife, and when she insists, he

again refuses because his wife bore him many children.

Then the woman foretells that very soon he will come to her stone wall (her house) and her floor (thus: to sleep with her).

The man retorts by saying that should he come her plans will nevertheless be a failure, and should she talk in a loud voice he would slap her in the face.

When the woman says that in that case she would certainly cry aloud, the man says that he also is able to talk in a loud voice.

The woman ends by saying that she won't be afraid of it.

Dialogue 8 (55).

Bamos ay palubusan—We shall allow.

This is a dialogue between a woman and her husband, with little cohesion of ideas.

While on the road the woman tells her husband to snatch up some herbs to relieve his breathing, and the man rolls a cigar for her.

Then the woman wipes off his perspiration and wants to mark his handkerchief so that he have a remembrance from her, and the man agrees.

She, in turn, wants him to hang up his G string for her to look at and to give her his kerchief and his knife as a remembrance, and the man gladly consents, because she wiped off his perspiration.

Finally she doffs a piece of her clothing for him to use as a shade, and when he asks her why she does not eat, she says that she has a capricious appetite, so that he goes and cuts out a pineapple for her.

Dialogue 9 (56).

Laamang indaymangan—It better did not exist.

The woman begins by cursing her husband's genitals (her marriage), which impedes her from returning to the house of her parents.

But her husband tells her that she has been replaced by a younger woman, and so he prepares her basket, helps her to take it up and sends her away.

Now the woman comes back and asks him to help her to put down her load.

The man merely tells her to place it on the bench under the house, and addresses his new love, who occupies the inside of the house: he tells her to prepare the food (a wife's duty) and to open the door so that he can enter and sleep with her, which he does.

Dialogue 10 (57).

Kak-abek san lubbanmi—I climb on your orange tree.

The meaning of this song is obscure, perhaps something like this: the woman divorces her husband and does not care, because she has a child by him, which is sufficient for her, but she remains in the house that belongs to her mother.

As to the man, he goes away, but consoles himself with the fact that there is a child, so that they cannot blame him for the separation.

Now as to details:

The man climbs upon his orange tree: he wants to sleep with his wife (the tree that bears two oranges, two breasts).

But his instrument fell down and is picked up by somebody (he does not succeed, as something intervenes).

The boar of his mother-in-law (the man who dwells in the house of his wife's mother) is carried away (is divorced).

Being despised by his wife, the man goes to Vigan (goes away).

The woman continues to eat his rice (stays in the house), goes to the backyard to stop the holes (repairs the house, cares for it) and again becomes a girl (an unmarried woman).

The woman says that she has a child, and that is enough, and the man says that it were worse if there were no child.

Dialogue 11 (58).

Men-ab-abata man pay—Let us carry the child.

The woman begins by telling her husband that they should carry their child and go to the field to sow beans in it.

Once there the man tells her to put the child down, but the woman refuses because it rests on her arm.

After some time the man gets tired and again asks the woman to take down her child; then he prepares a basket, they place the child in it, and they carry it that way on their return home.

Dialogue 12 (59).

Num-ak ay Dakdakidak—My field at Dakdakidak.

The woman proposes to barter her jacket for rice in order to feed the child, but her husband objects: he bought that jacket for her, they should rather barter away their jar.

Now the woman objects: she needs that jar for storing her vinegar.

Then the man proposes to go and work for wages: he will ask a jar for his salary and so they will be able to feed the child.

Dialogue 13 (60).

Ina Akley ukana ed Aliwangdey—Akley's mother she has a field at Aliwangdey.

The man describes his wife's rice field and tells her to let their daughter go, probably to help with the harvest.

The woman says that fifty men are needed to carry the bundles into the granary that has been prepared, and is filled with them.

Dialogue 14 (61).

Mo ken gasat di buan—Let us see if the moon brings luck.

This is a short dialogue between a boy and a girl, in the evening, at the girl's dormitory, with several ornamental words that have no meaning.

The girl begins with wondering if she will have luck.

When the boy says that she is desirable, provided that she love him, the girl says she will do so, if he stops courting an old maid.

2. Cradle Songs.

Cradle song 1 (62).

Ud ay ud ay engnga adika men-ag-aga—Child, do not be weeping.

Do not weep: your mother will fetch edible snails for you; if she gathers edible water beetles (Hydrophilus sp.), the meat will be for your mother, the bones for your father and the liver for you, because you are the little one; should you not be able to chew it, give it to the man who is working in the square.

Cradle song 2 (63).

Engnga, engnga, dak-e ud san ag-aga—Child, child, stop weeping.

Stop weeping: your mother will gather edible snails and water beetles for you, we shall eat them, they are a dainty; when somebody offers a sacrifice, we shall get the bladder for you to use as a toy; when you father has finished eating his pork, we shall eat the rest, and there be no more weeping.

Cradle song 3 (64).

Dak-e nan aga—Stop weeping.

Stop weeping: your mother will gather edible water beetles for you: if you cannot chew them, give them to the man who is working in the field, he will eat the bones and the meat will be your share, and there will be no more weeping.

Cradle song 4 (65).

Dak-e nan aga—Stop the weeping.

Stop weeping: your father will fetch a leaf for you to use as a screen against the sun that oppresses the chest, as the dry season has begun.

3. Other *Day-eng*.

Day-eng 1 (66).

Ine inaduglian—Hollo young man.

In this song there are ornamental verses that have no meaning.

A girl espying a young man who is standing in her house yard, at first curses him, but very soon changes her mind and starts coaxing him, because he might be a prospective lover.

Then follows a lament: a poor girl is to be pitied, because she finds it hard to obtain a desirable husband.

Day-eng 2 (67).

Yad-an adi s' yad-an—Frolicking, skipping.

This is the short song of a young man who is standing at the door of the dormitory of the girls.

