

The Ifugao *Alim*: Chanted Narrated Dramatic Discourse in Ritual

Rosario Bona de Santos

University of the Philippines Diliman

ABSTRACT

This paper, by way of introducing the little-known Ifugao *alim*, gives the readers an idea of what has been written about it by Ifugao and non-Ifugao writers and scholars, and recounts my own discovery and study of it. It focuses on the Piwong *alim*, which was the topic of my dissertation (Rosario de Santos del Rosario),¹ and which I recorded during a live performance in 1975 in Piwong, Hingyon, during the ritual called *hongan di tagu*—a prestige ritual of the *kadangyan*,² for the welfare of a sick woman. In particular, the paper discusses the Piwong *alim*'s significance, structure, content and voice, and presents illustrations, through excerpts, which give the reader an insight into its ideological direction and unique aesthetics. The Piwong *alim* uses a mix of ritual genres, external and internal narration, and dramatic character dialogues and monologues. The *alim* has been considered, by varied Ifugaos, as the crown jewel of their elaborate rituals; a sociological charter; and a magical myth that brings well-being.

Keywords: Ifugao *alim*, male-chanted narrated dramatic discourse, ritual for well-being

INTRODUCTION

Ifugao is situated in the foothills of the northern Cordillera mountain range of the Philippines. It abounds with spectacular rice terraces (now a World Heritage property), and with a wealth of traditional verbal art. Most known among these is the all-women-chanted *hudhud*, which has joined the ranks of UNESCO-declared world masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity; but no less impressive (although lesser known), is the all-male-chanted *alim*—the apogee of elaborate Ifugao *kadangyan* (“upper class”) prestige rituals for welfare.

Alim is not familiar, even to Ifugao ritual performers (*mumbakis*) who have not been specifically trained in chanting it, for it is professional knowledge requiring long formal apprenticeship.

Few Ifugaos have written about it. One of the first, according to Manuel (“Survey” 40-41), was Rufino Chungalao who, in one of his manuscripts, called alim a ballad. Chungalao said that, “the Alim is the sole literature of the Ifugao people in their religious rituals”(48).

Another Ifugao is Pedro Indunan, who described the alim as:

a series of songs—loosely related, fragmentary, at times contradictory or paradoxical—that are chanted at special occasions. Unlike the hudhud romances that center on the life of a hero, the alim contains several stories—even folk songs, myths, and prayers; and like the *baki*,³ the alim series sets up parallels in magic. The fragments are never sung or chanted to amuse. They are taken seriously like prayers. (43)

Furthermore, he said, the “alim has the attributes of a ritual myth, chanted rather than recited,” and “is associated with the Ifugao belief in magic relative to child bearing, fast multiplication of animals, and increase in one’s wealth and prestige” (49). He also rectified certain misconceptions about the alim which he found in the works of Barton, Beyer and de Veyra, Castillo and Medina, Manuel and Panganiban and Panganiban, as follows (10-13):

- The alim “is not chanted ‘especially during harvest ceremonies,’ nor only during an ‘uya-uy’ but in many other prestige feasts”;⁴
- “Punholdayan is not ‘the principal god of the Ifugaos in the Alim’ but a minor deity of rice harvests and is invoked only in granary rites and other ceremonies involving the rice terrace culture”;
- The alim “does not consist mostly of tales about Ifugao gods.” Moreover, “there is no evidence in the alim text to show that . . . it ‘deals with the lives of gods and happenings in the Skyworld’; the happenings are more or less in the known earth and not in the Skyworld”;
- The alim is not led by the “head priest,” but by “the qualified alim chanters”;
- The alim “may take a night and half a day just to chant the alim main body” (not two hours);
- The alim has “little resemblance to the Indian epic, ‘Ramayana’” (which Barton claimed it had).

Indunan included a transcription and translation of “Tun Nunwalu” (the first eight parts of of the Kiangnan alim) in Appendix A of his Master’s thesis (199-207),⁵ and concluded that: “what the alim really is—an epic, a ballad, myth or a simple tale—remains for the folklorists and students of literature to further explore and determine” (7).

Peter Bumidang, in his dissertation, focused on the Asipulo alim, which he said “resembles a narra tree in structure.” More specifically, the “Tun Nunwalu and Impihul” constitute the main trunk; the “Minutung di alim,” the branches, twigs, leaves, and flowers; and the “Liddum” myths and the “Baltung di Alim,” the foundations and the roots (Gaddang 65).

Manuel Dulawan claims that the alim is not a story but a manner of chanting, and agrees “with past writers and teachers” that the “story of Ummangal and Bugan, wrongly titled ‘alim,’ is an epic” (290).

Marvin Gaddang from Hungduan, Ifugao, recorded a version of the alim of Hungduan, from Teofilo “Dimmuyug” Gano of Hapao, Hungduan, Ifugao (Documentation of the Alim). It has 22 parts and about 1,054 lines, including the Baltong. His work, which was sponsored by the National Commission on Culture and the Arts (NCCA), and to which I was the consultant, includes a transcription and translation, and biographies of Hungduan alim chanters. It is still a work in progress.

Among non-Ifugaos who wrote about the alim was Roy F. Barton (1883-1947), who called the alim a series of ballads in jocular romantic vein,⁶ chanted only by the wealthy, and reminiscent of the Ramayana and Mahabharata (Manuel, “Survey” 41). He claims to have “recorded the opening lines of the alim, together with a few descriptive paragraphs” in Barton Research Records (BRR) II: 99 (“Religion” 133).

Barton said that, appended to the rites of the general welfare feast are “those specifically of the *uyauwe*,” of which the “most important . . . is the singing of the alim, a ballad that is presumed to be known, understood and sung only by individuals of the upper class. It is chanted at this rite of elevation to that rank and again, when an upper-class man dies The chanting of it is interspersed with religious rites; rites and chanting require almost the whole night—they pray a while, chant a while, then gossip or boast a while, and they swill all the while” (133).

If the deceased were wealthy and during his lifetime had made the *uyauwe* prestige feast, then one of the *hudhud* epics is sung through its narrative of the hero’s and heroine’s making their prestige *uyauwe* feast; if the deceased were very wealthy, and had made the *hagabi* feast, then the epic is sung through to its end. For the rich man too, the *alim*, the ballad that is appropriate only for the rich, is sung by his peers. (178)

Barton also said that the alim is chanted in *pokol*—an “agricultural rite performed in the house instead of at the granary”(114)—that partakes of the nature of a general welfare feast (*hongga*), which “lasts all night” and in which “the *alim*, a ballad

exclusively the privilege of those who have performed prestige feasts and thereby attained the rank of *kadangyan*, is chanted; this requires several hours . . ." (114).

In his Preface to "The Religion of the Ifugaos," he says: "During the Japanese invasion, all my field notes and several manuscripts of booksize were lost. I originally had nine such manuscripts, five of which I cite in this work under the abbreviation 'BRR' (Barton Research Records)." These five are:

BRR I. "Ifugao Mythology"—to be published.

BRR II. "Ifugao-English Wordbook, with Texts"—to be published.

BRR III. "Notes on the Northern Kankanai"—lost.

BRR IV. "Ifugao Myths, Folktales and Legends"—lost.

BRR V. "The Kalingas—Their Institutions and Custom Law"—to be published.⁷

Henry Otley Beyer (1883–1966), who wrote much about Ifugao culture, admitted: "I could not understand most of the words [of the *alim*]. They sounded Greek to me" (Quirino 16). Beyer classified it as an epic (Manuel, "Survey" 41). In fact, Indunan lamented that Beyer studied only a "fragmentary textual evidence in his collection . . . including an untranscribed tape recording . . . from the chant of Manguhan Gubbayan of Kababuyan, Banaue, done by William Beyer in 1954, consisting of one spool"(12).

Arsenio Manuel said: "The Alim intrigued me without end. I did not know any literature on the subject and I have not come across a discussion of it even in the extensive material gathered by the deceased" (meaning Beyer) ("Wake" 147).⁸ To Manuel, the *alim* looked "like detached pictures without a coherent story. It is like a diorama in a museum, with the viewer filling in the wide gaps" (141). Nonetheless, he said: "I agree with Beyer that it is an epic" ("Survey" 41).

According to Manuel, an *alim* was chanted in honor of Henry Otley Beyer during his wake in Banaue in 1966, and for the well-being of those he had left behind. It was tape-recorded by Jess Peralta of the National Museum ("Wake" 135).

Manuel gathered during the wake that the *alim* was chanted for different occasions, such as for the well-being of a couple just married, for prestige, or for the pleasure of the *kadangyan*. He also noted that several persons said there was only one *alim*, which was chanted in the case of grave illness, and that Venancio Uyan (of Hingyon) told him that the "Alim is sung when there is a sick person and the ceremonial offering called *dinupdup* is performed involving no less than six pigs (or maybe eight pigs with a carabao), in one night" ("Wake" 172). He added that when Mr. Uyan's mother got sick, a *hongga* with *alim* was sung (172).

HOW I CAME TO DISCOVER THE ALIM

Between 1968 and 1969, during my research to collect folklore in Ifugao, very few Ifugaos I met ever mentioned the alim, and no one chanted any bits of it during impromptu gatherings in Kiangan, unlike the hudhud and other examples of Ifugao folklore. Later, I understood why this was so, as the alim can only be chanted within the ritual relevant to the specific occasion for which it is performed.

My first contact in Ifugao was Venancio Uyan, my student from 1967 to 1968 in an anthropology class at the University of the Philippines Diliman (UPD).⁹ Through him, in the summer of 1968, I met Carlos Pinkihan in Kiangan, a mumbaki, who spoke ecstatically of the alim and volunteered to organize the chanting of it in a ritual, on my behalf and that of my spouse (as long as we made a pig available for sacrifice and offering, as required).

That particular Kiangan alim was my first-ever recorded alim, which I told Dr. Arsenio Manuel about, and which got him so excited. Henceforth, whenever we would meet, he inquired about my progress and encouraged me to stay the course on such an unknown topic.

In 1973, I went with Fe Paduyao,¹⁰ from Tinoc, Ifugao,¹¹ to Amduntug-Antipulo to record live another alim, led by David Dulnuan, a mumbaki native of the place. David, who spoke English quite well, said that he started learning to chant the alim in 1930, but only absorbed it completely at the age of 40. He was asked to lead it at age 49, and did so on 20 subsequent occasions. He remembers having received training from five teachers, among them, two uncles, a granduncle from Amduntug-Antipulo and Palao, and two hamlet mates. One of his teachers learned his alim from a long line of nine teachers, the first of whom was the legendary “Bahul.” The latter is reputed to have first started the chanting of the alim together with his companions in the Nungidul cave, in which they were trapped during a strong storm, and which magically opened up due to his prayers, and the chanting by his companions, of the dramatic story of Ummangal and Bagan, the main characters in the alim (for a narration of the tale, see Indunan 46-47 and del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 96).

In February 1975, Venancio Uyan invited me to attend an alim from Piwong, during a hongang di tagu ritual, which was for the sake of a sick woman—an opportunity I made sure not to miss. That occasion made me realize the significance, complexity and sophistication of the alim.

In 1976, news of some more alim performances reached me, which I could not personally attend to, but which Venancio's son, Sammy Uyan, volunteered to attend and document. The transcriptions of these alims from Burnay and Lagawe were sketchy, but they have nonetheless added to the existing alim material for comparison.

