GUINAANG BONTOK TEXTS

The Kalang Wedding Ceremonies¹ (Text C7)

- 1. Omey nan aman nan babai winno si inana et ena ibaga as nan am-ama ay laydenda, ay mangibangon si nan lalaki.
- 2. Mo ninbagada as nan masdem wenno olay sino ay algew ya laydena, dey mawiit omey nan am-ama as nan ab-abongan et bangonena nan lalaki av ibangona.
- 3. Mo inmonaangda ya maid liboo as nan ili wenno nan bilig ay mamadmang si nan ili, bomaalda as onga wenno bab-alo as i mangibaga as nan abong nan babai ay as omeyda, ya ta ililanda nan asoda, mo wad-ay.
- 4. Olay nan abong ay laosanda ay omey, gawis nan maibaga ta il-ilanda nan asoda tay nan inngongowanda.
- 5. Omawid nan binaalda, ngetdan nan am-ama nan saleng ay ineegnana.
- 6. Ngetdana nan saleng, sadat inboleg³ si nan bab-alo et omevda.
- 7. Omeyda et somgepda as abong.
- 8. Isaadda nan apoy as nan leem, sadat alan nan tabako et komaanda ay omey si nan naisasag-en ay ab-abongan.
- 9. Baken masapol nan dev nalpowanda av ababongan ay abat nan lalaki nan omayanda.
- 10. Dinmakalda di ay inmey si nan maisasag-en ay ab-abongan, saet omisog-ed nan inan nan babai as makan ya watwat.
- 11. Mo maloto, omeyna ayagan dida as nan ababongan ay inmayanda.
- 12. Nan mangayagana an dida, bakena kinnali, ay aped inwag-is nan deey ab-abongan et omeyda ay mangan.

- 1. The father of the young woman or her mother goes and tells the old man whom they want, to accompany the young man (to their house).
- 2. If they told him in the evening or whatever day and he likes, the next morning the old man goes to the ward house and wakes up the young man.
- 3. If they have looked around and there is no rainbow over the village or the mountain that can be seen from the village, they send a child or a young man to the house of the young woman to tell them that they are going (there), so that they will watch their dog,² if they have one.
- 4. Even the houses that they pass on their way, it is good to tell them to watch their dogs because of their barking.
- 5. When the ones they sent return, the old man lights the pitch pine torch that he had been holding.
- 6. He lights the torch, and then he proceeds with the young man behind him.
- 7. They go and enter the house.
- 8. They put the fire down in the eating area, and then they get tobacco and leave to go to the nearest ward house.
- 9. It is not necessary for them to go to the ward house that they came from which is the usual meeting place of the man.
- 10. After they have come out and gone to the ward house that is near, then the mother of the woman places over the fire rice and meat.
- 11. When it is cooked, she goes to call them from the ward house that they went to.
- 12. When she goes to call them, she does not shout. she just beckons them at the ward house and they come to eat.
- 13. Omeydas di, mapayad nan makan ya nan 13. When they go there, the rice and the meat are set

watwat.

- 14. Ngem ad-ida mangan, ay aped songsongan⁴ nan deey am-ama, ay kanegna lowalowan.
- 15. Nalpas, komaanda kasin et omeyda as nan ab-abongan ay abat nan bab-alo.
- 16. Osto ay komaanda, alan nan inan nan babai nan makan ay pinayadna as nan ninsongsongan nan am-ama, et tapiyanas nan makan et ponowena nan akiyak,⁵ ya ipaeyna as nan banga nan watwat ya nan danomna, sanat eney si nan abong nan deey am-ama ay nangibangon si nan lalaki.
- 17. Nan deey am-ama ya nan ninbangona, apedda pomatong as nan ab-abongan et enggana ay maisoyaw.
- 18. Nan apoy si nan ab-abongan, masapol maaalop ta ad-i katkatey, olay as nan abong nan sin-asawa, tay panyew kano.
- 19. Nan papatonganda as nan ab-abongan, ililanda nan daya mo way atinbongalen wenno baliwengweng, olay nan gayang, labaan ya nan koling, mo way intat-ayaw ya way eegnana as kinyog wenno owal, panyew et ad-ida itoley.
- 20. Ngem olay way intat-ayaw ya maid itatangalna as kinyog wenno owal, mabalin ay itoleyda ay inkalang, ay masiyanda as di ay awni ta mat-awan, sada kasin nomanen.
- 21. Pay mo naisoyaw nan algew ya maid ngaag si inilada, omey nan am-ama as abong nan babai, mo maid ngaag si maikkan, inlotodat si makan et nan bab-alo, omey omala as kaew ay awitna, as nginemngem si mailoto.
- 22. Eneyna as abongda asawana saet kasin komaan.
- 23. Igad nan inloto ay mamasek.
- 24. Masdem, omey omila nan lalaki as aloyosna as nan ib-ana ay bab-alo ay omabat si nan ab-abongana.
- 25. Mo inayagana nan aloyosna omeyda alaen nan kintong ya nan bin-gew, sadat sakbaten ay

