The Music of a Kalinga Peace-pact Celebration: Making Place through the Soundscape

Glenn Ress Stallsmith
Bethel University

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THE MUSIC OF A KALINGA PEACE-PACT CELEBRATION:
MAKING PLACE THROUGH THE SOUNDSCAPE

A MASTER'S THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
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BY
GLENN REES STALLSMITH

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THE MUSIC OF A KALINGA PEACE-PACT CELEBRATION:
MAKING PLACE THROUGH THE SOUNDSCAPE

GLENN REES STALLSMITH

January 2007

Approved: __________________________, Thesis (Project) Advisor

________________________________

Approved: __________________________, Thesis (Project) Advisor

________________________________

ACCEPTED

Program Director

Dean of Graduate Studies
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ABSTRACT

Music and place are two phenomena that have been objectified by researchers in the past. This thesis treats both as social processes created by subjects in local, specific contexts. The Kalinga peace pact system forms an intricate web of bilateral agreements between forty or more culture groups in the northern Philippines. Each agreement is celebrated when it is formed or when a peace pact holder from one group passes the responsibility on to his son. This thesis examines eight musical scenes at one peace pact ceremony celebrated in the Mangali culture area in April 2005. It analyzes the music performances for markings that the Mangali and Sumadel participants utilize to create, contest, and negotiate their senses of place. Rhythms, melodies, and song texts all reveal processes of place creation in this specific celebration. Several layers of place are analyzed—insider-created versus outsider-imposed boundaries; the continuum of identities stretching from local to regional to national constructions of place; and the idea of music creating a sonic environment or soundscape.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

After that he lifted up his head-ax, Diwaton; twice it was neared [it struck] upon Uwon of Baliwon, and then, kanu, was slain his own self’s body [Uwon’s].

Francisco Billiet and Francis Lambrecht, Studies on Kalinga Ullalim and Ifugao Orthography

Statement of the Problem

Until now there have been no studies that examine the confluence of themes found in a Kalinga peace pact celebration as they relate the role of music in the construction of place. This thesis analyzes one peace-pact ceremony between the Mangali Kalinga and the Sumadel Kalinga culture groups that was celebrated in April 2005. It will examine how this Kalinga bodong ceremony provides contexts for the social processes of making music and making place. Theories of place creation from the fields of anthropology, ethnomusicology, and geography will supplement ethnographic writings on the Kalinga, as will my own field research data collected in the Mangali Kalinga area.

Ethnic conflicts define much of life for the Kalinga peoples of the northern Philippines. Like those of many other cultures from the Cordillera region, Kalinga oral histories and myths are filled with accounts of traditional warfare. The Kalingas are particularly notorious among the other ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera for their war-like ways. Many take special pride that their homeland was never colonized by the Spanish.

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1 Mangali is the name of the largest ethnic group of Tanudan municipality, Kalinga province. In this thesis the culture group and people will be referred to as Mangali, and their language will be called Minangali.
2 Kalinga is pronounced kuh-LING-guh. In some Philippine-language orthographies the word appears as “Kalingga.” This thesis will use the English spelling.
government during its three-century reign in the Philippines. Some researchers suggest that the very name *Kalinga* derives from the word for enemy in several highland languages (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970).  

Numerous ethnographers have identified the central role of war and peace-making among the Kalinga. Several twentieth-century researchers have pointed out that the peace pact process is an important component of the warrior-headhunting complex (Worcester 1912; Barton 1949; Bacdayan 1967; Dozier 1967; Scott 1966; DeRaedt 1989). In the latter years of last century Kalinga scholars wrote ethnographies about their own places, enriching the literature with diverse voices originating from the societies being documented (Magannon 1972; Sugguiyao 1990). Other anthropologists and ethnomusicologists have also documented and analyzed certain aspects of Kalinga music, placing the music processes in the context of the war and peace-making cycle (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970, 1974; Pfeffier 1976; Prudente 1984; Maceda 1998; Constantino 2002).  

Many aspects of life in Kalinga are rooted in ongoing tensions related to warfare between culture groups – actual outbreaks of fighting as well as threats of war. Cultural values such as the importance of offering hospitality to visitors, taboos regarding travel, and spirit-world interactions all relate to warfare and peace-making. In my research I found things as seemingly mundane as taking a bath and walking the trails to be linked to war and peace issues. Ultimately central to the war-peace complex are the peace pact agreements that provide the basis for inter-group interaction and which provide the basis for what amounts to the only rule of law in much of the province. Each Kalinga culture group is linked to each other culture group through a bilateral agreement called a *bodong*. With over forty distinct  

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3 Miguel Sugguiyao (1990) credits American administrator Walter Hale with naming the province “Kalinga” because he heard that word in many epic songs (*ullalim*).
Kalinga culture groups, there are literally hundreds of these bodong in place throughout the province. The most striking displays of the peace-making process occur during the ritual celebrations that serve to re-establish or renew the peace pacts. These three-day occasions function to renew bonds between culture groups through feasting, dancing, and making music. Vocal performances, instrumental music, and dance are essential components of a bodong celebration.

Edward Casey argues that the idea of place is more than a “mere patch of ground”—an arbitrary space that happens to be inhabited by a group of people; it is created and formed by people, to be seen as “more an event than a thing” (1996:26). People make places via social processes, using language, songs, and other meaning-based phenomena to create place from their physical surroundings (Tuan 1991). An examination of Kalinga peace pact celebrations is vital to understanding indigenous constructions of place and group formation. Indeed, the first section of a written bodong agreement (pagta) defines the territorial boundaries (bogis) for both groups. The celebration of a bodong reveals that Kalinga place creation consists of more than spatial boundaries; song texts, dance patterns, and gong rhythms all contribute to the social processes through which the participants negotiate their concepts of place and group.

The music performances of the bodong celebrations are not mere reflections that help us glimpse the deeper, more “real” aspects of Kalinga culture or worldviews. Music is in fact where culture “happens.” Feld explained that the Kaluli people of Papua New Guinea assign meaning through their songs and poems. It is in these art forms that their senses make meaning of their places: “as place is sensed, senses are placed; as places make sense, senses make place” (1996:91). This duality inherent in the English word “sense”—making
meaningful and perceiving—reflects the original meaning of the word “aesthetics” (Solomon 1997). Similarly, culture “happens” in the creation of place (Rodman 1992). Music and place are both cultural constructs that occur in the context of human social interaction. Both are processes that are created and experienced by subjects; they are more than mere objects of space or sound that exist apart from the people who form and create them. These processes also interact in important ways. For example, music provides “the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed” (Stokes 1994:4). A Kalinga peace pact celebration is an especially poignant event in which culture and place “happen” through music. This thesis will examine how the music performances of a Kalinga peace pact celebration function in the formation of a culture group’s place.

**Setting Kalinga in Place**

The Cordillera Administrative Region of the Philippines consists of six provinces: Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain Province. Kalinga province is landlocked with Apayao to the north, Cagayan to the east, Abra to the west, and Mountain to the south. During the 2000 census, the Philippines National Statistics Office numbered the population of Kalinga province at 174,023, ranking it as 68 out of 80 provinces in population size. Occupying 3,120 square kilometers, Kalinga province has one of the lowest population densities of the Philippines at 56 people per square kilometer.

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Kalinga province includes lowland plains in its eastern section, but it is mostly comprised of the Cordillera mountains in its central and western sections. Many of these eastern residents are not ethnic Kalingas and are instead members of other lowland ethnic groups. Approximately one-hundred thousand residents of Kalinga province are considered ethnic Kalingas. Kalingas and non-Kalingas usually distinguish between themselves using a highlander-lowlander dichotomy, as is done throughout the Philippines when upland ethnolinguistic groups interact with lowland ones. In the Cordillera region the highlander peoples are described collectively as “Igorot” – a term that is usually used in urban areas like Baguio city where highlanders and lowlanders live in close proximity (Finn 2005). The Kalinga participants in this study never used the term Igorot as a self-ascribed identity marker.

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5 Non-Kalinga residents of the province are not traditionally included in the Kalinga bodong agreements.
Local Government Units

Like all provinces of the Philippines, Kalinga province is headed by an elected governor. The province is subdivided into eight municipalities, each headed by an elected mayor. The eight municipalities of Kalinga are: Balbalan, Lubuagan, Pasil, Pinukpuk, Rizal, Tabuk, Tanudan, and Tinglayan. Municipalities are subdivided into barangays, the smallest

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6 Some researchers make a distinction between northern and southern culture regions of Kalinga. According to this division, the municipalities of Tabuk, Pinukpuk, Balbalan, and Pasil comprise the northern section; Lubuagan, Tinglayan, and Tanudan make up the southern. Rizal municipality is primarily the home of non-Kalinga lowlanders and is not treated in most ethnographic material about Kalinga.
units of local government in the Philippines. Each barangay has an elected captain who oversees barangay projects and mediates disputes.

SIL International estimates that approximately 7,000 people live in the eight Mangali villages of Tanudan municipality in the southern part of Kalinga province. The Mangali inhabit five of the municipality’s sixteen barangays. During the research period I resided in the village of Guilguila, part of barangay Mangali Centro. I was able to travel to and interview people from each of the eight villages in all five barangays. The voices represented in this thesis are largely those of the Mangali Kalinga. The people of Kalinga province share many similarities, but the area is by no means culturally homogeneous. The Mangali culture group has its own unique society among the dozens of other distinct culture groups that make up the larger Kalinga ethnolinguistic group.

**Definitions of Place Terms**

As stated above in the section above, the Kalinga peace pact complex creates locally meaningful places by defining and maintaining the peace pact holding units. These place constructions co-exist with government unit structures common to all administrative regions throughout the Philippines. The following list of definitions is an attempt to clarify these classifications at the beginning the paper. A glossary of specific Kalinga words used throughout the thesis is found after the appendices and before the bibliography.

**Barangay** – The smallest local government unit in the Philippines. Municipalities and cities are composed of barangays. Often several Kalinga villages comprise one barangay. Most peace pact holding units consist of more than one barangay.

**Cordillera** – The region of the northern Philippines that includes Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain provinces. Under the U.S. colonial administration this
region was incorporated as Mountain Province. It is noted for its mountainous terrain and as the home of the Igorot culture groups.

Culture group – A subgroup of an ethnolinguistic group that has its own distinct cultural traits. For the purposes of this thesis, each peace pact holding unit comprises a unique culture group. Mangali and Sumadel are two separate culture groups. This designation is called a “subtribe” by some parties in Kalinga, namely the Kalinga Bodong Congress.

Ethnolinguistic group – Barth (1969) argues that ethnic groups should be classified by socially meaningful ascriptions rather than “objective” cultural differences. For the purpose of this thesis, all Kalinga culture groups are considered part of one ethnolinguistic group. Most Kalinga peoples consider all the culture groups of Kalinga to be unified by a common culture and language.

Igorot – A generic term for the highland peoples of the Cordillera region.

Kalinga – The ethnolinguistic group comprised of culture groups that speak a Kalinga language. While Naroll (1964) argues that language difference should not be the only factor in determining culture group boundaries, the Kalinga languages serve as the most important locally-defined factor in determining membership to this ethnolinguistic group.

Language group – A linguistic classification based on the analysis of language survey data spoken by a particular group. Word lists are compared and recorded utterances are tested for comprehension in various communities. Results from those two kinds of testing yield designations of discrete language communities. For the purposes of this study, the Kalinga ethnolinguistic group is comprised of eight Kalinga languages, as designated in SIL’s Ethnologue. Minangali is a dialect variety of the Lower Tanudan Kalinga language group. Sumadel is a variety of Southern Kalinga. Several culture groups make up each language group.

Local government unit – A structure of governance found throughout the Philippines (e.g., barangay, municipality, province). These designations are independent from the locally significant Kalinga peace pact holding units.

Municipality – A local government unit in the Philippines comprised of several barangays. Several municipalities and/or cities make up a province. Each municipality elects a mayor and a council.

Peace pact holder – a man chosen from an ethnic group to maintain the terms of his group’s bodong agreement with another group. Each bodong has two holders—one for each group. With forty-seven ethnic groups in Kalinga, there are more than two thousand holders of the various bilateral bodong agreements.
Peace pact holding unit – A community that has its own bilateral peace pact agreements with other groups. This thesis maintains that these are the locally constructed, and therefore the most significant, group designations. The peace pact holding unit is synonymous with the culture group in this thesis.

Province – The primary local government unit of the Philippines. Comprised of cities and municipalities. Headed by an elected governor and Provincial Board.

Region – An administrative classification of the Philippines government that incorporates several provinces. The Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) is comprised of six provinces, including Kalinga.

– Several researchers cited in this paper use the term region in the ways equivalent to the definitions of culture group or ethnolinguistic group. I try to make that distinction clear when necessary.

Tribe – A culture group or peace pact holding unit.

Village – A cluster of houses that has a name. There are often several villages within one culture group, language group, or barangay. In some rare cases an entire Kalinga culture group lives in only one village.

Significance of the Study

This ethnographic study attempts to get beyond outsider-imposed boundaries drawn by non-Kalingas and focus instead on meaningful place constructions by the actual residents of these areas. Place names assigned by their residents are termed “vernacular regions” by geographers:

Perceptual or vernacular regions are those perceived to exist by their inhabitants and other members of the population at large. They exist as part of popular or folk culture. Rather than being the intellectual creation of the professional geographer, the vernacular region is the product of the spatial perception of average people. Rather than being based on carefully chosen, quantifiable criteria, such regions are composites of the mental maps of the population. (Jordan 1978:293)

The bodong system defines as many as forty-seven separate vernacular regions and their corresponding culture groups. Within this system exists the “mental map” of the local residents described above by Jordan. The names of places as set in the peace pact agreements are the meaningful group names to the Kalingas, as communicated in the Kalinga word ili.
When asked by another Kalinga, “Dinu ilim?” (Which is your place?), the respondent will reply with one of the peace pact holding group names. Unless their bodong place name corresponds with a municipality or barangay name, these local government unit designations are not significant identifiers. The bodong agreements are the only way to understand an indigenous Kalinga perspective of territory, boundaries, and place. Bacdayan recognized the significance of the peace pact system in determining meaningful territorial units:

The present divisions into municipal governments in which several regions are grouped together as a political and administrative unit, or alternatively in which the regions are cut up into two or more barrio governments, has by and large mean meaningless as territorially integrated units. Naturally in the peace pact system of relationships, the original regional territorial divisions are the recognized pacting units. (1967:65)

In a peace pact celebration, two distinct culture groups come together to celebrate their new or renewed agreement. This context provides occasions for defining each group’s identity through its unique linguistic features and music performances. Territorial boundaries (bogis) are defined for each group, as are other significant, intangible elements. As mentioned above, place and music “happen” at a bodong celebration. It is where culture is “created, negotiated, and performed” (Solomon 2000:257). An analysis of this place-making process through musical performances, based on the questions below, promises to yield valuable insight into the processes of constructing locally meaningful places.
Questions

Central Question:

- How is a sense of place constructed for the Mangali and Sumadel peoples through the music performances at their peace pact celebration?

Secondary Questions:

- What are the musical markings that signify differences between the performances of the two culture groups?
- How do the texts from the songs performed at the celebration help the Sumadel and Mangali people construct, contest, and negotiate ideas of place?
- How do Mangali people talk about and classify their music genres and instruments?
- In what ways do the Mangali people perceive of the musical sounds that fill or otherwise interact with their physical landscape?
- What can an analysis of this celebration reveal about the ongoing sustainability and effectiveness of the bodong system?

Notes on Minangali Terms and Orthography

Most words in the Minangali language are shared with other Kalinga languages. When there is a difference in terms between languages, Minangali word varieties are used in this thesis unless otherwise noted. All Minangali words are italicized each time they occur.

Minangali terms are generally spelled phonetically, with the five vowels representing the following sounds in English:

- $a$ as in “agree”
- $e$ as in “able”
- $i$ as in “eel”
- $o$ as in “open”
- $u$ as in “loose”

Two phonemes that are not sounded as they appear in the orthography are $k$ and $l$. In Minangali the $k$ is sounded as a fortis (strong) glottal stop. In other Kalinga languages the $k$ is
pronounced as in English; it is a distinct phoneme from a lenis (weak) glottal stop that appears between syllables or word-initially (see next paragraph). The barred l, or \( l \), is pronounced as an interdental approximant. There is no equivalent sound in English.

Syllables in Minangali are either CV or CVC, and initial glottal stops are not indicated in the orthography. Likewise, intervocalic glottal stops are not indicated in the orthography (e.g. \( suul \)). However, a hyphen is used to represent a glottal stop that makes a non-predictive syllable break, i.e., when a syllable-initial glottal follows another consonant. For example, \( tug-on \) contains a hyphen to show that it is pronounced as a CVC-CVC word.

Chapter Summaries

In this chapter I set the stage for the rest of the thesis by stating the problem of this study, naming its significance, and specifying the research questions. Chapter Two surveys the literature relevant to this thesis, divided into two broad themes: Kalinga ethnography and place theory. To this date little has been written that relates Kalinga studies to theories of place construction. Chapter Three explicates my research methods, including the pilot study period in 2003-04 that preceded my enrollment at Bethel University. Chapter Four presents my analysis of the April 2005 Mangali-Sumadel peace pact celebration. The near-continuous activities of those three days would be impossible to document extensively, so I have chosen to present relevant descriptions of the proceedings in the eight selected musical “scenes”, supplemented by relevant data from participant-observation and ethnographic interviews. This thesis concludes with Chapter Five in an attempt to answer the questions above, explore implications of this research, and propose avenues of examination for future researchers.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

It is the peace pact institution that governs the entire spectrum of Kalinga inter-village affairs from the giving of hospitality to killing.


This chapter is divided between two main emphases: the ethnographic literature about Kalinga societies, and theories involving the creation of place. The peace pact system is positioned at a nexus between these two currents. As Bacdayan noted, the bodong is central to the functioning and structures of Kalinga societies. It is also highly relevant to current theories of place creation found in anthropology and geography. The first part of this chapter reviews the ethnographic literature on Kalinga societies, concentrating on both the bodong and ethnomusicology research conducted in the region. The second section surveys some theories of place construction as found in the fields of geography, anthropology, and ethnomusicology.

Ethnography on Kalinga Societies

Boundaries and Place in Ethnographic Research on Kalinga

Some of the first ethnographers to document Kalinga societies were U.S. colonial administrators and missionaries in the early 20th century. Dean Worcester, the American Interior Secretary of the Philippines, authored a 1912 National Geographic article about highland Filipino peoples. Worcester, with a voice that betrayed an early 20th century ethnocentric milieu, used prose and striking photographs to portray the people of the

7 The United States of America governed the Philippines as a colony from 1898 to 1946.
Cordillera as exotic “others”. Regardless of the tone, this article was the one of the first glimpses offered to people outside region showing the diverse societies from the Cordillera.

Most of the early ethnographic materials were largely enumerative accounts with details of Kalinga material culture and kinship structures. From the beginning the peace pact system received special mention. Roy Barton was a teacher in the Kalinga region and conducted fieldwork in two periods—1916 and 1944. His 1949 book about the law systems in Kalinga was a foundational work, cited by almost all cultural researchers that followed. Barton compared the Kalinga peace pact with similar structures and processes that he highlighted in his earlier work on Ifugao law systems (1919). In many ways his book about Kalinga served as a comparative work between the Kalinga and the Ifugao ethnolinguistic groups. However, it provided a thorough analysis of Kalinga peace pact agreements and the social processes that create and maintain them.

Barton described two main organizing units of Kalinga society—the kinship group and the territorial unit (which he also called a region). The kinship unit consists of all blood relatives as far out as third cousins—or anyone who shares a great-great-grandparent (1949:32). Interestingly, Barton made no mention of the Kalinga concept of place or territory in his groundbreaking work. The Kalinga word *ili*, which is often used to refer to his concept of “territorial unit” is not even listed in his extensive glossary of indigenous terms.

Bacdayan (1967), on the other hand, integrated the local concept of place into his research of the Kalinga peace pact. He glossed *ili* as “inhabited place”, noting its dependence upon the context to derive its meaning. For example, the terms “village” or “barangay” are fairly fixed and difficult to equate to a fluid concept like *ili*:

The region is highly variable in size. For instance, some regions such as Lubo in the Tanudan River area and Balatoc on the Pasil River are composed of only one single compact village; while some like Lubuagan and Banao are composed of several distinct and fairly large
Bacdayan recognized the importance of the *ili* concept, yet still relied on Barton’s notion of the kinship group as a subset of the territorial unit. He cited Barton exclusively and failed to mention any Kalinga sources or native terms for this idea. Mangali participants in this study led me to believe that all the residents of their *ili* (culture group) were also members of the same extended kinship group. They frequently told me, “We Mangali are all related.”

Certainly the Mangali people do not see relationships between all other members of the culture group as equal, but there is not a term for Barton’s “kinship group” in the Minangali language. I suspect that Barton was looking for something in Kalinga that he discovered in Ifugao, and Bacdayan was simply operating under the same construction of groups. It is possible that Barton and Bacdayan discovered this kind of kinship group construction in Lubuagan, and that it is not extant among the Mangali. It is certainly consistent with my thesis that the Lubuagan and Mangali culture groups would construct their *ili* differently.

Dozier (1967) also wrote about a distinction between “kinship groups” and “region”, the latter of which he calls by the Kalinga term *boboloy*. To the Mangali participants of this study, *boboloy* means “cluster of houses” and most often refers to a village. Since the Mangali culture area consists to eight separate villages or *boboloy*, Dozier’s use of this term to differentiate “region” from “village” is confusing. It seems that he labeled the wrong category with the *boboloy* term; it should instead be used to denote a unit on a lower level than the peace pact holding region, namely the village. Of course, this is not a problem where village and culture group are the same thing. This is the case in Lubu, a village in Tanudan.

