SALIDUMMAY'S HYBRIDITY AND CONGREGATIONAL SINGING

Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes

"Joyful, joyful, we adore thee
God of glory Lord of love
Hearts unfold like flowers before thee
Opening to the sun above."
"Man, they're singin' our song, man."
"They're like an army."
(Sister Act 2)[1]

ABSTRACT

A group of songs called salidummay, *popular in Northern Philippine highlands, is characterized by musical features of Anglo-American folk songs epitomized by meter and anhemitonic pentatonic pitch system (against domination of two to four tone tunes of older chants), as well as vernacular lyrics that often carry the formulaic expressions of older chants of the locale. The paper asks why* salidummay *songs that present hybrid features than other local forms have become a symbol of collective identity of the peoples of Northern Luzon highlands as that of the "Cordillera." Analysis of three* salidummay *renditions performed in two privately hosted communal feasts (*palanos*) of the Banaos at western Kalinga reveals the categorical inconsistency of* salidummay *songs that carry both features of premodernity (spontaneity, orality, intimacy of communal reception) and modernity that is ultimately attributed to "congregational singing." The paper then argues that the simultaneity of congregational singing of hymn singing, that is applied today to the singing of anthems, martial songs and protest songs, is the praxis of modernity; that it has already become the habitus of Filipinos in the twentieth century; and that, thus,* salidummay *singing is believed to be "tradition" in the narrative of projecting ethnicity. The paper concludes that tempo-spatial strata of premodernity and modernity is the key to understanding the sociocultural complex of contemporary Philippines.*

Keywords: *salidummay, Cordillera, modernity, singing, American-colonial*

INTRODUCTION

I received a forwarded SMS text message of Rex (not his real name), who works for the Department of Agrarian Reform, at 14:20:23 on June 6, 2009. It reads this way:

> From Rex, venue, megamall 5th fl, bldg B: Uncle, adda regnl contest ti song d2y trade fair my entry frm Kalinga is among d 5 finalist baka kayat u agbuya, d program starts at 3:30pm mdmdma. Salidummay ti kanta da, 10 performers wd ethnic instruments. (From Rex, venue Megamall 5th floor, Bldg B: Uncle, adda regional contest ti song ditoy trade fair my entry from Kalinga is among the 5 finalists baka kayat yo agbuya, the program starts at 3:30pm madamdama. Salidummay ti kanta da, 10 performers with ethnic instruments.)[2]

This can be translated into English: "From, Rex, venue, Megamall 5th floor, Building B: Uncle, there is a regional contest of songs here at Trade Fair. My entry from Kalinga is among the five finalists. You may like to watch the program, which starts at 3:30 p.m. today. They sing *salidummay* [literally, "*salidummay* is their song"], ten performers, with ethnic (musical) instruments." This text message informs us that a "regional contest" was held during a trade fair (of the Department of Agrarian Reform) at one of the biggest shopping malls in the Philippines, and its five finalists included the delegates from "Kalinga" (presumably Kalinga province) who sang "salidummay" with "ethnic" musical instruments.[3] This SMS text message itself manifests the sociocultural hybridities at various levels in the conduct of everyday life, as well as that of special occasions in contemporary Philippines, particularly of Kalinga of the Northern Luzon highlands in this case: mixture of (1) English, Ilokano and Tagalog languages, of (2) modernness of performance setting (contest) and "traditionality" of musical instruments used in the performance ("ethnic instruments"), and of (3) public sphere (governmental work) and private sphere ("uncle").

The word *salidummay* refers to a certain group of songs widely, though not evenly, popular in Northern Philippines, especially in the highland areas. The word *salidummay* has been thought-provoking to me due to the exceptionally wide range of musical entities it covers and its inconsistent usages. So far, I have collected from different parts of the Northern Luzon highlands dozens of tunes, each with a number of variants that are locally perceived

more or less collectively as the tunes of *salidummay*. These tunes present "Western" features, such as the use of anhemitonic-pentatonic scale (e.g., Irish cum "early American"), hexatonic or diatonic pitch system and duple/quadruple meter rhythm.[4] Some salidummay tunes are adaptations from popular American tunes, such as "Tom Dooley" and "Shenandoah." Lyrics are mostly in either a local language or Ilokano, the lingua franca of Northern Philippines, and often inherit wordings of presumably older chants. Many tunes, if not all, accompany a refrain that may contain such words like "dang dang ay si dang i lay, insinalidummaay," "ay ay salidummay, salidummay diway," "ela ela lay" or their variations.[5] In other tunes, these words may fill the first stanza and/or the last one.

To integrate available written and oral accounts, the contemporary songs called *salidummay* had likely emerged in their early forms during (or slightly before) World War II and spread to Northern Philippines primarily through local soldiers. Sung favorably by the generation of youth then who had undergone American education and grown up under the American colonial milieu, it is understandable that tunes of the songs called *salidummay* present, to some extent, features of Anglo-American folk songs. Those were sung often to comfort themselves in a weary soldier's life individually or as a group, sung either in solo or in call-and-response (leader-chorus) style. Sung at informal contexts by soldiers who were mostly bachelors, the songs often contained vulgar expressions. Exchanging words through singing with a group of young and unmarried women—either members of auxiliary women or those who voluntarily worked for the soldiers (i.e., in cooking) at a host community where they stationed—provided another cheering-up occasion where early forms of *salidummay* were performed. In post-World War II decades, while such practice of alternating the singing between unmarried men and women continued, it is also reported that some teachers composed educationally relevant lyrics in order to let pupils sing as a group, whether in unison or, perhaps, with a simple harmonization, to the *salidummay* tunes. Gradually, singing precomposed lyrics to a *salidummay* tune in group became a favorite style of stage presentation for special events, such as wedding reception, peace-pact celebration and so on, more often by married women, if not by students during school or other educational programs. It is reasonable to link such practice of group singing to the establishment of the *salidummay* as activists' songs of the Northern

Luzon highlands since the 1970s. That is, it could be that the considerable popularity of singing of this kind of songs in rather remote areas within the Northern Luzon highlands (highland Abra, Kalinga, Mountain Province, against less prominence of such in Benguet and Ifugao provinces that are more accessible to Baguio City and lowland towns, respectively), as well as the features of elements like spontaneity, formulaic vernacular lyrics and compositional anonymity, that have made Baguio-based activist leaders construe the singing of *salidummay* as "well locally grounded" and, thus, "traditional." At the same time, the simplified Western features in pitch and rhythm—which facilitate group mass singing and that is necessary for singing in social movements—must have been regarded practical. Moreover, the presence of several common tunes known in a wide area of Northern Philippine communities could have made *salidummay* a convenient ideological tool for claiming ethnic identity which advocators of pan-Cordillera identity project.

Written references of *salidummay* (including *salidomay*, *salidumay*, *salidommay*, etc.), most of which are very brief though, began to appear in the cohort of literature on the culture of Northern Philippine highlands in the 1960s. Writers refer to *salidummay* as songs for recreation, entertainment, for "any occasions" and sung by youth and/or women (Dozier 1966, Prudente n.d., Prudente et al. 1994). Some accounts in the 1970s through the 1990s refer to *salidummay* (including its variations) as songs of the New People's Army (NPA) (Osaki 1987, Nomura 1981, T. Maceda 1994, Tolentino 1979). By the 2000s, some literature of Philippine Studies came to consider *salidummay*, with the establishment of the spelling as such by then, as a symbol of collective ethnic identity of Northern Luzon highlands, the region often labelled "Cordillera Region." Since around the 1980s, the concept of identity politics and multiple identities has grown mature locally in the discourse of Philippine music (De la Peña 2000, Finin 2005, Buenconsejo 2005).[6]

In the ethnomusicology of the 1970s and 1980s, music representations, resulting from the increasing awareness of cultural dynamics and power, went against the convention of the discipline that had tended to deal with it as something static and apolitical. The mixture of elements in differently categorized musics was considered symptomatic of musical change (Herndon 1987, Malm 1992). Particularly, the mixture of the dichotomic elements of