out.

- 14. But they do not eat, that old man just performs a *songsong* ritual over it, it is as though he prays over it.
- 15. After that, they again leave and go to the ward house which is the usual meeting place of the young man
- 16. After they have left, the mother of the woman gets the rice that she had set out for the old man to perform the *songsong* ritual over, and adds rice to it to fill an *akiyak* basket, and she puts the meat and its broth into a pot, then she takes it to the house of the old man who accompanied the young man.
- 17. That old man and the one he accompanied, they just sit at the ward house until early afternoon.
- 18. As for the fire at the ward house, it must be continually made up so that it does not ever die out, also at the house of the couple getting married, because it is forbidden they say.
- 19. While they are sitting at the ward house, they watch the sky (to see) if there is a rainbow or a halo around the sun, even a crow, a hawk or an eagle, if there is one flying and if it is carrying a chick or a snake, that is forbidden and they will not continue (the *kalang* ceremonies).
- 20. But if there is something flying without holding a chick or a snake in its beak, they can continue the *kalang* ceremonies, they will disperse until some time has elapsed, then they will again resume (the ceremonies).
- 21. But if it is early afternoon and they have not seen anything bad, the old man goes to the house of the young woman, if nothing bad has happened, they cook rice and the young man, he goes to get a load of wood, which is one unsplit section of a tree trunk to be used for fuel.
- 22. He takes it to the house of his wife and leaves again.
- 23. It is up to the (people) cooking to split up the log.
- 24. In the evening, the man goes to look for a helper from his fellow young men who usually meet at his ward house.
- 25. When he has called his helper, they go to get the ceremonial *kintong* and *bin-gew* loads of wood, and

mangney si nan abong nan asawana ay inkalangda.

- 26. Awiten nan aloyosna nan kintong, ay nginemngem ay kaew ay naad-adasan, saet a-witen nan dey omabong nan bin-gew, saleng ay naad-adasan, ya an-ando ay banban-ig.
- 27. Nan naayda ay awitenda, naidolin ay nalango ay gawis.
- 28. Ngem mo ad-i makasakbat nan aloyosna as nan kintong, nan omabong nan mangawit si nan kintong ya awiten nan aloyosna nan bin-gew.
- 29. Eneyda isaalda et pomatongda as di.
- 30. Nan ages babai, omey omila as nan deey pangbegna as san kabab-alasangna as aloyosna.
- 31. Naamongda as di sad-enda nan mangananda.
- 32. Nan lotowenda, pay-anda nan sangdal as makan saet nan walon ekep wenno simpolon ekep ay watwat ay lotowenda as nan sangdal met laeng.
- 33. Nan omey makikalang, wad-ay nan eneyda ay tanboda ay mainom, tabako wenno kispolo.
- 34. Nan tapina, watwat nan eneyda ay tanboda.
- 35. Siya nan watwat ay itanbon nan ipogaw nan mabalin ay itob-ongda, ay itapida as nan epdas naitob-ong.
- 36. Wada nan palpalenda⁶ ay esa ay manok.
- 37. Naloto di, wa nan mangapya as nan amolo.
- 38. Malpas manganda.
- 39. Nalpasda ay mangan, gowadenda nan makan, ipaeyda as nan talaka, sadat pay-an nan banga as lemdang, et iyosondas nan makan nan watwat nan am-ama ay mangibangon si nan bab-alo, et eneyda as abongna.
- 40. Pay-anda ges nan akiyak si makan ya nan banga wenno doyo ya nan watwat nan aloyos nan lalaki et eneyda as abongda.

they carry them on their shoulders to take them to the house of his wife, since they are having the *kalang* ceremonies.