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8 This may be an example of Barton straining to find similarities between Ifugao and Kalinga societies. In a statement consistent with the theory of cultural evolution, he also notes that Kalinga and Ifugao kinship groups share traits with Western European groups several centuries ago (1949:67-8).
municipality that is also considered its own peace pact holding unit according to the bodong system. The Lubu people have their own peace pact with Mangali, but they are clustered into one village. Perhaps this is an example of the cultural heterogeneity of the Kalinga peoples—with terms taking on different meanings across languages and culture groups.

Dozier demonstrated why the classification of Kalinga places according to outsider-imposed parameters is difficult. He noted that the significant “territorial and social units” in Kalinga groups are: cultural subdivisions, regions (boboloy, according to him), hamlets, villages, and households, kinship circles, and bilateral descent groups (1967:10). However, he noted that these categories do not necessarily form a hierarchy, nor are they mutually exclusive. He remarked on the difficulties with Barton’s and Bacdayan’s definitions of kinship and territorial units, especially in trying to make the former a category of the latter. In the quoted statement below his use of “region” is equivalent to my “culture group.”

It is virtually impossible in the northern Kalinga regions for an individual not to be related at least within a third cousin degree with every other individual. At present, the Kalinga still operate in terms of the kinship principle, but it is obvious that in the more densely populated regions kinship group and region cannot correspond. In recent years, with expanded populations within the region, greater interregional mobility, and increasing marriages with Kalinga of other regions, the native question of kinship groups with region is beginning to be modified and as a result, the modern-imposed municipal form of government is beginning to have meaning. But the importance of region as a sociopolitical unit has not been displaced anywhere in favor of the larger municipal district. (1967:14)

Dozier also commented on the relationship between Kalinga inter-group aggression and the construction of place, specifically the maintenance of territorial boundaries. Since the section on boundaries (bogis) is the first section of any written peace pact agreement, the importance of the bodong system in the maintenance of boundaries cannot be overstated. However, Dozier maintained that due to the low population density in Kalinga, territorial defense is less important than revenge or personal safety as reasons for initiating warfare (1967:80). My conclusions in the early 21st century are different. At the present time,
territory and boundary maintenance is a very important issue in aggression between groups. While land is not the main reason for all Kalinga ethnic disputes, it is certainly a complicating factor in many and is a primary reason for the stalling of negotiations and failures to completely settle outstanding disagreements. A congress of Kalinga peace pact holders clearly stated the important link between land and life:

"As defined, the bugis has a horizontal reach consisting of land and waters; a vertical reach (upward) consisting of the airspace and downward consisting of subterranean resources. Land is life to a binodangan [member] of any subtribe, so that where another subtribe or anyone for that matter usurps or threatens to usurp their possession and ownership over a portion or part of their bugis (territory) the binodangan is ready to lay down his life for it. (The Kalinga Bodong Congress 1992:2)"

Vayda noted that mountain ridges often form group boundaries in highland areas, with potential or actual enemies residing on opposite sides of a ridge. A group has little choice but to make war when an opposing group crosses a ridge to encroach on their land. Vayda claimed that growing populations and the resultant reduction in the food supply often create pressures to expand one group’s territory into another’s (1961:353). In Kalinga, all culture groups are physically surrounded by other groups with no room to migrate; warfare is often a result of these pressures (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970).

The construction of place in Kalinga is also complicated by a phenomenon which Bacdayan refered to as the “segmentation of regions.” This occurs when a sub-group of one culture group may have separate peace pacts with some culture groups but be bound with its “home” ili for all the other agreements. This corresponds with my own research in which Bawak, a village of the Mangali culture group, has four bodong with other peace pact holding units that are separate from those held by the rest of Mangali. Dozier (1967) and Takaki (1984) both cited a similar occurrence with Lubuagan and the smaller Uma sub-group, which began as a colony of the larger Lubuagan culture group. These two researchers
suggested that, as in the case of Uma, these smaller “daughter” colonies start exerting their independence by forming separate peace pact agreements with a few other culture groups, gradually increasing the number of agreements until they eventually reach a state of complete independence from the original mother group. When and if this new colony becomes separated enough from the mother culture group to have its own unique cultural traits, it is free to establish an identity as a unique ili and create peace pacts with other groups. Cultural differences and geographic isolation work together to define a unique ili. If significant cultural differences between mother and daughter groups can be established, then the sub-group becomes a unique culture group and peace pact holding unit: “A cultural boundary is determined by the dialect, intonation, songs, beliefs, work style, and idiosyncrasies of the people who live within the neutral boundaries of the main subtribe” (Gamonnac 1988:261).

**Exchange, Honor, and Power**

Studies of warfare and peace-making entail details related to power and class structures within the culture group. The primary research in this area regarding economic exchange and accumulation of power (*dayaw*) was done by Takaki (1977) in the Uma and Butbut Kalinga culture groups. Social organization, especially in regard to kinship structures, is central to understanding Kalinga distribution and exchange patterns. Within these relationships, which necessarily include the members of one’s peace pact holding unit, one tries to accumulate *dayaw*—the ultimate measure of one’s lifetime achievement—through prescribed methods of exchange. Takaki glossed *dayaw* as “esteem”, and describes it as how one becomes a man/person in Kalinga society.
A primary way of resource distribution is through “prescribed livestock slaughter.” Bodong celebrations are an important context for this ritualized exchange of meat and sharing of resources. Issues of class structures, wealth, and power all intersect at a peace pact ceremony. The peace pact holder’s obligation to butcher numerous animals and share the meat with (potentially) hundreds of participants coincides with his desire to gain esteem and power. Another form of power (sokal, according to Takaki) is measured in part by the number of persons one can mobilize or call upon for help. One gains power by placing people in a relationship of indebtedness, most often through the giving of gifts, such as meals of meat at a celebration. Gift-giving is a way to renew kinship ties and “remind” distant kin—those who lie outside one’s kinship core—of their loyalty to the giver.

The most common and effective means used by the people (with rare exceptions of individuals with unusual talents) for inducing other to support an individual consists in the specific confirmation of kin ties and in the induction of obligation by making his ‘relatives’ the recipients of ‘gifts’, and especially, in multihousehold dispensation on occasions of ‘prescribed livestock slaughter’ (ganu). Such acts need to be repeated in order to maintain and renew bonds of indebtedness since ‘relatives’ beyond one’s kindred core are free to change their political affiliations…Skill in economic management, therefore is essential, though not sufficient, to realize ‘power.’ (Takaki 1977:436-7)

Mangali participants in this study told me on numerous occasions that peace pact holders must be wealthy. Only people of means can afford to meet the financial obligations of hosting large bodong celebrations. In addition, the peace pact holder is required to host any visitors to his place from the culture group with which he holds a pact. Only a man with wealth can be expected to produce chickens or pigs to feed unannounced guests to his home. So the bodong ceremony functions as a context in which one may gain power by hosting large numbers of people. It also proscribes class structure and defines who is wealthy and who is not. When asked if his father held any bodong, one participant answered, “No. We [my family] are not wealthy.”
Bacdayan also noted that the extensive feasting and celebrations in the *bodong* grew out of a need for important men to establish themselves as leaders; once headhunting had been banned, one no longer had a way to establish power through traditional warrior
(*mengol*) acts of bravery (1969:169). Politicking and calling on favors through indebtedness became a more important route towards gaining power as opportunities to act as a warrior decreased. Present-day residents of Kalinga recognize this shift in priorities among the leaders. One man described this change as a reason that the *bodong* system is becoming ineffective in stopping conflicts: “In the old days, the pact holders had to go out and revenge [through acts of violence]. Today they are wealthy and don’t want to fight. Instead they try to settle everything through payments of money.”

Junker’s (2001) examination of historical sources from the time of Spanish contact revealed that competitive feasting has been a means for gaining power in Philippine societies since at least the sixteenth century. Similar feasting events in which powerful men use calendrical rituals and life-cycle events to showcase wealth and solidify their power base are still found in societies throughout the archipelago. Later in this chapter I introduce the debate about the historical development of the current *bodong* system. There are certainly aspects of the peace pact system and its celebrations that are innovations from the early 20th century. However, one could argue that the feasting and hospitality displayed by the peace pact holders is a vestige of an ancient practice that once existed throughout Asia and Oceania.

**Religion and Ritual**

Kalinga rituals are multi-faceted events that go further than issues of power and wealth. Traditional religious beliefs strongly influence the peace pact system. Kalinga spirit
beings are headed by a chief deity named Kabuniyan. Magannon (1972) defined him as the “origin of everything that is.” He is often portrayed as a hero who walked on earth in human form in earlier times. He is not, however, viewed as an active agent in life today.

Kabuniyan is a kind of…hidden god because after having taught man all he needs to know in order to exist and live peacefully and decently in this world he left to his own dwelling place and hid himself never to return again among men. (1972:16)

Scott (1966) noted that this ambiguity results in an inability of Kalingas to articulate their theology of this deity. He noted that Kabuniyan is really a class of deities rather than a single god. Upon his close questioning, Kalingas were unable to identify Kabuniyan as either singular or plural, or in some cases male or female. Instead, interactions with lower-level spirits dictate most of religious life and ritual in Kalinga. Sugguiyao observed, “Although Kalingas as a whole, are a naturally religious people, their religious beliefs are entirely based on fear rather than love for the almighty being of the sky world” (1990:68).

A number of non-human beings with specific names occupy the spiritual hierarchy below Kabuniyan, and are often glossed by researchers as generic “spirits.” According to Magannon, there are three types of these spirits: nature spirits that have never been human beings (pinaing and Angtan), dead ancestors (Kakkarading and Anani), and mythological culture heroes that belong to neither of the above two categories and live in specific places (1972). Magannon described the spirit world and human existence as separated by established boundaries. Spirits frequently interact with humans, mostly in malevolent ways, often causing sickness as retribution for failure to follow prescribed rituals. There are several additional things humans can do to disturb that balance: entering the spirits’ dwelling places, cutting down a tree where one lives, or walking on a pathway during a prohibited

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9 Magannon (1972) notes a disconnect between a sick person’s “self” and his or her body. This is similar to the phenomenon of “losing one’s soul” among the T’boli of the southern Philippines (Mora 2005:84).
time. Spirit mediums (*andadawak*) are employed to listen to an offended spirit’s request and discern the proper resolution. The response is usually a request for meat—a butchered chicken or pig that is consumed by the medium and the family of the offender. These ritual sacrifices not only please the spirits, but the gift-giving creates an indebtedness between human and spirit that empowers the human from a consistently subordinate position to the spirits (Buenconsejo 2002).\(^{10}\)

As in the case of a broken peace pact, unbalanced interactions with the spirit-world that cause a disturbance related to boundary maintenance and respect for the other’s territory. Magannon likens the spirit medium to a peace pact holder who arbitrates disputes during the settlement of a *bodong*. Indeed, the Mangali village of Anggacan reportedly holds a *bodong* with the spirit world. In this instance a spirit medium serves as the peace pact holder to negotiate conflicts that arise from spirit and human contact. Interestingly, only the village of Anggacan is covered by the agreement—the rest of Mangali is not included in this spirit-world *bodong*.

Taboos (*paniyaw*) are usually proscriptions against certain behaviors that may upset the delicate human-to-spirit-world balance. Magannon recounts a Lubu story about a flood that shaped the valley and distributed large rocks across the village (1972:30). Siggacao, a mighty hunter and taker of heads, had grown too proud. The “maker of men”\(^{11}\) decided to dam the river in order to create a flood that would wipe out all the people. The men were warned by an omen of a dog trying to flee the area. Siggacao and all the others fled to a high mountain. This required the maker of men to send an especially strong torrent of water to

\(^{10}\) Buenconsejo’s observation about the dominant-subordinate relationship of human to spirit was made in reference to the Agusan Manobo of Mindanao island in the southern Philippines. I suggest this is an accurate application to Mangali sacrifice systems as well, especially considering the empowerment that a rich man gains when he feeds his village mates during a prescribed ritual. (See references to Junker and Takaki above.)

\(^{11}\) It is unclear if Magannon is referring to *Kabuniyan* or another deity.
wipe them out, which drained in a massive whirlpool over the site of present-day Lubu. That accounts for the rounded-out look of the valley and the large number of stones that blanket the ground throughout the village.¹²

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**Photo 2.1. The Landscape near Lubu Village.**

De Raedt (1989) observed that sacrificial events in Kalinga usually entail some form of celebration. These events are noted by the frequent use of the color red and the sounds of the hand-held bronze gongs (*gangsa*). A large number of people at a sacrifice-celebration provide a greater possibility of scaring away evil spirits (called “demons” by De Raedt).¹³ In the *tadok* genre of gong-playing and dancing, the number of player-dancers is only limited by

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¹² This story also explains the taboo against scolding a fleeing dog.

¹³ Many Mangali participants in this study called the spirits “evil spirits.”
the number of available gongs and the space available to dance. While some celebrations require many players who can create noise to scare away the spirits, other celebration/sacrifice events are small affairs. Violating the spirits’ expectations, either by falsely raising them with disproportionately high numbers of celebrants, or by disappointing them with too few participants, can be cause for the spirits to seek retribution from humans. This delicate balance is seen in taboos related to the peace pact celebrations. Once an event has been planned and the basic preparations made, there must be an event involving an animal sacrifice. Even if unforeseen events prohibit the visitors from coming on the scheduled day, plans for a celebration must be carried through. The host village will look for any occasion to butcher the gathered animals. De Readt lists several occasions that call for animal sacrifices:

- birth
- arrival of a groom to spend his first night with his bride
- leaving for a trip
- completion of a new house construction
- beginning of harvest
- completion of harvest

Over sixty percent of the residents of Kalinga province are Roman Catholic.\(^{14}\)

Traditional practices and interactions with the spirit world do not seem to clash with the folk interpretations and practices of Catholicism. Several Mangali participants told me that their ethnic group is “One-hundred percent Christian.” Nonetheless, traditional religious practices still thrive despite the high numbers of Catholic and Protestant church members.\(^{15}\)

\(^{14}\) See the website of the Vicariate Apostolic of Tabuk at http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dtabu.html.

\(^{15}\) According to the Project Joshua website, less than 10% of Kalingas are “Evangelical Christians” (U.S. Center for World Mission). This number is consistent with my observations in the Mangali region. See http://www.joshuaproject.net.
The Kalinga Bodong: Innovation or Indigenous?

Many Kalingas essentialize the peace pact institution as an ancient establishment passed through the generations from the time of the first inhabitants of Kalinga. Epic songs describe the bodong as a process established by mythic culture heroes. Many researchers have weighed in on the debate about the history of the bodong process and its origins. It is not surprising that many Kalingas link ideas of authenticity to the age of the tradition. Claims that the bodong system was established within the past one hundred years old denigrate Kalinga traditions and culture.

Bacdayan theorized that the peace-pact system is largely a 20th century innovation (1967:42). He tried to prove that this was due to government backing of the institution and its efficacy in ending local hostilities. Walter Hale, the American Deputy Governor of Kalinga, is credited for strengthening the peace-pact system during his administration in the early 20th century. His effort to empower the Kalingas in self-government was possibly a reaction against poor administrative strategies among Native Americans that often turned out badly (Cordillera Schools Group 2003:134; Sugguiyao 1990). The American government probably formalized the bodong process out of an existing embryonic system of inter-group bilateral agreements (Bacdayan 1969:42).

Certainly some form of inter-group settlement existed from the time that the Cordillera were inhabited. Scott (1982) cites the account of Father Pedro Jimenez who mediated a dispute caused by a murder in the 17th century in present-day Apayao Province. Jimenez quelled any potential violence by utilizing the local customs of sending gifts, feasting with the kinsmen of the victim, and negotiating terms for a final settlement. These activities broadly describe the current bodong process, but were probably not codified like
the current system. Billiet and Lambrecht cited a Lubu man who claimed that no bodong agreements existed before prior to six generation preceding his own (1974:34). Dozier (1967) maintained that more efficient methods for killing required a more institutionalized and rigorous system for settling disputes; a strict system was not necessary prior to the introduction of firearms at the beginning of the 20th century.

Kalinga perceptions about the authenticity and pre-historic origins of the bodong inform their opinions about its future. Those who argue for an early date of bodong usually advocate its strengthening and development for the future, associating such activities with the preservation of cultural heritage (Aggalao 1991). Some cite the system’s weaknesses and its inability to stop revenge killings and assaults as a reason to cease the bodong system as a means to maintain peace and order. Indeed, my own experience reveals that many peace pacts remain in various states of negotiation and take a long time to be fully settled. Terms take months or years to be worked out while offended groups await full payment of indemnities. The future as well as the proper functioning of the bodong is a highly contested issue in Kalinga, with several opinions regarding the proper way to bring lasting peace to the province. Chapter Five will revisit this issue with regard to the maintenance and preservation of the bodong.

Kalinga Music Research

Most of the researchers already cited mentioned Kalinga music in their ethnographies. Worcester (1912) refers to “strange and wondrous sounds” that were produced from Cordilleran instruments. Barton (1949) lists several traditional instrument names and describes the dances of a peace pact celebration. Scott (1960) also listed instruments and
noted that all Madukayan Kalinga men have the ability to make instruments with varying degrees of skill. De Readt (1989) differentiates between two kinds of struck bamboo ensembles and notes the different ritual contexts for which the instruments were prepared and used. Sugguiyao (1990) includes a short chapter on “Performing Arts” that describes indigenous terms for the gong genres. Bacdayan (1967) mentions songs and dances in a chapter that recounts details of four peace pact celebrations he attended.

Maceda’s *Gongs and Bamboo* (1998a) is the most extensive work on Philippine organology, authored by the forerunner of ethnomusicology in the Philippines. Drawing on much of the same ethnographic source material as his Garland (1998b) and New Groves (2001) articles, this book stands out for its judicious use of black and white photography. Photographs of every traditional instrument found throughout the country are included, often multiple times, being sounded in their cultural context. The material about Kalinga is thorough, with photographs of each kind of instrument. Detailed transcriptions of the gong genre rhythms as well as tunings for bamboo flutes and zithers are included. Maceda also provides details about some vocal genres, providing the fullest explanation in the literature of what the term *salidummay* means and how that category of songs got to be propagated throughout the Cordillera.

*Salidummay* are relatively recent popular songs introduced probably during World War II, with familiar tunes and varying texts—a simple expression saying how singing is fun; a proverb, “it is better to marry someone you know, you face each other when you eat,” or a hidden invitation, “an invisible friend who I wish to attract with red leaves.” (1998a:9)

The comparative work by Pfeffier (1976) provides more details than Maceda about some vocal genres, with several native language texts and English translations included. However, Maceda’s book, with its maps, photographs, transcriptions, and indexes, is unsurpassed by any other researcher of Philippine music.
The primary works of Kalinga music research are Billiet and Lambrecht’s two volumes on the *ullalim* epic story song (1970 and 1974). The bulk of their two volumes are the Kalinga texts (with English translations) of six *ullalim* as chanted/sung in the areas of Taloctoc, Lubuagan, Lubu, and Madukayang. These extensive texts are supplemented by an ethnographic introduction in each volume which provides a wealth of information about Kalinga societies. Banna, the mythic culture hero featured in these *ullalim*, courts his heroine, Laggunawa, while revenging wrongs and establishing his reputation as a fierce warrior (*mengol*). The *ullalim* texts are peppered with footnotes about the language and culture as they apply to Banna’s exploits – betel-nut chewing, marriage contracts, gong playing, revenge killing, peace pacts, spirit beings, and farming practices. The authors had obviously mastered at least one of the Kalinga languages, as the books are full of descriptions of orthography and grammar.

Billiet and Lambrecht also examine the musical aspects of the *ullalim*. Indeed, the pentatonic-scale melodies play an important part in the realization of the seven-syllable lines of the *ullalim* structure. The authors’ textual transcription is presented in strict seven-syllable lines, but an uninitiated listener will hear more than seven syllables per line when the epic is sung. Billiet and Lambrecht (1970) provide a melodic transcription that explains these variations as the text interacts with the melody. Due to the liberal use of techniques like syllable elision, reduction, and duplication, the *ullalim* differs from spoken speech to the extent that the listener must acquire an ability to understand the singer’s words. For this reason, many Kalinga young people who are fluent in their mother tongue still find it difficult to understand the *ullalim*. 
Ullalim epics are not found in all Kalinga culture groups. Most oral histories state that they originated in the southern Tanudan villages of Dacalan, Gaang, and Lubu, later spreading to Mangali and Taloctoc to the north and Tinglayan, Lbuagan, and Pasil (Sugguiyao 1990). Northern Kalinga culture groups use a different kind of epic story genre known as gasumbi (Constantino 2002:3). Fe Prudente is the only ethnomusicologist to write a musical ethnography about a Kalinga culture group. Her research on the gasumbi of the Buwaya Kalinga shows how the spontaneous performances of the epic are constrained by a confluence of factors—patterning of pitch, melodic contour, rhythm, duration, as well as verse length, rhyme, metrical scheme, and plot (1984:v). Her analysis of the gasumbi melodies draws from established melodies produced in instrumental performances, especially the bronze gong ensembles that are featured in bodong celebrations. Melodies of both instrumental and vocal genres are comprised of small syntactic units that are in turn used as building blocks to construct performances spontaneously (1984:15). This process of realizing the song during performance is similar in several other vocal genres, making the practitioner of one style competent in several others (1984:103).

There is room for much more research to be done among the varied cultures of the Kalinga peoples. Past researchers have published their findings on epic songs (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970 and 1974; Prudente 1984), but there has been very little documentation of other song genres and instrumental music processes. I can only hope that a generation of scholars, from the Philippines and abroad, will recognize the importance of Kalinga music processes and their integral role in creating and maintaining culture.
Place Studies

Ethnographers working in other parts of the world have explored the role of music in creating, claiming, and negotiating place as a social process (Feld 1996; Solomon 1997 and 2000; Seeger 2004). The remainder of this chapter summarizes some of the major themes found in that literature and explains its importance to this thesis on the Kalinga bodong.