To date, I have personally tape-recorded and transcribed three complete live alim performances, from Kiangan (1968),¹² Amduntug-Antipulo (1971),¹³ and Piwong (1975).¹⁴ The translations of the Kiangan and Amduntug-Antipulo alims are not as final as that of the Piwong alim.

In the course of my stay in Piwong, some advisers told me that the alim was chanted in the following parts of Ifugao, but that it varied by area in terms of length and other features. They mentioned four categories¹⁵:

- (1) The alim chanted in Piwong, Burnay, Lagawe, Bitu, Namulditan, Bunne, Kudug, Bangtinson, Hingyon, Mompolya, Nunggawa, Umalbong, Linge and Lower Pitawan in Banaue, which has 42 parts/stanzas/songs/discourses;
- (2) The alim chanted in Kiangan, Nagacadan, Palo, Duit, Baguinge, Amduntug-Antipulo and Hungduan, which has 32 parts/stanzas/ songs/discourses;
- (3) The alim chanted in Mayaoyao,¹⁶ Amganad and Kababuyan, which has 16-30 parts/stanzas/songs/discourses; and
- (4) The alim chanted in Banaue (except Lower Pitawan), which has six to eight parts/songs/discourses.¹⁷

Manuel Dulawan from Kiangan, Ifugao distinguished the Tuwali alim of Asipulo, Kiangan and a part of Lagawe and Hungduan, from that of Hingyon, Banaue and Hungduan, whose chants, he claims, are short but in several pieces (289).

Arsenio Manuel counted 16 parts of the alim chanted by Kimmayong during Beyer's wake in Banaue ("Wake" 137-41), and said: "Informant Joaquin said there may be sixteen . . . in Amganad, and more than twenty in Kababuyan up to Burnay" (161). He also mentioned that he was told that the Inohag version, which was chanted during the wake, had two parts less than the 18-part alim (147), which pertained to the Dinupdup version chanted during *Gotad* (161). He also mentioned that Bindahan Kinggingan (a 70-year-old native of Banaue) said that there could be as many as 30 songs/parts, depending on the number of pigs sacrificed. Also, he said that, according to Ganu of Kababuyan, the alim could have as many as 16-26 songs, depending on the kind of ritual performance and the number of pigs required (165-66).

The alim of Piwong I recorded has 42 discourses/"songs," and the alims of Kiangan and Amduntug-Antipulo that I tape-recorded have about 32 discourses each. My Piwong advisers said that there are different occasions when the alim is chanted, depending on the need and the number of pigs sacrificed. When more pigs are sacrificed, the alim is longer.

In Lambrecht's "Mayaoyao Ritual: Rice Culture and Rice Ritual," the word *a'lim* is mentioned three times: "I do the *a'lim*-song to you" (136); "*ki'yud chi pang'alimna*" ("All right his *a'lim*-song") (147); and "This sacrifice has its own *a'lim*-song (see *a'lim* of Boto' sacrifice, pp. 135-136)" (147).¹⁸ Thus there is the chanting of alim in Mayaoyao as well.¹⁹

In contrast, the hudhud is performed in Kiangan-Lagawe and Amganad, while according to Revel (from a personal communication with L.E. Newell in 1993), "There is no hudhud performance in Banawe" (54).

Indunan and some of my Ifugao advisers in Kiangan believe that the alim story is true, pointing to certain rice fields as Bugan's/Ummangal's fields ("payun Bugan/Ummangal"), showing proof that such characters in the alim really existed. According to Indunan,

The song originated with the rice terrace builders in the ancient sites of Kalidiyan and Nayon It spread when the early inhabitants of the alim locales took refuge in the near-by [*sic*] hills during the Spanish period to escape colonial rule. (45)

He specifies that the ancient alim sites, located in the eastern third of the Ifugao province, are found "along the National Highway from Nueva Vizcaya to Bontoc and the Ibulao waterway . . ." (46-47). Based on his study of the legend of the "Episode of the Headhunters," he supports the view of an "Ifugao migration to Nueva Vizcaya from the northern mountains of Ifugao" (49).²⁰

Genealogies of some Kiangan families augment the information that a group of Ifugao ancestors did come by way of Kayapa. This is given weight by the movement of the Kalanguya tribe whose ancestry can be traced to the early Kayapa immigrants.

Ifugao tales and myths reveal that there were three main migration routes taken by the rice-terrace builders in their movements to Ifugao . . . The second route was a southern push down the mountains of Kawayan and Antipulo and into the northern foothills of Pamumbungen within the Mapaniquy area, in

Nueva Vizcaya.²¹ This was the route of the alim people that settled in Nayun, Agang-ang, and Malpaw. They crossed the Lamut River and followed the lower Nayun River – building rice terraces as they pushed their way northward.

(26)

RECORDING, TRANSCRIBING AND TRANSLATING THE PIWONG ALIM

I used a Uher reel recorder and a Sony cassette recorder to tape the Piwong alim. Recording was constrained by the fluctuating electrical power, and in the end, I had to rely on batteries. I could not take photographs with flash during the performance, as that would have disturbed it.

Transcription was a challenge, especially for me, but also for my Ifugao collaborators, as many recorded words were not enunciated immediately as whole words but as a series of extended syllables, which maintained the rhythm of the chanting. Furthermore, as the evening wore on, the already tipsy, tired and sleepy chanters began slurring their words, almost to the point of non-recognition. Only by patiently listening and distilling the recorded words from their lengthy extensions, did a recognizable word emerge.

As the initial transcriptions were being made with the help of advisers, I also personally checked them by listening again and again to the recordings, which I ended up partly memorizing. Venancio Uyan (already mentioned above) and Napoleon Hangdaan²² (the husband of Angelina, the beneficiary of the ritual performance), who were both fluent in English, and very interested in literature and their own culture, turned out to be invaluable. It helped that they were both from Hingyon, and were related to each other by kinship, as that facilitated access to the cooperation and interest of the chanters and other knowledgeable mumbakis there. During the 1975 performance, of which he was the host, Napoleon occasionally joined in the chanting of the chorus, as an avid apprentice would.

Tundagi, one of my chanter-advisers on the Piwong alim, was also invaluable. He was relatively younger than most of the other performers, and made no secret of his rancor against the rich kadangyan, regarding inheritance. During intermissions and at the height of the crisis in the alim drama, when revenge was mentioned, he publicly bewailed the fact that he was poor, being *udidian* – the youngest child with nothing left to inherit. Some of his co-chanters chided him for being so vocal and for his over-eagerness and boastfulness, calling him *natamanan* (someone who thinks he knows too much). Actually, he was quite knowledgeable about the alim, for he later dictated several parts of it to me from memory, hardly faltering. Four other Piwong alim chanters later corroborated his dictation.

Translation was an even bigger challenge, and will probably never end. The language of the *alim* is not the usual language of the everyday, as it is poetic and symbolic, and has a mix of “foreign” words. I went through my *alim* text with Ifugaos from different areas of Ifugao, and asked them to identify the provenance of words. Some identified Tuwali (Kiangan) words, while others identified Antipulo, Kalanguya, Kallahana and Lagawe words. This showed that, even as its singers were all from the same ethnolinguistic area of Upper Burnay in Lagawe, the Piwong *alim* in itself uses words from different language clusters, in addition to Piwong words.

Barton had already noted that “the language of the *alim* is related to that of the Atipulo people in Southern Ifugao and to the nearly extinct ‘secret’ language of the Ligauwe people” (“Religion” 133). According to him, “The secret language is a corrupt form of the Southern Ifugao language and is similar to the Isinay language of southern Nueva Vizcaya” (184). Indunan also mentioned that this nearly extinct language of the Lagawe people was “known in the *alim* as Buló” (49).

Upon linguistic examination of my Piwong *alim* texts, Reid and Stanyukovich noted that they showed an “extraordinary mixture” of Southern and Central Cordilleran forms.

As for the interpretation of poetic and symbolic language, Napoleon and Venancio, with the help of their kin and colleagues, helped immensely. Newell’s Ifugao-English dictionary,²³ as well as the online NIKE Ifugao-English Dictionary,²⁴ have been useful in the continuing work of refining the translation of the Piwong *alim*. My dissertation includes a glossary of each Piwong *alim* word (del Rosario, “Appendix II, Glossary of *Alim* Words”, “Ifugao *Alim*” 1-77).

The music of the different *alim* I have recorded can be heard from my tapes. I also commissioned a transcription and analysis of the music of the Piwong *alim* from ethnomusicologist Felicidad Prudente,²⁵ then a graduate assistant at the University of the Philippines College of Music Center for Ethnomusicology, whose director was then Dr. Jose M. Maceda. I included her work in my published article on the *alim* entitled “The Chanted Ifugao *Alim* and *Hudhud*: Ritual Drama and Heroic Stories” (del Rosario).

THE CONTEXT OF THE PIWONG ALIM PERFORMANCE

Ifugao became a province on June 18, 1966 by virtue of Republic Act 4695, and the municipality of Lagawe became its capital town.²⁶ In 1975, Ifugao had a total population of 104,707, and Lagawe (Burnay), a total population of 13,948.²⁷

Piwong used to be one of the 24 *barrios* of the municipality of Burnay,²⁸ until the name Burnay was changed to Lagawe in 1961 by Republic Act 3380.²⁹

Piwong ranked as Burnay's 12th most populated barrio in 1970,³⁰ with a total population of 478 (260 females and 218 males), indicating no change in the 1975 Integrated Census.³¹

In 1982, the municipality of Hingyon, the smallest of all Ifugao municipalities, was created. It was politically subdivided into 12 barangays: Anao, Bangtinon, Bitu, Kababuyan, Mompolya, Namulditan, Oong, Piwong, Poblacion (Hingyon), Ubwag, Umalbong and Northern Kababuyan (see Fig. 1).

Apart from Hingyon, the other Ifugao municipalities today are: Asipulo, Aguinaldo, Alfonso Lista, Banaue, Hungduan, Kiangan, Lagawe, Lamut, Mayaoyao and Tinoc.³²

Piwong was the most in touch with current events because, being on the national highway, it was more accessible by public transportation, as compared to its co-barrios in the same ethnolinguistic area (roughly that of Upper Burnay). It was

the center of trade, with 16 out of a total of 24 stores in the area. Market day was every Thursday in Piwong, when people from the different surrounding villages, as well as those from other areas of Ifugao Province, came around to exchange or sell their produce. Individual persons traveling on foot started appearing very early in the morning to set up their stalls along the road, and

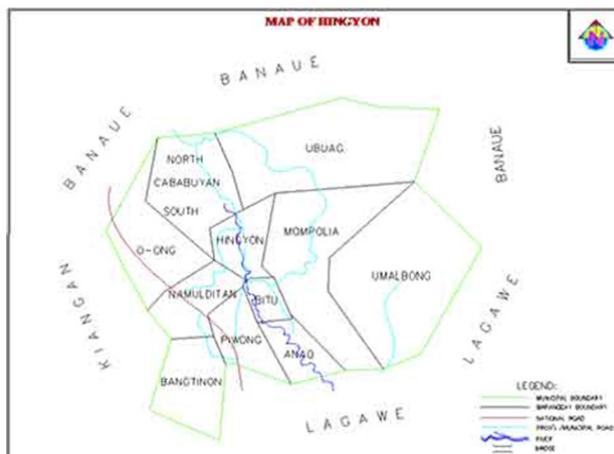


Figure 1. The barangays of the municipality of Hingyon, including Piwong from “Hingyon”, Map, *ifugaoprovince.com.ph*. Ifugao province, n.d. Web. July 2013.

those who came by bus, bustled in a little later in the morning, but not beyond 8 o'clock. Buying and selling was brisk and quick, such that by 11 o'clock, there was hardly anything to buy, except for the commodities carried regularly by the stores, and those brought by the "viajeros" or compradors from Nueva Ecija.