- 26. His helper carries the *kintong*, which is a single section of a trunk of a tree that has had plane surfaces shaped on it, while the one who is getting married carries the *bin-gew*, which is a (section of a) pitch pine log which has also been shaped with plane surfaces, and is long and narrow.
- 27. These loads that they carry, they have been kept aside to become properly dried.
- 28. But if his helper is not able to carry the *kintong* (log), the one getting married will be the one to carry it and his helper will carry the *bin-gew* (load).
- 29. They take them back to the house and sit down there.
- 30. As for the young woman, she goes to find a helper from among her sleeping hut companions when she was still without a child.
- 31. They gather there and wait for the time to eat.
- 32. What they cook, they put rice into a vat and they cook eight or ten double slices of meat in the vat also.
- 33. The people who go to join in the *kalang*, they take their gifts of drink, tobacco or matches.
- 34. As for the others, they take meat as their gift.
- 35. This meat that the people bring as gifts can be put into the water (for cooking), they add it to the meat that has already been put in.
- 36. They kill a chicken.
- 37. When it is cooked, someone says the *amolo* ritual prayer.
- 38. After that they eat.
- 39. After they have eaten, they scoop out rice, put it into a head basket, then they put broth into a pot, and place on top of the rice the meat shares of the old man who accompanied the young man, and take them to his house.
- 40. They also put rice into an *akiyak* basket, and (broth) into a pot or a wooden bowl and (get) the meat shares of the helper of the young man and take them to his house.

- **41. Siya met laeng nan enevda ay kowan nan** 41. That is also what they take as the share of the alovos nan babai.
- 42. Sadat ages pay-an nan talaka as makan, nan banga as lemdang, ya nan watwat ay nowang, ya nan doyo ay maipay-an nan watwat ay botog, sadat enev si nan abong nan lalaki av omabong.
- 43. Mo iboleg nan am-ama nan manok ay malpo as nan abong si babai ay mangney si abong nan lalaki, et mawiit esana alaen ay mangney si abongna, ngem mo baken, eneyna kannay si nan masdem, tay siya di nan kanegna labbo.
- 44. Nan deeyda sin-asawa, maseyepda as nan tod-i ay labi as nan abong nan babai, ay ninkalanganda.
- 45. Nan deey inneyda ay makan ya watwat ay kananda en dool as nan abong nan lalaki, enda iyayag as nan wiit si nan agida ya nan saggongda, et enda kanen nan deey makan.
- 46. Tay ad-i omanay di nan nalpo as abong nan babai ay makan, wa nan isog-edda as abong nan lalaki ay itoptopda.
- 47. Nan sin-asawa ya nan al-oyosda, omeyda ay makikan si nan wiit, olay nan deey am-ama.
- 48. Malpasda ay mangan, eneyda nan giniyag nan am-ama ya nan aloyos nan lalaki ya babai, saet nan eneyda ay sin-giyag si abong nan babai ay maipapay-an nan watwatda ay sin-asawa.
- 49. Malpas di nan mangananda as nan dool, wa nan omey mamagey ay nan lalaki ya nan aloyosna wenno makaey nan babai as alang nan lalaki.
- 50. Isaalda as nan abong nan lalaki.
- 51. Siya di nan donowenda as nan tod-i ay algew.
- 52. Bayowenda di ay sin-aaloyos si nan kag-aw, tay siya di nan maloto as nan maisoyaw ay kanen nan inkalang si nan abong nan lalaki.