Place as a Social Construction

In recent years ethnomusicologists have moved away from viewing “music as object” towards a perspective of “music as process” (Stokes 1994; Solomon 1997). A similar shift has taken place in the disciplines of cultural anthropology and geography regarding theories of place. In the same way that music is now viewed as a process, researchers view place as a social construct which is always being “ascribed, negotiated, and performed” (Stewart 1991:409). These present-day scholars emphasize that place is more than the fixed space object where culture happens. Instead, place is replete with shared memories and historical contexts of the subjects who make it. It is a fluid concept that moves through time and space: “space and time are contained in places rather than places in them” (Casey 1996:44).

Anthropologists used to take for granted that place was something “fixed, undialectical, and immobile” (Foucault 1980:70). Current perspectives instead focus on individuals who are always in place and in culture, creating each in a contextualized, social process: “The meaning of actual physical place is the result of a historical and social process, built up over time by large and small happenings” (Tuan 1991:692).

Gupta and Ferguson (1997) called on ethnographers to describe these processes in a way that de-objectifies the culture a static “thing”. Representing subjects as they create...
culture and make places removes societies from bounded places—the X-people who live in X-land: “An anthropology whose objects are no longer conceived as automatically and naturally anchored in space will need to pay particular attention to the way spaces and places are made, imagined, contested, and enforced” (1997:47). This is particularly vital in an era when transnational movements, mass immigration, money markets, and mass media make associations between a given society and a specific space harder to match (Appadurai 1992). These movements show how music, too, is becoming unhinged from its moorings to bounded spaces. Shelemay appropriates the term “soundscapes” to describe the many musical traditions encountered in the rich cultural settings of today’s urban centers, many of which can now be “studied next door or across town” (2001:xiv).16

Kalinga place construction is constantly being contested and negotiated through the peace-pact process. Approximately forty-seven separate culture groups have their own agreements with most other Kalinga groups, as well as with some peace pact holding units in other provinces (The Kalinga Bodong Congress 1999).17 Mathematically, that creates over one thousand potential agreements, each of which has to be renewed when the peace pact holder passes the responsibilities to his son or after the agreement has been broken by conflict. Since political boundaries are always an issue in the negotiation of agreements, the Kalinga bodong process is an important context in which social construction of place “happens”.

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16 Shelemay borrows Schafer’s (1977) term, but uses it in a different way. Shelemay refers to soundscapes as music traditions, mostly because she seeks to avoid the “world music” moniker in relation to her generalist work on diverse music cultures. See below for an explanation of Schafer’s treatment of the soundscape as one’s sonic or acoustic environment.

17 It is unclear—and perhaps impossible to know—if each Kalinga group has a peace-pact agreement with each other group.
Creating Place in Dialogue

Several theorists have compared the social processes of place construction to dialogues between contrasting viewpoints. Entrikin’s *The Betweenness of Place* advocated a middle way of theorizing about place that moderates between extreme de-centered, objective views and those from a centered, subjective perspective. His perspective is that of a “narrative-like syntheses” which holds views that are “less detached than that of the theoretical scientist and more detached than that evident in the accounts of a travel writer” (1994:3). An observer or researcher is never able to detach herself completely from a world that includes her because she is always “in place” and “in culture.” This same dialogical perspective is apparent in the work of many ethnographers since the 1980s: self-other (Rosaldo 1988); known-unfamiliar; and micro-macro (Stokes 1994). Rodman suggested that in order to balance the constant tension of opposing viewpoints we must recognize that places, like voices, are “local and multiple.”

By joining multilocality to multivocality, we can look “through” these places, explore their links with others, consider why they are constructed as they are, see how places represent people, and begin to understand how people embody places. (1992:652)

The Kalinga peace pact celebration is inherently multivocalic. By its nature of bringing two culture groups together, the celebration itself serves as a dialogue between two sides. There is even dialogue within the same culture group, as separate villages compete for recognition as the most hospitable and generous in their presentation of gifts to the visitors. The songs and dances of the celebration provide forms for these “conversations” to take place. The analyses in Chapter Four reveal markings in the rhythms, melodies, song texts, and dances that distinguish the Sumadel from the Mangali performances. These differences
give voice to each group and allow a conversation between them, all while the bodong celebration provides a venue for creating their respective places.

**Landscapes**

The sight-centered concept of landscape has always been closely related to the social construction of place. Landscape is also formed in process – it is not an inert object. People “engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it” (Bender 1993:3). Landscapes figure into Kalinga traditional oral processes in which significant past events from epics are often memorialized by landscape features.¹⁸ Tuan wrote that myths, “by weaving in observable features in the landscape (a tree here, a rock there), strengthen a people’s bond to place” (1991: 686).

Sight is a natural way for the Mangali people to create place and landscapes in their home area. The shape of the Tanudan river valley allows for unimpeded views of up to several kilometers in some places. The rain forest growth has been cleared in the flattest locations to make way for rice fields, so vegetation does not block one’s view of the rest of the valley. For this reason, most of the Mangali villages and fields are within sight of each other. Of course the topography of the place, with bends in the river, embankments, and rises, prohibits the view of all eight villages from a single vantage point, but there are many places where one can see most of Mangali. The exception is the village of Bawak that sits higher on a mountain, just on the opposite side of the eastern ridge from the other seven Mangali villages. Bawak has four bodong agreements with other ili that are different from those held

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¹⁸ See Magannon 1972 for a description of the formation of the Tanudan valley’s bowl shape due to a flood caused by a vengeful deity.
by the rest of Mangali. Could it be that Bawak is becoming a different *ili* – its own peace pact holding unit – because it sits out of sight, and out of ear-shot, from the rest of Mangali?

**Photo 2.2. Tanudan valley landscape.**

*Soundscapes*

Schafer (1977) described the “soundscape” as a way to approach and analyze the world in terms of the sounds around us—our sonic environment. This approach to space through the auditory has links to the way geographers and others write about it—“soundmarks” and “sound events” are noted by “earwitnesses” who engage in “sonography.”
Indeed, Schafer’s ideas reflect a pre-Renaissance sensibility when the ear was more important than the eye (1977:10). Ong (1982) also noted an over-emphasis given to things seen over things heard, lamenting the false dichotomy of visual-auditory that exists in Western societies. Feld wrote that the Bosavi of Papua New Guinea were especially affected by sounds in their sensing of places and making sense of, or knowing, their places (1996). He coined a term – acoustemology – to refer to the ways a person can know, or make sense of, his or her environment through sounds (1996:97). In the dense forest environment of the Bosavi, heavy vegetation prevents the people from experiencing their environments visually across extended spaces. Sounds, particularly those of birds and flowing water, play an important part in the way the Bosavi encounter and assign meaning to their environment, or in other words, the way they make places.

To borrow another of Shafer’s terms, Mangali people live in a “hi-fi” soundscape—an environment in which “sounds may be heard clearly without crowding or masking” (1977:272). The relative isolation the Tanudan river valley keeps out motorized vehicles. Throughout much of the rest of the Philippines, the soundscapes are full of noise—public transport vehicles, buses, two-cycle motorcycle engines. By contrast, the rural Mangali landscape is masked by mechanized noise only by an occasional chain saw, which is run only briefly due to the preciousness of its fuel. That is what Shafer would characterize as a rural soundscape, where “the loudest noises (over 100 decibels) were encountered when the villagers were singing and dancing” (1977:52). Indeed, the highlight of the Mangali soundscape are the gatherings, such as bodong celebrations, that allow the gongs to be sounded loudly by their player-dancers. This especially came to my attention late one night while I was walking from one village to another after attending a traditional wedding.
ceremony. Across the valley, separated from us by several hundred meters, we could hear the gong ensemble playing in the *tadok* style. Because of the relative lack of noise in the soundscape, we could clearly hear the ensemble’s rhythms. My companions commented that several visitors from Manila had arrived in the host village earlier in the day; the celebration was no doubt in their honor.

It was that night that I began to formulate ideas about the role of gong music, the only non-bamboo Kalinga musical instrument, in the creation of Mangali place. I wondered if the size of the territory of each peace pact holding unit was limited by the distance traveled by the sounds of the gongs. Town bells played a role in defining the boundaries of territories in nineteenth-century France (Corbin 2003:120). Was the fact that Kalinga was divided into more than forty separate culture groups a constraint of the music in the soundscape? As much as I liked to speculate so, no Mangali person told me about a link between boundaries and gong sounds, nor did I find linguistic evidence relating sounds to border maintenance.

Consistent with Schafer’s description of a “lo-fi” soundscape, amplified music is rarely heard in Mangali villages. During my research period, hydro-generated electric power was being introduced to some Mangali barangays. While several houses were wired for low-wattage electrical appliances, recorded electronic music was still not frequently heard. Amplification of sound only happened during celebrations, during which time large 12-volt batteries were used to power microphones and speakers. *Karoke* bars and recorded commercial music have yet to penetrate the Mangali soundscape like in much of the rest of the Philippines, including rural areas populated by minority peoples (Buenconsejo 2002; Mora 2005).
Contemporary ethnomusicologists treat music as more than a reflection of other, more important aspects of a culture. Rather, they view music as a social process where culture happens. As such a process, music performances provide “the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed” (Stokes 1994:4). In her ethnography of Tuscan Constrasto performances, Pagliai (2003) analyzed voices from multiple places as they were claimed, contested, and negotiated by poet-singers. These performers evoked place names throughout their extemporaneous songs to both identify themselves with the audience and dissociate themselves from their opponents. Constrasto performances highlight the duality of identities that grow from the inside versus those that are imposed from the outside. There is “what we think about us” and “what others think about us.” This is what Pagliai (2003, quoting Stokes 1994) refers to as a “double boundary.” This issue of boundaries and their subsequent layers of meanings was noted by Barth: “ethnic identity is a matter of self-ascription and ascription by others in interaction, not the analyst’s construct on the basis of his or her construction of a group’s ‘culture’” (1969:6). Differences in self-ascribed and other-ascribed identities have led to eruptions of violence worldwide, from Ireland to Rwanda to the Balkans. In each of these conflicts there are multiple voices, each representing and contesting for differing ideas of place.

Anthony Seeger’s ethnography of the Suyá of Brazil advanced the perspective of music as culture: “music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes” (2004:xiv). The title of his book invoked a theory of ethnomusicology—musical anthropology—that portrayed music as culture rather than in it or reflecting it. Seeger analyzed Suyá music as an important process in the creation of place,
especially in the maintenance of village boundaries. Singing, dancing, and ceremonials activities were events that assigned meaning to places both inside and outside the village (2004:69). In an environment where vegetation quickly overtakes cleared spaces, the Suyá must constantly clear brush from common places near their dwellings. Songs play an active role in the creation and recreation of these common places by actually structuring space through social processes: “Everyday life tended to blur some of the distinctions between plaza and periphery; ceremonial activity and song re-established them” (2004:69). Seeger wrote that music not only created the structures (“structurations”) for place, but it also informed Suyá concepts of sound, time, personhood, and other meanings.

To consider song and ceremonial life to be mechanical products of other aspects of social life is to miss the essential nature of musical and ceremonial performances. Suyá ceremonies created euphoria out of silence, a village community out of a collection of residences, a socialized adult out of physical matter. (2004:86)

In the chapters that follow I attempt to show similar Kalinga “structurations” of place in the music performances of a bodong ceremony. Throughout this thesis I refer to music and place creation as social processes. Largely influenced by the writings of Seeger, I shy away from language that represents Kalinga music as an object that sits outside of culture or that in some way “reflects” more important cultural values. This thesis maintains that music is culture, and the music of the bodong ceremony creates place for the Kalingas who participate in it.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Pilot Study

The choice of the Mangali Kalinga culture area as a research site was influenced by my assignment to the Philippines branch of SIL International. Minangali is a dialect variation of the language group called Lower Tanudan Kalinga by the SIL Ethnologue (Gordon 2005). The Lower Tanudan Kalinga group is an active language development project of SIL, and one to which a couple of linguists, Glenn and Jewell Machlan, are currently assigned. My research in Mangali began during a year when these linguist colleagues were taking furlough outside the country from March 2003 to April 2004. Their extended absence allowed me access to their house and their network of Mangali contacts. At that time I had not yet enrolled in the M.A. degree program at Bethel University and was conducting research as part of my ethnomusicology assignment within SIL. My initial goals were to learn the Minagali language at a basic level, study and document traditional music, and assist local church leaders in developing culturally appropriate worship songs. During that time I hired the Machlans’ language assistants as my own research assistants. Most of my visits to Mangali were primarily for language learning and data collection. Some secondary goals included the facilitation of a reading competition at the local high school, organizing a seminar on contextualization for local Christians, and sponsoring a song-writing competition.

19 SIL International is a faith-based organization that studies, documents, and assists in developing the world’s lesser-known languages. SIL Philippines—a branch of SIL International—is a volunteer, non-profit organization, working in cooperation with the Philippines Department of Education to carry out linguistic research and documentation of that country’s indigenous languages.

During this pilot study period I made a total of seven visits to the language area. Mangali is not accessible by road, so my family traveled to and from the research site in a single engine Helio Courier aircraft piloted and maintained by SIL personnel. Weight-limit restrictions on the small aircraft limited the amount of cargo we were able to carry with us. Since there are no markets in Mangali, we had to take in all our own food supplies, and we were able to carry approximately two weeks of food in one airplane trip. Consequently, none of our seven trips lasted longer than two weeks in duration before returning to our permanent residence at an SIL center forty miles south of the research site.

*Initial Collection and Processing of Data*

During the pilot study my data collection strategy was informed by undergraduate and graduate courses in Cultural Anthropology, as well as by works on conducting ethnographic research by McKinney (2000); Spradley (1979 and 1980); and Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995). Participants easily identified with my desire to learn more about Mangali music and cultural practices. The label “ethnomusicologist” was not readily understood, but all participants were enthusiastic and eager to share their songs and stories with me. Early in the research period I participated in two major life-cycle cultural events—a child dedication and a funeral. During a subsequent research visit an American undergraduate assistant aided in recording songs in each Mangali village, as well as in villages of the neighboring Lubu and Taloctoc culture groups. On a later trip I contacted several men who were knowledgeable about making bamboo instruments and I videotaped the construction processes. After each of these recording trips my main assistant and I would watch the recorded video or listen to the

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21 My wife, Sarah, and three daughters accompanied me on five of the seven trips to Mangali during the pilot study period.
audio together. These watching and listening sessions took the form of ethnographic
interviews during which I asked my assistant to explain relevant details, especially regarding
names for objects and processes.

My hand-written fieldnotes included many details about these research visits: notes
from language lessons, things I observed around the village, personal struggles regarding
culture shock, dissonances in expectations between me and my assistants, records of house
guests, and details of foods sampled. These hand-written field notes were supplemented by
digital photos, MiniDisc audio recordings, and MiniDV video recordings. Below is an
inventory of the equipment and media:

**Recording Equipment**

- Olympus C3030 digital camera
- Aiwa AM-F70 MiniDisc recorder, using a Sony ECM-MS907 stereo microphone
- Sony MiniDV PC120BT camcorder

**Media**

- Approximately 20 hours of video recording on 15 MiniDV cassettes using LP mode.
  Used both Panasonic LinearPlus cassettes and Sony DVM60ME cassettes.
- Approximately 15 hours of audio stereo recording on 13 MiniDisc. Used Fuji MD 74
  MiniDiscs.
- Over 400 color digital photos in JPG format at a resolution of 2048 by 1536 pixels.

Colleagues in the SIL Philippines Vernacular Media department converted the
MiniDisc and MiniDV recordings to WAV and MPG files, respectively. Digital copies of
this data were burned to DVD-Rs and sent to the SIL International Ethnomusicology Office
in Dallas, TX. Another set of copies is kept in climate-controlled conditions in the media
department of SIL Philippines.

In May 2004 I returned to the USA for a furlough, during which time I began the
M.A. program in Ethnomusicology at Bethel University. When I returned to the Philippines
in January 2005, I continued to conduct research in the Mangali area. Some of this research was specifically related to the courses MUL601: Applied Study; MUS604: Anthropology of Music; MUS691: Internship; and MUS683: Introduction to Field Research. I continued to take extensive field notes of participant-observation events and ethnographic interviews conducted in the Mangali area. I also collected data from Minangali speakers who occasionally visited my home outside of the research area.

All the data I collected was entered into a database created by SIL Fieldworks Data Notebook software. Language data and observational notes were linked with their corresponding digital photos, audio recordings, and video footage through hyperlinks and references to tapes and disc numbers. Data were coded with appropriate categories in the Outline of Cultural Materials, as supplied by the Data Notebook program.

Cultural Themes

One of my initial research goals was to discern meaningful cultural themes from the participants and not impose my own exogenous categories on the data (Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw 1995). For that reason, many of my research sessions took the form of language learning lessons. Not content to simply collect data in English, I consistently requested Minangali words, phrases, and sentences to describe the phenomena I was researching. Minangali language lessons written by the Machlans helped me learn basic grammar and vocabulary.22

Informal conversations on the front porch of my Mangali home provided some of the best opportunities for learning important cultural themes. One-on-one interviews were

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22 My knowledge of Filipino is good enough to conduct research, but that language is not used widely in Mangali. Consequently, most of my research was conducted in English, using an interpreter when necessary.
desirable for a structured review when I needed to cover certain items, but the dialogical
nature of group discussion yielded some of my best data. It was difficult for me as an
outsider to guide these informal conversations, but the dynamic nature of these group
discussions helped point to the topics that most concerned the participants. Since these
discussions usually took place in a group, multiple perspectives were voiced. The corrective
nature of a group discussion was also valuable for checking data; many times the participants
asked for clarification of details stated by one of the other participants. For example, it was
during an afternoon coffee break that I learned that the Mangali village of Bawak has some
different peace-pact agreements from the other seven villages of Mangali.

The process of coding the notes into OCM categories involved the identification of
major Mangali cultural themes like revenge, death, evil spirits, and peace pacts. It was
through this coding that I discovered how central the peace pact system is to Mangali society.
The peace pacts inform all major cultural themes, including revenge killings, hospitality, and
political boundaries. The major themes that seemed to emerge from discussions about the
bodong related to issues of place and group identity. During this pilot study it became clear
that documenting a peace pact celebration would provide insight to many relevant Kalinga
cultural themes.

Data Collection and Analysis Strategies for Current Study

The decision to concentrate on one Mangali-Sumadel peace pact celebration of April
2005 was rather simple—it was the only such celebration held in Mangali during my research
period, and it was the only one for which there was a video recording. This was the only
specific celebration available to use as a basis for collecting data.
The data for this study was collected in two trips to the Mangali language area (March and May 2006) as well as two visits to my Bagabag residence by Mangali participants (April and June 2006). Data collection took the form of open-ended ethnographic interviews with Mangali participants while they watched the video of the celebration. All participants had attended the celebration in person in April 2005. Additionally, two Mangali peace pact holders were interviewed about the peace pact process, its role in Mangali society, and the responsibilities of a bodong holder.

Since it is impossible to analyze every single event of the April 2005 celebration, Chapter Four presents eight “scenes” from the occasion that help answer the central research question stated in Chapter One: “How is a sense of place constructed for the Mangali and Sumadel peoples through the music performances at their peace pact celebration?” These scenes show that there are certain markings that identify Kalinga music forms as originating from a specific culture group.

**Validity**

Several people with experience with Kalinga culture groups read drafts of this thesis as a method of peer review. Glenn and Jewell Machlan have studied the language and culture of the Mangali people for the past nine years. Felicidad Prudente, a professor of Ethnomusicology at the University of the Philippines, did her graduate research with the Buwaya Kalinga people.

Participant checking was another strategy employed to validate the findings of this thesis. My main assistant also read drafts of these chapters and made suggestions for
changes. Other participants were also presented with copies of the thesis and asked to comment and make corrections to the manuscript.

Ethical Issues

The Mangali-Sumadel peace pact was a pre-emptive agreement rather than a reaction to any past conflict. In other words, there is no history of violence between the two groups. Consequently, the participants who granted interviews did not disclose sensitive information about violent crimes. However, for privacy reasons, participants in the study have remained anonymous in this thesis.

The initial data collected during the pilot study was invaluable to this thesis. However, additional data specific to the April 2005 bodong celebration was required. Before this specific data was collected, Bethel University’s Institutional Review Board approved its collection in February 2006. Due to my preferred methodology of making audio recordings of ethnographic interviews, this study fell under the Level 1 review criteria. According to the recommendations of the IRB, participants in this study signed a consent form indicating that the content of their interviews would be kept confidential and destroyed after the research period of this study. Each was given the option to receive a digital copy of their interview before I destroyed the original media.

Delimitations and Limitations

This thesis focuses on one peace pact celebration that took place in April 2005 between the Mangali Kalinga and Sumadel Kalinga culture groups. Music examples transcribed in the Chapter Four are exclusively from this Mangali-Sumadel celebration. Most
participant interviews were conducted while we watched together a video of the celebration made by a colleague. I consider this reliance on another researcher’s recording to be only a minor limitation; I would have used the same research strategy even if I had been the one to do the recording in person. Peace pact agreements are important in Kalinga societies, but their celebrations are actually rare. (See Chapter Five for an explanation for this.) My colleague has been able to attend only one celebration in nine years of doing research in the language area.

The study was limited by the Mangali participants I was able to interview. These limitations came in the form of time and access to participants. It would have been ideal to interview every person who attended the celebration but a logistical impossibility to locate and interview hundreds of participants. This is partly because many Mangali people reside outside the language area most of the time. For example, the former peace pact holder of the Sumadel-Mangali agreement was not living in the language area during my research period. Despite these limitations, I am confident of the sample of knowledgeable participants who willingly gave of their time to grant interviews. Almost all the collected data was verified by numerous people in separate interviews. What follows in Chapter Four is the result of data provided by many hospitable people who are proud of their cultural heritage. The deficiencies in its presentation are solely the responsibility of this author.
CHAPTER 4: EIGHT MUSICAL SCENES FROM THE MANGALI – SUMADEL PEACE PACT CELEBRATION OF APRIL 2005

We are tagu (men), iLuta (people of the Earth), iLubwagan (people of Lubwagan), iKimatan (people of Kimatan).