These lowlanders came the best equipped, with ready-made tents, replete with music from radio song hits blared through loudspeakers, drowning all other sounds. Most spoke Ilokano, some spoke Tagalog, and as a group, they took over the distribution of miscellaneous goods – clothes, shoes, batteries, tape cassettes, etc. They were here today and gone the next day. (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 107-08)

The local Piwong folk did not compete with them. Their meager produce of vegetables, some baskets, woven blankets and skirts, pigs and chickens, were their only sources of exchange for cash to buy the needed sugar, salt, oil, matches, dried fish, etc.

Except for the national road and two bridges, the area of Piwong had no other road infrastructure. Only trails connected Piwong to the interior, and more often than not, one had to travel by foot to other hamlets of Burnay across rice field dikes.

The interior of the area was a beautiful blend of woodlands and terraced fields, which, while not as spectacular as those found in Batad, Banawe, were lovely, and certainly more charming and intimate. Small hamlets of from 10-12 elevated houses were the standard home ground, normally located midway between the woodlands and the fields. The site of the native Ifugao home ground was an ideal place for the restful contemplation of the surrounding nature, as well as the strategic elevation for observing the comings and goings of passers-by (a spot repeatedly mentioned in the Piwong *alim*).

In such a small territory as Piwong, practically everyone was a kin of the other, and social ethics and behavior were reckoned on that basis. (108)

My hosts, Napoleon and Angelina, lived in the biggest house in Piwong—an imposing, high-ceilinged, two-story, Western-type house strategically located along the national highway going through Piwong from Banaue to the interior of Burnay. They were *kadangyan*. Angelina's parents owned one of the only four existing rice granaries in the area, which, by local standards, put her family in the upper echelon of *kadangyan* in Upper Burnay. Napoleon was a teacher and an official of the Bureau of Public Schools; he would have been a local government official based in Lagawe, and almost a congressman, had he amassed enough votes. His wife Angelina had two

years of Normal School and was also a teacher at the Belgian school in Kiangan.

Husband and wife were affinally related. Angelina's father, Ballogan, was a renowned mumbaki, and a *cabecilla* (village head) in Nunggawa, his native homeplace. Angelina and Napoleon had no children of their own, and had adopted a girl from Kalinga and a son from Bontoc, where Napoleon had worked, respectively, in the past (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 112).

THE RITUAL OF HONGAN DI TAGU

The ritual performance of the alim, which I witnessed in Piwong in 1975, was for the benefit of Angelina, whose illness had been diagnosed by Western-trained medics as *lumbar pneumonia*. Even after she had been treated in the hospital, she seemed to have little energy and no appetite for anything. This alarmed her eldest sister and other siblings, who were convinced that Lina's condition was due to their ancestors wanting to be remembered through rituals.

Angelina and her husband, both Western-trained teachers, had been resisting the performance of rituals. However, after firm and repeated sibling insistence, they finally agreed to the performance of Dinupdup,³³ a category of the hongan di tagu³⁴ ritual for well-being which the wealthy (kadangyan) resort to, in the face of grave or lingering and unexplained illness. This particular ritual spanned two days for its first part, and another day for the *Alim di Buhbuh*, which was performed three days later.

Dinupdup required (1) the chanting of the alim; (2) baki with the sacrifice of eight pigs and numerous chickens and bundles of unhusked rice grain still in stalks; and (3) abundant rice wine. While only a maximum of eight pigs were needed, a total of 16 were contributed—eight per kindred side. By custom, because Angelina was a female, the contributors on both her side and Napoleon's also had to be female—their nearest female siblings.³⁵

The eight pigs were destined for offering to the following spirits (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 121):

1. One pig to the hosts' ancestors;
2. The biggest pig to the *Matungulans* ("pay-backables" spirits to whom one is indebted);
3. The second biggest pig to *Kumitag ad Dalom* ("who sparked/shone briefly in Dalom");
4. The smallest pig to *Kidul* ("Lightning");

5. The first pig killed, to the *Bagols* (pig originator-spirits);
6. One pig to *Gahhidu*;
7. One pig to *Manahha-ut* (“one who confuses”); and
8. One pig to *Nihngodan* (“the one for whom honga is being performed”).

Eighteen (18) male performers who were both *mumbaki* (performers of rituals with prayers and offerings) and *mun-alim* (alim chanters) were chosen to perform *hongan di tagu* and to chant the *alim* (see Fig. 2). They had to be Angelina’s and Napoleon’s nearest of kin, to ensure that they knew their own ancestral lineage and the names of the ancestors who had taught the *alim* to their line. Care was taken, however, that the 18 performers were far removed enough so that they would not receive a double share of compensation, i.e., as close kin and as performer.³⁶

The ages of the 18 performers ranged from 28-70 years; 12 were between the ages of 58 and 70. They were kinsmen of the host couple. Although some had married out of Burnay, all were natives of the different areas of Upper Burnay, like Hingyon, Piwong, Mompolya, Bitu, Namulditan, Nunggawa and Lower Pitawan (in Banaue), where, according to Napoleon, the same type of *alim*, with only slight individual variations, was chanted, as no mountain nor water barriers existed between them. The performers’ home places were connected by waterways, rice fields and



Figure 2. Alim chanters and ritual performers in conference, before the start of the performance. Sprawled beside them are the eight bound pigs for offering to the eight *bagóls* (pig originator spirits).³⁷

cane lands. Thus, they formed one common ethnolinguistic subgroup with slight dialectical differences, and shared one ritual core.

From among these 18, thirteen were chosen from Angelina's kinship line, and five from Napoleon's. The leader was picked from her side (since she was the beneficiary), while his assistant was picked from her husband's.

The 13 who were Angelina's kin were the following (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 117-119):

- (1) Aging – 65 years old, from Nunggawa, and Angelina's paternal grandmother's sister's grandson;
- (2) Uminglih – 58 years old, from Bulu, Hingyon, and Bitu, and Lina's paternal grandfather's sister's son. He was chosen to be the lead alim chanter (Munhathat), not because of his expert knowledge, but because he was the closest in kinship to the beneficiary, and his line had never as yet been consecrated to the pig originator spirits (bagol), which are invoked and offered to in hongan di tagu;
- (3) Bayadan – 65 years old, from Lower Pitawan; Uminglih's sister's husband;
- (4) Bugatti – 60 years old, from Lower Pitawan;
- (5) Miguel – 28 years old, from Piwong and Hukab, Kiangan; Angelina's "second cousin";
- (6) Dogalon – 70 years old, from Namulditan; Angelina's paternal great grandmother's sister's great grandson. He was assigned to invoke "Kidul";
- (7) Bantiyan – 60 years old, from Bitu; Angelina's paternal grandmother's brother's grandson, belonging to the same consanguineal generation as Angelina; they were, therefore, hin-aggih ("siblings"). He reached Grade 4 in school; married eight times; and learned the alim later in life from other relatives;
- (8) Kipa-an – 58 years old, from Kaddapan, Nunggawa; Angelina's paternal great-great-grandmother's brother's great-great-grandson;
- (9) Uyyammih – 60 years old, from Piwong and Kab-uy; Angelina's "third cousin";
- (10) Binwag – 55 years old, from Pitawan; affinally related to Angelina; Hiyadan – 60 years old, from Piwong but born in Ibolbong, Guway,
- (11) Namulditan; Angelina's paternal grandfather's mother's brother's great-great-grandson, and neighbor. He learned the alim before he got married, and his knowledge of it was very good. His father had been a mumbaki and he himself became one at the age of 19. He had been practicing as a mumbaki for the past 41 years. His teachers were Ballogan (Lina's father),

Dogalon, Luglug Gimpayan of Piwong, Muqyang Yamuyang of Piwong, and Naboyye Agay of Piwong, from whom he took lessons at night. The next day he would provide each of his mentors with a chicken, which they butchered for offering to the spirits, and whose bile they consulted to determine whether Hiyadan could proceed with his studies. Hiyadan's grandfather (five generations removed), Inggulun, who was reputed to be very learned, and was the first in his family line to learn the alim, taught it to his two sons, Immayaho and Manguhan. He advised them to practice chanting it by the river where they could give vent to their voices.³⁸ In turn, Immayaho taught it to his son, Payyaga, and to his classificatory son ("nephew"), Yammuyam. Payyaga only had daughters to whom he did not teach it, but Yammuyam (who became a renowned mumbaki) taught it to his classificatory mother ("aunt"), Immayaho, his father's sister. The latter taught it to her daughter, Malayyu. Malayyu, in turn, taught it to her son, Hiyadan (#1), who was also very learned. Hiyadan (#1) taught it to his son, Buyukkan. Buyukkan taught it to his own son, Hiyadan (#2). Hiyadan (#2) taught it to his grandson, my adviser, Hiyadan (#3);

- (12) Aklibon Dummapi – 57 years old, from Timmakgigi, Piwong; Angelina's distant relative and neighbor through his mother Indungdung, who was from Nayun, Piwong. He was also distantly related to his own wife on his father's side, four degrees removed. He had 10 children and three grandchildren. He reached Grade 2 in elementary school. He was picked to invoke the Bagol and *Nihngodan*. His knowledge of the alim was inadequate. His father Dummapo of Timma was not a mumbaki, but he had studied under other mumbaki, and had been practicing for the past six years; and
- (13) Pedro Dulnuan – 50 years old, from Namulditan; Angelina's "second cousin-in-law."

The following five performers were Napoleon's kin (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 119-20):

- (1) Nadugo – 60 years old, from Hingyon and Mompolya; Napoleon's maternal grandmother's grandson by a first marriage;
- (2) Umanhan – 70 years old, from Buwaya, Mompolya; Napoleon's paternal brother's grandson;
- (3) Tundagi Buyukkan – around 60 years old, born in Bannutan, Duging, Hingyon, but residing with his wife Ginnamay Bugatti (who was born in Bitu, Lagawe) in Balunglung, Kiangan; Napoleon's paternal grandfather's brother's grandson. His knowledge of the alim was excellent. He learned it at the

age of 18, and had since performed it 47 times. He started learning to be a mumbaki at 12; became one at 13, and had been practicing since. He decided to become a mumbaki because at age 9, he fell off a cliff in his eager search for a kin who would know how to enumerate the ancestors. His father had died when he was only 7 months old, and he found no one who could teach him about his forebears. After that fall, he resolved to learn his ancestor's genealogy. His first teacher was his clan's chief mumbaki Dulnuan Mongalini (his mother's "first cousin") who taught him *Linnawan di ammod* ("chronology of the ancestors") and the alim story. His other teachers were Bimaya, Buyukkan nak Bulintaw (his "cousin"), Buyukkan Kalingayan (his "second cousin"), Lummidih Bogbog (his mother's sister's son) who taught him how to chant the alim and recite other kinds of baki, and Umanhan Tabdol (a descendant of Buyukkan Kalingayan). Being from a family of five, and orphaned at 7 months, he was the *udidiyan* ("last born") and therefore, did not inherit anything. He had to fend for himself. He left Hingyon for Kiangan (which he said he regretted) in search of livelihood. He was very ambitious for his children;

- (4) Pugung Putut - 49 years old, from Mompolya; Napoleon's maternal sister's grandson. He was the assistant to Uminglih, who was the lead mun-alim; and
- (5) Pablo - 50 years old, from Libu-u, Hingyon; Napoleon's paternal brother's grandson.