He wants to play with his betrothed and asks the girls to wake up and

hand him some tobacco.

Day-eng 3 (68).

Ine ay yugtana—Hollo younger sister of hers.

The young man tells his sweetheart that he will leave her and go to another woman; but the latter is a bore: she begins by asking the young man the place of her knife and of her basket; when it is said that a stranger took them, she says that she will bring down three articles, one after another, a bench, a gong and a jar, so that the stranger can take them away; then she finishes by telling the young man to go to the penthouse and bring her the pipe and the basket, which a while ago she was supposed to have lost.

Day-eng 4 (69).

Alin kawwayan si apitbaybay—The bamboo at the seaside.

They cleaned the bamboo and the water at Suyok with a comb; then they cleaned the water at Sakiay with a bridge.

When the girls bathe in it, they grow fat, and they stretch out their legs upon their stone wall.

At first sight, in this song, the rhyme seems to be the chief aim of the singer, while the meaning remains in the background.

But it should be remembered that "water at N.", in Kankanay, is a palliative for "vulva"; and so the girls become fat, when pregnant, and they stretch out their legs at childbirth.

Day-eng 5 (70).

Ayyew gameyko ed Lebeng—Alas my taro at Lebeng.

This song contains an ornamental verse that has no meaning.

The singer complains about the taro he planted: it is full of insects, and the finger that catches them gets no remuneration for doing so; besides, he gets dizzy walking on the curved path that surrounds the field.

Then he goes elsewhere to look for tobacco, and there he makes a remark about the possessions and the haircut of the people.

Day-eng 6 (71).

Siak, siak—Squeak, squeak.

Those to whom the singer will leave something (thus: his children) like the *sapiak* bird, on account of its beautiful plumage and its harmonious voice, the latter being imitated in this song.

Day-eng 7 (72).

Lakay si lakayudan—Young man, young man.

The singer invites the young man to go with him to shake a lady.

Day-eng 8 (73).

Tala, tala ed Abatan—Omen bird at Abatan.

This is a young man's love song.

The singer bids the omen bird not to be ill-boding, because he goes to

Padungan's village to marry her, a girl which is desirable and lovable, worthy to face him in the house yard (to be his wife).

Day-eng 9 (74).

Ines kababaian—Hollo sister.

A man having been imprisoned for something which had to do with a woman's taro field, appeals to the chief of the village to testify in his behalf, with the result that he is set free.

Day-eng 10 (75).

Ina, ina—Mother, mother.

A boy asks his mother for a stick to wave at the tadpoles, and then goes to three different places: at the first place, he asks his mother for something to drink: it is dirty, but he will glut it; at the second place, he asks her for something to eat: it is chopped, but he will gather it up; at the third place, he asks her for something to warm himself: it is rotten, but he will rake it up.

And now he does not know any more where to go.

Day-eng 11 (76).

Ta ek kad siknoen—I shall touch.

A man coming in touch with a woman, who should be his sister-in-law, does not like her, because she resembles fossil wood (thus: is very ugly); he soaks her so that she becomes a dog, which he goes to sell for tobacco.

Day-eng 12 (77).

Anakko si Kolimlimay—Kolimlimay is my child.

The singer begins by saying that his daughter walks nimbly; then she changes into lead, and when he hammers this lead, it changes into gold.

Now he goes to sell it at three different places: at the first place they offer him an iron pot, but he refuses it, because he would get tired; at the second place they offer him a copper armlet, this he also refuses, because it is too heavy; at the third place they offer him a plate, and this he accepts and will use it as a keepsake.

Day-eng 13 (78).

Dikesan man Dikesan—Dikesan, Dikesan.

A mother tells her son Dikesan, three times in succession, to give to his younger brother, who walks on a road on which a stone may be thrown at a long distance (thus: a straight road), a part of his apparel: a blanket, a kerchief, a G string; but when she tells him to court a girl, whose rice crop has just been harvested, the boy demurs, because he is not gold (not worthy of her).

Then the mother again tells him to give his apparel to his younger brother, who will court another girl.

Day-eng 14 (79).

Si Dikesan, iwwakmo abiadan—Dikesan, let the tissue go.

A mother tells her son Dikesan to give nine of his possessions to his younger

brother: a tissue, a G string, a kerchief, gold, beads, an anklet, a pipe, a cutlass and a spear.

That young man goes to marry a rich girl, who never lacks food, while Dikesan marries a poor girl whom he dislikes: her food is a cheap variety of taro that causes his throat to itch, and at sowing time all their food is consumed so that he gets hungry and becomes thin.

Day-eng 15 (80).

Lalaki s' mabalili—Man from the rushes.

This song contains words that either have no known meaning or are merely ornamental, and there seems to be no connection between the sentences.

The singer invites a man to take up his basket so that they can go to mourn a deceased person.

Then he says that the man buys a couple of sows in order to pay a fine.

He finally mentions the place where the man's house is located.

Day-eng 16 (81).

Si Dawagi ed Sakban—Dawagi at Sakban.

A man who dislikes his younger brother mentions two of his own rice fields, explaining how in one of them the harvest has to be done.

Then he mentions three of his brother's rice fields: of one of them he describes the weeds and states that it was abandoned after it had been cleaned; of the second one he says that it reflects the morning star; of the third he says that it reflects the moon, and describes its weeds, its path and its stone wall.

Day-eng 17 (82).

Longab-ey ya longab-ey—Girl, girl.

A man tells a girl (probably a wanton) that she must not think that he be allured by her beautiful apparel: she should content herself with giving orders to her husband.

Day-eng 18 (83).

Nauney kad nauney sin aggey—The Job's-tears are worthy of desire.

This variety of Job's-tears being very tasty, husband and wife take up their child and go to Inudey to partake of them.

Back home the husband wants to return, because he likes it there.

Day-eng 19 (84).