Billiet and Lambrecht, *Studies on Kalinga Ullalim and Ifugao Orthography*

This chapter is an analysis of the *bodong* celebration that took place near the Mangali village of Licoutan on April 20-22, 2005. This celebration marked the transfer of a peace pact with the Sumadel people from the current Mangali peace pact holder to his adult son. What follows is an outline of the entire three-day celebration. Interspersed into the flow of the descriptions are analyses of eight specific musical “scenes” from the celebration that especially inform the social processes of Kalinga place construction. Musical events are highlighted, as the focus of this thesis is musical markings in the processes of place making.

Preceding the analysis of the events of three days of the *bodong* celebration is a section on the Setting of the thesis. This includes sub-sections on Kalinga economy and literacy and education.

**Planning the Event**

*Agricultural Calendar*

Most Kalingas are farmers, practicing both wet and dry rice agriculture. In most of the province the wet (or irrigated) rice is planted in the same fields for two annual growing seasons – February to June for the main crop (*dinagun*) and July to January for the secondary crop (*oyak*). Due to the mountainous terrain, the irrigated rice fields are leveled and contained in terraces constructed of dirt and stone.

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23 The *dinagun* crop produces more rice than the *oyak* crop. Many choose not to plant their wet rice fields in the *oyak* season. This is the opposite situation from several decades ago when the *oyak* yielded the most rice.

47
The wet rice planting and harvest cycle dominates Kalinga life and dictates when leisure activities and other agricultural work may take place. This includes a period of “leisure time” in April and May during the time that the *dinagun* crop is growing. Because this time also corresponds with the summer break from Philippines schools and universities, this is a popular type for large social gatherings and celebrations. Many peace pacts are celebrated during these two months when it rains infrequently. See Figure 4.1 for the time frames and descriptions of wet-rice activities in Mangali:

Reasons for this inversion are unclear, but some participants still referred to *oyak* as the “main crop” due to this historical association.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kalinga months</th>
<th>Approximate English months</th>
<th>Rice-related activities</th>
<th>Other activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| kiyang         | January                     | Harvest *(an-ani)* of *oyak* crop  
Planting seedlings *(penal)* for *dinagun* season |                 |
| panaba         | February                    | Improvements to the fields, such as removing extra dirt *(an-amma)*  
Repairing the dikes *(ambanong)*  
Initial clearing of weeds *(lidas)*  
Transferring the seedlings to the main fields *(osok)* |                 |
| ladaw          | March                       |                         |                 |
| adawoy         | April                       | Second clearing of weeds *(obos)* | Peace-pact celebrations *(bodong)* |
| akal           | May                         | Scaring off birds and other animals *(bulaw)* | Child dedications *(domang)*  
Marriage ceremonies *(nilin)*  
Barangay fiestas | |
| kamaduyung     | June                        | Harvest *(an-ani)* of *dinagun* crop | Planting of upland (dry) rice fields |
| walu           | July                        | Planting seedlings *(penal)* for *oyak* season |                 |
| bisbis         | August                      | Moving dirt from the dike to the middle of the field *(suwali)*  
Repairing the dikes *(ambanong)* (optional)  
Initial clearing of weeds *(lidas)*  
Transferring the seedlings to the main fields *(osok)* |                 |
The dry (or swidden) rice crop is grown once per year, usually planted in June and harvested in the final months of the year. These are planted in mountain fields cleared of dense forest growth through slash and burn techniques. These swidden fields (uma) are often quite far from the villages, requiring a hike of several hours to reach them. During times of the year when work in the uma is intense, many families build temporary shelters and live for days or weeks at a time in the upland fields.

**Inviting the Visitors**

This Mangali-Sumadel bodong celebration in April fell into the normal schedule of summer-time leisure activities. Since preparations for a bodong celebration take a long time, the Mangali hosts first wrote a letter to the Sumadel people inquiring about a date. In the past, the host groups used to send unannounced delegations of men to fetch celebrants from the other culture group. This has resulted in many conflicts and even broken pacts when the invitees did not accept the invitation. Now written invitations serve as a way to negotiate the schedule in advance of the planned date. Then preparations are not begun until the invited group responds affirmatively to the hosts’ request. The hosts build shelters when they expect...
the visitors, and there is a taboo against tearing down a shelter before an animal is sacrificed. Thus a spurned invitation results in high costs to the host—not only is the celebration postponed until another time, the animals they planned to use for the bodong must be butchered for a different occasion.

Coordinating the schedules of two different culture groups is a difficult task, especially when the fastest form of communication is a hand-carried letter. One elderly pact holder I interviewed had tried several times to hold the celebration to transfer the peace pact agreement to his son. Each attempt to schedule one had met with scheduling difficulties, causing the arrangements to be postponed. With only a few weeks each year suitable for celebrations, this kind of coordination can literally take years to finalize. Consequently, bodong celebrations are a rare occurrence, whether meant to renew a broken agreement or to transfer the holder responsibilities from father to son.

Once both groups agree to a set of dates, the host village sends a delegation of two to four men to fetch and accompany their guests from the other place—a process known as bulliti. A delegation of three Mangali men went to Sumadel on Tuesday, April 19 to accompany their guests back to the site of the celebration. Meanwhile, residents of the host village of Licoutan were busy with final preparations—building benches, preparing food, erecting shelters, and arranging the three-day program.

One man was appointed to organize the invitation (bulliti) delegation by finding other men to accompany him. This is an important responsibility that comes with expenses; he must butcher a pig to feed the guests when they arrive at the celebration site. The bulliti leader is also responsible for the visitors’ safety throughout the journey and keeps their belongings at his house during their stay in the host village. In addition, he ensures that all
the guests attend the various programs throughout the three days of celebration. It is considered an honor to perform this important task; one must be a respected man of some means in order to carry out the responsibilities. Serving as the head of a bulliti delegation is one method of prescribed livestock slaughter by which a person gains power (*dayaw*) and the respect of his co-villagers (Takaki 1977).

**Scene #1: “Carrying” the Sumadel soundscape to Mangali: Saggaypo**

**Wednesday, April 20**
4:00 P.M.

As the fifty-person delegation of Sumadel visitors entered the outskirts of the first Mangali village in their procession (Guilguila), they stopped at a place along the trail to sound their saggaypo pipes. The saggaypo pipes are played in interlocking patterns, with each man playing a one-pitch pattern on one pipe. Each pipe is cut so that it is open on one end and closed with a natural section of bamboo (*buku*) on the other. The player places the open end below his lower lip and blows across the opening. The pipes were cut to produce pitches in an anhemitonic pentatonic scale. In this instance, the Sumadel men played pipes with the pitches of C#, D#, F#, G#, B.  

The first six men in the single-file line played the saggaypo pattern on six bamboo pipes. The following transcription represents the interlocking parts played by each of the six

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24 Actually, an analysis of the pipes’ pitches using SIL’s Speech Analyzer software shows that the pitches were not precisely within Western equal temperament standards. The following transcriptions for the saggaypo pipes are represented by notes on a conventional five-line staff, but they are equivalent to the following pitch readings:

- C#: 274 Hz
- D#: 310 Hz
- F#: 360 Hz
- G#: 404 Hz
- B: 488 Hz
men in relation to each other. I have used an eight-beat measure with one beat represented by a quarter-note (or quarter-rest). The Mangalis do not have a system for transcribing their music, so these arbitrary transcription decisions are mine.\textsuperscript{25} In the following \textit{saggaypo} examples the tempo was approximately 150 beats per minute.

\textsuperscript{25} My decision to use an eight-beat phrase cycle was partially influenced by a definitive eight-beat pattern found in the gong playing described below. However, there is seemingly no Minangali term for this eight-beat phrase unit, and it is not how the Mangalis talk about making music.
Figure 4.2. Six parts of the Sumadel *saggaypo* ensemble.

After playing this pattern for a few minutes, the men proceeded to cut some more *saggaypo* pipes from the nearby bamboo. Several men used their machetes to cut down
bamboo plants and construct some more pipes. After a few minutes of making a few more instruments, the group prepared to enter the village of Guilguila in a single file line. With the addition of some more newly-constructed pipes, the ensemble now consisted of eight players. The new pipes were used to double some patterns; they did not add any new pitches to the previous pattern (see Figure 4.2 above). A few of the parts changed in this new variation, but the underlying melodic pattern was the same (see Figure 4.4 below for an explanation of the three-note melody).

As the group processed into the village, they walked in a single-file line. The first eight men in line played the following saggaypo pattern:
Figure 4.3. A variation of the six-part *saggaypo* pattern.

Despite some minor variations between these two versions of the Sumadel *saggaypo*

pattern, the resulting three-pitch melody remained unchanged:
Figure 4.4. Saggaypo melody.

This melody was easily recognized by the Mangali people. It is a familiar tune that is sung for fun to the syllables “*Dam-ee-lut, dam-ee-lut.*” The genre most identified with the “*damilut*” melody is *gangsa tuppayya*, which is sounded when certain sets of gongs play in that style. (See Scene #8 below for details on *tuppayya*.) Several other Kalinga instruments form resultant melodies from interlocking patterns in six-person ensembles. One such instrument is the *balengbeng*—a bamboo buzzer idiophone which is struck against the opposite palm. The *tungatung* bamboo tubes, sounded by being struck against the ground, are also played in a similar manner. The *kullitong*, a five- or six-string bamboo tube zither, is a solo instrument that is frequently used to realize these same resultant melodies.26

The sounds of the visitors’ *saggaypo* pipes functioned as an announcement of their arrival in the first Mangali village. The *saggaypo* is the first sound marker of the visitors’ identity and place. The melody and rhythm of the ensemble is not unique to the Sumadel culture group—the three-note *damilut* melody is heard throughout Kalinga. Rather, the significant sound marker is the *saggaypo* pipes themselves. The Mangali, while capable of constructing and playing the *saggaypo*, are not especially noted for playing them. Upon hearing the pipes, the Mangali residents of Guilguila knew immediately that their Sumadel visitors were arriving. The timbre of the instruments marked the identity of the processing culture group.

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26 See photos B.1, B.2, and B.3 in Appendix B for the *balengbeng, tungatung*, and *kullitong*, respectively.
The Mangali prefer to sound a different set of instruments when they approach a village for a bodong celebration. Instead of playing the saggaypo, they might play the tungatung or balengbeng. Some participants recounted a celebration they attended in Balbalan during which they entered the hosting village by singing salidummay tunes and not playing instruments at all. Anthony Seeger noted that the Suyá of Brazil also “carried” their songs as identity markers when traveling to other villages. In some cases, they literally carried them, in the form of cassette tapes. If no one in the traveling party could perform the songs properly, they played recordings for their hosts (2004:135). The songs announced their identity and declared the visitors’ place in relation to their hosts.

The saggaypo performance in Scene #1 shows how the Sumadel people brought their place with them to Mangali. Neither their instruments nor their resultant melody were particularly unique to the Sumadel culture group, but their use in this context was significant. While they are not the only Kalinga group that would use the saggaypo when arriving in their bulliti procession, the Sumadel sonic markings were very significant to the Mangali hosts. This performance simultaneously sounded common “Kalinga-ness” as well as a unique “otherness” from the Mangali place that was being entered.

Scene #2: Merging Soundscapes: The Tadok of the Mangali

4:30 P.M.

The Sumadel visitors arrived in the village of Guilguila and passed through it on their way to Licoutan, the host village of the celebration. Upon their entry to Licoutan, the soundscape of the saggaypo pipes merged with the gongs (gangsa) of the Mangali hosts. The louder bronze gongs easily overpowered the bamboo saggaypo pipes and the Sumadel
stopped playing them at the edge of the village. They were greeted by several residents of Licoutan, who shook hands with the line of Sumadel visitors as they filed past. This part of the celebration is known as *padatong*—the official welcoming of the visitors. The sounds of the Mangali *gangsa* marked the official entrance of the Sumadel guests and inaugurated the events of the next three days.

The *gangsa* is a unique part of all the other musical instruments of the Kalinga soundscape. It is the only non-bamboo instrument, and therefore the only one not manufactured indigenously. These bronze gongs are classified as struck idiophones in the Sachs-Hornbostel system. Dournon assigns them the classification number 122.5 and describes them as a “circular plaque with rim” (1992:268). Kalingas are not the only culture group that plays the *gangsa*; the instrument is found throughout the Cordillera region. This circular, flat, rimmed idiophone is played using two methods—by beating it with a stick while holding the suspended *gangsa* in the opposite hand, or by striking it with open hands while it is suspended from one’s belt. The former method is called *tadok* and the latter, *tuppayya*. Each gong has a handle tied to a string that is strung through two holes bored through the rim of the instrument. In *tadok* the *gangsa* handle is held by the left hand and struck with a wooden stick in the right hand.\(^{27}\) *Tadok* is the root word of the verb that describes the action of simultaneously playing the *gangsa* and dancing. The verb doesn’t distinguish between those two actions since they are done simultaneously. The *tuppayya* style of playing requires a set of six *gangsa* with one player on each part. (See Scene #7 below for an analysis of *tuppayya*.)

\(^{27}\) The wooden beater stick is usually fashioned out of a tree branch and carved with a knife, often on the day of the occasion.
Six player-dancers from Licoutan were playing the gongs in the *tadok* style when the Sumadel visitors arrived. The role of sounding the *tadok* was traditionally restricted to men, but that tradition is changing. In this case, five of the player-dancers were men and one was a woman. The number of players is not set and is usually determined by two factors—the number of *gangsa* available for a given occasion, and the space available in which to dance. This greeting dance was performed in a small space between houses in the middle of the village. Therefore, six gong players was an appropriate number for the space available—approximately twenty feet by fifteen feet. Provided with a larger space, such as the one that was prepared for the main celebration on the following day, the ensemble may grow to thirty or more player-dancers.

Three interlocking rhythmic patterns make up the *tadok*: *tokkotok*, *tabbeleng*, and *sapul*. Each player chooses one pattern and plays it for the duration of the dance. Only one or two play the most important and difficult *sapul* pattern. Another one to three persons play the *tabbeleng* pattern, leaving most with the easiest *tokkotok* pattern.

Unlike the set of songs used for the *tuppayya* style, the *tadok* gongs are not arranged according to their pitches and their ensemble does not produce a pitched melody. Hence, the following transcriptions of *tadok* rhythms will be without reference to pitch. I have analyzed the rhythms in eight-note units like the *saggaypo* above, but will represent each pulse as an eighth-note to show the quicker tempo of playing *tadok*. The Mangali play *tadok* in a tempo of approximately 226 beats per minute, with an eighth-note representing one beat.

The *tokkotok* rhythm is played in a consistent eighth-note pulse, with the first and fourth beats played more loudly (represented below by accent marks). The other six notes in

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28 Some Mangali *tadok* performers have produced arrangements that produce simple melodies by playing the gongs in interlocking patterns. These arrangements are innovations that are usually used to gain points in *tadok* competitions in which prize money is awarded.
the pattern are played softly and dampened by the stick in a way to prevent the sound from ringing out. _Upup_ is the name of this way of playing in which the dancer-player tries to “block the sound.” In teaching me to play this rhythm, a participant told me, “It’s like playing 1,2,3,1,2,3.” The fourth and eighth beats are actually played, but they are quite muted and played with a light _upup_ beating.

![Figure 4.5. Tokkotok pattern.](image)

The _tabbeleng_ pattern is also sounded on every eighth note, but it emphasizes the second, third, sixth, and seventh beats. The other, unaccented beats are played using _upup_ beatings.

![Figure 4.6. Tabbeleng pattern.](image)

The _sapul_ rhythm is considered the most important of the three rhythms, played by the man who picks up the best gong. Unlike _tokkotok_ and _tabbeleng_, the _sapul_ rhythm is not played as a series of constant eighth notes. The fourth note of each phrase is sustained and allowed to ring out for two pulses. One man explained to me in English the reason for this variety in note lengths: “In the _sapul_ there is the same beating [as the other two patterns], but there is a long pause of beating to make the sounds prolonged and get all the sounds of the gongs.” In other words, there is an interlocking pattern that emerges when the three rhythms
are played properly. A skilled sapul player may vary the rhythm to maintain the listeners’ and dancers’ interest as long as he operates under the constraints that maintain a clear overall pattern. Masking important rhythmic structures by playing on the wrong beats would cause problems for the entire ensemble. The sapul holds together the sound of the entire ensemble: “The sound of the gongs will be one, and it is the sapul who leads them to make a song.”

Figure 4.7 depicts a standard sapul pattern:

![Figure 4.7. Sapul pattern.](image)

Besides using the stick itself to dampen the upup or “blocked” beats, another technique is also used to control the sound of the gangs. The dancer-player of the gangs uses his left hand to simultaneously grasp the handle and the rim of the instrument. Playing dampening the sound in this way would produce an uncontrolled ringing, covering up the other players’ accented notes and creating confusion. Even while accenting the first and fifth beats, all the beats of the tokkotok are played with an upup beating; with so many playing that pattern, cacophony would result if any of their beats were allowed to ring out. The tabbeleng and sapul players hold the gangs more loosely and have more freedom to let the sound ring out. A participant explained the difference to me in English:

You control the sound in the tokkotok, not letting it go free. But in the tabbeleng, you let it go free. The tabbeleng and tokkotok are almost the same beating, but you control the tokkotok and don’t let it ring out like the tabbeleng.

The best gongs are the ones that can be heard far away; these are chosen to play the important sapul rhythm. One participant remarked at my ability to play correctly by
affirming this value to send out the sound: “Antayudkani”, meaning: “We will be projected far.”

**Functions of the Gangsa Tadok**

One doesn’t simply play the *gangsa* for personal enjoyment; the instrument is sounded only for a celebratory occasion like a peace pact celebration or a child dedication. Sounding the gongs is prohibited in the presence of any person who is mourning a death. If a celebratory occasion is scheduled to take place in the village of a family that is mourning, the occasion’s planner will have to make other arrangements. The celebrants will either move the occasion to another village beyond hearing range of the mourners, or they will ask for a permit from the mourners and the village leaders to continue with the celebration. In the latter case the mourners will leave the village for a time so they do not hear the sounds of the gongs. The *gangsa* are so associated with celebration and joy that they cannot enter into the same soundscape as a person who is mourning.

Depending on the occasion, men and women may wear traditional dress while doing the *tadok*. On occasions when the sponsor of the celebration can afford to provide an award, members of the eight Mangali villages will gather to compete against one another in an intra-culture group contest. One of the criteria often used to determine a winner is costuming, so the men will dress in their g-strings and women in their woven skirts to gain points with the judges.
Photo 4.1. Men and Women ready to *tadok* in their traditional costumes.

*Women Join in Dancing the Tadok*

During *tadok*, the male player-dancers proceed in a single-file line, led by an experienced player who is usually playing the *sapul* pattern. He guides the direction of the line, and all the other player/dancers follow him. The line twists and turns in a snake-like pattern, according to the desire of the leader. The leader may also choose to stop the line and reverse their direction, thereby passing the leadership of the line to the man at the other end. At times the line stops progress altogether and the men simply mark time in place while sounding the *gangsa* and dancing the steps. Other dance movements include bending over at the waist while holding the *gangsa* just above the ground (*dallokog*). The man in front of the line may also change the movement of the line by backing up without turning around (*angububuot*).
Meanwhile, the women dancers have their own style of dancing—*sangni*—that accompanies the men’s line. Like the men, the women also wind around in a long line. The women may stretch out each arm and imitate the flapping motion of a bird (*dopa*). Or they may alternate this stance with one in which they place their arms on their hips (*angawak*). Like the men, the women’s feet never stop moving in the dance pattern known as *dasudas*. The women’s and men’s lines interact with and react to each other, but they do not cross or intersect in the act of dancing.

**Wednesday night**

After the official welcome sounded by the *gangsa* players (Scene #2), the Sumadel contingent proceeded to the home of the man who fetched them and accompanied them to Licoutan. After they placed their belongings in his home and surveyed their surroundings they waited to be called to the next event. Meanwhile, Mangali men from the neighboring village of Bail brought logs from the forest to be used for firewood throughout the *bodong* celebration. The host village of Licoutan had to shoulder a heavy burden to feed all the Sumadel visitors as well as the Mangali people coming from neighboring villages. This act of helping (*tulung*) from the other Mangali villages helps offset the expenses and strengthens ties within the culture group. The leader of the Bail firewood delegation was a cousin of the peace pact holder.

This official welcoming component (*padatong*) of the *bodong* celebration included a meal of boiled pig meat around 8:00 P.M. The sister of the man about to receive the transferred peace pact provided the pig to feed the guests. This act of prescribed livestock slaughter served two functions for the woman who paid for the animal. Not only did she meet
an obligation to provide for the needs of a family event, but she also gained power (*dayaw*) by indebting others to her (Takaki 1977). This latter function is especially important for a woman who serves as an elected member of the municipal council.

After the meal of pig meat, the guests and hosts gathered to celebrate the *dolnat* portion of the three-day event. *Dolnat* means to “warm up” – used in reference to both contracting a fever and heating water for coffee. These events from 8:00 P.M. to midnight were meant to “warm up” the crowd for the main events of the following two days. Guests and hosts alike took turns dancing to *tadok* and *tuppayya* performances. Important people gave speeches, and the MC led group games for the crowd to join. The night’s activities culminated in the feast of water buffalo meat near midnight, provided by the man about to transfer the peace pact to his son in the ceremony the next day.

**Thursday, April 21**

The second day of the *bodong* celebration is called *inum*, meaning “to drink.” Drinking wine is a prescribed part of the ceremony on the third day, but the activities in focus are feasting, dancing, singing, and making speeches. The transfer of the peace pact from father to son, known as *galigad*, is a part of the day filled with *inum* festivities. Scene #3 analyzes another form of help (*tulung*) that the Mangali villages provide to the Licoutan hosts by bringing food to be shared by the celebrants.