"Western/modern/pop," and those of "non-Western/ 'traditional'/ 'ethnic'" was one of the popular topics. Since the 1990s, the Andersonean concept of imagined communities was popularly applied to the ethnomusicological arguments of music and nationalism, as well as music and ethnic identity projection. A number of case studies revealed that the musics used for identity projections more or less commonly present the mixture of elements of Western popular music (e.g., chord; eight-beat rhythm; electric instruments, such as keyboard, guitar and snare drum) and features of local musics in tune, rhythmic patterns, musical instruments, vernacular lyrics and so on, often performed by groups who wear "ethnic" costumes. The *salidummay* songs used for the projection of Cordilleran identity, and, even by extension, that of the Filipino could fit very well into this framework. It is reasonable to assume that it is through such a discourse that the narrative of *salidummay* as the symbol of collective ethnic identity of the Cordillera was established. However, such a narrative overlooks the diverse perceptions and performances of *salidummay* songs by Northern Luzon highlanders in their daily village life where identity projection, particularly that of collective, regional or national, is of little concern.[7]

This paper asks why salidummay songs that present hybrid features—mixing the elements of both older and modern singing, including in the latter those linked to colonial America—have become a symbol of ethnic identity, over other less hybrid songs/chants of Northern Luzon highlanders (i.e., less elements of modern/ colonial-American/Western musics). By so doing, this paper aims to understand the layered aspects of modernity in the contemporary Philippines, as epitomized in the singing of songs called *salidummay* in some communities of Northern Philippine highlands, a postcolonial society at the periphery of a nation-state in the global age. The argument in this paper is interwoven with the ethnomusicological discourse on identity projection that has been further developed in the 2000s as postcolonial critiques. A cohort of literature has discussed what Homi Bhabha terms "the ambivalence of colonial discourse." This literature benefitted from and contributed to the growth of anthropological theory of social practice and agency (Miller 2005, Emoff 2002, Bhabha 1994).

Accordingly, this paper pays attention to vocal performances rendered during two communal feasts called *palanos* in the Banao dialect held independently within a five-day interval at a Banao village

at the border of Kalinga and Abra provinces on May 2002.[8] The performances took place in between flat gong ensembles with dances. By so doing, this paper discusses the implications of "congregational singing" in its broadest sense by tracing its relation to colonial modern context and bodily habitus, and proposes its crucial role in identity projection as indicative of late modernity. By "congregational singing," I have in mind the type of singing in Protestant churches, where the singing of hymns by general participants in services is conventionally practised, i.e., group singing of relatively simple tunes in unison or with simple harmonization. In this connection, group unison singing of educational songs at schools is considered a variation of the "congregational singing" because of its resemblance at the level of musical texture (i.e., monophonic) to the hymn singing.[9] By extension, this article deals with the similar style in national anthem singing, as well as other (often politically inclined) singing activities where a group of people, small to mass in number, normatively sing simultaneously in unison, if not with a simple harmonization or in canon for identity projection, consciously or not, among other purposes. Therefore, "unison singing," "group singing" and "mass singing" are used in this paper interchangeably. Theoretically, I relate this singing cum social action to what Benedict Anderson calls "simultaneity," "unisonance" and "unisonality," as I will cite later.

The primary data for this paper consist of ethnographic data (field notes, MD and video documentations of performances, and interviews) regarding *salidummay* and other musics acquired through participant-observation in Balbalasang, Kalinga province during my three-week fieldwork on May 2002. These data were reinforced by my intermittent fieldwork at the same village between January 2002 and April 2008, and supplemented by my visits to approximately forty villages and towns of Northern Luzon (Abra, Benguet, Ifugao, Ilocos Sur, Isabela, Kalinga, Mountain Province and Baguio City) since 1993.

THE "CORDILLERA" AND THE BANAOS

In the current administrative grids, six provinces of Northern Luzon highlands comprise the Cordillera Administrative Region, or CAR (Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga and Mountain Province). These provinces are also often collectively referred to as the Cordillera Region in non-official contexts, including academic

and non-academic writings on culture as though the area forms one cultural sphere. However, as distinguished scholars of Northern Luzon highlands have pointed out, considering the area as one organic region is an abstract construction, where there has hardly been internal connectedness among different communities (Afable 1989, Conklin 1980, Scott 1977/1974, 1993, Keesing 1961, Finin 1991, 2005). Finin aptly summarizes:

> For instance, within this highland territory, no one river basin dominates the area. Rather, the Cordillera serves as the point of origin for numerous river systems that flow into the South China Sea on the west and the Pacific Ocean on the east. Similarly, the Cordillera displays significant differences in terms of its climatic zones. Agricultural production is likewise marked by differences in cropping patterns and technology…. Beyond the linguistic diversity, other characteristics suggest little basis for highland unity. Evidence indicates the Cordillera as a whole is not bound by a tradition of intrahighland trade. Prior to colonial penetration at the beginning of the [20th] century, residents of the Cordillera for the most part lived in sparsely populated, agriculturally based communities….
>
> There has never been a cohesive marketing network among Cordillera residents…. Far from thinking of themselves as a unified whole, most highland peoples from different areas of the Cordillera until relatively recent times felt profound distrust, fright, and even terror when thinking about their fellow mountaineers. To ensure the availability of trade routes to the lowlands, some interior villages maintained bilateral "peace pacts" with a limited number of other highland villages. Beyond the bounded areas of these agreements, however, considerable fear of the unknown, if not genuine enmity, existed, resulting in severe circumscription of intrahighland social interaction.[10] (Brackets by the author.)

For this reason, I avoid using the term "Cordillera" in the paper, unless necessary. Instead, I use "Northern Luzon highlands," which refers to the areas covered by the mountains in Northern Luzon (once called by the Spaniards Gran Cordillera Central) that are mountainous and to the hilly areas of Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Ilocos Sur, Kalinga, La Union, Mountain Province, Nueva

Vizcaya, and Pangasinan provinces, but excluding lowland areas of Abra, Apayao, Kalinga and Ifugao provinces.

A group of people who reside along upper Saltan River, a tributary of the Cagayan River, in the Western part of Kalinga and around the area nearby the ridges across the provincial border with Abra generally call themselves the Banaos. One of their most populated villages is Balbalasang, with approximately one thousand residents.[11] Traveling from the Ilocos coast, Balbalasang is the first settlement after the Cordillera Ridge. Spaniards built a fort there in the mid-nineteenth century when they finally began to conquer the inner areas of the Cordillera ridges, inspired by the revival of interest of the colonial development by Spaniards, as well as the technological advancement of the modernizing West at that time.[12] Under the Spanish colonial power, Balbalasang developed technologically and economically as a mecca in blacksmithing in the region in the latter half of the nineteenth century, while it was subjugated by and was resisting against the Spanish power. During the American period in the first half of the twentieth century, village leaders invited the American Episcopal Church which epitomizes Anglo-American, rather conservative, colonial power.[13] Led by the charismatic chieftain cum American-appointed Mayor Puyao, Balbalasang remained the center of the Episcopal mission, including Western medical and educational practices among the Banao communities throughout the twentieth century. Engaged with hunting, gathering, slash-and-burn farming, lately-introduced irrigated rice cultivation and occasional mining all side by side (mode of production itself indicative of sociocultural hybridity) and eating taro prominently as a side dish to rice, the Banaos have been historically under the strong influence of Ilokano culture as manifested by the prominent use of *basi* (sugar cane wine) in rituals and daily consumption of *bagoong* (fish paste), as well as the prominence of Ilokano words in some supposedly traditional chants like *oggayam*, *kalimusta*, *diwas* and *alaba-ab*.[14] Today, the village is accessible by a daily regular passenger's jeep of around six to eight hours of travel from Tabuk, the provincial capital, which is approximately 100 km. east of Balbalasang by route. Electricity became available only at night hours since 2001. As of 2008, several households possess a TV set aired through cable. Radio, not owned by every household though, remains an important source of news and popular music consumption, while introduction of computer education and facility through an Australian aid at the village's high

school enables youths to enjoy digital AV materials, including CD, DVD and games. Cellular phone signal is being awaited by villagers and, to a lesser extent, internet connection.

The *palanos* is a general term applied for a communal feast, hosted either privately or communally. This is held to honor visitors from other communities with a pig, water buffalo, cow or ox sacrifice or for a host to entertain fellow villagers with celebrations which include similar animal sacrifices. The *palanos* I have attended varied from ones held to celebrate a house renovation or a marriage which wedding took place outside the community, to ones meant to entertain visitors attending a wedding feast, parish fiesta, a peace-pact celebration or guests on official visits and so on. The *palanos* on 23 May 2002 was hosted by a widowed old man to officially introduce his son-in-law who had been married to his daughter for some time in Tabuk and his one-year-old son who came to his mother's home village for the first time. Another *palanos* on 28 May 2002 was hosted by an old couple similarly to introduce the couple's daughter-in-law and four-year-old grandson from Manila.