The 18 performers were assigned different tasks (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 120):

- Eight to invoke the pig originator spirits (*Bagol*);
- Seven to recite myths (*Bukad*);
- One to invoke the host couple's ancestors' souls (*Linnawa*);
- Two to lead in baki (prayer with animal offering) representing Angelina's and Napoleon's kinship line, and also to invoke the *Munkontad* (messenger/go-between spirits) and the *Matungulan* (spirits to whom one is indebted and who must be repaid);
- Uminglih (belonging to Angelina's line) was assigned to be the lead alim chanter (*Munhathat*); and
- Pugung Putut (belonging to Napoleon's line) was assigned as Uminglih's assistant.

They were compensated not only according to their respective roles, but also in consideration of their closeness in kinship relationship to the hosts. Others who helped but were not performers also received something.

The body of each pig had a corresponding value and receiver. These were: (1) the baki performers mediating between the hosts and specific spirits; (2) the lead alim chanter and his assistant; (3) the closest of kin; (4) the special workers [pig feeder (*ginolma*); pig castrator/divider (*namlinan*); the pig carrier (*nangodan*)]; (5) the hosts' households; (6) neighbours; and (7) visitors.

Uminglih, the lead alim chanter, got the lion's share,³⁹ receiving the best portions of the biggest sacrificed pig, 10 or more bundles of rice (which he shared equally among the other chanters), and an extra pay/gift (*tinogo*, meaning "responsible for life"), in the form of chickens and cash.

Rice wine was freely available, as well as *moma* (betel chewing ingredients),⁴⁰ which were consumed during intermissions.⁴¹

THE PERFORMANCE OF THE PIWONG ALIM

The performers were supposed to fast after 6:00 p.m., 30 minutes before the start of the performance, until after the pigs had been butchered, or at about 5 p.m. of the following day.

In like manner, according to Indunan, "The chief officiating 'priest' . . . must not indulge in sexual relationships immediately after the performance. He should further abstain from taking in 'slippery foods' while in the period of fasting, otherwise he would be violating the mores of his calling, and once his behavior is known, that would mar his respectability. The reason for this is the belief that the unseen benefits that may result from a given feast might 'slip away' or that the riches would be slippery to attain"(56).

They started the performance at 6:30 p.m. with baki, which took about 24 minutes. It took place outside in the yard to the left of the house door, facing it. One mumbaki (male priest) invoked the clan ancestors in the part called Linnawa ("departed souls") which took eight minutes. A chicken was offered, killed and its bile was consulted. Then, the main performers of the alim (one to represent the hostess and another to represent the host) were designated.

Before starting to chant the alim story, the mun-alim first recalled the number of episodes/discourses/"songs" that they were supposed to chant, by enumerating the characters and naming the alim episodes by their titles, for example, "Ngayo nah" ("His Vengefulness"), or "Butbut Ama" ("Father's Nagging"), or "Balonah" ("Her Singlehood"), etc.

The chanting of the *alim* proper began at about 7:20 p.m., with the first parts of *adolnah*. The performers were still outside the house, to the left side of the door. They squatted facing the house, around a square basket for cooked rice (*liga-u*) containing a bundle of unhusked rice grain; a porcelain wine jar; wooden bowls filled with rice wine; and small coconut wine cups floating on them. The lead *alim* chanter (*munhathat*) started chanting the first lines of the male discourses, while his assistant started chanting the first lines of the female discourses. The rest, in chorus (*mun-abuy*), followed suit.

At 9:09 p.m., the performers talked about the house then entered it. Once inside and squatted on the floor, they continued chanting the *alim* until its end. No one was allowed inside the house as soon as the *alim* chanting began.

THE STRUCTURE AND CONTENT OF THE PIWONG ALIM

The *alim* is divided into three parts, which are named after the parts of a rice plant:⁴² *adolnah* (its trunk/body); *hapang* (branch/es); and *alang* (granary/place of grain). This imagery of the *alim* can be interpreted as its ideology of growth toward well-being.

Altogether, these three parts are composed of 42 episodes/discourses/"songs" of 1,884 transcribed lines:⁴³

I. Adolnah (30 parts), begins with the image of an ideal situation, focused on celebrations, ritual performances, and communication and exchange with Sky-beings who promise well-being.

The ensuing part gives us a contrasting picture of a flawed couplehood, Ummangal and Bugan, who live in Kalidiyan (a "place full of hindrances").⁴⁴ The couple has never performed *uya-uy* nor *alim*. Their place is depicted as a dead-end, one where *uya-uy* and *alim* have disappeared, like water that has sunk into the ground—barren, as is the couple Ummangal and Bugan, who are childless.

Their situation leads to a clamor by their *biyaw* (partners⁴⁵) and their parents for their divorce. Despite their protestations, Ummangal and Bugan agree, and undergo a meticulous division of property—pigs, chickens, wine jars, heirlooms, gold and rice grain. As a parting gesture, Ummangal and Bugan offer each other a gift: a wine jar from Ummangal and a gold pendant from Bugan, respectively; and in addition, from Ummangal, gifts of coiled brasslets, strands of white beads, a woman's headdress with a brass statue and dangling tassels, and unhusked hairy rice grain. The language in which these gifts are offered is tinged with some hint of insult and boasting:

Ummangal (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 13):

<i>Paqnay di haday yu</i>	Let a wine jar be your gift
<i>Paqnay di bunnibun yu</i>	A wine jar be your compensation,
<i>Ta paqpaqnayan kayu</i>	So you may own a wine jar,
<i>Bagubaguybuyan kayu</i>	Own a porcelain jar ⁴⁶

Bugan (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 13):

<i>Awat di hubeng ta</i>	Receive our golden pendant
<i>Hubeng tan balitok ta</i>	Our pendant with a gold piece,
<i>Te hubeng di hadday yu</i>	Let a gold pendant be your gift
<i>Hubeng di bunnibun yu</i>	A gold piece be your compensation,
<i>Te kahubngan Bugan</i>	For Bugan has much gold,
<i>Kalkaldihan Bugan.</i>	Bugan has many gold pendants. ⁴⁷

Ummangal (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 13-14)

<i>Awat di bikul ta</i>	Receive our coiled brasslets
<i>Bikul ta n giniling ta</i>	Our brass armlets and leglets;
<i>Ilban ta bukah ta</i>	Next our strands of white beads
<i>Bukah ta n kumyaqa ta</i>	Our necklace of fine glass beads.
<i>Awat di dukaw ta</i>	Take our ritual turban,
<i>Dukaw ta n gabulung ta</i>	Our headdress with a bird's beak,
<i>Ilban ta n kaw-it ta</i>	Next our dangling tassles
<i>Kaw-it ta n kahhibul ta</i>	With feathers, beads and brass bits.
<i>Awat di dungdung ta</i>	Take the woman's headdress
<i>Dungdung ta n hukibat ta</i>	Brass statuette with tassles.
<i>Ilban ta n binggah ta</i>	Next in line our husked rice
<i>Binggah ta n binayu ta</i>	Our threshed and pounded rice grain.
<i>Ta Nayon di lawwan mu</i>	For Nayon is your birthplace,
<i>Nayon di delwehan mu</i>	Nayon is your native home,
<i>Te iNayon di ama m</i>	For your father is a Nayonite
<i>IyAblegan hi ama m.</i>	He is an Ableganite.
<i>Ta ahi ka hdi manguy-uy</i>	And then you can perform a feast
<i>Ahi ka hdi mangadangyan</i>	Then perform a celebration,
<i>Ta mandingngel ad elyan</i>	To be heard by everyone,
<i>Manhumaldet ad elyan</i>	To be known by everyone,
<i>Te malikban ad Nayon</i>	For Nayon is so unknown
<i>Madikligan ad Nayon.</i>	Nayon is really obscure.

These dialogues mark the beginning of Ummangal's and Bugan's verbal quarrel. This animosity will intensify in terms of boastfulness, criticism, insult, and (in the case of Ummangal) threat of physical revenge.

Bugan describes their last night together as a time of lamenting, crying, and talking (double entendre with intercouring). They flood the fireplace and the floor with their tears/saliva/spit/body fluid, but all to naught.

The next morning, Bugan is very angry, as she packs up her share into her baskets. She departs and begins her long journey back to her father's place in Nayon (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 13-14):

***Bugan an hi in-Ummangal did
Kiyangan***

*Abbuhtuy immahuytan
Inheltay buwa
Inheltay ga-aga-ang.
Ilablaitay tutut
Ta ibigbigat ta
Motgantay dap-ulta—
Dap-ultan dulikanta.*

*Wadan nungaway algo
Ibuhuhta haggawta
Haggawtan pamyadingan
Motganta haggawtan
Pamyadingan
Hingkatay buwa
Hingkatan ga-aga-ang.
Behebeh-el Bugan
Bunggebungnet Bugan*

*Alan ko y balyag ko
Alan ko y tuklubaw ko
Ot ihedhed ko d dalen
Ihedhed ko d kimbunnan
Alan ko y binwa mi
Kihbungen ko d balyag
Ot hadhadongalen ko*

**Bugan Ummangal's partner at
Kiyangan**

Let us stop it, that's enough
We have discussed division
We have discussed partition.
Let's pass the night talking
Let's do it overnight
Let's wet the ashes with spit—
The ashes of our fireplace.

It is midmorning of day
Let's move to the threshold
The threshold, the entrance beam
Let's flood the floor
The threshold floor
Grab each other's share
Hold each other's possession.
Bugan is very mad,
Bugan is quite angry.

I get my rice basket
I get my tuber basket
And I drop it on the floor
Bang it on the sitting space
I get our⁴⁸ allotment,
Put it in the basket
Pushing it in to fit,

<i>Penpenon ko d balyag</i>	Packing my basket fully,
<i>Ot gakkugakkutan ko</i>	And I'm tying it all around
<i>Ot iyaliwattawat ko</i>	Then I swing it round to my back
<i>Ot itukyud ko y balyag</i>	Then strap it over my forehead
<i>Balyag ko n tuklubaw ko.</i>	My basket, my container.
<i>Ihuned ko d hagpaw</i>	I move to the entrance
<i>Hagpaw an pamyadingan</i>	The doorway, the entrance beam
<i>Lah-unen ko y taytay mi</i>	I go down by our ladder
<i>Taytay mi n bannutan mi</i>	Our ladder, our hard wood steps
<i>Ot pamahig ko y pitaw</i>	Then I descend to the fields
<i>Pamalidagdagen ko</i>	I keep going straight ahead . . .

However, as she is about to exit the vicinity of Kiyangan, she hears what sounds like the crying of a cicada or a field wasp, and realizes that it is actually Ummangal running after her, sobbing (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 14-15):

<i>Pamalidagdagenko</i>	I keep going straight ahead
<i>Piqtawenkod Intanap</i>	Stepping down to Intanap's field
<i>Ibankod Immayuding.</i>	Then to Immayuding's dike.
<i>Ya inumliy duldulih</i>	And just then the field wasp chirped
<i>Inumliy ananayu.</i>	The cicada made noise.
<i>Holdan koy indeganko,</i>	I straighten up to listen,
<i>Haggak munwingngihwingngih</i>	I am looking round and around
<i>Haggak muntugtugigih.</i>	I am turning here and there.
<i>Bokon tu duldulih</i>	It's not a cicada
<i>Bokon tu ananayu</i>	Neither is it a field wasp
<i>Te nangih tun Ummangal</i>	For Ummangal is crying
<i>Ibb-ibbel Ummangal</i>	Ummangal is sobbing
<i>An pammek binwami</i>	He regrets what we split
<i>Pammekna ginaqangmi</i>	Regrets our separation.