Unlike the previous night’s *padatong* and *dolnat* festivities, the activities of the next two days take place just outside the village of Licoutan. Instead of using the small spaces between the village houses, a new space was created for the purpose of this celebration. Plants were cleared away and temporary shelters were constructed for the hundreds of
Mangali and Sumadel participants. Foucault (1986) may have referred to this celebration site as a “utopia”—an unreal place where ideal cultural scenes are constructed and enacted. One year later after the festivities, this celebration site was already overgrown with grasses and other plants; the materials from the shelters have long been given over to other purposes. The celebration site was indeed a temporary place—an artificial site that for two days belonged to both/neither Mangali and/nor Sumadel.

Scene #3: Lower Mangali Presents Gifts and a Salidummay Song

9:00 A.M.

Throughout the Philippines it is customary to eat a mid-morning snack called merienda. A typical merienda for a Kalinga bodong celebration is dekot, a sweet sticky-rice cake made from pounded rice, coconut milk, and sugar. Women from each Mangali village presented a gift of dekot over the two days of the celebration. On this day of inum, the villages farthest from Licoutan brought their offerings of dekot. As the women from each village carried their prepared food to the stage area they presented a song about themselves and their place. The barangay (local government unit) of Lower Mangali is a combination of the villages of Mantopngan and Ullaga. In some contexts, such as cultural dance competitions, the two villages enter as separate ili. In this dekot presentation, they have combined to form “Lower Mangali” and they represent themselves as such.

Eight women from Lower Mangali walked to the front of the stage area with baskets or plates full of dekot on their heads. Flags fashioned out of 100-peso bills of Philippine currency where stuck in the banana leaves that covered each dish. The monetary gifts functioned as another form of help (tulung) to defray expenses related to hosting the
celebration. Three of the women held microphones that were fed into a PA system powered
by a 12-volt car battery. All eight women sang their presentation song, but only the three of
them were amplified enough to be heard well by the crowd.

The song presentation took the form of a salidummay tune. Not much has been
written about these tunes found throughout the Cordillera region. To my knowledge, these
dozens of distinct tunes do not even carry their own names, but are simply referred to as
generic salidummay. Maceda (1998a) believes the tunes were popularized and distributed
throughout the mountains during World War II. Salidummay are based on pentatonic scales
and are easy for both solo and group singing. The fixed number of seven syllables in each
phrase makes the songs suitable for parody writing. Their strophic construction allows them
to be easily taught and remembered. Lyrics can be composed for any joyful occasion and are
often composed for church occasions, child celebrations, and fiestas.

A fourteen-syllable refrain followed each fourteen-syllable verse of the Lower
Mangali salidummay. With the exception of Verse 3, the same refrain was used each time—a
set of vocables based on a modification of the word salidummay.
Verse 1:
_Inkanin makadongal bodong de Sumadel_
We are coming to listen\textsuperscript{29} to the Sumadel peace pact celebration

\textit{Refrain: Dang-dang-ay si dangilay isinalidummay}
[There is no translation for these vocables.]

Verse 2:
_Awad kad kaso ak dakkol adi ta Matokol_
If there is a big case, let’s not be surprised\textsuperscript{30}

\textit{Refrain}

Verse 3:
_Annaya da dekotni bane Lower Mangali_
These are our stickyrices, we from lower Mangali

\textit{Refrain: We napulwan S.}\textsuperscript{31} (2xs)

\textsuperscript{29} Listen is a figurative way to say “attend.” Note the preference given to the soundscape of the \textit{bodong} over things that are seen there.
\textsuperscript{30} Literally, “Let us be prepared.”
\textsuperscript{31} S. is the wife of the man about to receive the peace pact from his father. Her name consists of three syllables.
Where S. comes from

Verse 4:
Okyan pasige takna (2xs)
May it always be like this

Refrain

Verse 5:
Ta awad kad ayanta (2xs)
So that if we go somewhere

Refrain

Verse 6:
Pasigtaku nawaya (2xs)
We are always free

Refrain

Each verse was led out by one of the eight women, with the others joining in on the second or third syllable once they recognized the prepared text. Sometimes the woman leading the verse was not amplified, which made the first few syllables virtually incomprehensible. The lyrics of the verses were not formulaic constructions which the listeners could expect or predict. Perhaps a reason for repeating twice the same seven syllables, such as in verses 4, 5, and 6, is to ensure that the statement is understood.

Many other vocal genres of Mangali song use seven-syllable phrases. This is a unified patterning process Prudente called “operative units” in her study of Buwaya Kalinga songs (1984:23). The Mangali epic genre (ullalim) is performed in seven-syllable units, as are the vocal styles of suggiyaw (rice harvest song), dandan-ag (funeral song), goygoy (lullaby), tugon (rice pounding song), iwwayat (debating song), dagdag-ay, and others. The consistency of seven-syllable textual phrases across genres allows a performer to be proficient in several
styles. Indeed, there are few Mangali who are experts in only one or a few vocal styles. When asked to perform traditional songs for recording purposes, the same person could usually sing several styles for me with little or no preparation between the songs. This hints at a larger phenomenon within Mangali society—the absence of any equivalent term for the idea of “musician.” No Mangali person or class of people are set apart as professional music makers or performance specialists. Certainly some are recognized by their peers as more skilled than others, but no one is supported financially or otherwise for their music skills.

Notice that their song referenced the freedom of movement that a well-functioning bodong system grants to the residents of the land. This is an oft-noted benefit of having a strong peace pact system. When a bodong agreement is severed or otherwise in distress, people from the effected culture groups modify their travel plans and seek new routes to markets and cities. Some even quit their jobs or studies in the city to come back to the home area. (See the explanation of the galigad ceremony below for further details regarding the impact of severed peace pact agreements.)

By referencing the wife of the holder, the Lower Mangali singers used their salidummay performance to give significance to their place. Even while they did not enjoy the prestige of hosting the bodong celebration in their village, the singers claimed their distinctive relationship to the process and agreement. Their decision to represent themselves as a two-village barangay rather than as two discrete villages allowed the two places to pool their resources and share the responsibility of providing food. Mantopngan and Ullaga had earlier in the week hosted the local fiesta for all of Mangali. This is a significant financial burden on the people of those villages; combining resources as Lower Mangali allowed them to participate in this bodong without losing face by providing a meager amount. This
performance shows the fluidity of Mangali place constructions. Mantopngan and Ullaga can be separate *ili* in some occasions, such as when each is competing for a prize. They also have the freedom to combine into one place when the situation warrants it or brings greater recognition to them. Some participants indicated that these two villages will likely represent themselves as a combined place more often as residents continue to moved from Mantopngan to Ullaga; the former, older village now has only eleven inhabited homes.

**Scene #4: Tadok of the Sumadel**

9:15 AM

After the *de kot* presentation by Lower Mangali, some of the Sumadel visitors had the opportunity to play and dance the *gangsa* in the *tadok* style. Because of the large space available for dancing in the celebration venue, seventeen men were able to dance and play the *gangsa* simultaneously. Upon hearing the first few beatings, the Mangali interviewees could detect the Sumadel variety of *tadok*. One man told me while watching the video recording together: “Their [Sumadel] way of starting the gongs is different. It seems as if they will all do the same sound—*tokkotok*—from the beginning. We in Mangali play all three rhythms from the beginning.”

The Mangali participants also identified the absence of a *sapul* pattern in the *tadok* of the Sumadel. One man watched the videotape closely to verify that there was no *sapul*. Mangali players have a signature arm movement to show the sustained fourth beat of the *sapul* (see Figure 4.7 above), and there was no Sumadel player making that motion while playing. The participants who heard the Sumadel sounds said, “They only play two patterns—the *tokkotok* and *tabbeleng*.” Without any Sumadel participants to verify this, there
is no way to know if these are the words they would use to describe these two patterns. For the sake of this thesis, we will refer to the similar Sumadel rhythms by using the Mangali labels – *tabbeleng* and *tokkotok*. Without a strong *sapul* pattern, the Sumadel *tadok* ensemble’s overall rhythmic structure differed from that of the Mangali. A combination of the strong beats 1 and 5 of the *tokkotok* pattern (see Figure 4.5 above) and the strong 2, 3, 6, and 7 beats of the *tabeleng* (see Figure 4.6 above) resulted in an summarized rhythmic structure depicted in Figure 4.10 below.

![Figure 4.10. Summarized Sumadel *tadok* pattern.](image)

The *sapul* pattern’s emphasis on beat 4, identified and differentiated a Mangali style of playing. Their summarized rhythmic structure is depicted in Figure 4.11 below.

![Figure 4.11. Summarized Mangali *tadok* pattern.](image)

Tempo also marks a significant difference in the *tadok* of Mangali and Sumadel. During the arrival celebration the previous evening, the Mangali hosts played at approximately 226 eighth-note pulses per minute. The Sumadel started significantly faster—at 248 pulses per minute—but slowed to 220 by the end of this four-minute performance in
Scene #4. The Mangali participants recognized this as an important difference between the gong-playing of the two groups. One interviewee said that the Sumadel characteristically “rush at the beginning, but then they slow down more than we do.”

The Sumadel men’s dance steps also differed from those of the Mangali dancers. Each Mangali dancer steps forward onto his left foot on beats 1 and 5 of the eight-beat cycle. On beats 3 and 7 he simultaneously steps onto his right foot while kicking his left foot forward. By contrast, each Sumadel dancer steps forward onto his right foot on beats 1 and 5. He then kicks his right foot back and slightly into the air while stepping onto his left foot on beats 3 and 7. This method of dancing in which the right foot is kicked back is called binowagan by the Mangalis. It is the preferred method of dancing the tadok by men in Tinglayan (the municipality where Sumadel is located) and in Bontoc in Mountain Province to the south of Kalinga.

Like the Mangali tadok the previous night, women joined in dancing the sangni style. However, both Sumadel and Mangali women joined in the women’s line and followed the same steps and arm movements. No Mangali participants detected any differences in the sangni of the Mangali and Sumadel.

Mangali participants have frequently described for me differences in tadok styles that are found through Kalinga. For example in Pangol, a culture group in eastern Tanudan municipality, they limit the number of gangsa players to four. Their sapul is played much more quickly and frenetically than that of the Mangali. Mangali people even recognize differences between styles played by separate villages within their own culture group. A man from Licoutan told me when hearing a specific pattern, “That sounded like they way they do
it in Mantopngan.” Mantopngan and Licoutan are both Mangali villages, lying only two miles apart with a few hundred inhabitants each.

In this scene I have attempted to show how the Mangali interviewees detected differences between their own *tadok* style and that of the Sumadel. These were evidenced in a difference in rhythmic patterns, tempo, and dance steps. In summary, the Sumadel have two interlocking patterns *tadok* patterns, compared to three by the Mangali players. The tempo of the Sumadel playing starts significantly faster than the Mangali style, but it slows during the performance. Also, the dance steps are different for each place.

### 9:30 AM

**Explanation of the Rules**

After the *tadok* of the Sumadel, the chairman of the *bodong* celebration explained the rules governing the proceedings for the next two days. Drinking alcohol was prohibited, and each peace pact holder was responsible for policing the people of the opposite group. For example, if someone from Sumadel was caught drinking, then the Mangali peace pact holder would be fined 2500 pesos (approximately US$50).

### Scene #5: Presentation of the *Dekot* from Bawak in *Ullalim*

### 9:45 AM

The presentation of *deko* t from Bawak village included a performance in the solo epic story song genre of *ullalim*. This genre is traditionally used to recount the epic tale of the hero Banna and his exploits in marriage and warfare. *Ullalim* performances can last an entire
night, depending on how singer decides to tell the story. The storyline follows the same pattern each time, but any given retelling is a spontaneous realization of a text and melody.

_Ullalim_ may be sung in contexts other than for nighttime story-telling sessions about the epic heroes and their exploits. It can be used to give advice at a wedding ceremony or to greet visitors during a formal occasion. One woman from Taloctoc in Tanudan municipality recounted her life story to me in the _ullalim_ form. I even witnessed one man singing a few lines of _ullalim_ as a punishment for stealing a drink at a celebration.

An analysis of the Mangali _ullalim_ reveals the same seven-syllable-per-line structure as discussed above regarding the _salidummay_ (See Scene #3). As mentioned in Chapter Two, the singer of _ullalim_ employs several techniques such as like syllable elision, reduction, and duplication that change the structure of the words from that of everyday speech. Consequently, discerning seven syllables per line in an actual performance is a difficult task. The singer’s realization of the melodic and rhythmic structure often includes added or combined syllables to suit the specific performance. Only after eliciting the words from a Mangali participant was I able to discern the seven-syllable line structure.

One technique is to substitute some special _ullalim_ words for ones typically used in everyday conversation. For example, _oyya_ is a modification of _osa e’ algaw_, which means “one day.” These kinds of modifications help reduce the number of syllables in a line to the necessary seven. Other changes enable the singer to conclude the lines with a rhyming vowel: _gomma_ can be used instead of _somsomok_ for “thinking.” Similarly, _susunud_ (sibling) is usually performed as _susunda_ if it comes at the end of a line.

The following musical transcription portrays the melodic and rhythmic performance of the _ullalim_ that accompanied the _dekok_ gift from Bawak village. The words that fall
beneath the notes are my attempt to show phonetically what the singer actually performed. By comparing the performance transcription to the elicited translation that follows, the reader can discover some of the techniques used by the singer. The linker word *we* is pronounced like the English word “way.” This is a common word in the Minangali language, found frequently to link modifying words together.\(^{32}\)

I am much indebted to the analysis provided by Billiet and Lambrecht in the first volume of their landmark works on the Kalinga *ullalim*. The transcription below in Figure 4.12 is modeled after the one found in their book (1970:81). Using their same meter-less, key-less depiction, I transcribed this *ullalim* by making each accidental explicit for those notes that were found in both natural and flat forms.\(^{33}\) The effect called “tremolo” in Billiet and Lambrecht, is also labeled as such in Figure 4.12. This stylistic effect in which the singer alternates quickly between two pitches up to a whole-step apart is called *gayongon* by the Mangali. Participants of this study evaluated *ullalim* renditions based on the amount of *gayongon*—there should be enough to provoke an affect on the part of the listener, but not so much as to make the words unintelligible.

The following analysis by Billiet and Lambrecht was also observed in the performance transcribed below in Figure 4.12:

The syllable preceding the last or the second to the last syllable of any verse is the tremolo syllable. It is preceded by a syllable of a pitch one tone higher; this syllable is preceded by a syllable that is followed by an abrupt stop resembling a distinct glottal stop. (1970:80)

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\(^{32}\) An adjective and the noun it modifies are always linked in Minangali. The phrase “good man” is a combination of the adjective (*ambalu*), linker (*we*, emphasized in the following example), and noun (*lalaki*): *ambilu we lalaki*.

\(^{33}\) The first-line E and the ledger-line A and G all seemed to be sung in both natural and flat forms. With this limited data, it is impossible to determine whether these half-step differences are in “free fluctuation” or “conditioned fluctuation” (Chenoweth 1979). I suspect the former, where the pitch differences on those notes are not recognized as “incorrect” or “different” by the performer and listeners. However, additional *ullalim* performances from this singer would have to be analyzed to determine if her variations are conditioned by the placement of the note between the preceding and following pitches or by other rhythmic and melodic factors.
A notable difference between their analysis and mine is the transcription of the penultimate *gayongon* note of each line. The performer I analyzed seemed to drop to pitches ranging from g-flat to a-flat below the staff. However, these pitches are difficult to quantify precisely, especially because the tremolo pitch variation itself was often greater than one whole step. However, they seemed much lower than the “one tone” difference described in the quote above.

![Figure 4.12. *Ullalim* by a Bawak woman.](image)

These are the Minangali words and English translation provided to me by a Mangali participant:

- *si dekotni inandila* \(^{34}\) our dekot which is like a tongue
- *we inkani igawa* that we entered with
- *atta susunud nanangindawa* \(^{35}\) to our siblings from the south

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\(^{34}\) The *dekot* is formed into long strips, approximately one inch by eight inches.

\(^{35}\) This line shows that the seven-syllable per line “rule” has some exceptions in real practice.
Pagliai writes of a “metonymic chain that connects names to stories, stories to memories, memories to places, and places to identities” (2003:50). Note that the singer references the older term Bayoya instead of Licoutan to name the host village. Derived from (boyoyo), a term for the lowest-hanging and most beautiful beads of a woman’s necklace, this special name identifies the singer as a true Mangali. Bayoya is in effect a nickname for a place that only a member of the culture group would know, and her identity as an insider is claimed through this special naming. By using a village name the visitors do not know, the singer negotiated her group’s place in the midst of the bodong celebration vis-à-vis the Sumadel group. The place of origin of the Sumadel visitors is not even mentioned; the performer simply calls the guests “siblings from the south”—an identifier than could be applied to dozens of other Kalinga culture groups. This failure to name the place of the opposite group is the singer’s way of contesting any right of the visitors to claim this festival place as theirs. The singer has no special knowledge of the visitors’ place; she does not have the power to name it, explore its landscape, or hear what the toponyms “have to say” (Basso 1988). Takaki’s analysis of the variable use of Kalinga place names is consistent with what is seen here in Scene #5:

A speaker’s choice of one name over others may be deliberate in order to bring about desired effects... A designed choice may be made to appease, cajole, persuade, impress, or intimidate the audience who share knowledge regarding the past and the present of the pertinent regional and interregional issues. (1984:68-69)
The use of the term Bayoya is also evidence of the social process inherent in a group’s sense of time. This nickname for Licoutan is old, an artifact of an aging generation who remembers when Licoutan was just being built “by the older ones.”36 This tie between new and old telescopes the present into the past (or vice versa). This is feature found in performances of epic *ullalim*. Billiet and Lambrecht reveal that new elements or innovations (such as firearms) are incorporated into the retellings of seemingly ancient stories. They suggest that this places the story in the present as a living reality, not an objectified history: “the *ullalim* are not repeated fictitious events of a dead past, but folk epics that live” (1970:59). The *ullalim*, rather than a dying art form, proves itself a viable social process that Kalingas use to construct their collective senses of place and time.

It is worth mentioning here than the Mangali people name places other than their eight inhabited villages. For example, there is a place in the forest called Kinnitang, based on the verb “to pinch.” Oral histories indicate that an evil spirit once ate (literally, pinched) a fetus from the womb of a pregnant woman at that site. Landscape features also mark significant places that can take proper names. The name Binatbattukong means “like a hat” and indexes a place in the upland swidden fields (*uma*) where the mountain ridge is rounded like the top of a hat. The Tanudan Vocational High School occupies part of an area called Sossong—a term that means “the upper part of a rice field.” True to its name, Sossong sits at the top of a wet rice field, in a liminal area where the landscape begins to change and the land above the school is too steep to terrace.

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36 The oral history of the construction of Licoutan is remembered by many elderly Mangali people.
Scene #6: *Lupang Hinirang*: The National Anthem of the Philippines

10 A.M.

After another *deko* presentation by the village of Anggacan, a pastor from the village of Licoutan offered an invocation to officially open the peace pact transfer ceremonies of the morning. The next significant musical event of the morning was the group singing of *Lupang Hinirang*, the Philippine National Anthem. A schoolteacher from Licoutan led the singing using a microphone and kept time with her right hand in a four-beat conducting pattern. The following transcription represents the leader’s unaccompanied, single-part performance of the song.
Figure 4.13. Lupang Hinirang: The Philippine National Anthem.

**Bayang Magiliw**
**Perlas ng Silanganan,**
**Alab ng puso**
**Sa dibdib mo’y buhay.**

Beloved country,
Pearl of the Orient,
The heart's passion
In your bosom is ever alive.

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37 These lyrics are the finalized Tagalog translation of 1966. Translated from Spanish by Julian Cruz Balmaceda, Ildefonso Santos, and Francisco Caballo. From: http://tl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lupang_Hinirang.
Lupang Hinirang,
Duyan ka ng magiting,
Sa manlulupig,
‘Di ka pasisiil.

Sa dagat at bundok,
Sa simoy at sa langit mong bughaw,
May dilag ang tula
At awit sa paglayang minamahal.

Ang kislap ng watawat mo’y
Tagumpay na nagniningning,
Ang bituin at araw niya
Kailan pa ma’y ‘di magdidilim.

Lupa ng araw, ng luwalhati’t pagsinta,
Buhay ay langit sa piling mo;
Aming ligaya, na ‘pag may mang-aapi
Ang mamatay nang dahil sa ‘yo.

Chosen Land,
You are the cradle of the brave.
To the conquerors
You shall never surrender.

Through the seas and mountains,
Through the air and your azure skies,
There is splendor in the poem
And song for dear freedom.

The sparkle of your flag
Is shining victory.
Its stars and sun
Forever will never dim.

Land of the sun, of glory, of our affection,
Life is heaven in your arms;
When someone oppresses you, it is our honor
To die for you.

Nancy Guy (2002) compares the performance of a nation’s anthem to a spoken “utterance” that carries multiple meanings, some of which exist in a context laden with secondary meanings that drown out the actual voice of the performer. The use of Tagalog during this performance certainly gives the utterance meanings other than those directly related to the textual lyrics. Since many Kalingas do not speak Tagalog frequently, and never using the deep words in the national anthem, the performance makes a statement about a larger, national identity.

The choice of Tagalog as the official version of the lyrics for the national anthem has a contested and negotiated history. The tune for Lupang Hinirang was written originally as a march by Juan Felipe, and was played in coordination with the Philippines declaration of

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37 This is an English translation from the Tagalog lyrics. The words do not much the notes of the tune; this version cannot be sung. From: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lupang_Hinirang.
independence from Spain in June 1898. One year later, the poet Jose Palmas wrote the poem *Filipinas* in Spanish, which was then attached to the tune of the national march. The American colonial government, in an effort to suppress nationalist symbols, translated the national song into English in the 1920s and named it the “Philippine Hymn”. While several Tagalog versions were translated beginning in the 1940s, the Philippine national anthem was not officially sung in that language until 1956 when it was titled *Lupang Hinirang*. The version sung in this Scene is the product of a set of revisions made in 1966.