The May 23 *palanos* publicly started about 7 p.m. with six middle-aged men playing the *gangsa*, a flat gong ensemble, in front of the house of the host. Men took turns in playing a rhythmic pattern called *tadjok* by forming a half-circular row, stepping forward and back with strong footwork, and upping and downing the upper half of the body to the beats. A tight grip of a man's left hand regularly holds and relaxes the string attached to a gangsa, while the right hand holds a wooden stick to beat the gangsa swiftly and gently in alternation. Contrary to the popular images of the "Cordillera" in the media, no male performer was wearing loincloth and only a few female dancers were in colorfully-woven wrapping skirt. Both sexes were mostly in jeans or cotton pants, and for women relatively loose skirt of synthetic fiber, largely in combination with T-shirts. A few women wore blouses, without much color coordination. Footwear was mostly sandals, if not casual shoes.

Each rendition ended when the coordination in playing the interlocking rhythm among the members got disorganized, deliberately or unintentionally. After a batch of performers retreated to the arbitrarily-designated audience area surrounding the distorted-oval performance ground, a new batch of men voluntarily came out, grabbed the *gangsas* and started beating so as to get the right

timing of interlocking ensemble among the members. After some moments when the group started producing a regular rhythm and stepping forward and backward in a row, women voluntarily came out from the audience similarly to join the men in dancing, with similar steps and bouncing of body with both arms spread wide and wrists upwards. *Basi* (sugar cane wine) in a plastic portable water tank was handcarried by two men, and served to the audience one by one by repeatedly using a single glass.

Normally, a *gangsa* performance that occupies the central activity of festive, community affairs, begins with *tadjok* and when the event reaches the climax, *toppaya* (another interlocking rhythmic pattern played in a kneeling position with palms), as well as what the Banaos call *inla-ud* (an energetic sounding ensemble with a drum or its alternative, such as a plastic water tank and metal objects), may also be played in between *tadjok*.[15] Both *toppaya* and *inla-ud* are accompanied by a dance by male-female pair/s, with a piece of cloth to each dancer. Both are said to be a courtship dance, though each has a different rhythm and step.

The sound of the *gangsas* gradually drew more villagers from houses to the event site, and it was eventually filled with a crowd by about 9 p.m. Practically, the entire population of Balbalasang was invited, as well as some close relatives of the host from nearby Banao communities. The event was fairly homogeneous of the Banaos. It was composed of middle-aged and senior members of the community, both men and women, who were the primary participants to the *palanos*, like any communal events of the Banaos. Youth—high school and college students who were back home for summer vacation, college dropouts, young mothers and fathers, and a number of children—tended to stay behind the elders.

PALANOS

Tables 1 and 2 show the sequence of the two *palanos* (each with a few hours of interruption).[16]

Table 1: Sequence of *Palanos* on 23 May 2002

	Time	Activity	Remarks
1	6:58 pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok* 1	
2	7:02 pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok* 2	
3	7:05 pm -	Chant *Oggayam* 1 by Edwin*	(a)**
4	7:08 pm -	Chant *Owawi* by Ferdinand (cousin of the host)	(b)
5		(*Pataytays* by Edward)	
6	7:13 pm – 7:15 pm	*Gangsa Tadjok* 3	
7	7:17 pm – 7:25 pm	Emcee Royce makes welcome remarks, including the researcher. He also explains the reason of the celebration of *palanos*, in mixture of English, Ilokano and Banao	
8	7:25 pm -	Speech by Barnabas	
9	7:27 pm -	Emcee	
10	7:31 pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok* 4	Overtone heard
11	7:41 pm -	Speech by Elpidio	
12	7:42 pm -	Speech by Brent, barangay captain	
13	7:53 pm -	*Gangsa Toppaya* 1	
14		(*Pataytay* by women)	
15	8:05 pm -	*Gangsa Toppaya* 2	With shouts
16		(*Pataytay* repeated)	
17	8:18 pm -	Chant *Oggayam* 2 by Brent	(c)
18		(*Pataytay* by women)	
19	8:24 pm -	Chant *Oggayam* 3 by Elpidio	(d)
20	8:32 pm -	*Gangsa: Toppaya* 3	
21	8:38 pm -	Chant *Oggayam* 4 by Emcee	Rain, (e)
22	8: 46 pm -	Speech by Panod to introduce myself to the participants/community members	As a researcher of "djong-ilay, kansion, djang djang ay"
23	8:50 pm -	Greetings by Michiyo and singing of a Japanese song ("*Kagome kagome*")	(f)
24	8:54 pm -	Chant *Kulilipan* 1 by Barnabas	(g)
25	9:00 pm -	Chant *Oggayam* 5 by Robert	(h)
26		(*Pataytay* by women)	
27	9:06 pm -	Emcee: introduction of women "(Kababaihan)'s presentation"	
28		(*Pataytay* repeated)	
29	9:11 pm -	English hymn by teachers	(i)
30	9:15 pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok* 5	
31		(*Pataytay*)	

(Table 1 continued)

	Time	Activity	Remarks
32	9:20 pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok* 6	
33	9:31 pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok* 7	
34	9:36 pm -	Speech by barangay captain Brent	
35	9:36 pm -	Speech by Victor (brother-in-law of the host's daughter)	
35	9:47 pm -	*Gangsa Toppaya 4*	Host's son-in-law dances
36	9:51 pm -	*Gangsa Toppaya* 5	Host's daughter dances
37	9:59 pm -	Speech/greetings by son-in-law	
38	Documentation interruption**		
39	11:53 pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok* 8	This batch by women
40	0:03-05 am (May 24)	*Salidummay* by women led by Portia	(j)
41	Documentation interruption	Food served (boiled cow meat, its soup and rice)	
42	1:03 am-	*Gangsa Toppaya* 6	
43	Documentation interruption		

*In Banao communities, male and female division of labor, though considered complimentary, is prominent and symbolically so in every aspect of social interaction. Few cases of homosexual/gay identities are observed. But I observed Edwin, who had passed as male in social life at large, as a rare case who showed genderly neutral inclination, as manifested by his rendering *oggayam* (considered masculine) and leading *pataytay* (considered feminine). Unfortunately, he passed away a few months after this event, and I did not have opportunities to get to know him better.

**Documentation interruptions are caused by several reasons such as: a) technical problems of equipment, b) nonavailability of researcher/s, c) upon request by informants, d) out of ethical considerations, etc. This applies to Table 2 too.

Table 2: Sequence of *Palanos* on 28 May 2002

	Time	Activity	Remarks
1	9:13am -	*Gangsa Toppaya*	
2	9:14am -	*Gangsa Inla-ud*	
3	9:15am -	*Gangsa Toppaya*	
4	Documentation Interrupted		
5	0:16pm -	Speech/Greetings by the host (wife) to introduce her daughter-in-law and grandson	
6	0:17pm -	Oration of a poem by the grandson (in Tagalog)	
7	0:40pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok*	
8	0:44pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok*	
9	0:52pm -	*Gangsa Tadjok*	
10	0:55pm -	Speech/greetings by the daughter-in-law (in Tagalog)	
11	0:56pm -	Speech/greetings by a daughter-in-law-to-be of the host couple	
12	0:58pm -	Speech by the host (wife)	
13	1:11pm -	Oration by the grandson (in Tagalog)	
14	1:14pm -	Japanese song ("*Toryanse*") by the researcher	(k)
15	1:16pm -	Bontoc song ("Nan Layad") by research assistant	(l)
16	1:21pm -	Three English songs by teachers	(m), (n), (o)
17	1:31pm -	*Salidummay* by Jimmy	(p)
18	1:35pm -	*Salidummay* by Norman	(q)
19	1:38pm -	"Ilokano Love Song" by Ferdinand	(r)
20	1:40pm -	Chant *Oggayam* by Ferdinand	(s)
21	No time record	Gangsa *Toppaya*	
22	No time record	(*Pataytay*)	
23	No time record	*Gangsa Toppaya*	
24	No time record	Meal served (boiled cow meat, its soup and rice)	

In both cases, most of the participants left the event site after a meal was served. Those who stayed behind continued playing the *gangsas* and dancing for several hours more, with less and less breaks by vocal performances as time went on, and eventually became quite drunk by then. In the two events, a total of nineteen vocal performances was documented, aside from the frequently chanted *pataytay*—an expression of applause by the crowd.