Nagpak san bangbangak—My pipe is broken.

When the man learns that it was his wife who broke his pipe, he wanted to slap her in the face, but when the child started crying, he desisted and merely threw it on the ground.

Day-eng 20 (85).

Sana, sana ed Abatan—There, there at Abatan.

At each of the five places he goes to visit the singer tells them to nip a girl.

Day-eng 21 (86).

Kanak ud en adiak—Although I say I won't.

After a strange introduction the singer is said to meet a girl; then both of them tell one another their name.

Day-eng 22 (87).

Ek et dingadingasian—I am much to be pitied.

This is the lament of a girl who always rests at the farthest end of the girl's dormitory (thus: never meets a lover, gets no husband).

She wishes to be placed into the fire (like iron: forged; thus: burned) a second time, so that a young man may fall in love with her.

At first she thinks that she is left aside because she is the daughter of a second marriage.

But she remembers a rich girl who brought a copious dowry to her betrothed: she curses her, and now thinks that her abandonment is due to poverty: she has to carry the drag (thus: to work), and cannot afford to feed on precious varieties of rice, but must content herself with a cheap variety of taro.

In Kankanay *menlaklak si sigang* (lit.: he peels *sigang*, the least esteemed variety of taro) means: he is very poor.

Day-eng 23 (88).

Bumalaka ay kidiang—Come out, frog.

A girl who describes herself as very handsome, asks a frog to come out and separate a woman from her husband, probably with the hope of taking her place.

But the frog says that it is impossible, and this for two reasons: they have offered a sacrifice, with pigs and jars of rice wine, which bound them together, and a child has already been born to them.

The frog, however, understands her: a young man, dressed in rich apparel, when going to court the girls, is always worthy of desire; but the case of a girl is different: girls run down a brook and eat whatever they meet on their way, but this thing does not last forever: the moon being full, sorrow comes.

Then there are two alternatives: the girl obtains a little Italian millet by stealing it from the rich, or she is invited to expose her stomach to the sun (to work in the field) until late in the morning.

This invitation, however, is not always forthcoming, because girls resemble carabaos: they are remembered only when needed.

Day-eng 24 (89).

Tibetibedak dedan—Although I am a very poor person myself.

A rich girl takes hold of the hind part of a boy's G string (thus: falls in love with him), but the young man being reluctant, on account of his poverty, goes to visit the girls in another town.

Coming back, he finally consents, on condition that she leaves her father, and that she hands him three of her jars, so that he may give them, as a compensation, to the girls whom he had made pregnant, he himself having no other possession but a drum.

Day-eng 25 (90).

Iiok din ag-ageddan—My snare is made of sedge.

A young man places his snare in the path of an animal and catches girls; when he rubs their breasts they are very angry.

He pacifies them and tells them to pound rice so that their father may have provisions for his journey.

Day-eng 26 (91).

Menbabbaatak ed Sabbang—I am going to Sabbang.

A young man meets girls on his way and presses their breasts, which angers them.

When he asks them whither they are going, they say that they are looking for young men, and when they, in turn, ask him whither he is going, he says that he is looking for girls.

Day-eng 27 (92).

Benngan benngan—Bird, bird.

While a young man is partaking of a bird, many girls pass by and think they will interfere, but when he rubs their breasts, they are angry.

Then he tells them to pound rice so that their father may have provisions when he goes to get blankets for them at two different places.

Day-eng 28 (93).

sumsum ey-ang—Sun, shine.

The singer asks the sun to shine on a woman who goes to another town to get a blanket for her daughter, but not to do so on a man whose body is full of scars: a rat had dragged him over the ground to the sacred tree of the village.

Day-eng 29 (94).

Nauney kad nauney—He is worthy of desire indeed.

A married woman finds a young man worthy of desire (thus: falls in love with him); should he come to her house (thus: consent), she would certainly divorce her husband.

Should he be her husband, the sacrifice of a chicken having sealed their marriage, she would take it easy.

Should he not come, she would change into a bird and fly to his house, with the hope that such a sacrifice would be offered there.

Now the young man himself finds that woman worthy of desire and calls on her, and the woman wonders at the behavior of some people, as she is the only one who found that man worthy of desire.

Day-eng 30 (95).

Siek kanan Mayyegew—He laughs and says, Mayyegew.

A young man, standing before a girls' dormitory, asks them to let down the ladder and praises them saying that they are worthy of desire, because they are always virgins when they marry, their virginity being described in a

vulgar way.

Day-eng 31 (96).

Ayyew si Mayyegew—Alas Mayyeged.

This is a children's song.

They describe parts of a man' body as those of a bird (head, bill, eyes, throat, wings, feet) and parts of his house and his furniture (ladder, hearth, sleeping floor, jars, cups, ladles, light).

Day-eng 32 (97).

Madias san degaypan—Let sleep be driven away.

A young man is told to wake up, to go to the meeting place, to look at the girls and to fix his choice: but when it is late in the morning he is called away.

Day-eng 33 (98).

Sib-atek si Paddangi—I met Paddangi.

A girl meets a man who asks her to marry him, but she tells him to wait until she grows up.

Later on she asks her father to look for a light-colored man for her, one with whom it is easy to live: in that way, when there are many children, should she die, there will be somebody who takes care of them.

But her husband does nothing but sit cross-legged (thus: is very lazy), and the food she can get for the children is not sufficient.

Then she decides to go away and look for a man who can get enough food for the children.

She does so and she has nothing to do but to sit down and the two of them are able to give sufficient food to the children.

Day-eng 34 (99).

Kaasiak ken sak-en—I am to be pitied.

This is a woman's complaint.

She begins by complaining about the coldness of her husband.

In order to stir him up, she tells him that she will drop a heavy stone towards him and that he should mind it carefully.

But he does not respond, and so she herself will take what he is concealing (what she needs in order to have a child).