Filipino is the national language of the Philippine nation-state. National legislation since the 1970s has required primary and secondary instruction in Filipino, making Kalingas younger than 40 years familiar with the language. The Philippines is not unlike other national governments throughout the world that have sought to unify their polyglot states, often resorting to the rule of law to create a national identity through language. Some view the use of minority languages as disruptive to attempts to unify a nation’s peoples under a common identity (Haugen 2003). Indeed, it is considered a crime against the Republic of the Philippines to sing the national anthem in any language other than Tagalog. At the same time, efforts to revive and/or preserve aspects of intangible culture in the Philippines are encouraged by church leaders, government agencies like the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples, and the national media (Salvador 2006). This juxtaposition of the local *ullalim* with the national *Lupang Hinirang*, rather than being ironic or “inauthentic”, is a process of empowering multiple Kalinga identities—both local and national. This national anthem utterance gives voice to the Kalinga claim to a national identity shared by dozens of

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39 *Filipino* is the name of the national language as ratified in the 1973 and 1987 Constitutions. The name was changed from Tagalog in a 1959 Education Department order to create a national identity for the language (Dekker and Young 2005:185). I use the two words synonymously in this thesis.

other ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines. Their Kalinga place, replete with local meanings and voices, also sounds a national voice—one placed firmly within a shared national identity.

**Galigad Ceremony**

After the singing of the national anthem the official *galigad* portion of the festivities took place. *Galigad* means “transfer”, and is also used to talk about moving something, such as a large rock, from one place to another. This is the part of the second day *inum* festivities in which the current Mangali pact holder transferred the holder responsibilities to his son. *Galigad* is a part of a *bodong* only if the peace pact has not been severed due to conflict; a new or restored peace pact celebration would not include this transfer ceremony.

The first man to speak during the *galigad* was the son who received the peace pact from his father. He expressed his desire to see this *bodong* remain intact and unmarred into the future:

*Sa bodongtaku we iSumadel kan iMangali, sapay koma ta isuna okyan idi we ippun nakwa’k lawweng kan ditaku we duwan iliyan. Pun sinsadi naippun okyan madimdimkana’k inggana.*

Our peace-pact, between Sumadel and Mangali, may it be like it always has. Nothing bad happened between our two places, so now there should never be anything to make it dirty.

Afterwards the new holder’s wife said a few sentences of welcome to the guests from Sumadel. The emcee then took the microphone and made some introductory statements, including a remark that this would be the first time in Mangali to use an actual spear (*tubay*) in the transfer ceremony. Following these statements, the current pact holder came to the front with a spear in hand. He stood beside his son and daughter-in-law. Spear in hand, the current holder gave a speech recalling the history of the *bodong* between Sumadel and Mangali. He recounted that he never celebrated a *galigad* ceremony to receive his own
bodong—he simply inherited responsibilities of the peace pact holder when his father died. Part of the way through the speech, the son held the spear at the same time as his father did. At the end of the father’s speech, he removed his hand from the spear and let his son hold it alone. At this point of transfer the crowd of participants applauded at the prompting of the emcee. The son said a few words about accepting the responsibilities of holding the peace pact. Then he, his wife, the holder from Sumadel, and his wife all placed their hands on the spear. The Sumadel holder then made these brief remarks to conclude the official galigad:

Manyamanak tan anna we naiyalis kan sunude R. Ot sapay koma ta maid maan-anuwana’k inggana.

I am grateful because here it is transfer to brother R. And may it be that nothing bother this bodong forever.

Responsibilities of the Holder

It is worth mentioning here some of the responsibilities that a bodong holder has to the people of his own culture group as well as to those of the opposite group to which he is officially linked. One major financial obligation is to host any visitors from the other group who come into Mangali territory. For instance, any Sumadel person who passes the boundaries (bogis) of Mangali are obligated to inform the peace pact holder of their presence and intentions. The current Mangali holder with the Sumadel said in an interview:

Nu awat di awad mangili’k dummatong masapul we ummoy andawos atte boloy ni bodong ta igammentonna we anna da kabodongna.

For example, if there are visitors that come they must stop at the house of the holder so that he will know that his people-in-agreement came.

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41 One participant watching the video said at this point, “Maybe that is why he butchered a karabaw (water buffalo) for the dolnat the previous night.” A water buffalo is considered a very generous gift for a dolnat ceremony. Usually a pig would be considered enough. This participant supposed that the holder was making up for not celebrating the galigad when he was younger.

42 All Kalinga participants in this study have remained anonymous in this thesis.
This is considered more than a courtesy, since the holder is personally responsible for the safety of the visitors. Should there be any reason not to proceed with their travel plans, the holder must warn them and guide them back home. If the visitors plan to spend the night, the peace pact holder must house and feed them at his own expense or make arrangements for someone else to do so. In addition, the holder ensures the safety of their person and property; it is the peace pact holder who must press his *kailiyan* (residents of the same place) to make compensation for any loss to the visitors.

One peace pact holder who was interviewed for this study claimed that there are three main goals of a *bodong*: to protect life, property, and the honor of women. If there is a dispute or a report of wrong-doing between persons of two separate culture groups, the *bodong* holder of the place where the offense occurred must investigate the incident and negotiate a settlement. If the negotiations are not settled in that way, then the *bodong* holder from the other place will be called to travel to the site of offense, in hopes that a settlement will prevent any revenge-related violence.

If the two sides cannot agree on terms to settle an incident peacefully, then the *bodong* is considered broken. This does not necessarily result in violence, but it is a very tentative time for the people of both groups. Broken peace pacts cause all kinds of disruptions to life in Mangali, particularly regarding travel outside of the area boundaries. With Kalingas growing much more dependent on the markets of the provincial capital for goods and employment, disruptions in travel to and from the city can greatly complicate life. In some cases, Mangali students studying in Tabuk, or even as far away as Baguio, have been urged to stop attending classes so as not to be caught on the streets by someone intending them harm.
Several taboos help ensure that the pact holder performs his obligations to the best of his ability. For instance, some Mangali people recounted a story about a pact holder from another culture group who denied their complaints of wrongdoing by his kailiyan. Their response to his refusal to become involved in the case was to send the man a gift wrapped in a red cloth. According to the participants who related the story, this deficient peace pact holder died of swollen genitals that resulted from the gift. The worst kind of taboo is for a peace pact holder to harm or steal from the group with which he holds a bodong. This offense is called makmak, and is a stigma that is attached to his family forever. It is also taboo for a peace pact holder to allow his children to marry someone from the group with which he holds the bodong. Should a son or daughter of the holder proceed with a wedding to someone from the group, the bodong must be transferred to another family to prevent any conflicts of interest.

Most inter-group conflicts arise as a result of stolen property or threats against people. However, murders between groups are not an uncommon occurrence in Kalinga. In these instances, the bodong holder is instrumental in preventing revenge killings. The peace pact system calls for the two holders to meet immediately upon the event of an inter-group murder. They are required to sort out the details and come to an agreement about the indemnity owed to the family of the victim. This almost always takes the form of a fine of several hundred thousand Philippine pesos. This is almost always too much for a single family to pay, so the entire culture group is often solicited to help provide money for the settlement. If there are several ongoing settlements, or the other families in the group are unwilling to pay, then the bodong is considered severed until payment is made. According to
one Mangali man, this arrangement differs from how conflicts were settled several
generations ago, and is related to class issues:

In ancient times, the holder had to be the one to take revenge. [In this case] R. would have to
be the revenger and kill the murderer. The bodong congress made a revision of that practice.
[They said] don’t act immediately—try to settle it first. In the ancient times, the rich men held
the bodong, and they were warriors. The people were afraid of them. Today it is inverted: the
rich are afraid of the poor people. The rich don’t want to die, so they pay money to settle the
cases. The poor don’t care so much and are more willing to fight.

If an unresolved case lingers for long, then the current holders must stand down from
their responsibilities and new holders from each place are found to replace them.
Consequently, the expenses of hosting new bodong ceremonies in each place are added to the
original unpaid indemnity. These times of uncertainty due to unresolved conflicts are
common in Kalinga. One participant told of leaving his well-paying job because his co-
workers belonged to a group with which his group was having an ongoing unresolved
conflict. The situation had not spiraled into armed conflict, but the uncertainty of the bodong
agreement caused people to fear other the group and their potential actions.

**Scene #7: Innovative Dance and Instrumental Music**

**10:15 A.M.**

After the galigad portion of the ceremony, five young women and two young men
from Licoutan gave a dance and music presentation. The five women stood in front of the
crowd and danced to the music provided by the men on the baladong flute and the kullitong
zither. This is not a standard juxtaposition of dance and musical instruments, though in many
ways the event signified a Kalinga identity. The two instruments are traditionally performed
alone, usually for the enjoyment of the performer or his family. Indeed, they are quiet and
difficult to hear outside of a close radius. Consequently, during this performance each musician amplified his instrument through a public address system.

The *kullitong* is a five-stringed (or sometimes six-stringed or more) bamboo tube zither (See Photo B.3 in Appendix B).\(^{43}\) The strings are cut out from the bamboo skin of the instrument and are set above the tube and tuned with wooden bridges or small rocks. The *kullitong* is typically played with two hands, each hand controlling two or three strings. One finger plays a consistent pedal tone, either in a repetitive rhythm or on a steady pulse. *Kullitong* melodies are often based on those heard in *tuppayya* performances, a common source for instrumental melodies.\(^{44}\)

The following Figures 4.14 and 4.15 depict the *kullitong* performance of these two musicians. The first Figure (4.14) is a transcription of the main “melody” played on the instrument. The second (4.15) depicts that melody along with the E-natural pedal tone that was sounded consistently on each eighth-note pulse.\(^{45}\)

![Figure 4.14. Kullitong “melody” line.](image)

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\(^{43}\) This performer used an *kullitong* with five strings.

\(^{44}\) See Benitez (1983) for an analysis of resultant melodies played on the gongs and their effect on other instrumental performances.

\(^{45}\) Due to the regular meter of the performance, I have transcribed it using a 4/4 meter with bar lines. Consequently, the accidentals carry through the measure as in standard Western music notation.
The baladong is a long, bamboo, lip-valley flute. (See Photos B.4 and B.5 in Appendix B.) As with many other Philippine bamboo flutes, including the Kalinga tongali nose flute, the baladong has four holes—one on the back of the instrument and three on the front. The back hole is bored in the middle of the instrument. The front three holes are usually positioned according to a certain number of finger lengths of the instrument maker. This usually results in the fourth hole lying three-quarters of the way down the instrument—half-way between the first hole on the back and the end of the flute. Because of friction and coefficients of wind blow, these spacings do not result in pitches consistent with the Western equal temperament octave above the fundamental (Maceda 1990). Consequently, the transcription in Figure 4.16 offers a close, but not precise, depiction of the actual pitches played.

The melody of the baladong in Figure 4.16 below was repeated four times while the kullitong played the pattern in Figure 4.15. The baladong melody started and stopped at difference places in relation to the kullitong part, so a reduced transcription of the two parts together would not reveal any significant patterns. The two instruments were played at approximately 120 quarter-note beats per minute.
While the two young men played, five young women presented an innovative dance. Unlike the women’s dance (sangni) that accompanies the gangsa tadok, this performance did not require the dancers to move around the open space available to them. Instead, they remained in their positions and moved their legs in place like in the dasudas steps that normally accompany tadok. Their arm movements resembled the bird-like motion with arms-extended and the corresponding hands-on-hips stance witnessed in Scene #2 above.

Other than the obvious differences in the choice of instruments to accompany the dancing, the main difference between this presentation and traditional Mangali dance is its non-participatory nature. Both tadok and tuppayya are participatory, with a virtually inexhaustible supply of potentially dancers. This presentation was set and staged, with a fixed number of performers who were the only ones able to participate. They had rehearsed their synchronized movements beforehand, which in effect drew a strict boundary between participant and observer. This sort of “presentation” of folk dance—moving it from the dance floor to the stage—is what Hoerburger (1968) called “second existence” folk dance. Unlike the participatory dancing we saw in Scenes #2 and #4, this presentation was marked by its fixed form. The instruments, melodies, and dance movements definitely placed this dance within a Kalinga place; all the Sumadel and Mangali participants could own the performance.
as theirs. It is one that represents a Kalinga heritage while doing something new with the peoples’ tangible and intangible cultural materials.

In a nuanced modification of Hoerburger’s first- and second-existence analysis, Nahachewsky (2001) argues for a treatment of the society’s level of “reflectiveness” on its past or current cultural practices. This dance in Scene #7 was indeed quite reflective on the cultural heritage of the Kalingas. While other music performances analyzed in this chapter have created very local places (i.e., Mangali against Sumadel, as in Scenes #1, #2, #3, #4 and #5) or very broad (i.e., in terms of the nation-state, as in Scene #6), this innovative performance is the only one of the day that marks a common pan-Kalinga identity that both groups could share. The markings of the melodies, rhythms, instruments, and dance moves are all unique to Kalinga, but without locally-specific structures that could divide the two culture groups.

Anthony Seeger documented this kind of multi-level marking of identities among the Suyá of Brazil. He noted that songs marked the local places of small bands, but also created a “generic, Indian, identity” (2004:136). In an era when the fate of indigenous peoples around the world is debated and the death of language and culture is frequently predicted, we must assume some future shift in how Kalinga places are constructed. Will places like Mangali merge with neighboring culture groups, blending languages, musics, and other traditions? Will Kalinga songs, like those of the Suyá, change from local markers to those of pan-Kalinga, or even pan-Igorot, identities? Musical innovations like the juxtaposition of instruments seen here in Scene #7 indicate that such a shift has already begun. The salidummay tunes have been appropriated by virtually all the culture groups in the Cordillera in a process of cultural diffusion over at least the past sixty years. Indeed, one could argue—
with little proof—that this performance illustrates a process of culture change that has been happening since there have been people living in the Cordillera.

**Scene #8: Tuppayya and Seledsed**

Following the dance and musical performance of the young people from Licoutan, six young men took up the six-gong set (*pinakid*) and began to play in the *tuppayya* style. The six men knelt on the ground, attached the *gangsa* handle to their belts, laid the instrument flat on their laps, and struck them with their open palms. (See Photo B.8 in Appendix B for the proper playing position for *tuppayya*.) The rhythms that resulted were a combination of slaps and slides with the right and left hands. The right hand plays a consistent pulse, represented by eighth-notes in Figure 4.17 below. The first and fifth beats of each cycle are emphasized with a hard slap near the center of the gong. The left hand strikes the gong on beats 2, 4, 6, and 8 and slides to the bottom of the instrument. Due to the sliding action following each left-hand strike, the sound does not ring out loudly.

![Figure 4.17. Right- and left-hand rhythms of the main tuppayya parts.](image)

The first four parts of the *tuppayya* ensemble play the same rhythm pictured in Figure 4.17, but the entrances are staggered. The first part (*taggatag*) starts the ensemble, signaling a strong beat 1. The player on the second part (*kaguwa*) starts his part on the second beat of the
taggatag player. The third (katlu) and fourth (kapat) parts are similarly staggered. True to its name, the fifth part (upup) plays in a way that blocks the sound from ringing out and emphasizes a beat that falls just after the main rhythmic structure, creating a kind of syncopated ostinato (Maceda 1998a). The bengbeng part simply plays an unaccented eighth-note pulse. One participant described to me how the bengbeng is the easiest pattern: “Women and children can even play that one.”

Kristina Benitez’s analysis of Kalinga tuppayya ensembles reveals a variety of ways that the gangsa can be struck with the open hands, providing multiple ways in which the instrument’s sound is manipulated. Her transcription of the tuppaiya has six different markings (Benitez 1983):

1. undampened stroke with focused pitch,
2. undampened stroke, more distinct or clearly heard
3. dampened, unfocused pitch
4. sliding stroke – unfocused pitch
5. strong stroke
6. diffused stroke

By using prescribed combinations of these varieties of strikes, the players create resultant melodies through interlocking rhythmic patterns between the six parts:

In the gangsa tuppayya the different gongs may interact in multiple ways and create a variety of resultant melodies… The main musical features that have a direct bearing on the creation of resultant melodies are: 1) staggered entrances and overlapping patterns; 2) differing patterns; and 3) accenting, dampening and other subtleties of gong playing. (Benitez 1983:10)

Figure 4.18 below shows the interaction of all six parts, with the first four parts reduced to a simple pattern that does not show all the strikes of each hand. The pitches of the gangsa are difficult to identify precisely, but this transcription attempts to depict the melodic interaction of all six gongs as well. The first four parts result in a simple melody that can be heard throughout the playing of the tuppayya. It resembles, but is not exactly the same as, the damilut melody transcribed in Scene #1. Some participants said that certain sets of gangsa, or
pinakid, can produce that particular resultant melody if played in the right combination of strikes and rhythms.

Figure 4.18. Six parts of the tuppayya ensemble.

The taggatag player is often the most accomplished of the group. His job is to start the ensemble and get all the parts playing together. Once the group is playing well, he can vary the rhythm of the taggatag. He can elaborate to “make the melody good” in the same way that the sapul player does in the tadok style. Figure 4.19 is a possible realization of the embellished taggatag part that the player may sound. In the transcription below, the down
flags represent left hand strikes and the up flags represent right hand strikes. All strikes in
this sounding are loud hand slaps; there is no hand sliding.

Figure 4.19. Embellished taggatag part.

The seledsed dance always accompanies the tuppaya. In dancing the seledsed, one
man and one woman imitate a hen and rooster chasing and avoiding one another, with each
partner holding a towel. The man imitates a rooster, while the woman mimics a hen who tries
to escape the rooster’s wiles. Each dancer holds a towel between their hands which is used as
part of the dance movements. The dancers will dance for several minutes before handing the
towel to someone of the same gender and thus requesting them to take over. Consequently,
the dancing is very interactive with the crowd, and any onlooker may be asked to dance at
any time. Tuppaya and seledsed are generally simultaneous phenomena—one doesn’t
happen without the other.

The tuppaya and seledsed may be found at any joyous occasion, usually associated
with feasting. I once asked my main music teacher if I should bring the gongs to his house
for our tuppaya practice session. He immediately said, “No! The neighbors will expect me
to butcher something!” This shows how playing the gongs is closely tied to the context of the
situation. Mangali people never “practice” the gongs in jam sessions or with formal
“lessons.” Instead, they play at specific culturally appointed times and places. My teacher
knew that playing the gongs at his house would result in his village-mates expecting him to
feed them meat.
Tuppayya, like the tadok analyzed in Scenes #2 and #4, contains certain identity markings between different culture groups in Kalinga. In this specific celebration we witnessed only the Mangali style of tuppayya and not a contrasting Sumadel style. Some participants explained that the differences in tuppayya are most obvious between the southern and the northern parts of the Kalinga ethnolinguistic area. Consequently, we may not see many stylistic differences between these two southern Kalinga culture groups.

After the Galigad

This concludes the analysis of the eight musical scenes that took place at the Sumadel-Mangali bodong celebration. After the conclusion of the galigad ceremony on Thursday morning, the participants ate a lunch of rice and butchered meat. Additional cultural presentations of dancing and singing continued into the afternoon, including dekot presentations from other Mangali villages. The program lasted into the evening, providing extended opportunities for dancing to the tadok and tuppayya styles of playing the gongs.

Friday, April 22

The third and final day of the bodong celebration consisted of the reading and explanation of the pagta – the written terms of the peace pact agreement. After the reading of the pagta the participants concluded the three-day festival with the portion of the celebration called tumangad. During this part, wine was put into two large bowls—one for Sumadel and one for Mangali. The bowl was passed around to the men of each place; the men to drink the last remaining wine from their respective bowls were paired to perform in a palpaliwat contest. Palpaliwat is a form of stylized speech in which the performers recount past acts of bravery. Traditionally a venue for warriors to boast of taking heads, the palpaliwat now
provides a way for men to recount their accomplishments in the political arena or for telling how he overcame hardships in life. Each man took a turn in giving his rendition of palpaliwat and then the process of filling the wine bowls was repeated for selecting another pair.

These proceedings of law-reading and palpaliwat lasted the entire morning, concluding with a final lunch of pig meat for the participants. The Sumadel guests departed after lunch and began the walk back to their homes. As they departed, the Mangali people sent them away with gifts of beans, tobacco, hand-made hats, and other useful items.

**Pagta**

I was able to read a copy of the pagta at the Mangali pact holder’s house. The two-page document was divided into the following sections:

- **Bogis**: boundaries. An accompanying hand-drawn map delineated the respective boundaries of the Sumadel and Mangali territories. This section of the pagta best illustrates how Mangali concepts of identity are rooted in place.

- **Kulligong**: included territories outside the bogis. There are some areas in Tabuk or other places outside of the traditional boundaries that the people want to be included in this bodong.

- **Lo-om**: declarations of people who want to be included in the agreement. These people are usually couples who are married to someone of another ethnic group and they want to make explicit their intentions to live by the terms of this agreement. For example, a Mangali man married to a woman from Lubu can be covered either by the Sumadel-Mangali agreement or by the Sumadel-Lubu agreement. If he lives in
Mangali, then he is automatically covered by the Mangali agreement. If he lives in Lubu or elsewhere, he must be listed in the lo-om portion of the pagta in order to be covered in this agreement.

- **Bog-uy**: violations. This section was short, simply stating that violations would be settled on a case-by-case basis. Some examples of potential violations include squatting (living on land one does not own) and *dalkadak* (passing through another territory on the way to attack an enemy).

- **Suul**: a share of a transaction held for the peace pact holder. If a transaction, such as the sale of an animal, takes place between two people in these two culture groups, the peace pact holder receives a percentage of the sale price. This is considered compensation for his role as a witness to the transaction. Should the sale be contested in the future, the *bodong* holder will be called upon to settle the disagreement.
CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

An unknown man within the limits of our uma must be driven away or killed. For would I not be driven away or killed in the same manner should I enter the uma of another group? It is for them, as it is for us, a question of food, of life.