Pataytay renditions may use various short phrases. A spontaneous leader of the crowd might decide on the spot which phrase to use, and lead the crowd by starting the chanting of the phrase chosen at will to which the rest would join an instant later. Hence, the crowd could chant almost together simultaneously. The phrases used for *pataytay* at the contemporary time include a number of those that adapted "dangdang-ay si dong-ilay, insinalisuma-ay" or its variations and whose tunes are identical to those used in the refrain of *salidummay* singing. To my ears, *pataytay* chanting sounded as if they are singing a part of a *salidummay*. But all of my Banao informants, whom I constantly asked either in formal interviews or in informal conversations, unanimously denied my hypothesis and stated, in one way or the other, that *pataytay* and *salidummay* are never the same: the former refers to an expression of agreement/approval/applause, while the latter means different definitions, from songs for any occasions, those of the NPA, "native air," to "invented tradition."

Table 3 summarizes the features of each of the nineteen vocal performances. They include three singings by "guests" (two by myself and one by my assistant).[17] Sixteen vocal performances were rendered by the members of the Banao community. These are 6 *oggayam* (chant of public greetings), 3 popular American songs ("*Mi Casa, Su Casa*," "You Are My Sunshine," and excerpts of "Beautiful Brown Eyes"), 3 *salidummays* (as I categorize so), 1 *owawi* (originally the lullaby of the Abra area), 1 *kulilipan* (chant of Southern Abra originally of headhunting stories), 1 English hymn ("I Am Resolved No Longer to Linger") and 1 Ilokano love song.

Table 3: List of Documented Vocal Performances in Two *Palanos*, May 2002

		Solo/ Group	Gender of Performer/s	Social Status of performer/s	Lyric Composition Process	Lyric Topic	Pitch	Rhythm
a	*Oggayam*	Solo	Male	Cook/ Shaman	On the spot	Greetings	Modal/ 5 tones	Melismatic/ Syllabic
b	*Owawi*	Solo	Male	Farmer	On the spot		Modal/ 6 tones	Metric
c	*Oggayam*	Solo	Male	Bgy. Captain	On the spot	Greetings	Modal/ 5 tones	Melismatic/ Syllabic
d	*Oggayam*	Solo	Male	Retired teacher	On the spot	Greetings	Modal/ 5 tones	Melismatic/ Syllabic
e	*Oggayam*	Solo	Male	Miner	On the spot	Greetings	Modal/ 5 tones	Melismatic/ Syllabic
f	*Kagome, Kagome* (Japanese)	Solo	Female	Researcher	Precomposed	Children's game	Modal/ 4 tones	Metric
g	*Kulilipan*	Solo	Male	Retired teacher	On the spot	Greetings	Modal/ 6 tones	Metric
h	*Oggayam*	Solo	Male	Municipal Secretary	On the spot	Greetings	Modal/ 5 tones	Melismatic/ Syllabic
i	Hymn: I Am Resolved	Group	1 Male & 6 Female	Teachers	Precomposed	Religeous	Chordal/ 7 tones	Metric
j	*Salidummay* "Mantopak Sumikad Ka"	Group	1 Male & 6 Female	Teachers	Precomposed	Educational	Chordal/ 5 tones	Metric
k	*Toryanse* (Japanese)	Solo	Female	Researcher	Precomposed	Game song	Modal/ 4 tones	Metric
l	Nan Layad (Bontoc)	Solo	Male	Research Assistant	Precomposed	Lost love	Chordal/ 5 tones	Metric
m	*Mi Casa, Su Casa* (English)	Group	2 male & 8 Female	Teachers	Precomposed	Love	Chordal/ 7 tones	Metreic
n	You Are My Sunshine	Group	2 male & 8 Female	Teachers	Precomposed	Love	Chordal/ 6 tones	Metreic
o	Beautiful Brown Eyes	Group	2 male & 8 Female	Teachers	Precomposed	Love	Chordal/ 6 tones	Metreic
p	*Salidummay* "Ket Intan Ading" (Ilokano-dominated)	Solo	Male	Farmer	Precomposed	Love	Modal/ Diatonic*	Metric/ Melismatic**
q	*Salidummay* "Na Omali Danglala"	Solo	Male	Farmer	On the spot	NA	Modal/ 6 tones	Metric (relaxed)
r	*No Pomanaw Ka* (Ilokano)	Solo	Male	Farmer	Precomposed	Love	Modal/ Diatonic*	Metric/ relaxed**
s	*Oggayam*	Solo	Male	Farmer	On the spot	Greetings	Modal/ 5 tones	Melismatic/ Syllabic

* Presumably a tonal piece in an Ilokano-speaking region, but performed by a Banao modally.

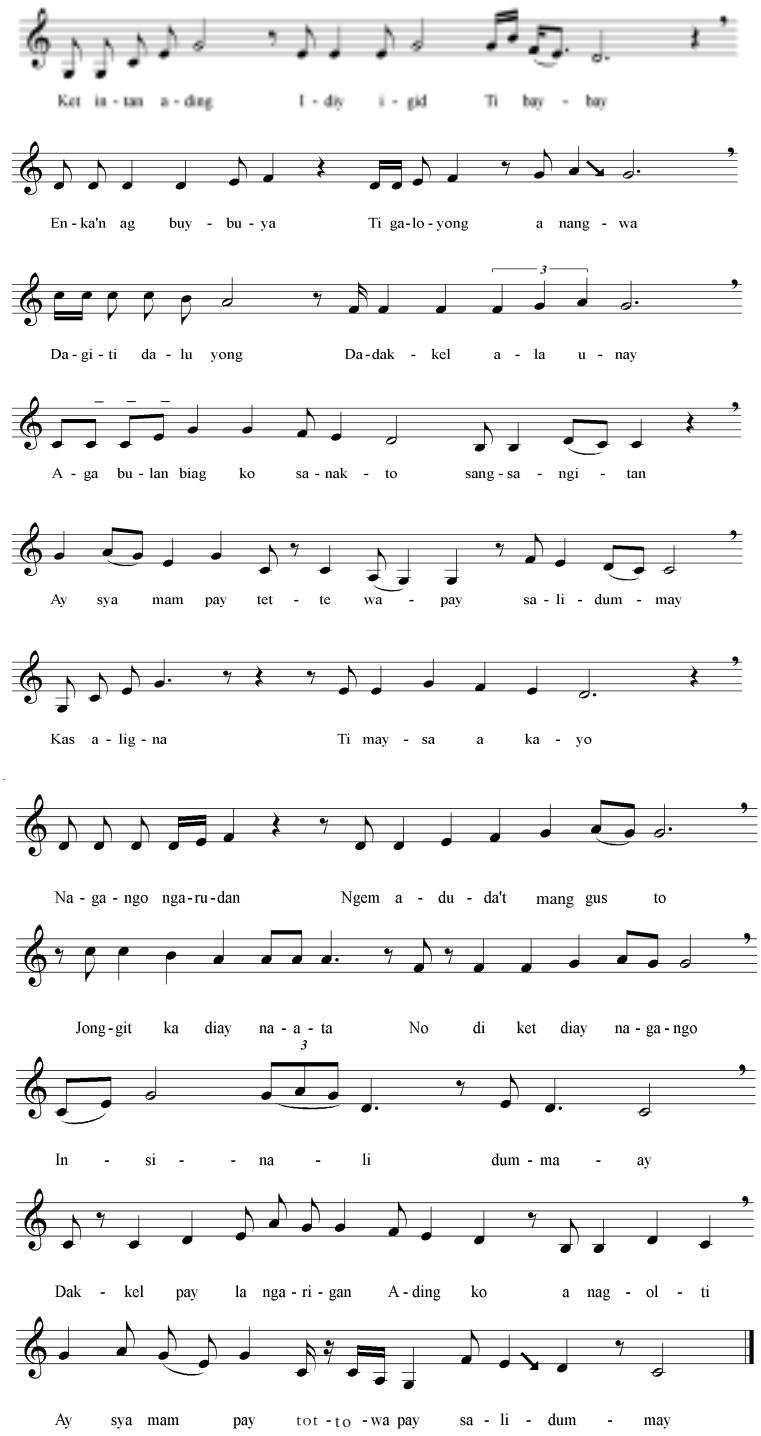
** Presumably a metric piece in an Ilokano-speaking region, but performed with relaxed rhythm.

