GUINAANG BONTOK TEXTS

When Someone Dies a "Bad Death" (Text C14)

- 1. Mo ad ilit winno into nan malpowan nan matey, ay nan minas winno nan ad-adawwi ay ili, sadat somaal ya masdem, adida idawes ay mangisaal, iyiyanda as nan dalan, et mawiit ona esada isaal as abongda.
- 2. Adi pay nan deeyda mangisaal, am-amed nan deeyda bolegna ay nalpos nan natayana, adida omin-inom ya mangmangan, ay nan ab-abongan nan omayanda, ta makapyaanda, ay kapyaen nan esa ay am-ama nan sabosab ay pakedsel.
- 3. Nan mangapyaanda, enda omalas nan saggong nan ab-abongan si danom, esada kapya-an.
- 4. Olay nan deeyda mangidawes si nan natey si abongna, adida metlaeng ominom winno mangan, ay makapyaanda kayet sid-i ay masabosab.
- 5. Adi pay naisaal di, et alaenda nan sangbona ay esa ay botog.
- 6. Siya kannay na nan matotyaan nan amam-a ya nan pangabong nan matey si nan ikkanda, mo pagawisenda winno maikolis ay as Beka nan maenayana.
- 7. Mo matoyada ya kanan nan kan-abong, pangabongna, en naikaoban nan apona winno amana ya inana nan maenayana, siya et, mo maikaob si nan naikaoban nan apona winno amana ya inana nan maeneyana.
- 8. Adi pay mo baken as Beka nan maikaobana, kaneg nan omat si nan aped matey si nan ili nan omat, ay as maak-akit nan teelna ya nan gastosenda ay talakenda.
- 9. Ngem mo as Beka nan maeneyana, angsan nan teelna ya nan gastosena, et naay nan

- 1. If it is the outskirts of the village or wherever a dead person comes from, such as the mines or a far village, and it is nighttime when they come home, they do not bring him straight home, they stay overnight on the trail with the dead person, and when it is morning they take him to their house
- 2. Those people bringing him home, especially those companions of his that accompanied him from the place of his death, they do not drink or eat at all, the ward house is where they go to, so that they can say prayers over him, one of the men says the *sabosab* prayer to give strength.
- 3. The way they say the prayer, they go to get water from the house of a neighbor of the ward house, and say the prayer over it.
- 4. Even those who take the dead person straight to their house, even they do not eat or drink, the *sabosab* prayer must still be said for them there.
- 5. After that dead person has been brought home, they get a pig to sacrifice for him.
- 6. Right at that time is when they talk together, the old men and the family of the dead person, as to what they must do, whether they will treat it as a good death or whether he must be given a bad death burial at Feka.²
- 7. If they talk and the house owner, his family, say that he should be taken to the burial place of his grandparents or of his father and mother, that will be it, if he is to be buried in the place where his grandparents or his father and mother were buried.
- 8. So if he is not to be taken to Feka, what will happen is like what happens when people just die in the village, there will only be a short ceremonial holiday and only a few pigs and chickens killed.
- 9. But if he is to be taken to Feka, there will be a long ceremonial holiday and considerable ex-

ikamanda.

- 10. Isaalda di nan natey as abongna, alanda mampay nan sangbona ay esa ay botog.
- 11. Adi pay nan masangbo ay naay, amam-a nan mangisda ya mangilang, tay panyew nan makisdaan nan ongong-a, ya olay nan wad-ay asawada ay amam-a, isonga kanaken amam-a nan deevda kaneg anap-o.
- 12. Wad-ay ges nan asinanda ay maigago as esada osalen si nan kakalading, ya nan i indaw-esan nan pangatolna as abongna mo inbalegbegda.
- 13. Nalpas nan sangbona, deey isangadilda.
- 14. Naisangadil pan di, et ilogida ay in-adog, enda alan nan alobna.
- 15. Somaal nan alobna ay enda inala, alaenda nan otongna, ay esa ay botog winno manok dadlo nan otongna.
- 16. Kedeng pan ay in-ad-adogdas di, et engganay mawakas si nan ag-agew.
- 17. Mawakas pan, wa nan omey ay mangaob as Beka ay maeneyana.
- 18. Kedeng ay omawid nan ninkaob, kaanendas nan sangadil et ipaeydas nan alob, ngem mo nabayag nan natayana ay dowa mablok, ay wa nan tomedted ay malpos nan awakna, epdas naipaey si nan alob.
- 19. Kedeng pan ay atanganda, et eneydas Beka ay mangikaob.
- 20. Deey omawid nan i nangikaob, alanda nan otongna ay makwani en lom-od, ay botog winno manok ges.
- 21. Nalpas di, ay i naikaob as nan deey ag-agew, deey mabalin ay mangan nan ipogaw, tay nailogi as san wiit, ay panyew nan mangan, enggana ay malpas ay maikaob nan matey.
- 22. Nan deeyda ipogaw ay adi makatpel si nan olatda, ay manganda kayet.
- 23. Ipaeydas nan akob winno topil nan makan, esada kanen ay mangitatabon as dapolan, ay baken nan daglos mangmangananda.

pense, and this is what they do.