Then she complains about his laziness, while she is very active.

Day-eng 24 (100).

Danum ed Bayongobong—Water at Bayongobong.

The singer makes two statements: that water belongs to one family, and he who drinks of it becomes thin.

Then he says that should there be a jar, you should drink of that water.

Finally he invites the neighbors to make friends and to drink of that water, lest they become thin (not pregnant).

Here is the key to that song: "water at N." stands for "vulva", and "jar", in

some songs, refers to the male member.

Day-eng 36 (101).

Ibangonyon aluyus—Wake up, friend.

They tell the man to wake up, lest some young people come along and tread on his gold stone.

Day-eng 37 (102).

Oklopkon dinud-okan—My hat is repaired.

After stating that his hat was mended, the young man says he met a girl on his way and, at first, thought of raping her, but then found that he was unable to do so.

Day-eng 38 (103).

Ta kud eyak mengeydan—I shall go.

A young man goes to five places: at the first he fetches dogs, at the others, collectively, he wants to coax the people away from their work.

Then he visits a woman and wonders if he will be lucky.

Day-eng 39 (104).

Longayban, longayban—Girl, girl.

This song contains ornamental verses that have no known meaning.

A young man, standing in front of a girls' dormitory, asks first one of the girls and then all of them to let down the ladder; then he asks the parents for tobacco.

Day-eng 40 (105).

Sana, sana si Kudiaput—There, there is Kudiapit.

After describing a man's stomach, his G string and his headband, the singer says that he was met by a companion, that they caught a bird and consumed it.

Day-eng 41 (106).

San balbal—The wood that is split.

A young man, standing in front of a girls' dormitory, asks them to let down the ladder so that he may enter and have a smoke on the curb of their hearth, which is used (instead of toilet paper) to clean oneself.

Day-eng 42 (107).

Bey, bey, bey—House, house, house.

A girl introduces a boy into her house, but when he asks her to marry him, she tells him to wait until she grows up: she did not yet give birth (she is still too young).

Day-eng 43 (108).

Enyo kad bantayan—Please, guard.

People are asked to guard the house, while the singer goes to see if the sweet potatoes are fructifying.

Day-eng 44 (109).

Pagey ed Paling—Palay at Paling.

This is a description of rice.

On the field: its water contains fish, the birds are driven away by the children, its ripe grain resembles a copper armlet.

The harvest: people get tired carrying the crop, it is enormous, its abundance brings its price down, they sell it for an albino carabao, people sing and dance.

Day-eng 45 (110).

Alasteyyan ed Poa—Alasteyyan at Poa.

A certain poor man has only one stick, one plate and one basket, because he has neither wife nor neighbors; another poor man, who is very sorry for having no wife and no neighbors, has only one floor, a broken plate, one spoon, two ladles and one pointed iron.

Day-eng 46 (111).

Bakgetko san inakguling—My girdle is of the red-and-white kind.

A woman leans (dances) in front of her house which is full of strangers; then she calls on a crab to pinch them so that her people be freed, for whom she will fetch taro and edible snails.

Day-eng 47 (112).

Lotbo ed Am-o—Young bamboo grass at Am-o.

If the young bamboo grass, which is entirely green (thus: beautiful), were a husband, it would be worth following.

Day-eng 48 (113).

Ayyew et ed Padkilan—Alas the field at Padkilan.

This song begins with a description of a rice field: its weeds, its path, its stone wall, its foundation.

Then someone is told to bring an anklet to a girl whose food is notched rice and fish, but they prefer another girl, who possesses a kettle and whose food is washed rice and salt pork.

Oay-eng 49 (114).

Enka itanggetanggew—Go and illuminate.

A girl is told to light the road that leads to the man she loves; she does so, but meets nobody.

Day-eng 50 (115).

Aney et si ganeyan—Ah!

The young man complains about the girls who tap the hind part of his G string (who follow him) wherever he goes.

Day-eng 51 (116).

Kakaiwko inteplew—My wood is of a special kind.

The young man is told to visit a girl who attracts all handsome young men.

Day-eng 52 (117).

Ameyak kaladkadan—I go to the field they dug.

When the man goes to the field he tells his wife to stay at the place of the ladder (at the house), and to be his sister (his representatives to any visitor.

Day-eng 53 (118).

Datengka et degaypan—Come, sleep.

The man wants to go to sleep, but when he awakes, he will go to work for wages, so that he may eat a good variety of rice, because he is tired eating a poor variety of taro.

Then he curses the spirit Bugan, because she reserves all hardships for the poor: she should distribute it equally to everybody.

Day-eng 54 (119).

Waswaska degaypan—Go away, sleep.

The girl awakes and goes to the meeting place to meet the man she loves: but she is disappointed: he took another girl.

Day-eng 55 & 56 (120 & 121).

Enka umindeindey (or: *umindaindang*)—Go and swing.

A young man is told that he may go and sit in the swing, but that he must not expect any girl to follow him.

Day-eng 57 (122).

Esten yo ay manisig—Split pitch pine carefully.

They want a torch to be prepared in order to light the way to a woman who comes to assist at the feast.

Then they give the names of five participants: a man who beats a gong and so the woman coming, a man who beats a drum, two men who dance and a man who beats a plate.

Day-eng 58 (123).

Ab-abatek pay sik-a—I shall indict you.

They begin by blaming a man who keeps to himself the edible insects which he has been catching.

Then they explain the rules to be followed at the division of the prey: the meat and the chest is the mother's share, the bones goes to the father and the liver belongs to their child.

If they cannot apply this rule, they may give the prey to one of three men who are at work in their respective fields.

Day-eng 59 (124).

Bumtugka ay inumtut—Burst you who broke wind.

They begin by telling the man who broke wind to wear threadbare clothes.