- young woman's helper.
- 42. Then they place rice in a head basket, broth in a pot, and the meat of water buffalo, and a wooden bowl in which is placed meat of a pig, then they take them to the house of the young man who is getting married.
- 43. If the old man had taken with him the chicken from the house of the woman to the house of the young man, the next morning he gets it and takes it to his (own) house, but if not, he takes it straight away in that evening, because it is like payment for his services.
- 44. The husband and wife, they sleep on that night at the house of the young woman, where they are performing the *kalang* ceremonies.
- 45. That rice and meat which they call dool which was taken to the house of the young man, they go to announce in the early morning to their relatives and neighbors, and they (relatives and neighbors) go to eat that rice.
- 46. Because that rice which came from the house of the young woman is not sufficient, they cook more at the house of the young man to supplement it.
- 47. The husband and wife and their helpers, they to go to join in the meal in the early morning, and even that old man.
- 48. After they have eaten, the old man and the helpers of the young man and the young woman take (home) what each has put on a giyag rice plate, and they also take to the house of the young woman a plate upon which is placed the meat shares of the man and the woman.
- 49. After they have eaten the *dool*, there are those who go to get rice from the granary of the young man, the young man and his helper or the young woman can also go with them.
- 50. They take it home to the house of the young man.
- 51. That is their work on that day.
- 52. The young man and woman and their helpers pound it in the middle of the day, because that is what will be eaten in the early afternoon by those who are celebrating the kalang at the house of the young man.

- 53. Maisoyaw, inlotoda as makan, omey manakdo nan baballo as maidanom si nan maloto.
- 54. Masdem, enda in-ayag nan aloyosda, ya olay dida ay sin-asawa, makisiyanda ay omey in-ayag si nan agida ya nan saggongda.
- 55. Olay nan bakenda daglos agi, mo way kanagiyanda an dida ad solit, mabalin ay ibagada en, "Entako makikalang si an tod-i."
- 56. Nalpasda ay nin-ayag, kasinda omawid si abong nan lalaki.
- 57. Nayomyom nan ipogaw, palpalenda nan manok ya itob-ongda nan watwat ay sinpolon ekep wenno kolang.
- 58. Naloto nan watwat, kapyaanda nan amolo, esada mangan.
- 59. Manganda ges, gowadenda nan makan, ya tag-ongenda nan lemdang saet met laeng nan watwat si nowang ay wad-ay si nan banga, ya nan watwat si botog ay maipaey si nan doyo, wa nan maitapi pay ay watwat si manok et eneyda as abong nan babai.
- 60. Nan am-ama ya nan al-oyos nan sin-asawa, kaneg met laeng nan giyag as nan ninkalangandas nan babai.
- 61. Nan sin-asawa, omawidda ay maseyep as nan abong nan babai.
- 62. Ngem nan tapina, maseyepda kannay si nan abong nan lalaki.
- 63. Mawiit omeyda ay makikan si nan dool as abong nan babai.
- 64. Nan am-ama ya nan al-oyosda, omeyda et enda met laeng iyayag si nan agida ya nan saggongda.
- 65. Malpasda ay mangan, eneyda ges nan giniyag nan am-ama ya nan al-oyosda ay sin-asawa.
- 66. Nalpas di, et mo maiwed ngaag si naikkan si nan ninkak-alanganda, ay maiwed natektekdag si nan abongda asyaanggay, doyo wenno sino ay matekdag, omey nan lalaki ay i inbakbakawat

- 53. In the early afternoon, they cook rice, the young men go to draw water to be used in cooking.
- 54. In the evening, the helpers go to invite, and even the husband and wife, they can join in going out to invite their relatives and neighbors.
- 55. Even those who are not their real relatives, if they had a relative in the distant past, they can say to them, "Let's go join in the *kalang* ceremonies at the house of that person."
- 56. After they have finished inviting people, they again return to the house of the young man.
- 57. When the people have gathered, they kill a chicken and they put into the cooking water ten double slices of meat or fewer.
- 58. When the meat is cooked, they say the *amolo* ritual prayer, and then they eat.
- 59. After they have eaten, they scoop out the rice, and they dip out the broth and also the water buffalo meat which is in the pot, and the meat of the pig which is placed in a wooden bowl, and there is added to it moreover some of the meat of the chicken, and they take them to the house of the young woman.
- 60. As for the old man and the helpers of the couple, there is (for them) a *giyag* plate (of food) just like when they celebrated the *kalang* at the house of the young woman.
- 61. As for the couple getting married, they return to the house of the young woman to sleep.
- 62. But the rest of them, they sleep where they are at the house of the young man.
- 63. In the early morning they go to eat *dool* food at the house of the woman.
- 64. The old men and their helpers, they go and again invite their relatives and their neighbors.
- 65. After they have eaten, the old man and the couple's helpers each take (home) what they have placed in a *giyag* rice plate.
- 66. After that, if nothing bad has happened during the performance of the *kalang* ceremonies, such as nothing falling in the house, a bowl or whatever that might fall, the young man can leave the village for

ay mangaew.