- 10. They take that dead person home to his house, and get a pig for his *sangbo* daytime sacrifice.
- 11. This *sangbo* sacrifice, only the married men share in the eating of the meat and in distributing meat shares, because it is forbidden for children to eat of it, or even married men who still have wives, that is why when I said married men, (I meant) it is those who are like grandparents.
- 12. There is also meat that they salt and put away for use on the night after the dead person is buried, and for the *balegbeg* ceremony when his ward house companions perform a *daw-es* sacrifice at his house.
- 13. After the *sangbo* sacrifice, then they place the dead person in a death chair.³
- 14. After he is placed in the death chair, they begin to sing a dirge, and they go to get his coffin.⁴
- 15. When they have brought home the coffin that they went to get, they get his *otong* sacrifice, a pig or a chicken if that is to be his *otong*.
- 16. So they continue singing the dirge, until the next day around midmorning.
- 17. The next day, there are those who go to dig a grave at Feka where he is to be taken.
- 18. When the diggers return, they remove him from the death chair and place him in the coffin, but if it has been a long time since his death and he is starting to rot, that is if there is (fluid) dripping from his body, they just put him straight into the coffin.
- 19. So they carry the coffin on a pole between two men, and they take it to Feka for burying.
- 20. When those who bury him return, they get the *otong* sacrifice called *lom-od*, which is also either a pig or a chicken.
- 21. After that, having gone to bury him in the morning, then the people can eat, because since early morning, eating has been forbidden, until the burial of the dead person is finished.
- 22. Those people who cannot bear their hunger, they just eat anyway.
- 23. They put cooked rice into either an *akob* basket or a *topil* basket, then they eat it hiding in the cooking area of the house, not in their usual

- 24. Nan ges pangabong nan natey ya et-adna, adida kayet mangan, et enggana ay eney nan ipogaw nan doso ay bonong, esada mabalin ay mangan.
- 25. Isonga itpelda as nan kaneg dowan algew, ay mailogi as san naisaalana, et enggana ay ambattang si nan maikaobana.
- 26. Mawakas pan as nan naikaobana, teel kayet.
- 27. Nan wiit as nan tona ay algew ay teel, wad-ay nan lotowenda, ay esa ay manok ya sinbotol ay kananda en sepdak.
- 28. Ambattang ages, alanda nan makwani en kakalading, ay esa ay manok ya sinbotol kayet ay watwat.
- 29. Malpas nan kakalading, dey masisyan nan et-adda, ay wasdin omey si abongna, tay engganas san naisangadilana, wad-aydas di, ay aped papatong.
- 30. Nan komaanandas di, ikaanda nan sin-iiting ay pagey, ay mangney si kaab-abonganda.
- 31. Adi pay masdem, inpanmanok nan deeyda et-adna, et wa nan eneyda ay sin-gigiyag ay makan as dis abong nan natey.
- 32. Mawakas kayet teel, et siya nan kananda en gopogop si nan masdem, ay wad-ay nan palpalenda, ay nan naay ay teel si nan maeneyan nan makwani en dalos.
- 33. Nan ikkandas nan naay dalos, alan nan esa ay am-ama nan kinyog et eneynas Papattay si nan deey aabatan, ay baken as papatayan, sanat palpalen ay mamatey et aboyana di, esanat aped ikaob.
- 34. Kedeng ay somaal, mawakas ges wada nan esa ay kinyog kayet ay eneydad Saklang ay dalos met laeng.
- 35. Siya na ay masdem nan mayomyoman nan amam-a ay inwatwat.
- 36. Et malpasda ay inwatwat, ya olay nan daanda inwatwatan, og-ogodenda nan am-in ay inomdan as nan maad-adogan nan natey, ay asyaangay, kaneg nan kopap-ey, loklokkob ya nan kok-olippang.

eating place.