Billiet and Lambrecht, *Studies on Kalinga Ullalim and Ifugao Orthography*

The war and peace-making processes found throughout Kalinga province are rooted in locally constructed concepts of place. Due to the pressures of sustaining a growing population through agriculture – demonstrated in Chapter 2 via Vayda (1961) and reflected in the quote at the top of this chapter – place is linked to boundaries, boundaries are linked to land use, land use is linked to food, and food to life itself. The bodong system grew out of a need to mediate disputes and allow interactions between groups during a period of increased travel and trade in the early 20th century. Each Kalinga ili, or place, defines itself vis-à-vis its neighbors, drawing boundaries (bogis) that delineate the extent of their own upland swidden fields (uma), wet rice fields, and villages. With no strong government in place to recognize these locally constructed places, the people resorted to bilateral peace pact agreements with every other significant culture group in the province and even some outside it. The formation of these bodong agreements became the process for claiming group identity and constructing place in Kalinga societies. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate how musical performances in one bodong celebration formed a social construction of place. Chapter Four analyzed eight different scenes from the Sumadel-Mangali peace pact celebration from April 20-22, 2005. The rest of this chapter summarizes the results of this analysis, emphasizing the “musical markings” of place found in instrument use, rhythmic and melodic motifs, dance steps, and lyrical content of the participants. Following the summary of these markings I discuss the central role of the gangsā in forming a Mangali organology and how Mangali musical instruments create an effect that is “sent out” into the soundscape. This chapter also
reviews some conclusions about the Kalinga construction of place and its implications for the future of the *bodong* and other traditional cultural practices. Finally, I conclude with some remarks about recommendations for future research.

**Musical Markings of Place**

Chapter Four analyzed how the Mangali and Sumadel participants created place and contested their identities in the music performances of their *bodong* celebration. Scene #1 opened the proceedings with the Sumadel visitors’ entry into the Mangali place, marking their identity with the timbre of the *saggaypo* pipes. The *damilut* melody that was played during their procession was not in itself enough to set apart the visitors from their Mangali hosts. Rather, it was their choice of instruments that identified the visiting group. Other research has shown how specific music instruments can become associated with a place or region through their association with a particular ethnolinguistic or culture group. For example, the *Tsugaru shamisen* lute and its music indexes the Tsugaru region in Japan, even as the instrument has gained international recognition and has been adapted to modern non-Tsugaru genres (Johnson 2006).

Two performances of *tadok* in Scenes #2 and #4 set Mangali and Sumadel gong rhythms in contrast. The main musical difference in these performances was the central *sapul* rhythm found in the Mangali pattern. Indeed, the differences that the Mangali participants heard in the Sumadel pattern were expressed in statements like, “There is no *sapul*.” The Mangali players apparently listen for the *sapul* to organize their sound and to keep the ensemble together: “The sound of the gongs will be one, and it is the *sapul* who leads them to make a song.” One participant frequently related the concept of *sapul* to the English term
“melody”: “The sapul is the one that will make the melody.” In addition to this perceived absence of a distinct sapul rhythm, the overall tempo of the Sumadel tadok player-dancers marked the Mangali and Sumadel performances as distinct from each other.

The men’s dancing also differed between the groups, with the Sumadel men using the binowagan style marked by kicking the right foot back while bending their right knees. The sangni dancing of the women was not marked by any noticeable culture group differences, and the Mangali and Sumadel women could participate in dancing to the tadok rhythms of either group. The men from either place did not exchange player-dancers while doing their respective tadok performances, due to the differences in rhythms and dancing steps that were analyzed in Chapter Four.

The two dekot presentations in Scenes #3 and #5 yield insight to place construction through song lyrics. The salidummay performance of the Lower Mangali delegation claimed a special link to the host village as the birthplace of the pact holder’s wife. While no one would contest the right of the Lower Mangali people to participate in the events as members of the Mangali culture group, they explicitly located themselves by naming the birthplace of an active stakeholder in this bodong process. By using an ancient place name, the Bawak singer featured in Scene #5 linked the Mangali participants in a special way to the host village. While the three days of celebration occurred in what in a shared space, alternatively transformed from a Mangali to Sumadel place through exchanges of performances, this Bawak woman used a subtle rhyming tactic to root the Mangali people to the physical site. Her choice of rhyming words also further distanced the Sumadel participants by locating them “somewhere to the south”; avoiding the Sumadel place name or other specific toponym allowed her to marginalize the visitors, noting that their place was far away from Licoutan.
The music performances of two scenes revealed place constructions larger than either Mangali or Sumadel. Scene #6 presented the only utterance of Filipino during the entire bodong celebration. The Filipino lyrics of the national anthem, wedded to a Western march tune, allowed the local participants to claim their identity as part of a larger place. As I discuss in detail below, the Kalinga concept of place, or ili, is highly dependent on the context of the reference. In this scene, all Sumadel and Mangali participants are united as kailiyan (members of the same group), common citizens of the nation-state of the Republic of the Philippines. However, this declaration of unity co-opted both a language and a music form that is not rooted in Kalinga. By contrast, Scene #7 depicted a performance that, while not traditional, certainly invoked a Kalinga identity and pride of place among the participants. Their instruments, melodies, rhythms, and dance movements were all showcased, albeit in modified forms, to embody a shared Kalinga-ness. Although this innovative dance and music demonstration was not as interactive as the tadok and tupayya dancing that preceded and followed it, the sonic and movement markings declared it as a uniquely Kalinga construction.

A Mangali Organology

Of all the instruments featured at the Mangali-Suamdel bodong celebration, the gangsya plays a central organizing role in the classification of Mangali musical instruments. Morphological differences between the imported bronze gongs and the other locally-constructed bamboo instruments are the most obvious. In addition, the gangsya functions in special contexts—specifically those of participatory group dancing. The tie to dancing is so strong that there is no tadok or tupayya performance without the accompanying sangni or
seledsed movements. In addition, the Mangali talk about the imported gangsa differently than the bamboo instruments. The following figure shows how adding an \(aN\)-prefix to a bamboo instrument name changes the word from a noun to a verb.\(^{46}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Angullitong} & \quad \text{ak} \quad \text{Marinel} \\
\text{aN-kullitong} & \quad \text{ak} \quad \text{Marinel} \\
\text{[Verbal prefix]-bamboo zither} & \quad \text{[Name Marker]} \quad \text{Marinel} \\
\end{align*}
\]

“Marinel is playing the bamboo zither.”

**Figure 5.1. Verbal construction using a musical instrument.**

The gangsa cannot be spoken about in this way – the singer-dancers “anadok” or “anupayya” rather than “angansa.” In fact, angansa is an erroneous construction that is not recognized as a Minangali word.

Mangali classify their musical instruments by the relatedness of their sounds to the concept of tadok. Using what Kartomi (1990) refers to as a culture-emerging taxonomy, the Mangali have but one major division of categories: tadok or kankanta. The former category covers instruments that are “played in an alternating rhythm, like the gong.” The latter category consists of “instruments that can be made to sing.”

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\(^{46}\) The affix includes a capital N to represent a nasal articulation that changes depending on the initial consonant of the word being affixed. In the cases of these constructions, the nasal of the affix assimilates to the point of articulation of the initial consonant, and then that initial consonant drops out.
The concept of *kankanta* has a second meaning: “any kind of song.” Therefore, a listing of *kankanta* would include both flutes listed above as well as the vocal genres of *dandan-ag*, *suggiyaw*, *ullalim*, *tug-om*, *salidummay*, and others. If these vocal genres were included in the taxonomy of Figure 5.2, then the top node would have to be changed to “Mangali Music.” However, there is no accompanying term for an abstract concept that includes both *tadok* and *kankanta* forms. *Kankanta*, from the root *kanta*, is most likely derived from the Spanish verb *cantar*, “to sing.” Performances that fit the *kankanta* category do not include the *tadok*-like performances of the *gangsa*, *saggaypo*, *balengbeng*, or other musical instruments that are primarily rhythmic in nature. With the exception of innovative expressions like that found in Scene #7 of Chapter Four, the instruments from either side of this taxonomy are not performed together. Consequently, the Mangali people have no need to talk about *kankanta* and *tadok* in the same context and lack a single, over-arching term like the Western concept of “music.”
Filling the Soundscape

There are other ways that the Mangali people talk about their music that provide insights about the role of music in the soundscape. A colleague and I were inspired by Keil’s (1979) suggestion to use “frame” sentences in the local language as a meaning for learning about society members’ conceptions of abstract concepts. Keil recognized the difficulty in exploring music concepts through the researcher’s own framework when he critiqued Alan Merriam’s conclusions about Basongye music terms. Merriam reported that the Basongye had different categories for “noise”, “sound”, and “music” because these three English words appeared in a translation of three Basongye aphorisms. Keil questioned whether these were truly relevant semantic categories, because Merriam failed to cite Basongye words for these concepts (1979:29). To better investigate the social context of a group’s music, Keil suggested a method of data collection based on the language of the people being questioned:

Still, the linguist’s best tool, the frame, gives us a way to chase down the possibilities of a word to near exhaustion. First, select the word or short phrase that is of interest. Second, contextualize it by seeing (a) what can fill a blank placed in front of the word; (b) what can fill a blank placed after it; and (c) what words can replace it in various contexts. (1979:30)

Keil demonstrated his frame concept with data he elicited in the Tiv language of Nigeria. In one frame example, he left blank the object of the sentence that could be glossed “He composed _____.” Besides songs, the responses consisted of objects such as crops,

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47 Much of the rest of this section is adapted from an unpublished paper by Stallsmith and Machlan (2006).
48 From page 28 of Keil (1979), quoted from Merriam (1964):
   When you are content, you sing; when you are angry, you make noise. 
   When one shouts, he is not thinking; when he sings, he is thinking. 
   A song is tranquil; a noise is not. 
   When one shouts, his voice is forced; when he sings, it is not. 
wells, and fetuses. Keil noted that composing a Tiv song was linked to harvesting, digging, and miscarrying. His conclusion, after further investigation and analysis, was that the “compose” verb is used when “something that already exists is taken from a prepared context so that a new effect is achieved” (1979:31).

By modifying Keil’s framing idea for the Minangali language, we elicited some data related to the sounding of musical instruments. As mentioned above, certain Minangali nouns can become verbs by using the an- affix. See Figure 5.3 as an example.

\[
\text{aN-} + \text{pang-ok} = \text{amang-ok}
\]

[Prefix] wooden club to hit something with a wooden club

**Figure 5.3. Construction of a Minangali verb using the an- affix.**

Since we knew that Mangali music instruments (except for the gangsa) could be affixed with an-, our first Minangali sentence frames consisted of the an- prefix followed by a blank. Since this is how Minangali speakers talk about playing musical instruments, we also wanted to see what other objects could be affixed in the same way. Our initial list included only fifteen objects, and six of those were musical instruments. See Figure 5.4 for the complete list of responses.

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51 Our data collection through framing took place with seven Mangali participants in the village of Guilguila in March 2005. Glenn Machlan wrote the framed sentences on large sheets of paper (2 feet by 3 feet) that were taped to the wall. Our Mangali informants all gave their responses orally. Then Glenn Machlan listed their responses on the paper for all to read. All the frames could have generated many more responses than these Mangali participants provided. We consider it significant that these are the only responses given during this framing exercise, which was preceded by a discussion about music instruments.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>Root Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angullitong</td>
<td>kullitong</td>
<td>“bamboo zither” to sound the bamboo zither</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angullibaw</td>
<td>kullibaw</td>
<td>“jew’s-harp” to sound the jew’s-harp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anungali</td>
<td>tangali</td>
<td>“nose flute” to sound the nose flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaladong</td>
<td>baladong</td>
<td>“end-blown lip-valley flute” to sound the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>end-blown lip-valley flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anungngatung</td>
<td>tungngatung</td>
<td>“struck bamboo idiophone” to sound the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struck bamboo idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anungadung</td>
<td>dungadung</td>
<td>“struck bamboo idiophone” to sound the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>struck bamboo idiophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anubay</td>
<td>tubay “spear”</td>
<td>to throw a spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amaltug</td>
<td>paltug “gun”</td>
<td>to fire a gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amalsok</td>
<td>palsok “fish gun”</td>
<td>to fire fish gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anang-ok</td>
<td>pang-ok “wooden club”</td>
<td>to hit something with a wooden club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angattod</td>
<td>attod “fish trap”</td>
<td>to set a fish trap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amoloy</td>
<td>boloy “house”</td>
<td>to build a house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anipoy</td>
<td>tipoy “vegetables or viand”</td>
<td>to cook vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angisna</td>
<td>isna “cooked rice”</td>
<td>to cook rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anaga</td>
<td>taga “chisel”</td>
<td>to use a chisel for shaping timber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 5.4. Mangali participant responses to framing elicitation exercise.**

In an attempt to analyze these results following Keil’s example and thus gain insight about how Mangali people perceive of musical sounds, we separated the non-musical objects into two categories: 1) objects that are “sent away” from oneself in order to yield a result, and 2) objects that are prepared for their intended purpose. Falling under the former category are the verbs related to the spear, gun, fish gun, and wooden club. The latter category consists of the verbs for preparing a house, vegetables, rice, and chiseled wood.52

It is certainly not difficult to think of music as something prepared or fashioned from a musical instrument. Therefore, it is the “sent away” category that we found most interesting in understanding how the Mangali people talk about music. As I noted in Chapter Four, one of the evaluations of a well-made gong is an expression that remarks on the sound’s ability to travel a great distance: “Antayudkani” – “We will be projected far.” The results from another

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52 The anaga verb differs from the other preparation verbs since its root is the chisel doing the preparation rather than the acted-upon wood. Perhaps this is because rice, houses, and vegetables possess a certain inherent “usability” quality about them; to anisna is to bring rice to it’s intended state—cooked and edible. Wood, on the other hand, requires an intentional shaping to make its purpose known.
frame that we presented for the Mangali interviewees provided further insight into the idea of
music as something “sent away”:

Awad ginga ___________.
___________ has a voice.

We knew that ginga “voice” was a quality ascribed to the gongs, and we uncovered nothing unusual in the list of other things that have a voice: humans, dogs, the idaw “omen bird”, God, chickens, and guns. We decided to use a contrasting frame:

Naippun ginga ___________.
___________ has no voice.

The responses were: fish, ants, stones, trees, the dead, and the gongs. The last response surprised us; it seemed contradictory to claim both that “The gong has a voice” and “The gong has no voice.” The Mangali respondents said that the latter statement is made on occasions when one is playing the gong poorly. It seems to be an idiom that means, “His gong is not speaking well.”

Responses to the following frame seemed to further confirm that the sound of the gong is “sent away” from oneself in order to yield a result.

Lawwekas gigan ni gangsam te _______.
The sound (voice) of your gong is not pleasing because________.

The responses were:

- naippun sapul — there is no sapul rhythm
- amatitig — the beating is too fast
- umaseaseset — it is just banging (i.e., the sound is unorganized; the voice is too loud.)

If the gong’s sounding is disorderly, then it does not speak. Speaking—or sending out a message—is evidently a concept related to sounding a musical instrument.
Clear communication arose as an important value when we presented Minangali frames about singing.

\[\text{Ambal}u \text{ sana’}e \text{ kanta te } \text{________.} \]
That song is nice because \__________.

Responses:

- *nagayon-gongan*—it uses *gayon-gongan*, “vibrato”
- *nan-anaanawat*—it uses rhyming
- *naapodiosan*—it is godly
- *maaawwatan*—it is clearly understood
- *abobba*—it is short
- *panggob atte gangganas*—about something enjoyable
- *angitod ak tutudu*—gives a teaching
- *panggob atte bagbagan da an-asawa*—about the advice given to (lit., of) the ones getting married
- *makaliwliwa*—able to comfort
- *ampaemes*—funny; causes one to laugh
- *ampasul sul*—makes you grieve/cry
- *ampakaan si suyop*—keeps you awake. Literally, “Causes sleep to be removed”

Results from the following, contrasting frame reinforce the same values regarding communication:

\[\text{Lawweng sana’}e \text{ kanta te } \text{________.} \]
“That song is bad because \__________.”

Responses:

- *adipun maawatan*—it is not understandable.
- *amod de gayon-gonna*—there is too much vibrato
- *nankalkalomtang*—it is not orderly (Specifically: It jumps from topic to topic and makes no sense.)
- *naippun maadalta*—there is nothing for us to learn from it
- *naippun bogasna*—it has no meaning; it is meaningless

\[53\] At a traditional Mangali wedding the guests are invited to give advice to the couples. This can be spoken or sung. If sung, it often takes the form of the * ullamim.*

\[54\] Mangali people often sing at wakes for the dead. These events last through the night and the family and friends are expected to stay awake through the night. Singing is one method participants use to stay awake.
• _ampasul dung_—makes you cry
• _ampasasmok_—makes you recall

Finally, additional evidence of that Mangali music performances are to be “sent away” appears in the first two lines of this _suggiyaw_ harvest song:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Suggiyaw miballayaw</em></th>
<th><em>Suggiyaw</em> [song] that will be carried in the air</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Insap-uydad lamoyaw</em></td>
<td>It will be blown somewhere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As seen from these framed sentences, both vocal song and instrumental music seems to have a “going out” function when Mangali people attempt to describe or evaluate it. The analyses of the scenes comprising Chapter Four have shown some of the rhythmic markings by which Kalinga peoples create places. While the gong patterns of the Kalinga people do not signify textual messages, they are intended to “go out” and fill up the soundscape with an announcement that there is a joyous occasion to celebrate. Mangali events with _gangsa_ do not have closed invitation lists, so the sound functions as a call to come join the celebration. The filling of the soundscape could also be viewed as an act of a group’s potency and its ability to protect their territory. Just as the quote at the head of this chapter references the link between land and life, the sound of the gongs could possibly be an attempt to stake one’s claim over a certain area. _Gangsa_ patterns from Sumadel were allowed at the _bodong_ celebration because for a few days this shared “utopia” of the celebration belongs to both groups. The differences between the two groups were not masked or ignored, but rather celebrated in a unity provided by the peace pact.
Relativity of Place

The use of the Minangali word *ili* provides valuable insight to local constructions of place. *Ili* is a relative term that refers to any size of “place”, depending on the context of its use. If I ask a Mangali, “Dinu ilim?” (Which is your place?), the answer varies according to the context. If we are both in Mangali when I ask the questions, the answer is “Guilguila”, or the name of his or her village. If we are in the provincial capital when I ask the question, the answer will be “Mangali”—the name of his or her culture group. *Ili* is a word that can index the smallest location (village) up to the biggest (nation) of places. If I met a Mangali person in Hong Kong and asked about her *ili*, she may answer, “The Philippines.”

In the past, when the Mangali people rarely traveled outside of their peace pact boundaries, *ili* almost always referred to the village or culture group. However, in the 21st century the Mangali are increasingly forced to define themselves in terms of the larger contexts of province and nation. All university students must leave Mangali in order to study, as secondary education is the highest level offered in the area. Today, almost every Mangali must come to terms with what their group identification means in terms of the wider Kalinga province and ethnolinguistic area. Many must come to terms with what being a Kalinga means vis-à-vis the urban lowland societies, a scenario in which many Igorots find themselves exoticized as “others with culture” (Caluza 2006; Rosaldo 1988; Finin 2005).

Proper names for exotic places are often used to control the people who inhabit these regions (Tuan 1991). For example, “Asia” was originally an exotic “other”—a “not Europe.” Later that Western-imposed name was co-opted by the Japanese in their effort to unite a pan-Asian assembly of nations in the 1940s. Geographers (and early explorers and cartographers) wielded a special power by naming specific places without regard for local identities and
constructions of place. These outsider-imposed place names were at best ironic and at worst pretended to represent a non-existent cultural homogeneity. As noted in Chapter Two, “Kalinga” is in many ways a misnomer that reflects an outsider-imposed name upon a people that simultaneously constructs and reinforces some of the basest stereotypes as a war-mongering, head-hunting people.

To some extent this exoticism and “otherness” has been co-opted by the Kalinga peoples themselves for their own advantage. National media portrays of Kalinga cultural traditions emphasize what Rosaldo referred to as a cultural space that exists between the “postcultural top” and the “pre-cultural bottom” – i.e., somewhere between the colonized lowland Filipinos and the “backward” Negrito groups (1988). In tourism shows on television and in “cultural interest” stories in national newspapers, Kalinga is frequently portrayed as a place where the preservation of cultural rituals and materials results in a balanced, well-functioning, indigenous society (Cabreza 2005; Caluza 2006; Salvador 2006). The cultures of the Cordillera region function as an “other” within the Philippines that contributes to a national ethnic identity. As I discuss further in the next section, these appropriations, combined with a tendency to essentialize the presumed ancient Kalinga practices, have fueled movements to preserve and strengthen the bodong system. Even lowlanders, appropriating the Kalingas’ antiquity as a tie to their own identity and belongingness to the land, have an interest in the preservation of tangible cultural materials and intangible social processes.

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55 This tragedy of mis-naming is not lost on Filipinos, whose country was named using a phoneme (“f”) not found in the nation’s indigenous languages.
56 See Johnson (2006) for a similar function of the sounds of the Tsugaru to create a sense of Japanese-ness.
57 An example of this lowlander appropriation of highlander culture is found in the preservation efforts of the Banaue rice terraces in Ifugao province. While the indigenous population finds it increasingly difficult to yield profitable rice harvests from the beautifully terraced landscape, lowlanders continue to flock to Banaue as a favorite tourist destination. Banaue is easily reached by car and is approximately a one-day drive from Manila.
While government-sponsored efforts through groups like the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples promote the documentation of traditional lifeways and processes, Philippines artists and musicians also appropriate upland sounds to create an indigenous Filipino affect in their compositions. Joey Ayala, Chin-Chin Gutierrez, and the band Pinikpikan are popular recording artists who have used Kalinga instruments, rhythms, and melodies in their popular songs. Kontragapi, an ensemble founded by Erdu Abraham at the University of the Philippines at Diliman, juxtaposes all kinds of traditional Philippine instruments to create new, modern sounds. Church groups such as the Asian Institute for Liturgy and Music and Makati City’s KALOOB performance group are both involved in efforts to create a pan-Filipino or pan-Asian sound through the use of music and dance from diverse Philippine societies. Benny Sokkong, a Kalinga music teacher, oversees the Cordillera Music Tutorial and Research Center based in Baguio that does revival workshops from Cordilleran peoples, as well as informational presentations throughout the world.

