

GUINAANG BONTOK TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The texts presented in this volume were collected in the village of Guinaang, Bontok¹, during two periods of residence there under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The first period was from 1959-63, the second from 1966-69. The majority of the texts were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed and translated. The rest, in particular the explanations of various cultural activities provided by Charles Camfili (texts C1, C3, C5, C9-C10, and C14), were handwritten by him at my request, and appear here with only minor editing. A number of other texts in the same language, analyzed within the tagmemic model of that period, may be found in Reid (1970). Other unanalyzed texts may be found in Reid (1961a and b).

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to each of the authors of these texts for sharing with me their rich knowledge of Guinaang life and culture, and for their tolerance of my intrusion into their society. Specifically I would like to acknowledge the outstanding help provided me, particularly during the early years of my residence in Guinaang, by Benedict Omerrag Sibfay, a man then in his fifties and now deceased, who alerted me whenever a ritual was to occur at which one of the ritual prayers that appear here would be chanted, and who assisted me in their transcription and translation. Others without whose assistance these texts could not have appeared and whom I wish to thank are my constant companion of those years, a great raconteur, and now a village leader, Luke Pakoran Catay, and Elizabeth and Stanley Anongos who have continued to provide hospitality and friendship during the many visits I have made to the community in subsequent years, and who have checked all of these texts for spelling accuracy and for infelicities in translation.

The texts are grouped into five sets based on similarity in content. The first set consists of fourteen narratives dealing with various aspects of life in Guinaang at the time they were collected. Texts C1-C4 deal with customs relating to the formation of working groups and the growing of rice. Texts C5-C11 recount the customs with respect to marriage. Texts C12-C14 discuss the rituals associated with sickness and death. Text C15 explains the customs with respect to a house burning down, and C16 briefly explains the function of the village sacrificial sites. The final three texts in this set (Texts C17-C19) are short procedural texts on the making of yeast, rice beer, and sugarcane wine.

The second set of texts are transcriptions of *kapya* "ritual prayers" typically chanted by one of the older men of the village following the sacrifice of an animal as part of the performance of one of the rituals described in the first set of texts. Most of the *kapya* appearing here were recorded by either the late Coryo or by Awwacan.

The term *kapya* literally means "cause-goodness",² and is in this respect equivalent to the English term "blessing". Most of them are structured in the same way, consisting of two parts. The first and by far the longest part is a narration of various mythological events undertaken by two unnamed siblings, or by their uncle who is sometimes identified as Lomawig. These events

provide the symbolic justification for the ritual being performed. This section of a *kapyá* typically ends with a journey by the uncle around a number of villages, many of whose names are now used only in these prayers and whose identity is often unknown. The purpose of the journey is to take the *kapyá* being said to each of the villages for their benefit, and finally to Guinaang, usually referred to as Litangfan ("the covered place," see text O1),³ where it is presented to certain named ancestors in the lower part of the village who become the guardians of the *kapyá*.

The second part of a *kapyá* is a direct appeal to spirits (*pakdel*) who are said to dwell at each of the two sacrificial sites, Faang and Paliwak, to extend their character to the persons for whom the ritual is being performed. Ancestral spirits, as well as natural phenomena such as the sun and moon are also often invoked for their assistance.

The third set of texts are what might be referred to as origin narratives. They recount the mythological origins of the name Litangfan for Guinaang (Text O1), the origins of the people and their explanation for the old bilateral division of the village into upper and lower sections (Text O2), and a short explanation for the reason Guinaang is plagued with rats and has chronic water shortages (Text O3). The final two texts of this set provide the local version of the pan-Asiatic story of the Great Flood (Text O4), and an apparently recently adapted version of the Tower of Babel story to account for language differences (Text O5).