- 67. Masapol iilana nan dalan si nan ena mangaewan, tay mo somaal, salodsoden nan wad-ay si an da katogangena wenno da amana mo maiwed inil-ilana as nan dalan, ya nan betekna, mo ad-i naknaktadan si nan mamtekna as nan awitna.
- 68. Mo maiwed inil-ilana as owal, otot wenno nan iniyolan si nangibakas an siya as nan dalan enggana as nan somaalana, dey kananda en gawis.
- 69. Masdem, intongolda as abong asawana ay kakad-anda.
- 70. Mawakas si nan nintongolanda, masdem inpalagpag ay inmanok, wenno pokal, ay pokalenda nan dallatey.
- 71. Mat-awan si dowan algew, kasinda inmanok, ay kananda en agiboy.
- 72. Nalpas nan tongol nan babai.
- 73. Mawaksan nan agiboy si nan abong nan babai, intongol nan aman nan lalaki et enggana ay in-agiboyda.
- 74. Nalpas di nan nintongolanda, nalpas et, ay inmabongdat sid-i.
- 75. Ngem mo nan ninbakbakawatan nan lalaki ya way inilana as otot, owal, wenno nan intatayaw ay kaneg nan tilin, panyew dadi, et malpamalpas nan intongtongolenda, kasin domakal nan sin-asawa ay insiyanda, ay wasdin abongna nan abongna.
- 76. Ad-ida in-aamong.
- 77. Ngem olay way inilana as owal, moket nan dadakkel, ay nan deeyda oleg, baken panyew, ay gawis kano di tay omegwal kano as botog.
- 78. Pay mo ngongoy nan ilana, siya di nan panyew tay taked kano nan sangadil di, isonga masapol ay kasin domakal nan sin-asawa ta awni ona sada kasi nomanen.

the first time to go get wood.

- 67. He must watch the trail on his way to go get wood, because when he returns home, those who are at the house of his parents-in-law or his own parents will inquire whether he saw anything on the trail, and the vine he used for binding, that it did not snap as he was binding his load.
- 68. If he did not see any snakes, rats, or birds that would be a bad omen to him on the trail until his arrival home, then they say it is good.
- 69. In the evening, they hold a *tongol* pig sacrifice at the house of his wife where they are staying.
- 70. On the day after they hold the *tongol* sacrifice, in the evening they feast on the *palagpag* chest portion of the pig with a chicken sacrifice, or it is the (day called) *pokal* 'dismantle', that is they dismantle the vat stand.
- 71. After two days have passed, they again have a chicken sacrifice, which they call *agiboy* 'terminating sacrifice'.
- 72. That is the end of the young woman's *tongol* ceremonies.
- 73. The day after the *agiboy* ceremony at the house of the young woman, the father of the young man performs a *tongol* pig sacrifice and (other activities) until they hold the *agiboy* terminating chicken sacrifice.
- 74. After their performing of the *tongol* sacrifice, that is the end of it, they are married there.
- 75. But if when the young man leaves the village for the first time and there is something that he sees such as a rat, snake, or something flying (across his trail) such as *tilin* rice birds, that is forbidden, and their *tongol* ceremonies are completely stopped, the husband and wife go out and separate, each returning to their own house.
- 76. They do not live together.
- 77. But even if he sees a snake, as long as it is a big one, such as a python, that is not forbidden, it is good they say because it will give you pigs.
- 78. But if he sees a *ngongoy* small snake, that is forbidden because they say it is the binding of the death chair,⁷ that is why it is necessary for the couple to again go out (from the house where they were to live together) until later when they can

again resume (the ceremonies).