Table 4: Summary of the Sixteen Vocal Performances by Category

	Rendition at *Palanos*	Gender (Male +)	Solo/ Group (Solo +)	Lyric Improvis-ation (If applicable +)	Time (non-metric +)	Pitch system (modal +)	Number of Tones	Theme of Lyric
I: *Oggayam*, *Owawi, Kulilipan*	a,b,c,d, e,g,h, s	+	+	+	+	+	5 - 6	Greetings
II: English Songs (hymns and pop)	i, m,n,o	-	-	-	-	-	6 – 7	Religious/ love
III-1: *Salidummay* "Ket Intan Ading"	p	+	+	_	=	+	7	Love
III-2: *Salidummay* "La Omali Donglala"	q	+	+	+	=	+	6	NA
III-3: *Salidummay* "Mantopak Sumikad Ka"	j	-	-	-	-	-	5	NA (Educational)
III-4: "Ilokano Love Song"	r	+	+	-	=	+	NA	Love
Pataytay	In between *gangsas* and chants	-	-	-	=	=	5	Applause

+ present
- absent
= neutral

Table 4 illustrates the three groups of these sixteen vocal performances, as well as *pataytay*, by musical features and performance practice characteristics. It informs us that: a) Group I (*oggayam, owawi, kulilipan*) and Group II (three American popular songs) present opposite features under the given parameters, and b) three *salidummays* are in between Groups 1 and 2 at various degrees, implying the *salidummay's* multiplicity both in musical features and performance practice. This implies the categorical complexity and the problematics of naming. Assuming *oggayam*, *kulilipan* and *owawi* have older histories, based on the presence of spontaneity, orality, and intimacy of communal consumption (e.g., reference in the lyrics to proper nouns commonly shared by the villagers such as their legendary hero's name Lagao, and some individual names specific to the community and so on), it is plausible to categorize that what American colonial rule in the first half of the twentieth century brought was American modernity. Relevantly, I suggest that the English songs largely represent "modern" sociocultural/musical features, such as precomposed and fixed tune and lyrics, i.e., a "piece," electronic mass media transmission, more general, hence, abstract wordings, and—more importantly—simultaneity of unison or choral singing that is enabled by metric (including quasimetric) beats and tonal (similarly including quasitonal) pitch system/s.[18] It is from this perspective that I argue that *salidummay* represents the sociocultural hybridity of premodernity and modernity, exemplifying the musical multiplicity of inconsistent features both in group and individual performances.


Ket in - tan a - ding I - diy i - gid Ti bay - bay
En - ka'n ag buy - bu - ya Ti ga-lo - yong a nang - wa
Da - gi - ti da - lu yong Da-dak - kel a - la u - nay
A - ga bu - lan biag ko sa - nak - to sang - sa - ngi - tan
Ay sya mam pay tet - te wa - pay sa - li - dum - may
Kas a - lig - na Ti may - sa a ka - yo
Na - ga - ngo nga-ru-dan Ngem a - du - da't mang gus to
Jong - git ka diay na - a - ta No di ket diay na - ga - ngo
In - si - - na - li dum - ma - ay
Dak - kel pay la nga - ri - gan A - ding ko a nag - ol - ti
Ay sya mam pay tot - to - wa pay sa - li - dum - may

1. (Not documented)
   Ay sya mam pay tot-owa pay — Yes, it's true, indeed
   Salidummay

2. Ket intan ading — Then let's go, my sweetheart
   Idiay igid ti baybay — There, beside the sea
   Enka'n agbuybuya ti daloyong a nangwa — Go and watch over the breaking waves
   Dagiti daluyong dadakkel ala unay — The waves that are really big

   Aga bulan biag ko — My life is like the moon
   Sanakto sangsangitan — Then you will weep for me

   Ay sya mam pay tot-towa pay — Yes, it's true, indeed
   Salidummay

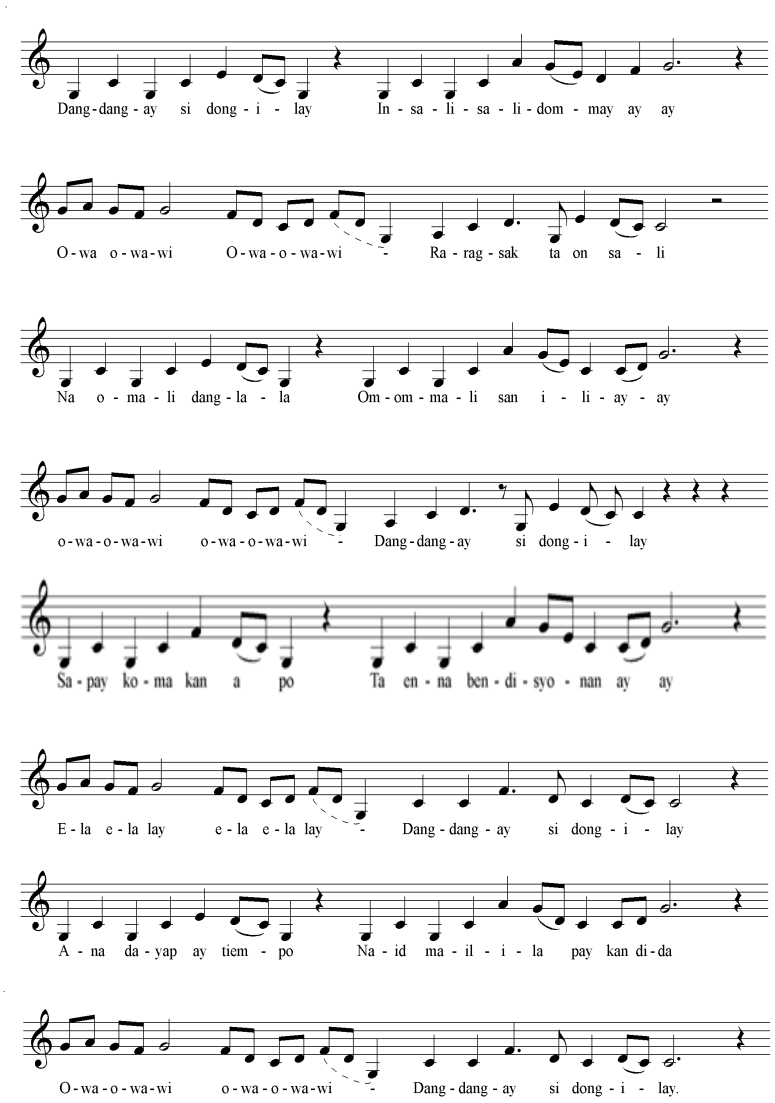
3. Kas aligna ti maysa a kayo — Like a piece of wood
   Nagango ngaruden — (Which is) not only dried
   Ngem adu da't mang gusto — But also many people like
   Jonggit ka diay naata — (But) you may gather the young branches
   No di ket diay nagango — If not the dry one

   Insinalidumaay

   Dakkel pay la nga rigan
   Ading ko a nag-olti — My dear sweetheart

   Ay sya mam pay tot-owa pay — Yes, it's true, indeed
   Salidummay

Figure 2: Salidummay ("Na Omali Danglala" here)



1. Dangdang-ay si dong ilay
   Insalisalidommay ay ay

   Owa owa wi, owa owa wi
   Naragsak ta on sali — We are happy with the
   gathering

2. Ta omali danglala — So others will come
   Om-omali san ili ay ay — Come to the village

Owa owa wi, owa owa wi
Dangdang-ay si dong-ilay

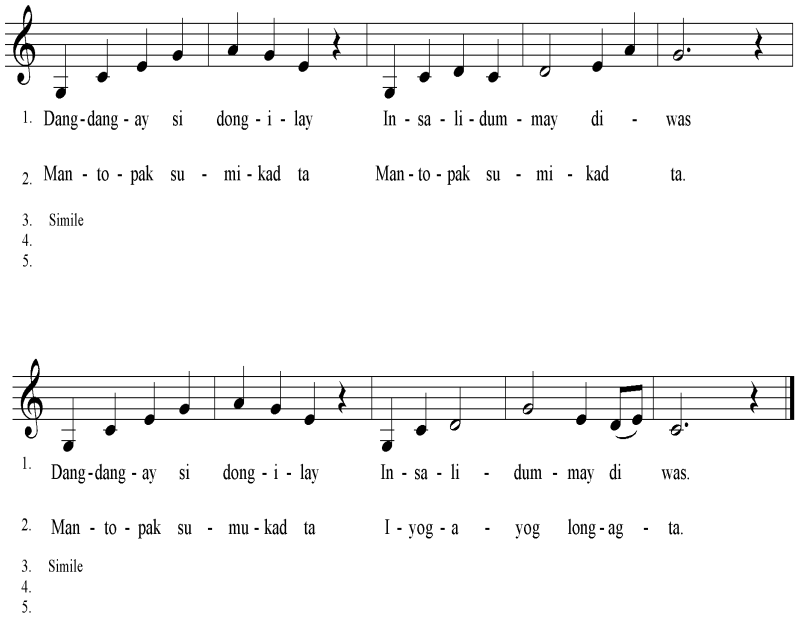
3. Sapay koma kan apo — Wishing that may God