Then they shift to a story of two married rats who brought things to four different places: what they brought to two kinds of baskets, they found to be cooked in the first place, and raw in the second; what they brought to a cluster of bamboo grass, they found to be dried in the sun; and what they brought to the stairs, they stole from one another.

Day-eng 60 (125).

Alin poon di kapi—At the foot of a coffee tree.

In this song each statement is followed by the same ornamental verse that has no meaning.

They begin by stating that three animals were killed at the foot of three trees: a goat at a coffee tree, a cow at a mango tree, and a carabao at a pine tree.

Then they state that eleven items (a chicken, a duck, a rat, a mollusk, three kinds of edible snails, a pine tree, the fair one, a molar tooth and health) had gone to meet the enemy and met a man (of eleven different towns).

Day-ng 61 (126).

Babbaatek ed Namatek—I go to Namatek.

The man goes to four villages where he obtains: tadpoles, fish, hardened rice and palay, but he stays at a fifth one where he gets edible snails, which he likes.

Day-eng 62 (127).

Menbetbetad san bisil—The gravel goes to meet the enemy.

Twelve items (young calves twice, a rat, a chicken, two kinds of edible snails, rice, velvet beans, jars, small hars, mountains, gravel) go to meet the enemy, and twelve men from different villages to meet them.

The song ends by stating that cows wallow near a mango tree and a goat is killed near a coffee tree.

Day-eng 63 (128).

Madmadadan si madan—Madan is walking.

The man describes several parts of his house (ladder, walls, posts, corner post, beams, roof, rafters, ceiling, hearth, curb of the hearth, bed, hooks): they consist of different parts of a horse's body, except the ladder which is made of worms, the rafter which are snakes and the curb of the hearth which is a pine tree.

The description of the first two parts are followed by an invitation to come and like it, and all of them are followed by the same ornamental verse without meaning, except the first one, where that verse is different.

Day-eng 64 (129).

Batang ed Dulikangkang—The pine tree at Dulikangkang.

They describe a few belongings (tapis, pipe, basket, two jars) of the divorcee who uses pitch pine for a torch and who eats poor food (midribs, a poor variety of taro).

After she has set her fish trap in a brook, she goes to the other side, to the house of rich people, where she eats rice (thus: rich food).

Day-eng 65 (130).

Batang ed Dulikangkang—The tree at Dulikangkang.

A slender young man who uses pitch pine for a torch, is beloved by many girls who want him to enter the granary (thus: to marry him).

He himself says that he met another man and that both of them are poor; he describes his own pipe and the blanket of that other man; and adds that he was ashamed of catching crabs and that the other man slipped and disappeared.

Day-eng 66 (131).

Mat-ebka kawwayan—Fall down, bamboo.

A dead man, on his way to the sea (to the realm of the dead), is told to use a bamboo for a bridge to reach a certain town, where he may hear the voice of their dead ancestors and get one of them to accompany him on his way, and so he will be honored and, by pushing this man ahead, he may perhaps be able to escape and return home (alive).

Day-eng 67 (132).

Segbatem sin kawwayan—Cut down the bamboo.

A dead man wants to use a bamboo for a bridge in order to reach the place where he may hear the voice of the fishes (the realm of the dead).

Day-eng 68 (133).

Ama ama adiak pay paab-aba—Father father, I won't allow you to carry me.

A boy does not want his father to carry him until he gets a reed to use as a screen against the sun.

Then he says he will go to a mining town and play with a stick of gold.

A splinter having pierced his buttocks, he asks four people to remove it: his father who is picking a bone, his mother who is extracting edible snails from their shell, his aunt who is catching nits and his uncle who finally removes it, but it had become a rafter.

Day-eng 69 (134).

Limmolimmo—Round.

A man splits something round, and there are only three, while the elder brother went abroad to get a kerchief, which the man intends to buy.

Then he asks for three things: for something to drink, but he does not like it, because it is turbid; for something to eat, which he does not like, because it is rancid; for something to warm himself, and he does not like it, because it is cut into pieces.

Day-eng 70 (135).

Adiam ibabbaag—Don't tell it.

A man who says that he resembles the shoot of a taro, intends to sleep

with a woman, in order to have a child that looks like a monkey, so that people will talk about it, after his death.

Day-eng 71 (136).

Alastey ed Bantaugan—Alastey at Bantaugan.

This song consists in a description of several parts of a house (corner post, walls, roof, ridge, rafters, ceiling, floor, sleeping place, ashes, shelves, door, ladder, mortar), that is frequented by dealers in hogs: each part is qualified by a word that is either obsolete or without known meaning.

Day-eng 72 (137).

Iagan intilegan—Sacred tree, frightened.

This song consists of a few words that either have no known meaning or are chosen at random.

Day-eng 73 (138)

Buan, buan—Moon, moon.

This is a medley of ornamental verses, without meaning and unconnected sentences which mostly refer to rice: dropping a mortar, pounding, examining a bundle of rice.

Day-eng 74 (139).

Natungpal ken Senior Bistakan—He reached Mr. Bistakan.

After an ornamental introduction, without meaning, a man is said to go on a trip to look for girls.

Day-eng 75–78 (140–143).

These four songs contain only ornamental words, mostly without meaning, except 77 in which are also mentioned a man who defecates and another man who thrashes him.

Day-eng 79 (144).

Ayyew et ed Pesnaan—Alas the field at Pesnaan.

They begin by qualifying the weeds of that rice field and saying that its water contains fish; then follows a fantastic description of some of its parts: stone wall, path, water, edible snails, duck meat.

Day-eng 80 (145).

Sakdoan ed Kibkiban—The well at Kibkiban.

They begin by saying that the well is covered, so that no dirt can soil it.