- 79. Siya met laeng nan otot, ay panyew tay etey nan ibagan tod-i.
- 80. Nan ages tilin, mo ibakasda nan inbakbakawat ya kedeng nan dowa wenno esa, panyew ages.
- 81. Ngem mo angsan ay tilin, baken panyew ay manok kano nan egwalda.
- 82. Nan atinbongalen, mo wad-ay si nan kag-aw nan naibangonan nan bab-alo, mo adi napopotot ay innanaod, gawis di kano ay kanan nan tapina tay wanes kano as onga di, ngem mo napopotot ay atinbongalen, siya di nan panyew.
- 83. Nan tongol, mo ammon nan sin-aliwid ay wad-ay botogda mabalin ay intongolda ngem mo maid ammoda as botogda, sangbo yaanggay nan ikkanda.
- 84. Tay nan tongol, mo siya nan ikkanda ay kaneg iplatda,⁸ kanan nan ipogaw en as kasi insangbo, ay aw-ay way sesemkenda as sada kasin ikag-aw ay insangbo.
- 85. Ngem mo kag-aw nan in-geltanda ay insangbo, maid kasinda sesemken, ay kedeng di, siya di nan iplatda.
- 86. Siya di nan maikkan, ay teken am-in ay inkalang nan intongol, ay mo semkenda ya olay tinnongolda siya, ngem wad-ay mampay nan kanan nan ipogaw en at kasi insangbo, siya di nan sesemken nan sin-aliwid ket mo maid ib-an nan botogda, isinnangboda, tay kedeng di as nan mabalin ay laydenda ay gelten si nan botogda.
- 87. Et mo mampay sinnangbo, ammon nan ipogaw ay et kedeng di, ay siya di nan iplat nan deeyda inmabong.

- 79. It is the same with a rat, it is forbidden because it portends death.
- 80. Also the *tilin* rice bird, if they give a bad omen to the person when he first leaves the village and there are only one or two, that is also forbidden.
- 81. But if there are many rice birds, that is not forbidden they say because they give chickens.
- 82. As for a rainbow, if there is one in the middle of the day that the young man was accompanied (to their house), if it was not broken but continuous, some say it is good because it (symbolizes) the loincloth of a child, but if it is a broken rainbow, that is forbidden.
- 83. As for the *tongol* sacrifice, if the co-parents-inlaw know that they have (enough) pigs they can have the *tongol* sacrifice, but if they do not have enough pigs, they just perform a *sangbo* daytime pig sacrifice.
- 84. Because the *tongol* night sacrifice, if that is what they have as their *iplat* pig sacrifice, people say that they should have (in addition) a *sangbo* sacrifice, probably because they think that they should have a daytime pig sacrifice.
- 85. But if it is the middle of the day when they kill a pig as a *sangbo* sacrifice, that will be the end of it, that will be their *iplat* final pig sacrifice.
- 86. That is what is done, all the performances of the *kalang* ceremonies are different with reference to the holding of the *tongol*, if they think that they will do it in the *tongol* style, that is what they will do, but there are some people who say that they should have a following *sangbo* sacrifice, and that is what the co-parents-in-law think about if they have no more pigs, they will just do it in the *sangbo* style, because that is the only thing they can do with what they want to kill of their pigs.
- 87. So if they do it in the *sangbo* style, people will know that that is the end, that that is the final pig sacrifice of the couple getting married.

NOTES

¹ A general account as told by Elizabeth Anongos. A more detailed account of the same ceremonies is given in Text C8. This text is of interest however because of the detail it includes about taboos that are not mentioned in the following text.

- ³ *Inboleg* 'to walk in single file'.
- ⁴ The term *songsong* means 'smell, odor'. The *songsong* ritual involves lighting a cigar, saying a short *aboy* blessing and blowing smoke from the cigar on the object of the ritual.
- ⁵ An *akiyak* basket is a flat, open-weave basket, typically used for collecting snails and other edible creatures from pond fields.
- ⁶ The term *palpal* means 'beat with a small stick' and refers to the usual method of killing chickens.
- ⁷ The frame for seating a dead person prior to burial is bound with rattan, which has a similar diameter to the *ngongoy* snake (see Texts C13-C14).
- ⁸ The *iplat* sacrifice is literally that which unites the couple.

² The barking of a dog at such times is considered to be a bad omen.