Ummangal bares himself naked on the stony reef at the edge of the village in the fields, and Bugan agrees to a last sexual encounter with him (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 15). The tragic discourse above becomes progressively comic and ludicrous, as they hurl insults at each other.

<i>Ot ini-algena ad atul</i>	So he bared himself on the rock
<i>Inibuqyadengnad atul.</i>	Thrusting his body forward.
<i>Lengdahen koy bahiqlu</i>	I bare my lower body,
<i>Bahiqlun layyulayyuh</i>	My overflowing body,
<i>Ot ibangngadkun Ummangal</i>	Then return it to Ummangal

<i>Ot idawatkon Ummangal.</i>	Give it back to Ummangal.
<i>Ta itakdog mid atul</i>	We are standing on the stone wall
<i>Ibuqyadeng mid atul</i>	Thrusting at each other,
<i>Ot manggiwwel ad atul!</i>	And even the stone wall starts shaking!

Finally, Bugan tells Ummangal to stop (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 15):

<i>Ta kapladam Ummangal,</i>	Now pull away Ummangal,
<i>Kayagyagam Ummangal.</i>	Leave off Ummangal.

She then continues her journey to Nayon, where her father lives (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 15).

Alone, Ummangal is bursting with uncontrollable rage, and decides to go for revenge in Bugan's territory (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 22-23).

<i>Ummangal ad Kiyangan</i>	Ummangal at Kiyangan
<i>Wada n nunggaway algo</i>	The sun is halfway across
<i>Wadan nuntalyadan.</i>	It is midway to noon
<i>Ibuluh ko ngayaw ko</i>	I release my hunting rage
<i>Ngayaw kon bawwibawwiq</i>	My vengeful rage
<i>Ta law ko ilonglonglong</i>	And I wait in ambush all night
<i>Duntug nad Namulditan</i>	On Namulditan mountain
<i>Duntug nad Da-ulayan.</i>	On Da-ulayan mountain.

Once in Nayon, where Bugan lives, he criticizes everything by saying that it was such a wild place full of grass that he claimed he had to clear it of brush, until it brightened up and looked much better. He also criticized Bugan's father's house; looked down on Bugan's companions, whom he belittled as poor, thin and raggedy. As he danced, he says, her companions scattered in shame into the far corners of houses (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 19):

<i>Nipatyay da y iddum</i>	Some hiding in shelves
<i>Ni-awwidan da y iddum</i>	Others in far off corners
<i>An immangley nangi da</i>	Their cries kept growing louder
<i>Imag-agimmuyamuy da</i>	They do not stop wailing
<i>Ot kangingiyag daqyu</i>	So I am laughing at you
<i>Kagalakgakaq daqyu!</i>	I am making fun of you!

Bugan countered that, on the contrary, her wealth and that of her companions so dazzled and shamed him, that he slashed his own head creating a gory mess (del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 24):

<i>Ot hiknuten moy duluhmo</i>	You pull out your sharpened knife
<i>Hiknutenmoy indepanmo</i>	You draw your tempered blade
<i>Ot botbotom moy ulum</i>	And strike none but your own head
<i>Gittagittaa-on mo!</i>	Repeatedly slashing it!
<i>Umtibuka numan</i>	Thereupon you see
<i>Mannuhmanyabwekan ad Nayon</i>	Nayon’s all covered with hair
<i>Nabagbaginaynayan!</i>	Becoming a hairy gory mess!
<i>Ot pongpongta moy ulom</i>	So you bandage up your head
<i>Ot ad-adungngulam</i>	To keep it from falling
<i>Ot hilkudanmoy dalan</i>	And you hobble back home on a stick
<i>Di nantikwan di dalan</i>	On the narrow winding road
<i>Ot panlehananmoy dalan.</i>	Blaming it for your misery.
<i>Ot tutuyyumoy dakol!</i>	And is your regret endless!
<i>Maddumaddummoy dakól!</i>	Your remorse boundless!

Adolnah includes the six prayerettes and two baltong, both of which deal with personified ritual object characters and Sky-being characters.

Prayerettes

There are six prayerettes (short prayers to *Hinnikgay*, the son of *Lidum*, the Teacher of Rituals) in the *alim*. The first four prayerettes (which are part of Adolnah) dramatize the ritual installation of the house entry taboo, which involves the insertion of sugar cane stalks under the elevated house floor, as well as the scattering of rice straw on the ground in front of it.

Baltong

The baltong is a special pair of discourses. It is a signifier of the magical possibility of interaction between the two distinct realms, the Earthworld and the Skyworld. In this sense, the baltong functions to dramatize a myth.

The baltong is a pair of tales told by a narrator who is different from the unidentified narrator of the rest of the *alim*, in that its narrator has a persona. This is conveyed in the narration, as he calls the attention of his kin, siblings and elders, who are supposedly seated on a ritual mat under the house, surrounding him, to listen to his baltong (“spirit tale”).

The first baltong dramatizes in discourse the descent of Maguling (meaning “many-jarred”) of the Skyworld to earth. She/he (gender unclear) meets the host, Napoleon, and drinks with him. The next day, she/he is given a wine jar (*paq-nay/baguybuy*), which Maguling explains, is in exchange for his/her promise of a cure of illness and the increase in the growth of pigs, chickens, and rice (del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 5-8):

<i>Hin nuq-uq-unuq hi ayyan</i>	In one voice express rejoicing!
<i>Kadumidinnong kayu</i>	All you listen intently
<i>Kayu n i-ibba</i>	You my close kin,
<i>Tinutullang a-ammed ko</i>	My siblings, my ancestors,
<i>An nangnangbun ad atag</i>	Squatting on the mat
<i>Himma-illud ad atag</i>	In prayer pose on the runo mat,
<i>Ta ihudhudak dakiyu</i>	For I will narrate to you
<i>Ta ibunbunnayak dakiyu</i>	I will chant you a spirit tale.
<i>Ta dan muy ibaltung ko</i>	And whom I will chant about?
<i>Hi Maguling ad Ahha</i>	Maguling of Ahha
<i>Maguling ad Kabunniyan</i>	Maguling of the Skyworld.
<i>An ong-ongngay Maguling</i>	Maguling is very young
<i>Kakatagoy Maguling</i>	Maguling has just-grown-up.
<i>Wada n nunggawa y algo</i>	The sun is halfway across
<i>Wada n nuntalyadan.</i>	It is midway to noon.
<i>Inhel koy mangnguhadak</i>	I thought of venturing down
<i>Ad Pugaw Kagaluta-an</i>	To Pugaw in the Earthworld

(Refrain) *Aiyye hinwa hinu-u-nu hi ayyan*

<i>Ot ta pah-aden koy pah-aden</i>	And so I go down the descending slope
<i>Hi Kalumhadan</i>	The steepest descent.
<i>Hi nundatengngak ad Pugaw</i>	And so I arrived at Pugaw
<i>Kagaluta-an</i>	The place of the earth.
<i>Ot aydi nandawhan ko</i>	And nowhere did I go but
<i>Nandutukkan kun atulyu</i>	To your stone reef
<i>Atul yun piddipid</i>	Your flat rock resting place

(Refrain) *Aiyye hinwa hinu-uq-unu hi ayyan*

<i>Ya nanamdammudammuwan ko</i>	When I suddenly meet
<i>Hi pang-uy-uyon biyaw ko</i>	My celebrant partner
<i>Biyaw kon hi Leon</i>	My partner Leon ...

The second baltong tells the tale of Dinundun, who, after being introduced by the same narrator, takes over the narration in the first person (del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 19-20):

<i>Inhel ko ek iq-anu-anuh</i>	I thought of going hunting
<i>Hid duntug nad Yabyaben</i>	In yonder mount Yabyaben
<i>Duntug nad Kulyabunggan</i>	The mount at Kulyabunggan.

(Refrain) *Aiyye hinwa hinu-u-nu hi aiyyan*

<i>Ya bibinwak nay humlang</i>	And it is chasing a boar
<i>Humlang an panalinghingngon.</i>	A wild boar, an aged wild boar.
<i>Tekkutekkukan ko</i>	I keep cheering it on
<i>Ol-olwagan ko</i>	Encouraging it.
<i>Ya impagwat na</i>	Then he crossed,
<i>Maldang napipilangngat</i>	And suddenly it was falling;
<i>Ot innu-innudan ko</i>	And as I kept on following it
<i>Ya aydi inannuppang ko</i>	And was about to hunt it down,
<i>Nanammudammuwan ko</i>	I suddenly encountered
<i>Hi Magguling ad Ahha</i>	Magguling of Ahha
<i>An nanliqbit hi guling</i>	Who was carrying the jar.
<i>Ot law kami manhapit</i>	And we start talking
<i>Law kami mantebetbal</i>	We arrive at an agreement
<i>Mun-inMagguling aq . . .</i>	I become Magguling’s wife . . . ⁴⁹

Thereafter, together, Dinundun and Maguling descend to earth. Napoleon appears, Maguling disappears. Dinundun joins Napoleon in doing “*gopa*” in the yard (as partners in ritual performance would),⁵⁰ after which both enter the house and drink together all night. The next day, Napoleon gives Dinundun a jar, which, Dinundun also declares, will be the source of the cure of illness.

II. Hapang (“branch”/“ramification”) has eight parts divided into two sections. The first part is about Bugan’s and Ummangal’s new singlehood and remarriage to new partners. The second is about another couple Kabbigat and Bugan—his abandonment of her for another woman, and her desperation, which leads her to agree to live with another man called Pagappag in his home place.

- *Hapang 1- 4: Ummangal and Bugar: new singlehood, courtship, and remarriage*

Bugar, Ummangal's ex-wife, is now single. Tindungan has heard about her and goes to court her one moonlit night. The language used here is light, lyrical and romantic (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 24):

<i>Nandidingelan ko mallaw</i>	I kept on hearing about
<i>Di nangiblengandan Bugar</i>	Bugar's home place
<i>Nangidepyahandan Bugar</i>	Bugar's native home
<i>Ot Nayon di niblenganna</i>	So Nayon is her home
<i>Nayon di nidepyahan na.</i>	And Nayon is her native place.
<i>Gaknukan mahdom!</i>	Come quickly oh night!
<i>Gaknukan maduqlep!</i>	Hurry up and get dark!
<i>Umhalkan bulan!</i>	Come on out oh Moon!
<i>Kitagom an battakagan!</i>	Shine, oh brightest star!
<i>Ta pundalnan Tindungan</i>	To light Tindungan's way
<i>PunduntuganTindungan</i>	For Tindungan to climb the mountain
<i>An dumawin ad Nayon</i>	To go courting in Nayon
<i>Bumallahiw ad Nayon.</i>	To cross over to Nayon.

At his end, Ummangal courts Magappid. Both he and Bugar announce their celebrations and attend each other's feasts. However, they take this opportunity to unleash a tirade of insulting criticisms against each other's new partner. Ummangal ridicules Tindungan's shapeless and swollen legs, his black skin and his nose, which he declares is as big as a mountain.