- 24. As for the household of the deceased and his brothers and sisters, they still do not eat, until the people bring food gifts called *bonong*, then they can eat.
- 25. So they fast for about two days, beginning from the time he was brought home, until the afternoon of his burial.
- 26. The day after his burial, it is another ceremonial holiday.
- 27. In the early morning of this day, there is something that they cook, one chicken and one large slice of meat which they call the *sepdak*.
- 28. Again in the afternoon, they get what is called *kakalading*, that is a chicken and one more large slice of meat.
- 29. After the *kakalading*, his brothers and sisters disperse, each one going to his own home, because since the time that he was put in the death chair, they have been there, just sitting.
- 30. As they depart from there, they each take with them five bundles of rice, to take to their homes.
- 31. In the evening, his brothers and sisters all perform chicken sacrifices, and each takes one plate of cooked rice to the house of the dead person.
- 32. The next day is again a ceremonial holiday, this is what they call *gopogop* in the evening, there is a chicken killed on this ceremonial holiday for what is called *dalos*.⁵
- 33. What they do for this *dalos*, an old man gets a small chicken and takes it to Papattay to the place where the trails meet, not to the usual sacrificial place, then he beats it to death, says a prayer over it, and then just buries it.
- 34. He returns to the village, and on the next day there is another small chicken that they take to Sakrang, 6 it is a *dalos* sacrifice also.
- 35. It is on this evening that the old men gather to distribute meat shares.
- 36. Then after they have finished distributing meat, even those who didn't get any share, they relate the things that appeared during the mourning period of the dead person, whatever they were, such as butterflies, *loklokkob* beetles and *kok-olippang* beetles.

- 37. Siya dana nan og-ogoden nan mayomyom ay makigopogop, ya og-ogodenda nan dinngelda as kaysan ya nan inilada.
- 38. Nan kano ayen nan binmeskal ay kokolippang ya loklokkob, tay ngatin ya lota nan baleyda, as kano wad-ay nan kasi matey ay mai-kaob.
- 39. Gawis mo bakenda ay sinpangabong winno sinkakayong.
- 40. Nan ages kopap-ey, ipailana nan deey mabilagan nan deey bandala ay maosal si nan matey, isonga etey met laeng nan ayen tod-i.
- 41. Kedeng ay mawakasan nan gopogop, boknag et kadwan si boknag, idakalda ay omey nan deeyda nangegnan, ay nangigtek ay nangisangadil ya nangaan si nan sangadil si nan ena maikaoban, ay esa ay am-ama ya esa ay inina, et palpalenda nan esa ay manok ay minloto.
- 42. Ngetdan nan lalaki nan saleng, sanat idakal si nan pantew et aboyana kaneg mangapya.
- 43. Adi pay nan deey maloto ay manok, apedda ingedwaen ay dowa.
- 44. Nan babai ay nakiegnan, siya nan sinbetek saet nan sinpolo ay makwani en pangapey-an, ay eneyna as abongna.
- 45. Naay makidakalanda.
- 46. Sinbetek nan alana mo wad-ay asawan nan natey, ngem mo maid, powak ay gedwan si sinbetek, saet nan sinpolo mampay ay pangapey-an.
- 47. Nan pay lalaki, aped kedeng nan makan nan maen-eney si abongna, ya olay nan babai, waday maen-eney met laeng ay makan.
- 48. Mawakas ges nan maidakalana, teel.
- 49. Tolon algew ages na ay teel, et pitlon si teel, inbalegbeg nan pangatolna et indaw-esda.
- 50. Somaal nan i ninbalegbeg ay maag-agew, wa nan omey ay amam-a ay malpos nan pangatolna ay indaw-es, ay manaw-es si abong nan natey.

- 37. These are the things that the gathered people who are joining in the *gopogop* talk about, and they talk about what they heard long ago and what they saw.
- 38. What they say is the meaning of the appearance of *kok-olippang* and *loklokkob* beetles, since graves and earth are their homes, there will be another death and burial.
- 39. It will be good if it is not among the family members or relatives (of the dead man).
- 40. As for the butterfly, it symbolizes the spreading out of the death cloak which is used for the dead, that is why death is also the significance of that.
- 41. The day after the *gopogop*, it is a working day and on the second day of work, those who had touched the dead person, who had fixed him in and taken him off the death chair when he was to be buried go out of the house, they are one old man and an old woman, and they kill a chicken to be cooked.
- 42. The man lights a pitch pine torch, and takes it out of the house to the front yard and blesses it, it is as though he is saying a kapya prayer.
- 43. As for that cooked chicken, they just divide it between the two of them.
- 44. The woman who had touched the dead person, she gets fifty bundles of rice and ten pieces of meat called *pangapey-an*, which she takes to her house.
- 45. Now she can join others in going out.
- 46. She gets fifty bundles of rice if the deceased had a spouse, but if not, (she gets a) *powak* which is half of one *betek* or twenty five bundles, plus of course the ten slices of meat as the *pangapey-an*.
- 47. As for the man, it is just cooked rice that is taken to his house, and even the woman, there is also cooked rice that is taken to her house.
- 48. The day after he goes out, it is a ceremonial holiday.
- 49. There are three more days of holiday, and on the third day, the ward mates of the deceased perform the *balegbeg* ceremony and have a *daw-es* sacrifice.
- 50. When those who had gone to perform the *balegbeg* ceremony return home, some of the old men go from the ward house that is having the