Then follows a description of several parts of the house, of its environment and of its furniture (gate, yard, backyard, ladder, place of the ladder, place under the house, door, wall, roof, ceiling, corner, floor, hearth, curb of the hearth, shelf, trampling instrument, mortar, pestle): all of them being described by means of a qualifying word that is either obsolete or without meaning, except the curb of the hearth which is said to be long, and the trampling instrument which is a kind of jar.

Day-eng 81 (146).

Wan tumagbat, Augustin piglat—John cuts, Austin, cicatrices.

Day-eng 82 (147).

Wan tumakki—John defecates.

This is followed by a few ornamental words without meaning and ends with: box of matches.

Day-eng 83 (148).

Gauling ed Tabading—The chicken at Tabading.

They begin by describing, sometimes in a fantastic way, some of the belongings of a chick: children, house (twice), palay, jar, hog, chicken, anklet.

You slight the chick, because it went on the wrong road: nevertheless it gets all its children married and throws down a tusked boar (thus: is very strong).

They end by saying that some girls are hopping on one foot.

Day-eng 84 (149).

Wada kano si Kikinnet ed Sakdoan—There is, they say, Kikinnet at Sakdoan.

They describe a woman's belongings by means of a qualifying word that is merely ornamental: her place of ascent, place of descent, stone wall, gate, yard, place of the ladder, place under the house, ladder, door, post, walls, roof, rafters, ceiling, corner, floor, sleeping place, curb of the hearth, ashes, mortar, pestle.

Day-eng 85 (150).

This song consists in a series of words that are ornamental, but have no meaning.

Day-eng 86 (151).

Ey aani aani—Have harvest, harvest.

The rice, worthy of desire, is first in the hands of the harvesters; then it is turned into a mortar, where it is pounded; then, after it has been cooked, into a plate, where the new (just harvested) rice is eaten with the usual result: a violent diarrhea.

Day-eng 87 (152).

Bango ed Namaytokantokan—Wild boar at Namaytokan.

The boar visits several places: at the first place, he meets a woman and is told to reprimand her (to drive her away); then he goes successively to five other places, where each time he meets a man and is again told to reprimand him; at the seventh place he meets a man who brandishes a club, but he escapes with his sides intact; at the next place, he meets a man who brandishes a sword, but escapes in the same way; finally he reaches a place where they use a bridge (of bamboo) for a spout.

Day-eng 88 (153).

Pepa, pepa ed Malopa lopa—Duck, duck at Malopa.

A duck, who has fifteen children, goes abroad: at the first place the tomatoes are ripe, and he must be careful not to be overtaken by the night; at the next place the potatoes are ripe, and he wants to stand in front of them; at another place he finds the locusts mature, but he must avoid the danger of falling into a pit; at still another place he finds the edible snails mature; then he must walk in a stooping way lest his legs be pricked by sharp sticks; at the last place he finds the crabs mature; and then he stops traveling.

Day-eng 89 (154).

Ugsa ed Namaytokan tokan—Deer at Namaytokan.

A deer and its child go to three places, where they reprimand (consume) sweet potatoes.

At the fourth place the child tells its mother that they should walk in such a way as to avoid the pitfalls, lest they are caught, when it becomes dark.

Notwithstanding this warning the mother is caught, and the child makes this remark about its mother's blood that has been shed: it may be eaten raw.

Day-eng 90 (155).

This song begins with the recitation of some fifteen ornamental words, either without meaning or whose meaning has nothing to do with the text.

They are said to walk into two brooks, to catch two shrimps and to go and sell them for two copper kettles.

Day-eng 91 (156).

Nauney san men-ani—The harvesters are worthy of desire.

This sentence is followed by the mention of an action of deer, but the meaning of the verb has been lost.

Day-eng 92 (157).

Kanan kano san tiko—The bird says, they say.

Six birds say what kind of a house they have: all of them fantastic, their names having the same ending as those of the owners.

Day-eng 93 (158).

Kak-abek san tupingmi—I climb on our stone wall.

While sitting on their stone wall, the boy receives the visit of a crocodile, who asks him the whereabouts of his father; the boy tells her that his father went to fetch tiger grass to be used as a screen against the sun, because, when the dry season comes, they will sacrifice in the open.

Day-eng 94 (159).

Tuping ed Amdekkin—The stone wall at Amdekkin.

They begin by saying that the stone wall is covered with a variety of bamboo grass, and then they describe four of its parts: earth, weeds, fruit and path.

Day-eng 95 (160).

This song consists in the fantastic description of a stone wall: its path, its fruit and its palay.

Day-eng 96 (161).

Ay ta abe san opisial—What is the matter with the official.

When the police, being angry for some reason or another, invades their home, two boys run away and conceal themselves.

When they go to the coast, the younger brother becomes a burden to his companion: the latter will easily find a position as a servant, but not so the younger brother.

Finally the elder brother tells him to watch the children, so as to gain a living.

Day-eng 97 (162).

Tugtugem san tambul—Beat the drum.

They want the drum to be beaten for the arrival of the judge who comes to settle a quarrel, and they prepare three places for the investigators, for the narrator and for the children, by cutting down, respectively, the ferns, the briars and the bamboo grass.

Day-eng 98 (163).

Tugtug, sino san tumanugtug—Beating, who is the continual beater.

The man has two grievances: somebody is beating a drum without ceasing, while he is covered with ears (thus: is very much annoyed with the noise), and he has no chickens: his child stole them, and he wanted to slap it in the face.

Day-eng 99 (164).

Kulkulibangbanga—Birds.

Their father having been imprisoned for having gambled away a crowbar that belonged to a Spaniards, the birds are told to don their apparel, the drum should be beaten for the arrival of the judge who comes to settle the quarrel, and two places should be prepared: one for the brothers who will lead the investigation, and one for the ladies who soothe them.

Day-eng 100 (165).

Dangkilaw num-am ed Pukaw—Dangkilaw, your field at Pukaw.