Bugar confrontingly asks Ummangal how he could have settled for Magappid, whose hair is dishevelled and irregularly cut; who has swollen legs, black skin, a nose as big as a mountain, and an obese body, which overflows from the mortar she is sitting on; one who, was their slave, and waited on the sides for their leftovers (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 28):

<i>Hituwe Ummangal</i>	Is this Ummangal
<i>Nan gintad</i>	Whom you brought along
<i>On gintad mu</i>	To the drinkfest
<i>Uya-uymid Agan-ang?</i>	To our feast at Agan-ang?
<i>Hituwe naqtannam?</i>	Is she the one you transferred to?
<i>Hituwe nunbitannam?</i>	The one you married?
<i>Hituwe di naba-al?</i>	The one who was our servant?
<i>Hituwe di na-aliiwwet?</i>	Who was our slave?

<i>Hi nagidligan tah ginleng?</i>	Who waited on the sides for left-overs?
<i>Nangagidepyahan tah ginleng?</i>	To whom we gave discarded food?
<i>Hituwe din naba-al?</i>	Is she the servant?
<i>Hituwe din na-aliwwet?</i>	Is she the slave
<i>Hidin ka-ung-unga ta?</i>	From our childhood?
<i>Hidin ka-ul-ulgitay ta</i>	When we were small children
<i>Babbaloy tad Kiyyangan?</i>	At our place in Kiyyangan?

- *Hapang 5-8: Kabbigat and Bugan: extra-marital urges and eventual reconciliation*

Kabbigat abandons his wife Bugan while she is working hard under the sun and rain in her mountain swidden, harvesting yam to use to feed their pigs. He takes their pigs away, and goes looking for another woman, against his father's advice, to trade the pigs instead for gold.

When Bugan gets back home all hot, itchy and tired,⁵¹ she discovers he is gone. She runs after him, with his belt and brasslets, looking for him from place to place, until she discovers that he is using their pigs in a celebration with another woman called Malayyu.

Shamed and bewildered, she wanders to the riverbed, and sees Pagappag all naked, chopping wood in the forest—his penis dangling, as is his gold neck pendant.

It starts to rain, and he takes shelter with her under the same banana leaf, and proposes to her. She agrees and goes home with him to his place.

There they give a celebration, which Kabbigat hears about and attends. Seeing Pagappag dancing wearing his belt and brasslets enrages him and makes him confront Bugan. He demands that she go back home with him, since they have not as yet divided their property.

She agrees, but tells him to wait until the feast has ended (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 35)

<i>Himmapitqah Kabbigat:</i>	You said Kabbigat:
<i>Alika ke htu Bugan</i>	Do come over here Bugan
<i>Ayuhedhedka htu Bugan</i>	Come hither Bugan
<i>Te aggéta nundama</i>	For we never had a fight
<i>Aggeta nunhukkalit</i>	We never had a dispute.

Agge nabway babuyta
Agge nabuway bulliyahta.
Ta onta ot bangngadon
Onta taluqyayon
Babbaloytad Nalapwan
Nalapwan ad Kiyangan,
Nalapwan di uy-uy
Nalapwan di kadangyan
Ta ahita hdi bangngadon
Ahita hdi talupyayon
Ad babbaloy tad Kiyangan.
Ta ahita hdi mangguy-uy
Ahita hdi mangadangyan.

Never were our pigs split up
Never our hogs divided.
So let us now return
Let us now go back
To our homeplace at Nalapwan
Nalapwan at Kiyangan,
Where prestige feasts started
Where celebrations started.
So let us return
Let us now go back home
To our homeplace at Kiyangan.
And there will we l give a feast
There will we celebrate.

Tinumbal hi Bugan
Indani mahwit himbatangan
Ta lengdahenmi kelyat.
Ta ahita bangadon
Ahita talupyayo.n

Bugan answered:
Wait a bit until it is sunset,
Till we have shed our headgear.
And then will we return
Will we go back home.

Pagappag, on his part, knows he is out of place, and tells Kabbigat that he does not mind if Bugan leaves him, for he had not courted her and had anyway already lain with her. Insulted, Kabbigat retorts that he was actually the first to do so, way back in their childhood (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 35):

Taqon boy taluqyayon
Hi babbaloy yud Kiyangan
Ot dinlehaq hi kittang
Dinamligaq hi kittang.

Tinumbal ka Kabbigat
Dinlehaq tuwali
An dinamligan tuwali

Hidin uyyanan pangnguluna
Hidin ka-ung-unga mi
Ka-ul-ulgitay mi
An inammu-ammudan ko

So what if you return
To your home in Kiyangan,
I've anyway already wet her
I've anyway already lain with
her.
You answered Kabbigat.
It's me who already wet her
It is me who's already lain with
her,
Back then in her very early years
Back then during our childhood,
When we were still small,
When I kept fondling her.

Here ends hapang (“branch”), which symbolizes the new branches of mended couplehood: Bugan marries Tindungan; Umangal marries Magappid; and Kabbigat reconciles with Bugan. Thus, couplehood remains whole.

III. **Alang** (“granary”) has four stanzas. They illustrate the fruitfulness of a staunch couplehood which results in prosperity. The imagery here is of granaries bursting with grain which are meant for a certain suggested mode of production (del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 37):

<i>Kabbigat did Kiyanganan</i>	Kabbigat at Kiyanganan
<i>An ung-ungngah Kabbigat</i>	So young is Kabbigat
<i>Pakattaguh Kabbigat</i>	Just grown up is Kabbigat.
<i>Alang kod Demangngittan</i>	My Demangngittan grain house
<i>Alang kod Nunha-ulyan</i>	Nunha-ulyan granary,
<i>Nunha-ulyan di dalan</i>	Where paths have intersected
<i>Nunhalubaa-an di dalan</i>	Where many of the trails crisscross,
<i>An nanenhenan koh page</i>	Which I filled with bundles of grain
<i>Nama-aba-akan koh page</i>	Stacked with bundles of aged rice grain,
<i>An agge man nawokhan</i>	Which have not yet been unbundled
<i>Ugge man natebdadan</i>	Which have never yet been touched.
<i>Te uy-uy ka-ukhana</i>	For the feast will undo them
<i>Uy-uy katebdadana</i>	The celebration use them.
<i>Bugan an hi inKabbigat ad Kiyanganan</i>	Bugan Kabbigat's wife in Kiyanganan
<i>An ung-ungngah Bugan</i>	Bugan is young
<i>Pakattaguh Bugan</i>	Bugan has just grown up.
<i>Alang kud Binaq-ang</i>	My Binaq-ang grain house
<i>Alang kud Pinintawwag</i>	Pinintawwag granary,
<i>An nanenhenan koh page</i>	Which I filled with bundles of grain
<i>Nama-aba-akan koh page</i>	Stacked with bundles of aged rice
<i>An agge man nawokhan</i>	It has never yet been opened
<i>Ugge man natebdadan</i>	Never yet been touched.
<i>Te uy-uy ka-ukhana</i>	For the feast will open them
<i>Uy-uy katebdadana</i>	The celebration use them.

This abundance of grain will generate more wealth, as it can be exchanged for service labor, products (woven wear), and animals (pigs and chickens), which are all essential for ritual celebrations that will ascertain more well-being (del Rosario, Ifugao *Alim*” 39):

<i>Ullagen ad Pakkawol</i>	Ullagen at Pakkawol
<i>An ung-ungnga di Ullagen</i>	So young is Ullagen
<i>Pakatagu di Ullagen</i>	Just grown up is Ullagen.
<i>Hikyu kadi an inimbun ku</i>	If you please, my sitting mates
<i>Hikyu an inyuhdung ku</i>	If you please, my companions,
<i>Mampantindem kayun am-in</i>	All you dress up in your woven best
<i>Mampantinunway kayun am-in</i>	All you, wear your woven G-strings,
<i>Alika daqpong kayu</i>	Come over and get near,
<i>Alika dumteng kayu</i>	Come, and gather around.
<i>Lawyuh lehlellelhaqen</i>	Start pounding
<i>Pagey min ayuhip mi</i>	Our grain, our hairy rice.
<i>Humkal ka am page mi</i>	Swell oh rice of ours
<i>Humkal ka am ayuhip mi</i>	Increase oh our hairy grain
<i>Ta toqgam di babuy mi</i>	So you can feed our pigs
<i>Toqgam di bulliyah mi</i>	Fatten our hogs,
<i>Ta maqpeng day nangkubkub</i>	So those gathered can receive
<i>Maqpeng da y balingka-ug</i>	Those sitting can get a share.
<i>Ta mahalwan day iddum</i>	So the rest can be given away
<i>Mayagyagan day iddum</i>	The rest can be winnowed
<i>Ta pumpage mi damma</i>	And used as rice
<i>Pun-ayuhip mi damma</i>	As hairy-grained rice
<i>Ta ibbaq-un mi babuy yu</i>	To exchange with your pigs
<i>IDugung an iLenghaden</i>	Folks from Dugung and Lenghaden,
<i>Ta pamelyan mi lakih</i>	For we'll choose the castrated one
<i>Ta ikakyat mid boble</i>	And bring it up to our home place
<i>Ikalaqdang mid boble</i>	Drag it up to our home place,
<i>Ta ipaknan amak</i>	So my father can feed it
<i>Idedegyahan amak</i>	My father can fatten it,
<i>Ta gagnuy kahiknana</i>	So its growth will be fast
<i>Gagnuy katebdadana</i>	Its growth will be speedy,
<i>Ta pangdon min hongga mi</i>	So we can use it for <i>hongga</i>
<i>Pangdon min agamid mi</i>	Use it for our concluding rites.
<i>Inhalihalit.</i>	It is thus chanted.

The alim ends with the last two prayerettes—*Bebedan* and *Bugan an hi inBebedan*, which beseech Hinnikgay to witness that the ritual performance was correctly done, since the performers are *kadangyan* (“rich”) and experienced, and having repeatedly performed the rituals, are experts at it.

THE VOICES IN THE ALIM

The Unidentified Narrator

The alim parts are all made up of discourses, each of which is first introduced by an unidentified narrator. The chanting of each discourse is started by the lead mun-alim (munhathat), who chants the male characters' parts, and by his assistant, who chants the female characters' parts. They are followed by the chorus (*mun-abbuy*). Anyone in the audience can also join in. It is by doing so that apprentices learn to chant the alim.

An unidentified narrator introduces the characters by name and home place, for example (del Rosario, "Ifugao Alim" 2):

Kabbigat did Kiyyangan Kabbigat at Kiyyangan

If the one introduced is a female character, the prefix /iñ-/ is placed before her husband's name, to indicate that she is his wife, for example (del Rosario, "Ifugao Alim" 2):⁵²

Bugan an hi inKabbigat ad Kiyyangan Bugan Kabbigat's wife at Kiyyangan

In specific cases, the narrator gives additional information about the named characters:

An ong-onggay Magguling The very young Magguling
(del Rosario, "Ifugao Alim" 5)

Behebeh-el Bugan Bugan is very mad,
Bungnebungnet Bugan Bugan is quite angry
(del Rosario, "Ifugao Alim" 14)

Kabbigat did Kiyyangan Kabbigat at Kiyyangan
Waday unnad longyah Has sugar by the field's edge
(del Rosario, "Ifugao Alim" 2)

The narrator in certain parts also mentions the time of day, for example (del Rosario, "Ifugao Alim" 13):

Wadan nungaway algo The sun is halfway across

When the discourse of a character is very long, and there might be confusion as to who is speaking, the narrator makes sure to clarify who is talking or who just spoke, by saying (del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 35):

<i>Himmapitqah Kabbigat</i>	You said Kabbigat
Or,	Or,
<i>Tinumbal hi Bugan</i>	And Bugan answered.