Ta enna bendisyonan ay ay — Bless (us) for ever
Ela ela lay ela ela lay
Dangdang-ay si dong-ilay

4. A nadayag ay tiempo — (Things of) the (olden) times
Na-id ma-il-ila pay kan dida — None (of which) can be seen any more

Owa owa wi, owa owa wi
Dangdang-ay si dong ilay

Figure 3: Salidummay ("Mantopak Sumikad Ka" by Portia Banganan)



1. Dangdang ay si dong-ilay
   Insalidummay diwas/Insalisalidummay*
   Dangdang ay si dong-ilay
   Insalidummay diwas/Insalisalidummay

2. Mantopak sumikad ta/ka — Let's sit down, then let's stand up
   Mantopak sumikad ta/ka — Let's sit down, then let's stand up
   Mantopak sumikad ta/ka — Let's sit down, then lets stand up
   Iyog-a-yog long-ak ta/ka — Let's shake our body all around

3.	Mantingli mantingli ta/ka	Let's bend our neck sideways, bend sideways
	Mantingli mantingli ta/ka	Let's bend our neck sideways, bend sideways
	Mantingli mantingli ta/ka	Let's bend our neck sideways, bend sideways
	Iyogayog long-ak ta/ka	Let's shake our body all around
4.	Man-yon-ot mantan-ag ta/ka	Let's bow our heads, then bend it back
	Man-yon-ot mantan-ag ta/ka	Let's bow our heads, then bend it back
	Man-yon-ot mantan-ag ta/ka	Let's bow our heads, then bend it back
	Iyogayog long-ag ta/ka	Let's shake our body all around
5.	Itang-oy ta iki ta	Let's lift our foot up, then lift the other
	Itang-oy ta iki ta	Let's lift our foot up, then lift the other
	Itang-oy ta iki ta	Let's lift our foot up, then lift the other
	Iyogayog long-ag ta	Let's shake our body all around

*/ indicates that words were not unified among the singers.

In what follows, I illustrate three *salidummay* singings. I dare to categorize the variant of "Ket Intan Ading" as *salidummay* because of the presence of such words in the refrain "ay sya mam pay tot-owa pay, salidummay." (Figure 1)[19] This is one of the popular phrases of *pataytay*—a collective expression of applause in a communal feast. In Balbalasang, this phrase is said to be of the Ma-engs of the Southern Abra area, whose language is akin to the northern Kankana-ey of western Mountain Province. The words literally mean "yes, indeed, it's true"—expressing the act of agreement to the uttered words in the form of chanting. The lyrics of the song is predominantly in Ilokano and contains sweet words to the loving one. Since little organic connection is observed between the musical style of the tune to the lines and to the refrain (the former in triple-meter and diatonic pitch system with chromatic motives, while the latter is in quasiquadruple meter and anhemitonic pentatonic), it is also acceptable to consider this rendition, not as *salidummay* but as that of Ilokano love song, where *pataytay* is regularly inserted.[20]

"Na Omali Danglala" (Figure 2) shows another *salidummay* example that presents the closest musical and performative features to older chants, with simple wording of presumably on-the-spot composition, as though enjoying the linguistic game of different formulaic expressions. Norman, who rendered this variant of salidummay is a jolly farmer from Banao. He told me, in quite

good English, that he was born in the 1930s, with a piece of leaf on his buttocks. He claims, citing his parents, that that is why he can play (blow) the leaf very well to produce various tunes.[21] The formulae refrains contain "owa owa owawi," a common refrain for lullaby called *owawi* (widely practiced in Abra and a favorite of Norman), as well as "ela ela lay" of the Kalinga area, both combined with "dangdang-ay si dong ilay." (This suggests the Abra-Kalinga spatial influence and the ethnic hybridity of Banao culture at some level, for they reside across the border of the two provinces). Being an improvisational solo chant, the words largely adapt to the existing formulaic expressions, such as "omali san ili" ("coming to this village"), "sapay koma kan Apo, (adda) bendisyona" ("wishing the blessing of God"). Hence, this rendition reflects the communal cultural inheritance, namely anonymity, even while it is, at the same time, a very individual rendition of Norman.

On the other hand, "Mantopak Sumikad Ta" (Figure 3) presents the *salidummay* as this comes, musically speaking, closest to the English song style, namely, having a precomposed and almost fixed lyric, meter and using the five-tone pitch system with a tune that embosses a tonal melodic contour.[22] The lyrics was composed by Portia, a retired music teacher. But the composer of this tune was not known (often claimed as "traditional air" by Balbalasang villagers). Portia kept a notebook where the lyrics she had composed were written down, while the tunes were not documented. She seemed to remember the corresponding tune to each lyric, though, in reality, many lyrics are exchangeable to other tunes. This *salidummay* lyrics was also written down in her notebook. But she had written only up to the fourth stanza; the fifth stanza was presumably what Portia added on the spot, leading the singers so that they could follow an instant later. The singers of this group rendition must have sung this *salidummay* earlier, so that they could somehow sing it easily. But they did not seem to have memorized its lyrics as written on Portia's notebook. Also, they did not seem to have rehearsed this rendition. Therefore, words were not very uniform. At several moments, more than two words were heard simultaneously. In this sense, the formation of the lyrics of the rendition also contained a certain degree of the element of orality. Among the peoples of the Northern Luzon highlands, including the Banaos, the oral transmission of songs continued to be significant locally, even with those songs produced and consumed in the network of the music industry.

INTEGRATION

Bruno Nettl suggests that "the first intensive exposure of non-Western societies to Western music was through church music," if not military music (Nettl:1985, 7). Congregational singing, which became popular and common in Europe after the Reformation through the congregation's participation at Protestant churches, spread widely to the world. Protestant missionaries built not only churches but also schools and hospitals, with a chapel, where singing could have taken place.

> This is the characteristic first contact of the world's peoples with Western music: hymns and masses, and military bands. It is noteworthy and perhaps a bit ironic that some kinds of music most valued by large segments of the Western musical audience—the classical repertory, popular musics in their nineteenth-century urban guise, authentic traditional folk songs—were not introduced….
>
> In a number of places the approaches of Western musicians had much in common. Everywhere we can read of the extraordinary musical talent of the "natives," who are able to learn Western music with little effort. We see the large ensemble and the concept of functional harmony introduced as hallmarks of Western music, idealized and imitated. (11)

The Philippines, which experienced the colonial rules of both Roman Catholic Spain and Protestant America, illustrates this well. The Spanish colonial rule did not seem to have inspired group singing as in congregational singing, but choir performance done by an extremely limited number of singers. With Spanish influence, indigenous vocal forms were developed and this presented the continuity of the more ancient practices in singing styles, such as call-and-response (i.e., *pabasa*, or *pasyon*), various forms of sung debate and solo song (i.e., stylized *kundiman*). Except for some ritualistic or prayer chanting with fixed, often magical, words that were to be memorized, some kind of unison—to be precise, quasiunison—chanting may have been rendered only rarely.

The Philippine national anthem did not exist during the celebration of independence from Spain on 12 June 1898, for it was then an instrumental musical piece for a band entitled *Marcha Nacional Filipina.*[23] It was truly during the American period that

congregational singing (either in unison or with simple harmonization) became a part of the cultural habit of many Filipinos, as they underwent the American education system that included the singing of the national and school anthems at flag ceremonies and educational children's songs, as well as in various educational programs and activities (such as those of Boy and Girl Scouts) where children, as well as adults, were exposed to the various opportunities of unison singing. It is not a historical coincidence, but the consequence of embodying modernity.

In the 1930s, *Bayan Ko* was favorably sung, often in unison by mass, during anti-American movements. Considering the recurrent popularity of *Bayan Ko* throughout the decades and beyond the twentieth century, and compared to the unmistakable contribution of *pabasa* chanting to the Philippine Revolution in the latter half of the nineteenth century (as Reynaldo Ileto's classic study convinces us), it is plausible to consider that what American colonial rule in the first half of the twentieth century brought was American modernity in musical practices, as this is epitomized in mass singing that, as a rule in unison, shifted the Filipinos' collective habitus of vocal performance from leader-chorus style to unison singing (Ileto 1998/1979).