A few generations ago, Sokkong’s organization would have found little support among the peoples for which it was created. Indeed, the place known now as the Cordillera is a relatively recent place construction. Finin (2005), in his work on the development a pan-Cordilleran consciousness, echoes theories cited in earlier chapters about place construction as the result of social processes enacted over a geographical space. According to his analysis, the initial social processes that defined the Cordillera as a region and the Igorot as a regional culture group involved decisions made by the American colonial administration in the early 20th century. As I mentioned in Chapter Two, colonial administrators saw in the Cordillera an opportunity to let these un-Hispanicized people establish self-governing structures—a policy

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The national government has an interest in the Ifugao people maintaining their rice terraces so they can be displayed in a showcase of Philippine diversity. However, the Ifugao people themselves are losing financial incentives to maintain this very difficult way of life.
decision that directly led to the rise of the bodong process. An American empowerment of Cordilleran institutions also resulted in an affinity for the English language over Filipino and reinforced a long-standing suspicion and mistrust between highlanders and lowlanders.

In the early 21st century, Kalinga peoples are adding to the list of multiple identities they claim. As we saw in Chapter Four, identities related to both village and culture group have been standard for numerous generations, and there are musical markings to demonstrate which place one identifies with. Scene #6 presented the use of music in the formation of a national identity, and Scene #7 highlighted the concept of a pan-Kalinga place in which these related culture groups interact. The idea of a pan-Cordilleran consciousness is the newest of these possible identities that the Kalinga may claim. A growing solidarity of the Kalinga with other culture groups of the Cordillera—Bontoc, Ifugao, Ibaloi, Kankan-ey, Isneg, and others—may be a most interesting development of the 21st century.

**Sustainability of the Bodong**

The bodong system is a well-established, indigenous system of establishing and maintaining smooth relations with other culture groups. However, its effectiveness in preventing violence is questionable. Balbin argues that the provisions within the bodong do not go far enough to create sustainable peace across the province: “The vindictive element of alternatives within the bodong system have not deterred the prevalence of tribal wars” (1990:57). Person to person violence in Kalinga is traditionally revenged by members of the victim’s peace pact holding unit. These revenge killings and subsequent retributions often spiral into tribal warfare, which government authorities often refuse to prosecute (Cabreza 2005).
It is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully evaluate the effectiveness of the bodong or predict its viability into the future. However, these issues are of monumental concern to many stakeholders in the province, not the least of whom are the two thousand individual peace pact holders. These bodong holders, who meet periodically as the Kalinga Bodong Congress, have agreed that the largest problem facing the bodong institution is the practice of indiscriminate revenge killing:

But what makes the Kalingas stand out in this regard is the indiscriminate revenge that is happening. Many victims of subtribal conflicts are innocent. Their only fault is that they are from the same subtribe as the offended/offender. (1999:8)

Furthermore, the institution of the bodong has tended to absolve provincial and national-level law enforcement officials from executing justice as legislated. Members of the armed forces and the Philippines National Police are intimidated by practices that treat both entities as peace pact holding units of their own. In several instances a law enforcement officer has been attacked by a Kalinga in revenge for the actions of another officer, as if he were a member of another peace pact holding unit.

As I previously mentioned, many Kalinga people view the bodong process as a living link to past practices and to their ancestors. Issues of pleasing the ancestral spirits and maintaining a link to their place motivate many to continue the pact rituals and practices; a series of taboos related to war and peace-making link subjects to the unseen spirit world. The education of Kalinga values that occurs during the celebration is critical, especially the reading of the pagta. Holding celebrations during semester breaks allow students to attend the occasions and learn the laws and values of their people.

I have tried to show how the entire bodong system defines identities and constructs places in the Kalinga landscape. Even if it is deemed unsatisfactory as a method of maintaining peace and order, it still drives many important functions and social processes.
While the swift prosecution of crimes by the national police force and courts would certainly have a positive effect, the wholesale replacement of the bodong complex would create more difficulties than it would solve. Any attempts to increase the effectiveness of the justice system by cutting down on revenge killing will certainly have to do so in cooperation with the current peace pact holders.

One interviewed peace pact holder claimed that the problems of the bodong system relate to insufficient education of the holders in the ways of the system. He emphasized, in agreement with the Congress’ 1999 document, that the bodong system ought to be a well-functioning, grass-roots method of law enforcement and inter-group cohesion. According to this argument, the failures of the bodong are not in the structures themselves, but in their implementation.

Regardless of the age of the bodong system, or the role that American administrators played in its implementation, it is a living reality of Kalinga life. The police, military, local government leaders, churches, NGOs, and Department of Education officials who have an interest in the peace and order of Kalinga province have no choice but to work with the Kalinga Bodong Congress to press toward a solution of lasting peace. The bodong is the primary way the Kalinga peoples construct their places. To ignore its significance or attempt to banish it would be a mistake.

Avenues for Further Study

Cosmologies

Billiet and Lambrecht (1970) and Prudente (1984) opened their respective works with explanations of the Kalinga cosmology and places in the sky world. This subject would seem
to be of special importance to concepts related to Kalinga landscapes. However, none of the participants in this study offered clues about links between cosmological place constructions and the bodong system. Indeed, places in the cosmos seem to be a rare topic of discussion among the Mangali people. However, interactions with the spirit world play a significant role in their cultural practices. As cited in Chapter Two, De Raedt (1989) noted that loud gong playing summons the correct number of malevolent spirits to a celebration. Some say that bamboo instruments are played on the way to a bodong celebration in order to drown out the calls of omen birds (idaw). Drawing clearer connections between the landscapes and soundscapes of the living and the dead would be a worthwhile future research pursuit.

**Fiestas**

Fiestas are annual events hosted in places all over the Philippines, often coinciding with the prescribed holy day of the city, town, or municipality. Largely seen as a lowlander phenomenon adopted by upland peoples, Kalinga fiestas are not exoticized as unique or especially worthy of ethnographic investigation. Often held at the same time of the year, fiestas share many similarities with bodong celebrations. Many of the same issues of place construction and identity arise in these events. Examples of musical and dance innovation are prevalent, as groups from each village compete against one another in tadok contests. For example, groups dance in formations to spell letters and words in the same way that an American marching band does. Some villages are also known for their innovative way of playing melodies through the tadok genre by arranging the beatings of pitched gongs in an

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58 However, no one mentioned a link to the spirit world in the context of the interviews we held about the saggaypo of the Sumadel visitors in April 2005.
59 In my research I found no studies about fiestas in Kalinga.
interlocking fashion. These innovations relate to the analysis of the music and dance performance in Scene #7 of Chapter Four, especially regarding the idea of first- and second-existence folk dance practices (Hoerburger 1968). These new dance fiesta forms exclude outsiders, as only participants who rehearsed the special melodic motifs are able to perform. However, the fiesta dances are reflective of Kalinga cultural processes, and in a sense represent a new way of creating Kalinga places through the appropriation of Western melodies and symbols.

New Places and Urbanization

Interrmarriages between groups create special concerns related to place construction, and they require adjustments to the bodong process. One of the taboos mentioned above is that a pact holder must not have children who are married to someone of the group with which he holds a pact. It has already been shown that the pagta can accommodate individuals who want to be included in agreements of their natal place but reside with different culture group. Another phenomenon of intermarriage relates to the creation of new places for the families of inter-group marriages.

Mangali and Lubu are neighboring culture groups that have a contentious history related to revenge killings and border disputes. A contested area lies between these two places that has a place name of its own—Banagaw. This it is where the municipal government of Tanudan is seated. The mayor, the municipal councilors, and several other officers have their offices in that place. Banagaw has been alternately and simultaneously

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60 A colleague said he recognized the tune “Little Bunny Fufu” being played during a tadok contest at a recent fiesta.
claimed and contested by both Mangali and Lubu. Some participants told me that it is intended to be a place where families that result from Lubu and Mangali intermarriages can make their own settlement. However, most of these approximately thirty families choose to live in Tabuk, Lubu, or Mangali, where they have support from kinship structures. While there are a few families residing there, Banagaw has not truly become a place in its own right. It has no peace pacts with other Kalinga groups, and it does not even have enough people to create a local government barangay. There is no evidence yet of a new place being created in Kalinga as a residence for intermarried couples, but it is a possibility worth investigating. The implications of such a place creation and its resulting *bodong* agreements could be quite important to the other existing *ili* in Kalinga.

While Tabuk is not really a “new” place in historical terms, its role as the government and commercial capital began only 20 years ago. During American colonial administration of the old Mountain Province, Lubuagan was the regional capital of the Kalinga culture groups. Many students from Tanudan boarded there to attend high school, even until the 1960s. Products that needed to be bought or sold in a market were taken to Lubuagan from Mangali. However, ongoing conflicts and unresolved *bodong* agreements resulted in many of the Kalinga peoples transferring their business dealings to the city of Tabuk, which sits in the lowlands, near the edge of the Cordillera.

A shift in urban centers is certainly complex and worthy of further investigation, but the role of the *bodong* is significant in the establishment of Tabuk as a provincial capital. For one, the Kalinga capital serves as a secondary residence for many of the province’s culture groups. Current agricultural practices are only able to sustain a limited number of Mangali people in their traditional homeland. Couples frequently have six or more children, and land
inherited by one’s family is split evenly between all the siblings. These subdivided rice fields are increasingly incapable of sustaining large families, a fact that drives many Mangali to seek employment in the cities of Tabuk and Baguio. Some of these urban Mangali residents sell their rice fields to family members or allow others to farm them in return for a share of the crops. This leasing arrangement provides a portion (usually half) of a crop to the laborers in turn for their efforts, leaving the rest to the field’s owners. Urban residences in Tabuk have resulted in culture group ghettos in the town – “little Mangali” and other areas for the other groups. Many of these urban communities are included in the formal bodong agreements as extra territories (kulligong). This increasing urbanization of Kalinga is changing the landscape and the ways in which the culture groups interact. These communities demand new thinking regarding the social processes involved in the construction of Kalinga places. Culture groups are no longer strictly tied to the spaces of their bodong boundaries—the cause of many deaths and attacks.

Urbanization creates an interesting situation regarding Kalinga language use. Education itself is valued by Kalinga culture groups, with literacy throughout the province approximately 80% for both primary (local language) and secondary (Ilocano) languages. All culture groups have local primary schools and secondary schools in their local places. Some local schools in Lubuagan municipality have adopted a First Language Component approach to educating primary school students in Lubuagan Kalinga (Dekker and Young 2005). This strategy assumes that bridging to other regional and national languages will be easier for students who have mastered basic reading and writing skills in their first language. Kalinga language use is vigorous across several domains of use with no signs of dying, making the province an appropriate place for this sort of education methodology. How could this First
Language Component be implemented in Tabuk schools with a mixture of students representing numerous culture groups and mother-tongue languages? This is but one of many interesting questions related to the increasingly urban landscape of Kalinga province.

**Language Group Names**

This thesis has been mostly concerned with how places are constructed locally, by the people who inhabit and make them. We began with the assumption that there are several layers of places, both those imposed from the outside and those formed by insiders. Municipal and barangay boundaries drawn by the provincial government are one level of outsider-imposed place classifications. Another layer of outsider-imposed classification structures is found in the construction of discrete Kalinga language groups. Sociolinguists attempt to draw boundaries for language groups by determining where the territory for one group ends and another begins. Language surveyors from SIL International traveled throughout Kalinga province in the 1970s, collecting lists of words and recording spoken utterances on a variety of subjects. These lists were compared with one another and the utterances were played for people from several places. The listeners’ comprehension of the spoken utterances were tested with questions about what they heard. Comparisons of the word lists and scores of the comprehension questions were used to draw language group boundaries. While various dialect varieties may exist within the same language, SIL’s Ethnologue delineates eight separate languages for Kalinga: Butbut, Limos, Lower Tanudan, Lubuagan, Mabaka Valley, Madukayang, Southern, and Upper Tanudan (Gordon 2005).

Kalingas do not necessarily identify themselves, their languages, or their places using these labels. For example, the names “Lower Tanudan Kalinga” and “Southern Kalinga” are
meaningless and confusing to speakers of those languages. When questioned about Kalinga languages differences, many participants told me that all Kalingas speak the same language. Of course they clarified that people from different culture groups have different ways of speaking, but these differences were described as minor variations in inflection, accent, and some vocabulary items. No participants described for me a scenario in which they experienced a complete inability to communicate with another Kalinga person.\textsuperscript{61} In this Mangali-Sumadel bodong ceremony, delegates from two different language groups communicated with each other by speaking their own languages. Sumadel visitors understood Minangali, and the Mangali hosts understood the language of the Sumadel guests.

The attempt to identify discrete languages within a region is one fraught with difficulties, not the least of which is identifying what constitutes a unique language rather than a smaller dialect variation. The Ethnologue itself notes these difficulties:

> Increasingly, scholars are recognizing that languages are not always easily treated as discrete isolatable units with clearly defined boundaries between them. Rather, languages are more often continua of features that extend across both geographic and social space. (Gordon 2005:8)

Although Kalingas claim that they all speak the same language, there is a range of comprehension levels across the culture groups. Haugen’s point about blurry boundaries seems to hold true in Kalinga:

> Between total incomprehension and total comprehension there is a large twilight zone of partial comprehension in which something occurs that we may call “semicommunication.” (2003:415)

I suggest that the peace pact holding units of the Kalinga bodong system should inform our understanding of what constitutes a discrete language group. Some language groups cover large areas that include several culture groups. For example, the Lubuagan

\textsuperscript{61} The assertion that Kalingas all speak one language was also expressed by Billiet and Lambrecht’s (1970) interviewees.
Kalinga language area includes the peace pact holding units of Lubuagan, Mabungtot, and Tanglag. In terms of the *bodong* system these last two culture groups consider themselves as distinct places from Lubuagan peace pact holding unit. Using outsider-imposed language names may be necessary to describe objective linguistic differences between speech communities. However, the residents of these places index their place with local, socially-constructed names. Vernacular publications prepared for local readers—literature that includes primers, text collections, dictionaries, and Christian scripture portions—should be identified according to insider-assigned names. A book labeled “Lower Tanudan Kalinga” would not be meaningful to the people of Mangali, Sa-et, and Taloctoc. Similarly, publications produced for “Lubuagan Kalinga” may evoke the unintended response of excluding people from Mabungtot and Tanglag.
APPENDIX A: MANGALI PEACE PACT AGREEMENTS

The Mangali persons holding these pacts are represented by a numeral and grouped by village. In cases in which one person holds more than one bodong the regions are separated by a semi-colon (;). Unless otherwise specified, all regions lie within Kalinga province. All Kalinga peace pact holding units are following by a comma and the municipality name.

**Bail:**
1. Betwagan, Bontoc
2. Pasnaan, Pinukpuk
3. Lubu, Tanudan; Salegseg, Balbalan; Balangao, Mountain Province
4. Taloctoc, Tanudan
5. Sakasakan, Mountain Province
6. Naneng, Tabuk
7. Doppa, Pinukpuk
8. Laya, Tabuk
9. Balatoc, Pasil
10. Daw-angan, Balbalan

**Guilguila:**
11. Santol, Rizal
12. Tulgao, Tinglayan
13. Mabungtot, Lubuagan
14. Lubuagan proper, Lubuagan
15. Wagod, Balbalan
16. Magao-gao, Pinukpuk

**Licoutan:**
17. Bolo, Tabuk; Gina-ang, Pasil; somewhere in Mountain Province
18. Sumadel, Tinglayan (includes Mallango & Bilong); Belwang, Sadangga, Mountain Province
19. Pangol, Tanudan
20. Se-et, Tanudan
21. Asiga, Pinukpuk
22. Dananao, Tinglayan
23. Bangad, Tinglayan
24. Dacalan, Tanudan

**Pitang:**
25. Pinukpuk proper, Pinukpuk
26. Malalao, Tabuk

**Anggacan:**
27. Bokloc, Abra Province
28. Maducayong, Mountain Province; Ableg, Pasil
29. Malbong, Tabuk
30. Dagyuman, Abra Province
31. Puwapo, Pasil
32. Liglig, Tanglag, Lubuagan*
33. Sukiyap, Tanglag, Lubuagan*
   * Tanglag is split, in a similar way that Bawak is split from the rest of Mangali in their bodong
34. Biga, Tabuk
35. Asin, Tabuk
36. Barlig, Mountain Province
37. Mabaca, Pinukpuk

Lower:
38. Butbut, Tinglayan.
39. Tinglayan proper
40. Balbalan proper, Balbalan
41. Limos, Pinukpuk.
42. Sadanga, Mountain Province
43. Kaladkad, Tabuk
44. Gaang, Tanudan
APPENDIX B: INSTRUMENT PHOTOS

Photo B.1. *Balengbeng* (foreground).

Photo B.2. *Tungatung* ensemble.
Photo B.3. *Kullitong* next to a standard ball-point pen

Photo B.4. *Baladong.*
Photo B.5. *Baladong* lip position.

Photo B.7. Full pinakid set for gangsatuppayya.

Photo B.8. Hand position for gangsatuppayya
GLOSSARY

Andadawak – Spirit medium.

Baladong – Lip-valley bamboo flute.

Balengbeng – Bamboo buzzer idiophones that are sounded by striking them against the opposite hand.

Bodong – A peace pact agreement between two peace pact holding units. Also refers to the three-day celebration of a new or renewed peace pact.

Bogis – Territorial boundaries. Often the first term defined in the pagta.

Boboloy – Village. Literally, a cluster of houses.

Bog-uy – Violations of the bodong agreement.

Bulliti – The act of fetching and accompanying guests from another village to the host village of a bodong celebration.

Dagdag-ay – Song form used to recall past occasions, usually sung by an individual while resting from work.

Dandan-ag – Group song sung during funerals.

Dasudas – Basic foot movement performed by men and women dancers in the gangsa tadok style.

Dayaw – Honor and power gained through transactions and displays of wealth. The measure of one’s achievements.

Dekot – A type of rice which is pounded and mixed with coconut milk and sugar to make sticky rice cakes. These rice cakes are also called dekot.

Dinagun – The main wet rice crop that grows from February to June.

Dolnat – The occasions of the first day of a bodong celebration when the visitors arrive.

Ili – Place. A relative term that, depending on context, can refer to a cluster of houses, a community comprising one peace pact holding unit, a province, or a nation.

Inum – The main events of a bodong celebration which begin on the second day of the event.
**Galigad** – Part of the *inum* portion of a *bodong* celebration in which the responsibilities of holding a peace pact are transferred from father to son. (This is not a part of a celebration in which a broken peace pact is being restored.)

**Gangsa** – Circular, rimmed bronze gong.

**Goygoy** – Lullaby song.

**Gayongon** – Tremolo effect produced by a vocalist in certain performance styles, especially of the *ullalim*.

**Iwayat** – Debating song.

**Kabuniyan** – Chief deity of traditional Kalinga religion.

**Kailiyan** – All the people who come from the same place. See *ili* for a definition of the root word.

**Kankanta** – A category of music-making that includes singing and sounding melodic instruments.

**Kullitong** – Bamboo tube zither.

**Kulligong** – Territories outside the official *bogis* that are also included in a *bodong* agreement.

**Lo-om** – People specifically included in a *bodong* agreement who ordinarily would not fall under its provisions.

**Merienda** – Snack served in the mid-morning or mid-afternoon.

**Mengol** – Warrior.

**Oyak** – The secondary wet rice crop that grows from July to January.

**Padatong** – The part of the official welcoming of visitors as a part of the *dolnat* on the first night of a *bodong* celebration that involves butchering an animal.

**Palpaliwat** – Form of stylized speech used by men to boast of their accomplishments.

**Paniyaw** – Taboo or forbidden.

**Pagta** – The written set of agreements that are agreed to by both parties in a *bodong*.

**Pinakid** – A set of six *gangsa* that are played together in the *gangsa tupayya* genre.
Saggaypo – A set of end-blown flutes played by one player on each instrument in interlocking patterns.

Salidummay – A collection of songs passed orally throughout the people groups in the Cordillera.

Sangni – The style of dance performed by women during the playing of gangsa tadok.

Sapul – The most important rhythmic pattern played in the gangsa tadok genre.

Seledsed – The dance performed by one man and one woman that accompanies gangsa tuppayya playing.

Suggiyaw – A group song sung during the rice harvest.

Suul – A share of a transaction such as the sale of property that is held for the peace pact holder.

Tabbeleng – The second rhythmic pattern played in the gangsa tadok genre.

Tadok – 1) A genre of playing the gangsa in which men dancer-players strike the instruments with a stick. Sapul, tabbeleng, and tokkotok are the three interlocking patterns played during its performances.
   2) A generic term for sounding rhythmic instruments.

Tokkotok – The third rhythmic pattern played in the gangsa tadok genre. This is played by most of the dancer-players.

Tongali – End-blown nose flute.

Tug-om – A women’s song to accompany the pounding of rice.

Tulung – Help given by others to a cause or event.

Tumangad – The final part of the bodong ceremony in which the pagta agreement is read. Wine is drunk from a big bowl and men challenge one another through palpaliwat.

Tungatung – Bamboo stamping tubes, played in ensembles of five or six players who sound interlocking patterns.

Tuppayya – A genre of playing the gangsa in which six men players strike the instruments with their two hands while kneeling.

Ullalim – Epic story-song genre.
**Uma** – Swidden (slash and burn) fields that lie in steep mountain terrain above the terraced wet rice fields.

**Upup** – A method of striking the *gangsa*, either by a stick or one’s hand, in which the sound is prevented from ringing out.
WORKS CITED