The Characters

The speakers introduced by the narrator are the *alim*’s dramatic characters, not all of which are persons. Some are personified ritual actions.

The person – characters who have dramatic roles in discourse are Ummangal and Bugan; Kabbigat and Bugan; and Tindungan and Pagappag.⁵³

The *baltong* characters, who are beings from the Skyworld, are Maguling and Dinundun.

The characters that are neither persons nor beings are personified ritual actions:

<i>Dullugen and Bugan an hi inDullugen</i>	“Being inserted” and the wife of “Being inserted”
<i>Bedbedan and Bugan an hi inBedbedan</i>	“Being knotted” and the wife of “Being knotted”
<i>Wahkaten and Laqnagen</i>	“Being scattered” and “Being strewn”

After being introduced, the characters speak. They do not perform any actions, but each discourser tells us what actions have taken, or will take, place, for example (del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 31):

<i>Bugan an hi inKabbigat ad Kiyangan</i>	Bugan Kabbigat’s wife at Kiyangan
<i>Wada n nungaway algo</i>	It is mid-morning of the day
<i>Wada n nuntalyadan</i>	The sun is high in the east.
<i>Inhikal ko din habal kod Malatiti</i>	I thought of my swidden at Malatiti.
<i>Ot alan ko balyag ko</i>	So I get my rice basket
<i>Alan koy tuklubaw ko</i>	I ready my root basket

<i>Ot ihedhed kod dallin</i>	And I drop it on the yard
<i>Ad dintalen . . .</i>	The ground below . . .

If, while the discourses are being enunciated, there be an action happening (such as the stamping of feet; drum-, gong-, and stick-beating; and spearing of the mouth of jars or of the walls of the house, etc.), it does not correspond to the alim characters' drama, but rather, is part of the ritual of *hongan di tagu* of which the alim is a part. However, gongs are played while dramatic moments in the alim story occur, as when dancing is being narrated.

The characters' discourses are in the nature of:

- (1) Addresses to passersby, for example (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 2):

<i>Addiyu dagdaguhen</i>	Don't you be uprooting them
<i>Mangngilimih an iGuwab</i> ⁵⁴	Our visitors, the Guwab-ites,
<i>An iyAmbabag</i>	The Ambabag-ites

- (2) First person narrations, for example (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 7):

<i>Ya inhel koy baq-at ko</i>	I thought of my journey
<i>Inhel koy lagiwad ko.</i>	I thought of my trading trip.
<i>Ot baq-aten kod Boklaw</i>	So I travel to Boklaw
<i>Boklaw ad Kiyangan</i>	Boklaw at Kiyangan

- (3) Dialogues between characters:

Character Ummangal (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 12):

<i>Abuh tuy immahuy tan</i>	Let us stop it, that's enough.
<i>Te inhel ta buwa ta</i>	Now let's think of each one's share
<i>Inhel ta y gaq-agaq-angta</i>	Let's think of each one's allotment.
<i>Ta buq-wen tay babuyta</i>	And let us divide our pigs
<i>Babuy ta n bulliyah ta</i>	Our many pigs and our hogs

Character Bugan (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 12):

<i>Abuh tuy immahuyta</i>	Let us stop it, that's enough.
<i>Te inheltay buwa</i>	For let's think division,
<i>Inheltay gaq-agaq-ang</i>	Let us think of partition.

Ta buq-wentay babuyta And let us divide our pigs
Buq-wentay bulliyahta Let us separate our hogs

RHYTHM AND PAIRED LINES AND DISCOURSES

The *alim* words are chanted in lengthened syllables for rhythm.⁵⁵ However, when read, they also exhibit specific regular rhythm. Thus paired lines, when their syllables are counted, total 13-18 syllables. The first may be composed of five-eight syllables, and the second completes it to total 13-18 syllables (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 33-34):

<i>Huyyay naba-inaq</i>	That made me so ashamed
<i>Huyya y nalugiddawaq</i>	That's what so embarrassed me.
<i>Pamahig koy uhul</i>	I keep on descending
<i>Pamalidagdagen</i>	Keep going straight ahead.
<i>Habbangen kod pantal</i>	I end up on the banks
<i>Pantal di addu-addu</i>	Formed by layers of landslides.
<i>Ya inlot nay udan</i>	Then it rained
<i>Indamage na y udan</i>	It poured.
<i>Ot billibilliyen ko</i>	And I am examining
<i>Ot battabattaden ko</i>	And I am scrutinizing;
<i>Nangitibuwak</i>	When I suddenly notice
<i>Hi Pagappag ad Laguyyuh</i>	Pagappag of Laguyyuh
<i>An nanhabat hi udyow</i>	In the process of cutting wood
<i>Udyow an pamumbungen</i>	Hard wood of the forest;
<i>An nahelgey kelet na</i>	His pubic hair stood stiff
<i>Lima-wedan hubeng na</i>	His penis swaying like a pendant, ⁵⁶
<i>An manweqleng di hubeng na</i>	As his necklace was swinging
<i>Manweqleng di balituk na.</i>	His gold pendant was swaying.
<i>Nadadya on nadadya</i>	It kept pouring and pouring
<i>Udan an damage</i>	The rain that was falling.
<i>Nangitibuwak</i>	When I suddenly notice
<i>Hognad di gading Bugan</i>	The sheen of Bugan's armllets
<i>Hognad di giniling Bugan</i>	The sheen of Bugan's brasslets.
<i>Ot hiyay paketdungnga-a</i>	So she's with whom I take shelter
<i>Hiyay di pakida-unna-a</i>	Under the broad banana leaf.
<i>Ot ehleng koy hapit</i>	So I speak my purpose,
<i>Ehleng koy tebetbal</i>	I state my intentions . . .

The alim uses paired lines throughout, and paired whole discourses (except for introductions to characters and when there is a change of activity). The second line in a couplet is said in a slightly different way from the first, but repeats the main idea of the first, for example (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 2):

<i>Ummangal did Kiyayanan</i>	Ummangal at Kiyayanan
<i>Butbut kayyu biyyaw ko</i>	You keep repeating, my partner
<i>An Kabbigat did Kiyayanan</i>	Kabbigat there at Kiyayanan
<i>An bimmiqhu hi uy-uy</i>	That the feast has been hindered
<i>Bimmiqhu di kadangyan</i>	The celebration's been stopped
<i>Tokwa-ok, abulutok</i>	I do accept and agree
<i>Ta manguy-uy kami</i>	So, we will give a feast
<i>Mangadangyan kami</i>	Give a celebration,
<i>Ta mahidngon ad elyan</i>	Let it be heard everywhere
<i>Manhumaldot ad elyan</i>	Let it be known everywhere.

Most paired alim characters' discourses are alternating male-female ones, for example (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 11-12):

<i>Ummangal ad Kiyayanan</i>	Ummangal at Kiyayanan
<i>Butbut kayu amak</i>	You keep repeating, Father:
<i>An hambale an kadaluh</i>	This married couple is childless
<i>An matullud ka ad iddang</i>	You must proceed to a divorce
<i>Madunnidun ka ad iddang</i>	You must push through with a divorce,
<i>An iddang tu hu</i>	A divorce now.
<i>Bugan an hi in-Ummangal ad Kiyayanan</i>	Bugan, Ummangal's partner at Kiyayanan
<i>Butbut ayu apuk</i>	You keep repeating my elder:
<i>An hambaleh an kadaluh</i>	You married childless couple
<i>An matullud ka ad iddang</i>	Must proceed to a divorce,
<i>Madunnidun ka ad iddang</i>	You go through a divorce.
<i>Tokwa ok ta abulut ok</i>	All right I accept and agree.

Only once is there a male-male character discourse, as between the person-characters of Kabbigat and Pagappag (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 35-37):

<i>Kabbigat did Daq-ulan</i>	Kabbigat at Daq-ulan
<i>An waday nungaway algo</i>	It is midmorning of the day
<i>Wadan nuntalyadan.</i>	The sun is high in the east.

<i>Nandedengngelan ko mallaw</i>	I kept on hearing
<i>Di uya-uyyud Laguyyuh</i>	Of your celebration at Laguyyuh.
<i>Ot gotadon Kabbigat</i>	So Kabigat joins the feast
<i>Ot boykaton Kabbigat</i>	Kabbigat joins the drinkfest.
<i>Pagappag ad Lauyyuh</i>	Pagappag at Lauyyuh
<i>An ung-ungngay Pagappag</i>	So very young is Paggapag
<i>Pakataguy Paggapag.</i>	Just grown up is Pagappag:
<i>Latun man Kabbigat</i>	It does not matter, Kabbigat,
<i>Hi bangngadom hi Bugan</i>	If you take Bugan back
<i>Taluqyayom hi Bugan,</i>	Bring Bugan home.
<i>Aggeyak man dimawin</i>	I never went to court her
<i>Aggeyak bimmallahig</i>	I did not go over to visit
<i>Babbaloy yud Kiyanganan.</i>	Your place in Kiyanganan.

CONCLUSION

Altogether, the alim chanting lasted from 7:20 p.m. to 8:20 a.m. the next day. The hongan di tagu ritual performance began at 6:00 p.m. to 5 p.m. the next day, with alim and baki intertwining. Three days later, the alim di Buhbuh was performed. It started in the morning, and ended at 5 p.m. of the same day.⁵⁷

Bill Beyer (Henry Otley Beyer's son) said that the alim was chanted during the wake in Banaue by old men called *batangal* (Manuel, "Wake" 135), and that, in general, the alim is sung only by men who already had children, or were middle-aged (160).

Indunan (56) had also mentioned that "no women 'priestesses' are permitted to join the alim chant, not only by reason of tradition but due to moral codes. There are phrases in the chant, for instance, that speak of intimacies and private parts of the alim characters. These would not be spoken in the presence of women."

The alim was meant to bring a cure to Angelina who was sick, but she was not at all present during the alim performance. The audience was composed only of men—Angelina's husband, Napoleon, Venancio Uyan, his kin and the 18 male performers. I was the only woman present, perhaps because I was not Ifugao, and because I was being allowed to 'immortalize' the alim.

In the drama, events had escalated to a point when Ummangal, unable to contain his feeling of loss, decides to go headhunting in Bugan's (his ex-wife's) territory. At the tense moment, the mainly male audience, already tired and drunk, gave vent to loud expressing, shouting, arguing, boasting, and criticizing, verging on a brawl, and it seemed that the world of make-believe was, as in a myth, merging with real life.

This was probably what had prompted Dulnuan, the lead alim chanter in Amduntug-Antipulo, to exclaim: “When I sing the alim, pity, laughter, and hate arise in my heart!” (del Rosario, “Ifugao *Alim*” 103).

The situation could have deteriorated, but was contained by cooler heads wizened by experience. Instead, it resulted in a catharsis, which brought relief, realization, order, and more wisdom. As Indunan put it, the alim (52):

... has served the Ifugao with a practical guide to living and has supplied him with the motives behind some of his deep-seated folkways and mores. A *kadangyan*, therefore, should be industrious, if possible a builder of rice terraces, a raiser of pigs and chickens, and one who must occasionally perform some kind of feast and share a little of his wealth to fellowmen less fortunate in wealth.

Angelina’s health did improve thereafter.

NOTES

¹ I have also published on Ifugao culture under the name of Rosario Bona de Santos Lorrin (“Un Ifugao face a la guerre”1972); Rosario Lorrin (“Mga Ilang Tala Ukol sa Musika ng mga Ifugao” 1978, “Ifugao Oral Literature” 1980); Rosario del Rosario (“Feminist Ethnography”1997, “Ifugao Rice and Rice Rituals”2007); Rosario de Santos del Rosario (“Ifugao Sadness and Sorrow through Songs”2008); and Rosario Bona de Santos del Rosario (“The Chanted Ifugao Alim and Hudhud: Ritual Drama and Heroic Stories”2013).