> There is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests – above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community. (Anderson 1983: 132)

CONCLUSION

Reviewing two quite homogeneous, privately hosted communal feasts, it is in vocal performances, much less in instrumental, that cultural hybridity of the community is more vividly manifested at several levels.[24] The vocal performances presented above include older chants (from different areas of Northern Luzon), an Ilokano love song, English love songs, an English hymn and three *salidummay* songs, aside from the three songs that I myself

and my assistant performed. When categorized by musical features and performance practice, three documented *salidummay* songs present all different categorical features, contrary to other chants or songs which are categorically more or less consistent. Among the three types of *salidummays* presented in the paper, "Mantopak Sumikad Ka" ("Let's Sit Down, Let's Stand Up") presents almost the same musical features (both in elements and performing style) as the English songs (hymn and pop love songs alike), namely, tonal, metric, precomposed lyrics, hence enabling group unison singing.

Upon reviewing fourteen available cassette tapes and CD albums that were produced or had been used to project the ethnic identity of Northern Luzon highlanders, most of the songs exhibit a musical style that is tonal, metric, with pre-composed lyrics and performed in group in unison or with simple harmonization. The majority is *salidummay*. If not *salidummay*, the songs are usually rearrangements of chants which satisfy those conditions. The preference for such type of songs corresponds to the demands of political and cultural gatherings (often held in Baguio City, as well as at some towns), where ethnic identities are advocated (e.g., at occasions such as Indigenous Peoples Month Celebration, Indigenous Peoples Week Celebration, Cordillera Day Celebration, as well as numerous feasts of local government units and anniversary celebrations of numerous institutions, including schools, NGOs, cooperatives and the like). Why do they mostly sing English-like songs i.e., songs that emphasize their non-Westernness, to express their ethnicity, such as indigeneousness, traditional rootedness and anticolonial sentiment?

I suggest two reasons. First, the physical constraint of congregational singing points to the praxis of modernity. Once a community becomes an imagined community, the mode of singing has to shift, from dialogical exchange of words in face-to-face interactions (often having been executed in the form of chanting) to mass singing which requires simultaneity. The spread of literacy in modernity, where print is an integral part of life, facilitates the singing of precomposed lyrics. The rationality of functional tonality and meter is another major contribution that dominated the world music industry of pop music during the latter half of the twentieth century in the form of chords and eight beats.

The second reason pertains to the illusion of tradition. To rephrase Hobsbawn, as well as Giddens, two successive generations

of practice are often enough for that practice to be imagined as "traditional." By then, it has already become habitus. Some basic elements of early/ colonial modernity, such as literacy and congregational singing, seem to have been introduced more effectively to many parts of the Northern Luzon highlands than to the rest of the Philippines in the early decades of the twentieth century; American colonial administration (which claimed to be an advocate and implementer of the civilization project, albeit having been inspired by the preceding Spanish mission of conquering the region for gold) made extraordinarily generous investment in the Northern Philippine highland. It is reasonable to assume that, by the early 1980s when the Cordillera Autonomy Movement took a lead in the ethnic movement of Northern Luzon highlanders, congregational singing had become a part of the daily bodily experience of many highlanders. By then, it could not have been perceived as something alien.

Nonetheless, no matter how rational and hegemonic the civilizing mission was, colonial modernity did not completely sweep out the existing musical senses and practices of Northern Luzon highland villages. The transition has been gradual in accordance with the course of sociocultural change. The concept of hybridity in music illuminates some aspects of cultural complexity of category making in a postcolonial peripheral community. It makes visible the temporal strata of premodernity and (both early and late) modernity, as well as the spatial dimension in terms of lowland-highland continuum and urban-rural/metropolis-peripheral negotiations.

NOTES

[1]James Orr, Jim Cruickshank and Judi Ann Mason. *Sister Act 2*. Touchstone Home Video, 1993.

[2]I would like to express my sincere gratitude for the various institutions and individuals who rendered support and assistance in producing this manuscript. The fieldwork for this manuscript was supported by the research grant of the Toyota Foundation (D01-A-555). The follow-up fieldwork was supported by the University of the Philippines Local Faculty Fellowship Grant (2003-2005). Among my generous

informants, Ligaya Aguac, Paolo Aguac and Portia Banganan rendered special assistance for this paper. Dr. José Buenconsejo and an anonymous referee gave me inspiring comments on the earlier versions of this manuscript. I am heavily indebted to Dr. Eufracio Abaya in conceptualizing the arguments in this work.

[3]Rex is not from Kalinga province. He is Baguio-raised and Ilokano-speaking, with (so-called) Ilokano and Kankana-ey ancestry.

[4]"Meter rhythm" may be better phrased as "quasimeter rhythm." The meter rhythm, as the very product of the Western modern art music of the eighteenth century, is in local practice of the Northern Philippine highlands adjusted considerably to the local sense of rhythm which is nonmeter but largely syllabic and occasionally melismatic. Therefore, the stretching of beats—against supposed trot-like regularity—frequently takes place.

[5]Michiyo Yoneno Reyes (1998), "Vocal Tradition and Transmission: Salidummay of Sagada, Mountain Province, Northern Philippines," MM Thesis, University of the Philippines.

[6]For the details of the historical development of salidummay as well as a long list of references, see Chapter 3 of Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes, "Negotiating with Modernity: Category, Performance and Narratives of Salidummay Songs of the Banaos, Northern Luzon Highlands" (working title), Ph.D. Dissertation, University of the Philippines (forthcoming).

[7]Locally, they are more conscious of their tribal belongings. Because first, a tribal war, often triggered as a revenge of a murder case of a fellow tribesman, could take place at any moment in a quite large area of the northern Luzon highlands; and secondly, constant redefining of kinship network through intermarriages is a handy means of safety-net formation for every aspect of life, far beyond a tribal war.

[8]In this paper, I do not make a very clear distinction between chanting/chant and singing/song. The former is used to designate the vocal performances and the vocal music they produce, which present more flexible pitches and rhythms, while the latter more regular rhythms and pitches.

[9]Yasuda informs us that Eben Tourjee (1834-1891), the first president of the Music Teachers National Association (of the United States of America) himself was a Christian with strong missionary spirit. He asserted that the primary purpose of music education at public schools is to train pupils to become good congregation who can sing hymns well at churches on Sundays. (Yasuda 1993) According to Teshirogi,

the board members of the New England Conservatory of Music, which Tourjee founded to train music teachers, were composed of the heads of the mission boards of different congregations in Boston. (Teshirogi 1999) These historical findings are consistent with Nettl's proposal that church music (particularly hymn singing) and modern music education were experienced as "the first encounter" with Western music in many parts of the non-Western world, often together with military music (military band, martial songs etc.). (Nettl 1985). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that such a notion of music education was implanted to the colonial Philippines in the early twentieth century and to consider organic connections (both textual and contextual) among hymns, school songs and martial songs (of modern military).

[10]Finin 2005, p.10-12. In my view, even today, "profound distrust, fright, and even terror when thinking about their fellow mountaineers" do exist to a certain degree. The termination of headhunting practice about the 1930s, according to Finin, was not the termination of tribal wars. Rather, tribal wars take place quite routinely particularly in some areas of Kalinga, Abra and Mountain Province, using guns as weapon at this time. Also, as June Prill-Brett (1987) suggests, peace pact in the area may not be a very old practice but its spread in the region is traceable only in the late nineteenth century.

[11]The population includes that of the village proper and two sitios (hamlets) laid within two kilometres.

[12]See Raymondo D. Rovillos (2009) for details.

[13]A community resolution dated 11 November 1925 (a photocopy available at the Baguiwon's personal collection.)

[14]Alexander Schadenberg, a German scientist who travelled to Balbalasang in 1885, observed "carefully laid out rice-fields, which are in the form of terraces" and the "food consists of rice and Indian corn" (1887, translation by William Henry Scott.) Whereas, one of my informants born in the early 1930s, a grandson of the legendary Banao chieftain Puyao of the early twentieth century, told me that it was his grandfather Puyao who encouraged wet-rice cultivation in the locale, and irrigated rice field expanded rapidly then (personal communication with Elpidio Aguac in 2004). Another informant born in the late 1930s recalls that in his childhood rice was usually mixed with taro in cooking as staple food (personal communication with Gabriel Dalipog in December 2003).

[15]The Banaos unanimously explain that the *Inla-ud* is what they have learned from the *inla-uds* of Bangued area of Abra.

[16]Documentation interruptions are caused by several reasons, such as a) technical problems of equipment, b) nonavailability of researcher/s (i.e., temporally leaving the site to attend the invitation by some individuals of the village), c) upon request by the informants, and d) out of ethical consideration, among others.