Although the field was fenced in firmly, a calf passed its way into it and ruined it.

Then the farmer was told to bring the owner of the animal up for trial.

Day-eng 101 (166).

Num-ak san madandanak—My field is very humid.

The man begins by saying that he sowed beans in his field; then he relates what happened to him when he visited a relative three times in succession:

on the first visit he did not get a share, on the second he was slapped in his face, and on the third he was not allowed to eat with him.

Day-eng 102 (167).

Num-ak ed Kagkagaskas—My field at Kagkagasakas.

The man begins by saying that he fenced his field to prevent the iguana from entering.

Then follows a lamentation which consists of some seemingly unconnected sentences: he was scolded, the children are scattered and so on.

Day-eng 103 & 104 (168 & 169).

Numnum-ak san Dakdakikis (or: *Dakdakokong*)—My field at D.

He plants pigeon peas (or: cowpeas) in his field, and when a man passes by and wants to peel (or: gather) them he pushes him away so that he gets pierced (or: blistered).

Day-eng 105 (170).

Num-ak ed Bato—My field at Bato.

The man laments because the tubers he planted had been laid waste by a wild boar: they had been negligent and had failed to build a fence around his field.

Day-eng 106 & 107 (171 & 172).

Umak ed Napo (or: *Malikaw*)—My field at Napo (or: Malikaw).

The field was entered by a wild boar (or: a calf).

Day-eng 108 (173).

Paypayongak san baeymi—I look down at our house.

Seeing that his house is full of strangers, the man invited a crab to pinch them, but to let go the brothers for whom he will fetch three things: canes of bamboo grass, leaves of sweet potatoes and taro.

Day-eng 109 (174).

Manman-edka kud sidi—Wait there.

A man goes abroad and meets a person who carries palay: he gets a small portion of rice and brings it to his house.

Looking down on the river he sees many footprints on its bank and finds out that they belong to two popular heroes, who went to fetch wood and have come to visit one of his neighbors.

He tells them to take one of his jars and to go to the meeting place to sing and to dance: there they pray over it and it is covered with gold.

Day-eng 110–112 (175–177).

Manmankkon—My bird.

His bird is a small white chicken (or: is white, or: is a pale grey chicken).

110–111: he calls it repeatedly, but in vain, because people took it: they will pay half a peso (or: a jar) for it.

112: Not being able to cook it, he will swallow it.

Day-eng 113–130 (178–195).

Petkam—You linger.

A man, who does nothing but play, fails to fence his field (in eighteen places), so that an intruder ruins it, and then disappears.

The intruders are: thief, carabao (twice), cow (twice), sow, stripped young pig, wild boar (twice), goat, dog, puppy, rat (twice), cock, wild cock, buzzard, omen bird.

In the last of those eighteen songs, the carabao, instead of disappearing, drags the peas out of the field into the road.

Day-eng 131–134 (196–199).

Soksokudkon—My staff.

In all four songs the man's staff is an elder stick, or a cane of bamboo grass or a bamboo stick, and the man sends it abroad, where it is thrown by a man who beats a gong or by a dancer or by a man who offers a sacrifice (twice).

The first two songs continue by saying that the man lay the stick in the house yard: should it be taken up, they will certainly marry (or: their children will marry); if they won't they should pay two gongs and two cows (or: two jars) for it.

There seems little connection between the stick that is taken up and the marriage, but it should be remembered that the Kankanay term for "elder" is often used as a palliative for "penis".

Day-eng 135–136 (200–201).

Beyatko (*san*) *tawwatawwa*—My pig-tail is a castor-oil plant.

If they refuse to accept an offer of marriage, they should pay either two gongs or two cows (or: fifteen pesos).

Day-eng 137 (202).

Ayyew ed Intuy-ok—Alas the field at Intuy-ok.

That field is in a poor state: its spout is cracked and its produce is not sufficient to smack one's lips (thus: is very scanty).

Day-eng 138 (203).

Umud-udan udan—Be raining, rain.

The man begins by wanting rain for the millet he has been sowing.

Then he says that it still be cared for by a group of certain birds, that it will be watched by a group of another kind of birds, that it will be harvested by certain women and that it will be carried home by a group of sturdy young men.

Day-eng 139 (204).

Umud-udan udan—Be raining, rain.

The man asks for rain so that the river may be swollen.

This will keep a certain individual from crossing it, when he intends to do so in order to obtain what he wants without paying for it.

Day-eng 140 (205).

Taptataptaplan kanam ta umudan—Salangan make it rain.

Day-eng 141 (206).

Pingpipingpingew kanam ta maegew—Bird, make it stop raining.

Day-eng 142–144 (207–209).

Baka baka adika men-uga—Cow, cow do not moo.
Nuang nuang adika sumakgoang—Carabao, carabao, do not thrust with your horns.
Kabkabayo, adika sumikiado—Horse, do not kick.

Those animals are told not to do those things so that they may become the owners of a certain rice field.

Only the first of those songs has a sequel: that rice field has been ruined by a Spaniard who traced a road through it, so that the cow is very sad and sheds bitter tears.

Day-eng 145 (210).

Adikan makakkaali—You cannot come.

The man does not want company when he goes to gather berries and brings them home.

Day-eng 146 (211).

Adikan makial-ali—You cannot come with us.

They tell a man that they do not want his company when they go abroad to light the way to a dead woman.

That man, however, having ascertained the seat of her ailment, proposes three remedies to cure her: a variety of sweet potato, a kind of herb and a variety of sugar cane.

Day-eng 147 (212).

Kalkalpoak ed Tubeng—I am just coming from Tubeng.

A man who comes home from abroad, relates that he found water at that place, but that he had to walk sideways in order to drink it.

Day-eng 148–149 (213–214).

These songs begin with *buan, buan* (moon, moon) and *tuptuptup,* and consist of a few words without known meaning or whose meaning has no sense.