- daw-es sacrifice to the house of the deceased, to have a daw-es sacrifice there.
- 51. Omeydas di, daw-esenda nan esa ay aso mo wad-ay, mo maid botog.
- 52. Siya ges na nan mangapyaanda, ay kapyaenda nan patik, seldak ya makedsel.
- 53. Ninwatwatda di nan dinaw-esna, omawidda as ab-abonganda.
- 54. Nalpas di, et mawakas boknag.
- 55. Wad-ay ges dowan algew ay boknag, alanda nan makwani en binaliwan winno amoot as nan masdem, ay esa ay botog.
- 56. Adi pay mapokal nan dallateyna, mangayewda ges nan pangatolna, et manawesda ges, et wad-ay ges i manaw-es as abong nan natey.
- 57. Nan deey bokal siya nan teel, mo baken dowan algew.
- 58. Nalpas di nan nindaw-esan nan insangbowan nan deey natey ay kananda en maikag-aw.
- 59. Adi pay nalpas di nan kaneg biyang nan pangatolna, ngem maawni kasida kayet mangayew ta indaw-esda as belway nan ili, ay mangaan si nan abig nan tod-i ay etey.
- 60. Nan naay kayet ay mamelwayandas nan babaley, mabalin ay omeyda manaw-es as abong nan deey natey, ta isokapay si makaan si nan talakena ay botog, manok ya aso, tay nan naayda ay talaken as kowada ay tinaynan nan deey natey.
- 61. Nan ages omey ad Bontok, panyew kano, ay mailogi as san lapon si boknag ay mawaksan nan teel si nan nalpasan nan naikaobana.
- 62. Sikod ona maala nan amootna, ta i omala nan pangabongna as bangana, esa baken panyew nan omey ad Bontok.
- 63. Mo omey omalas banga, baken ad Bontok, ay omey si nan teken ay abong si kayongna ad Malsa winno ad Saklang mo baken ad Dakdakan, et siya nan apedna omal-an si banga ay mangney si abongna.

- 51. When they go there, they they kill for the *daw-es* a dog, if there is no pig.
- 52. This is what they say the ritual prayers over, they say the *patik*, the *seldak*, and the *makedsel* (ritual prayers).
- 53. After they have distributed the meat from the *daw-es* sacrifice, they return to their ward house.
- 54. After that is finished, the following day is a working day.
- 55. There are two more days of work, then they get what is called the *binaliwan* or *amoot* sacrifice in the evening, which is one pig.
- 56. So when the vat stand has been removed, the ward mates of the deceased go out to listen for bird omens, they also have *daw-es* feasting (at the ward house), and there are those who also go to the house of the deceased for *daw-es* feasting.
- 57. On the day of dispersing it is a ceremonial holiday, if not two days (holiday).
- 58. After that is the feasting on the pig sacrifice of that dead person which they call *maikag-aw*.
- 59. After that it is the end of the responsibility of his ward mates, but after a while they again go to listen for bird omens so they can have another *daw-es* feast as the cleansing of the village, the removal of the restrictions brought about by that death.
- 60. This cleansing of the village, they can go feast at the house of the deceased, so that all the pigs, chickens and dogs that he had raised will be used up, because these animals that he raised now belong to the people that the deceased left behind.
- 61. As for going to Bontoc, it is forbidden they say, starting from the working day following the holiday when they finished burying him.
- 62. Not until after the getting of his *amoot* sacrifice, when one of his household goes to get his clay cooking pot, then it will not be forbidden to go to Bontoc.
- 63. When he goes to get a pot, it is not to Bontoc, he (just) goes to the house of one of his friends at Marsa or at Sakrang if not at Chakchakan, and from there is where he will just get a pot to take to his house.

NOTES

¹ As related by Charles Camfili.

³ The sangadil is a frame for supporting a dead person in an upright sitting position. It consists of two

² Feka is an area outside the village boundaries where victims of a bad death must be buried. People who die a normal death are typically buried within the village, in crypts adjoining the ward houses.

upright branches to which is attached a seat formed from the blade of a kamey wooden spade.

⁴ Coffins are hollowed out sections of a log, large enough to contain a corpse with legs pulled up as in a crouching position. They are prepared by families well in advance of a projected death in the family, and are kept submerged in mud or water, to keep them from drying out and splitting.

⁵ Literally, "cleansing".

⁶ The trails at Papattay and Sakrang are two of the main entrances to the village.