² The wealthy class, in Ifugao.

³ Ifugao ritual prayer with animal sacrifice and offering. (explanation provided by the author of this article)

⁴ The occasions in which the Kiangnan alim is performed, according to Indunan (53-54), are:

- Prestige feasts:
 - * *Uya-uy* (final stage of wedding ceremonies and the feast to elevate individuals and families to the status of *kadangyan*),
 - * *Hagabi* (“Second Uya-uy”),
 - * *Ballihung* (mini Uya-uy),
 - * *Uya-uy di Nateh* (prestige feast of the deceased *kadangyan* to “announce” the entry of the dead man’s soul in *dungay* – the spirit world of the dead), and
 - * *Bogwa* (a feast offered to a *kadangyan* ancestor for his secondary “burial” or cleaning of bones).
- Others where only the part of the alim that has bearing on the purpose is chanted (54-55):
 - * Harvest feasts of the *kadangyan* (conducted by the young with their tutors serving as seconds),

- * *Kolot* or *Lotob* ceremonies (the first haircut and initiation into warriorhood of the son of a well-to-do person, not necessarily a kadangyan),
- * *Honga* (a general welfare feast for the general purposes of the kadangyan),
- * *Balog* (a feast performed in connection with a kadangyan's house – the construction of an attic or compartment), and
- * *Ubaya* (a feast for the overall protection of a person against evil spirit designs).

⁵ In previous related publications, I have mentioned that there was no Ifugao alim text in Indunan's thesis, as that was missing from the first photocopy I had obtained. Luckily I recently got photocopies of the missing pages.

⁶ It seems to me that Barton, having written earlier than the rest about the alim, influenced later writers to also classify it as a ballad.

⁷ Fortunately, some of these have been retrieved. In May 2004, ALTACO received a message from Charity Doyle, the great granddaughter of H. Otley Beyer, saying that, "what appears to be the lost Kankanai manuscript has been located among those H. Otley Beyer's documents that still remain with the family" (ALTACO).

⁸ According to him, a certain Mr. Hester had tape-recorded the alim previously, and had shown him his reel tapes: "The Alim is contained in reel 1, both sides; reel 2, one side; reel 3, part of Alim; reel 4, part of Alim . . . five tapes in all, which record the Alim and other rituals and prayers" ("Wake" 175).

⁹ He was a PhD student in UP; a graduate in Education from Silliman University; and one from whom Manuel gathered information about the alim, as Uyan was present during the wake and gave a eulogy during the last rites of Henry Otley Beyer on January 11, 1967, in Banaue (Manuel, "Wake" 171).

¹⁰ A second year high school student who worked for me while I was in Kiangan and later asked to come with me to work and study in Manila.

¹¹ Where Kalanguya is spoken.

¹² A copy of my tape recording of the Kiangan alim is at the Centre de Recherche en Ethnomusicologie (CREM), Paris, France. Collection: [Chants des Ifugao, Philippines, del Rosario-Lorrin, Rosario](http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_1970_039/). <http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_1970_039/>.<http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_1970_039/>.

¹³ A copy of my Amduntug-Antipulo alim was tape-recorded by the Centre des Etudes sur l'Asie du Sud-Est et le Monde Insulindien (CEDRASEMI) in 1975, and is probably also at the Centre de Recherche en Ethnomusicologie (CREM), Paris, France Collection: [Chants des Ifugao, Philippines, del Rosario-Lorrin, Rosario](http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_1970_039/). I am currently in the process of reviewing what was included in my collection at CREM, as requested by CREM. <http://archives.crem-cnrs.fr/archives/collections/CNRSMH_I_1970_039/>.

¹⁴ A tape-recorded copy of my Piwong alim is at the Center for Ethnomusicology, College of Music, University of the Philippines Diliman.

¹⁵ Del Rosario 105.

- ¹⁶ Which to date, I have not come across, but this does not mean that it does not exist.
- ¹⁷ My advisers jestingly say that the one who introduced the alim in Banaue did not want to pay to learn it, so he merely eavesdropped on a performance of it in Nayon, catching only its last 6-8 parts. This is why, they explain, it is incomplete.
- ¹⁸ Lambrecht identifies five species of Mayoyao oral rites, namely, invocations, prayers, magical tales, ritual songs, and other less frequently performed oral rites.
- ¹⁹ Unfortunately, I have not obtained a text of any Mayoyao alim as yet.
- ²⁰ This legend was also recounted to me during my fieldwork in Amduntug-Antipulo, Ifugao, by David Dulnuan in 1973 (del Rosario, "Ifugao Alim" 96).
- ²¹ Indunan footnote # 17: "This substantiates the theory of Keesing 'that the ancestors of modern-day Ifugao may have been migrants from the Magat Valley, perhaps as refugees from Spanish domination.' Keesing, op. cit., p. 338. Pamumbungen and Mapaniquy are now known as Ibung and Paniquy, respectively."
- ²² Napoleon had received a scholarship to study literature in Japan, and was a great admirer of the alim. He had to come home before finishing his studies when the war broke out.
- ²³ Newell 1993.
- ²⁴ Ifugao-English Dictionary, NIKE <<http://nikeprogramme.org/>>.
- ²⁵ Prudente 1977.
- ²⁶ Ifugao Province, Facts and Figures. July 2013.
- ²⁷ Ifugao, 1975 Integrated Census of the Population and Its Economic Activities, Population, Ifugao.
- ²⁸ The smaller unit (*barangay*) of a Philippine municipality.
- ²⁹ Ifugao Province, Facts and Figures, Cordillera Administrative Region, National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB). Web. July 2013. <http://www.nscb.gov.ph/rucar/fnf_ifugao.htm>.
- ³⁰ Ifugao, 1970 Census of Population and Housing; Del Rosario 2003: 107.
- ³¹ Loc. cit., Ifugao, 1975 Integrated Census.
- ³² Ifugao Province, Facts and Figures. July 2013.
- ³³ Its first part consists of a 24-hour performance, and its second part is the performance of the *buhbuh* rite, three days later.
- ³⁴ According to my Piwong advisers, there are four types of *hongan di tagu*:
- (1) Basic *hongan di tagu*, which requires 1-3 pigs, its purpose being to wipe out the ill effects of bad omens (*lubug*) causing an illness;

- (2) *Kinohag*, which requires 5-8 or more pigs (optionally, also a carabao, to be offered to the spirits of the ancestors), rice wine, and the chanting of the *alim*. Its purpose is to maintain well-being and prestige;
- (3) *Dinupdup*, which requires 5-8 pigs or more, rice wine, the chanting of the full *alim*, and three days later, the *Buhbuh* rite with some *alim* chanting. Its purpose is to bring about well-being in one who has been seriously ill and has lost stamina;
- (4) *Uya-uy* (or *Baybayá*, as it is called in Piwong), which requires eight or more pigs, one or more carabaos (which are only offered to ancestors), rice wine, and the chanting of the full *alim*. Its purpose is to maintain and enhance well-being and prestige.

³⁵ The contribution of 16 pigs was an unequivocal demonstration of kinship concern and solidarity, which very likely played a big role in Angelina's eventual recovery.

³⁶ In Kiangan, according to Indunan (1971), the poor cannot serve as lead *mumbaki*, although they may serve as "seconds."

³⁷ Photograph taken by Rosario de Santos Lorrin, the author, in Piwong, Ifugao during the *alim* performance in 1975.

³⁸ This is still a common practice of Ifugao male chanters striving to train their voices.

³⁹ Not all performers are necessarily compensated in like manner.

⁴⁰ A chewing mixture of areca nut sprinkled with lime powder (*apul*) all wrapped in a leaf called *hapid*.

⁴¹ Such compensation, according to my adviser, Dulnuan, from Amduntug, is what primarily attracted him to want to learn to chant the *alim*.

⁴² These terms are reminiscent of Austronesian botanical metaphors.

⁴³ According to my advisers on the Piwong *alim*, the 42-stanza *alim* performed in Burnay, Lagawe, Bitu, Piwong, Namulditan, Bunne and Lower Pitawan in Banaue, vary only slightly from each other. Slight differences in the *alim* text and tune could be discerned between the Burnay *alim* on the one hand and the Lagawe *alim* on the other, and between the Bunne, Kudug and Bangtinon *alim* on the one hand, and the Hingyon, Mumpolya, Nunggawa, Umalbong and Linge *alim*, on the other.

⁴⁴ *Lidi* is the wooden rat guard found at the top of Ifugao house posts just below the elevated floor, that acts as a hindrance or barrier to prevent rats from entering the house.

⁴⁵ *Biyaw* can also mean "friend."

⁴⁶ Meaning that Bugan had no jars.

⁴⁷ This *alim* text was taken from my doctoral dissertation (del Rosario, "Ifugao *Alim*" 15-16). All *alim* texts quoted from hereon were derived from the same source.

⁴⁸ "mi" here refers to Bugan and her kin.

- ⁴⁹ This is an intriguing aspect of the Baltong. Is Maguling a female (as that name, according to some advisers, say it is), and is Dinundun male (as his actions of hunting indicate)? If so, how could he become the “wife” of female Maguling, or even of another male spirit from the Skyworld? And why should he become her/his wife? Not unless all is possible in the Skyworld or, that the spirits of the Skyworld go by different rules, which are not known. On the other hand, could it be that, since Leon (who is representing his wife in the quest for a cure of her illness) is representing the true-to-life male host Napoleon in the Baltong, some kind of gender parallelism in status is needed for the magic of cure to work through myth, that would require a female counterpart from the Skyworld? In other words, could the transposition of a gender-undefined Skyworld being (Dinundun) to being the “wife” of a gender-undefined Skyworld being (Maguling), have been effected by a parallel magical transposition? More study and analysis of this is needed.
- ⁵⁰ Ritual speeches delivered in a customary formulaic manner (see Gopa, in the Ifugao-English Dictionary).
- ⁵¹ Touching yam with wet hands makes them very itchy. Bugan was harvesting and cleaning yam under the rain.
- ⁵² This implies that all the women characters are married, and also, that their identity as such is linked to who their husbands are.
- ⁵³ The others whom Ummangal married, and whom Kabbigat had an affair with, are mentioned but have no dramatic discourse.
- ⁵⁴ The prefix /i-/ means “from” or “of” a given place/birthplace/regular place of residence (see also Newell: 316).
- ⁵⁵ According to Manuel Dulawan, “It is actually the redundancy of the syllables of each word and the extended manner of phrasing the same words that give the alim chant its outstanding, if peculiar, [sic] characteristics.” In one example he gave of the Kiangnan alim, he counted a total of 25 syllables in two lines, including the prolonged humming sound. He said, “In normal speech, the same two lines have a total of only eight syllables” (290).
- ⁵⁶ There is a double entendre here between pendant and penis.
- ⁵⁷ I was unable to record this performance, but Tundagi narrated what happened to me, and dictated it to me so I could transcribe it. I have not included it here.

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Rosario Bona de Santos <sariodesantos@gmail.com> is an anthropologist and a Professor Emeritus at the University of the Philippines Diliman. She is a Senior Lecturer at the UP College of Social Work and Community Development, and at the UP Center for International Studies. She has done research on Ifugao culture and oral discourses, specifically on the alim, since 1968.