Day-eng 150–151 (215–216).

Si kano Asdegan (or: *Koniso*)—*Asdegan* (or: the rabbit), they say.

Having mentioned the name of their residence, they say about Asdegan that he has many cigarettes and that his voice resembles the sound of a plate, and of the rabbit that he eats leaves and dried slices of sweet potatoes.

Day-eng 152–154 (217–219).

Wada kano si kulkuiweng (or: *kiwing*, or: *madiokana*)—There is, they say, a whirligig (or: a bird, or: madiokana).

The whirligig feeds on varieties of three kinds of food: rice, pigeon peas and oranges.

The bird will lean sideways (will dance) in a house full of a variety of rice.

Madiokana feeds her mother with bran, while she is eating plenty.

Day-eng 155 & 156 (220 & 221).

Alin poon di bato (or: *kapi*)—At the foot of the stone (or coffee tree).

In the first of these songs they kill a dog, which is prepared by young men; and in the second they kill a goat, which is prepared by women.

Day-eng 157 (222).

Pao ed Sesekan—Bamboo grass at Sesekan.

The girl begins by describing the bamboo grass and then extols her strength as a walker, with strange comparisons.

Day-eng 158 (223).

Danum ed Kalingban—Water at Kalingban.

That water is covered with a plate (thus: is not open to view) and must be fanned with a young cock.

In order to understand this, it should be remembered that, in songs, "water at N.' stands for "vulva".

Day-eng 159 & 160 (224 & 225).

Labalabaan & Makleng—Buzzard & He sheds tears.

In these two songs the meaning seems to be of little or no importance.

In the first song the buzzard is told to sweep the path of a girl who fetches ants for him so that he may join the boards of his floor with them.

In the other song the man's weeping is compared to a board and to a basket and the man is laughing.

Day-eng 161 (226).

Kankanan kano bagiungan—A friend says, they say.

Here is the description of a jar and a drum of a friend.

Day-eng 162 (227).

Anak di igonogon—A child of Gonogon.

They cannot chide that child, because it changes at once into a ball of thread.

Day-eng 163 (228).

Menbetbetad di sayang—The crow is meeting the enemy.

When the crow goes to meet the enemy, he meets girls.

Doy-eng 164 (229).

Kitokitobeng pat-oan si asawam—Kitokitobeng cudgel your wife.

The girl tells the man to cudgel his wife and to come to her: she also is a girl.

Appendix

A list of words that are used only in songs, never in ordinary speech (OS).

Note. ??? stands for: Without any known meaning.
agasuy agasuyan. Finale of a song.
akgaley. Introduces a mourning song.
akkud akki. Finale of a mourning song.
akki. Monkey. In OS: *kaag.*
akkudi. Introduces a song.
akumba. ???
alabo. ???
alai. ???
Alastayyan. Introduces mourning songs.
alipey. ???
am-i. ???
ampaliok. ???
anasnanaen. Introduces *daday* songs.
apaw et si apawan, apaw si apawpawan. A kind of burde nor refrain.
assan. ???
atimbaw. ???
bakuawa. ???
baladi. ???
balangngaw. ???
balulutan. ???

bayyaw. Introduces mourning songs. Sometimes means: mourning song; in OS: *soso.*

bessat. How infortunate! In OS: *bayaw.*
biaaw. ???
bugak-ey. ???
bugsong. ???
butal-ug. ???
dadey, dadka,
dadkang, dadkey,
dadki, dadko. Introduces swinging songs.
dakin. *dumakdakin.* ???
dalidalisig. ???
dantin. ???

diliowan dangioan. Last words of a mourning song. *Dangioan* in OS: smooth stone or hard timber.

didiama. ???
dindin. *makadindin.* ???
diokto. ???
dipaysa. ???
dumolto. To sing. In OS: *menday-eng,* used in mourning songs.
dongkilaw. ???
donglasi. Introduces mourning songs.
dusayyan. Introduces or concludes mourning songs.
egey. ???
ey. Introduces *daing* songs.
gallitan. ???
galtekan. ???
gawistan. ???
gilgilduy. ???
iddadang, iddaday,
iddadka, iddadkey,
iddadki, iddadko,
idmadkang. Introduces swinging songs.
idim. ???
ikkakey. Cf. *iddadang.*
italig-am. ???
intokeng intokaleng. ???
isman. ???
kadad-ongiasan kalongiasan. Introduces mourning songs.
kalad-ongiasan. Introduces mourning songs.
kalammay. ???
kalimbegiet. ???
kaliwatawat, kaliwataweng,
kaliwatta. ???
kamad-eng. ???
kasingayan. *apaw si kasingayan.* A refrain that introduces songs.
kiali. ???
kibadus kibadusan. Ending songs.
kintas. ???
kondalisan. ???
laklakudas. inlaklakodas. ???
lali. ???
lomggagi. *menlonggagi.* ???
luggalugan. *naluggalugan.* ???
mutsuy. ???
ong. ???
pagdag si pagandian. Introduces songs.
paggipagan. ???
palatin. ???

palongdagan. ???
papayus. ???
patigduy. ???
patonggasi. ???
payak-en. ???
pigangngay. ???

salagubban. A word used as a transition between a *daing* and a *day-eng,* when the first fails.

salamggadian. ???
Salapaltos di mutsuy. ???
salimbukay. ???
sikan, sidaduyan,
sikiowan dangiowan. ???
sipel sipek galtokan. ???
sugandian. Finale of mourning songs.
sukaykayan. ???
sulayan. ???
tanabug. ???
tinuydan. ???
tis. Merely ornamental.
tiupkam. ???
tupatupan. ???
ulitos. ???
uulaygan. ???
weyyawoy. Introduces mourning songs.
yag-an. ???
yayagta. ???
yutil-en. ???