[17]The two visitors here sang upon request of the villagers epitomized by elders. It is a local manner of showing their respect to non-Banao visitors to request singing at a communal feast.

[18]I owe such a concept of modernity and premodernity to, for instance, Geertz (1983/2000) and Pertierra (1997).

[19]In the process of revising the earlier versions of the manuscript, I received a comment from my informant from Balbalasang which implies that this rendition by a drunken man is not authentic ("some sort of impromptu or stand-up presentation, not necessarily nor even culturally constructed" to quote her son's email letter, quoting her mother and 'some oldies', to me on 7 January 2009) and not appropriate to be included in the manuscript ("please reconsider the piece from Jimmy, as they tell me even some of the words are not 'translatable' and misconceived," to quote the same letter.) While I am aware of the ethical significance of respecting the sentiment of the informants, I have decided to include this example to this article because I believe its significance as it more realistically presents the cultural hybridity at various levels, including informal contexts, as discussed in the text. The presence of such a local sentiment/comment itself manifests an aspect of culturally hybrid entities which may be considered "corrupted," vis-à-vis those "pure" or at least believed as such.

[20]This article focuses its arguments on hybridity. For the details of the multiplicity of category of salidummay, see my "Negotiating with Modernity: Category, Performance and Narratives of Salidummay Songs of the Banaos, Northern Luzon Highlands" (working title, forthcoming). Ph.D. Dissertation. University of the Philippines.

[21]Personal communication on 10 March 2008.

[22]By "precomposed," here I mean "composed by the contemporary (member/s of a community), often for a particular occasion, if not always." Some chants with fixed words whose beginning are not remembered, except by orally transmitted knowledge, are excluded.

[23]It was after more than a year that the lyrics, first in Spanish (later to be translated into English and Filipino), were composed and adapted to the martial tune, as the national anthem, when the Philippines was about to lose, once again, its independence to the USA.

[24]In contemporary Banao communities, community feasts hosted by institutions, such as local government units, churches, schools and the like, as well as the feasts that involve other communities such as peace pact celebrations and exogamic wedding present much more diverse musical hybridities, that represents sociocultural hybridities, not only coexistence of spatial variations but also those of various powers (politico-economical, technological, etc.) and time (i.e., what García-Canclini calls "multi-temporal heterogeneity").

REFERENCES

Afable, Patricia O. "Language, Culture, and Society in a Kallahan Community, Northern Luzon, Philippines." Ph.D. Dissertation. Yale University, 1989.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso. 1983.

Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge. 1994.

Blacking, John. "Some Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Musical Change." In *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9: 1-26. 1978.

_____. "Identifying Process of Musical Change." In *The World of Music* 28: 3-12. 1986.

Buenconsejo, José S. "The Poetics of a Particular Recorded Music: An Analysis of Joey Ayala's Pinoy 'Altered Native' Music (Philippines)," Unpublished Manuscript. 2005.

Conklin, Harold C. *Ethnographic Atlas of Ifugao: A Study of Environment, Culture and Society in Northern Luzon*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1980.

De la Peña, La Verne. "Traversing Boundaries: A Situated Music Approach to the Study of Day-eng Performance among the Kankana-ey of Northern Philippines." Ph. D. Dissertation. University of Hawai'i at Manoa, 2000.

Dozier, Edward P. *Mountain Arbiers: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People.*Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press. 1966.

Emoff, Ron. "Phantom Nostalgia and Recollecting (from) the Colonial Past in Tamatave, Madagascae." In *Ethnomusicology* 46.2: 265-283. 2002.

Finin, Gerardo A. "Regional Consciousness and Administrative Grids: Understanding the Role of Planning in the Philippine's Gran Cordillera Central". Ph.D. Dissertation. Cornell University. 1991.

_____. *The Making of the Igorot: Contours of Cordillera Consciousness*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 2005.

García Canclini, Nestor. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. (Translated by Christopher L. Chriappari and Silvia L. Lopez.) Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press. 1995.

Geertz, Clifford. *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books. 1983/2000.

Giddens, Anthony. "Runaway World Lecture 3: Tradition." BBC Leith Lecture Series 1999. http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/reith_99/week3/week3.htm (accessed on September 19, 2009).

Herndon, Marcia. "Towards Evaluating Musical Change Through Musical Potential." In *Ethnomusicology* 31.3 (1987): 445-468.

Hobsbawn, Eric and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press. 1983/1992.

Ileto, Reynaldo. *Pasyon and Revolution: Popular Movements in the Philippines, 1840-1910*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 1979/1998.

Keesing, Felix M. *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (1962).

Maceda, Teresita G. "Protest Song." In N. G. Tiongson, ed. *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art*. Vol.6, p.114-122. Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines Special Publication Office (1994).

Malm, Krister. "Local, National and International Musics: A Changing Scene of Interaction." In M. P. Baunmann, ed. *World Music, Music of the World*, 211-227. Wilhelmshaven, Germany: Florian Noestel Verlag. 1992.

Miller, Rebecca S. "Performing Ambivalence: The Case of Quadrille Music and Dance in Carriacou, Grenada." In *Ethnomusicology* 49.3: 403-440. 2005.

Nettl, Bruno. *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival*. New York: Schirmer Books. 1985.

Nomura, Susumu. *Firipin Shinjinmingun Jūgunki* (Reportage of War Correspondent with Philippine New People's Army). Tokyo: Banseisha. 1981.

Osaki, Masaharu. *Firipin Koku Bontoku Mura: Mura Wa Kuni De Aru*. ("The Philippine Country, Bontoc Village: A Village is a Country"). Tokyo: Nōson Gyoson Bunka Kyōkai. 1987.

Pertierra, Raúl. *Explorations in Social Theory and Philippine Ethnography*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press. 1997.

Prill-Brett, June. Pechen: *The Bontok Peace Pact Institution*. Baguio City: University of the Philippines. Cordillera Studies Center. 1987.

Prudente, Felicidad A. "Changing Society, Unchanging Musical Process: The Vocal Tradition of the Buwaya Kalinga." In *Kultura* 37-43. n.y.

Prudente, Felicidad A, et al. "Kalinga." In N.G. Tiongson, ed. *CCP Encyclopedia of Philippine Art*. Vol. 2: 22-37. 1994.

Reyes, Michiyo Yoneno. "Vocal Tradition and Transmission: Salidummay of Sagada, Mountain Province, Northern Philippines," MM Thesis. University of the Philippines. 1998.

_____. "Negotiating with Modernity: Category, Performance and Narratives of Salidummay Songs of the Banaos, Northern Luzon Highlands" (working title. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of the Philippines (forthcoming).

Rovillos, Raymondo D. "Technologies for Disciplining Bodies and Spaces in Abra (1828-1898)." In *The Cordillera Review*. Vol. 1-1: 81-103. 2009.

Schadenberg, Alexander. "Contribution to the Knowledge of the Banao People and of the Guinanes, Gran Cordillera Central, Island of Luzon, Philippines." In transactions of the Berlin Anthropological Society, Session of 19 February 1887. Translation by William Henry Scott. Unpublished manuscript. 1887/n.y.

Scott, William Henry. *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contact with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*. Quezon City: New Day Publishers. 1974/ 1977.

_____. *Of Igorots and Independence*. Baguio City: ERA. 1993.

Teshirogi, Shun'ichi. *Sambika, Seika to Nihon no Kindai*. (Hymns/ Sacred Songs and Modernity of Japan). Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha. 1999.

Tolentino, Sr. Theresa. "A Music Transcription of Selected Songs from Thirty-One Cultural Linguistic Groups of the Philippines." MA Thesis. University of the Philippines. 1979.

Yasuda, Hiroshi. *Shōka to Jūjika*. (Shōka and the Cross) Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomo Sha. 1993.

Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes *is assistant professor of the Asian Center, University of the Philippines, and Ph.D. candidate (Philippine Studies) at the same university. She has been researching vocal musics and various sociocultural aspects of the Northern Philippines since the early 1990s. She has coauthored* Philippines and Japan Under US Shadow *(National University of Singapore Press, 2010),* Junction Between Filipinos and Japanese: Transborder Insights and Reminiscences *(*Kultura't Wika*, 2007),* Global Goes Local: Popular Culture in Asia *(University of British Columbia Press, 2002) and* Going Global: Asian Societies on the Cusp of Change *(Asian Center University of the Philippines, 2001). She obtained her BA in Musicology from Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music and MM in Musicology from the University of the Philippines.*