The fourth set is a collection of narratives recounting headhunting events within the memory of the story tellers. Texts H1-H6 relate battles between communities motivated by revenge. Text H7 tells the story of a punitive raid on Sagada organized during the Spanish occupation of Bontoc by a Spanish officer referred to in the texts as Karnati. The final three texts relate events which took place during the Japanese occupation of Bontoc in the Second World War. Two of them (Texts H8-H9) deal with what was probably the same event, the massacre of a platoon of Japanese soldiers on the outskirts of Guinaang. The other (Text H10) describes the events surrounding the killing of a single Japanese soldier.

The fifth set, which for want of a better label is simply called "stories", includes miscellaneous tales which deal with interaction between the world of the living and that of the spirits (Texts S1-S6). One of these stories (Text S6) is of particular interest. Although the story-teller was unaware of it, the events that he described probably recall a cataclysmic volcanic eruption, which must have been far more violent than the recent disastrous eruptions of Mt. Pinatubo. The next two stories (Texts S7-S8) are commonly told fables regarding the adventures of two young men. The final story in this set (Text S9) is a modern day adventure of two young men (Pakoran, the story teller, and his companion) who go to the lowlands to find work and learn something of the lifestyles of the Ilocanos.

The first (and longest) text in the volume, which deals with the formation and activities of the major working groups in Guinaang, is presented in interlinear format (see Reid 1972 for a full description of these activities). It was prepared using the interlinearizing function of Shoebox, a data management program for field linguists (Wimbish 1990).

Standard Orthography. The initial line of each sentence appears in bold font and uses a phonemic orthography adapted to common orthographic practices in the Philippines. It does not represent accented vowels, and only represents glottal stop (as a hyphen) when it occurs following another consonant. Hyphens in other positions either separate a sequence of n and g when these letters represent distinct sounds and not the velar nasal, or occur between two vowels to represent a geminate glottal stop. (Single glottal stops are not represented between vowels or at the beginning

of words.) Elsewhere, hyphens are discretionary, occurring at the ends of syllables to create word breaks in overlong lines.

The orthography does not represent phonological variation such as prevocalic variants of /b/ ([f]), /d/ ([ts]) or /g/ ([kh]), neither does it represent the [r] variant of /l/, occurring in non-high tongue environments. For a description of the phonology of this dialect, see Reid (1963),⁴ and for a fuller description of the alphabetic conventions, see Reid (1968). English translations of proper names in which these phonemes occur represent their phonetic character, with ch for [ts], and c for front, aspirated [kh].

Syntax. The first line beneath the orthographic representation provides an abbreviated syntactic description of the sentence. The analysis of the text has been done within the Lexicase syntactic framework (Starosta 1988). This theory is a highly constrained, monostratal type of dependency grammar, with all syntactic information appearing in the lexicon as features of words. A fully specified description would typically require a large number of lines to accommodate the sets of features, semantic, syntactic category, case, contextual, etc., that constitute the description of each word. Since space restrictions preclude such a description here, I have restricted myself primarily to specifying only a very limited amount of syntactic information. This includes the class of each word (i.e., its "part of speech"), either Noun (N), Verb (V), Adverb (Adv), Determiner (Det), Preposition (P), Conjunction (cnjc), or Sentence Particle (SPrt). Adjectives are analyzed here as a class of intransitive verb. In addition, the case relation of each non-predicative noun is given following a colon (not a lexicase convention), and for each verb, its transitivity is indicated. Lexicase allows only five case relations as features of nouns, Patient (PAT), Agent (AGT), Locus (LOC), Correspondent (COR), and Means (MNS), the latter three having both "inner" and "outer" functions.⁵ Case assignment in this text was not always clear, and some arbitrary decisions therefore had to be made. The analysis then should be viewed as a preliminary attempt at applying this restricted set of case relations to an extended Philippine language text. Lexicase considers all non-contextual features to be binary. My feature labeling here deviates from the use of single feature names with plus/minus values, and simply provides descriptive feature labels which in a presentation of this sort are more readable.

A few comments are necessary to explain the differences between the type of analysis that has been performed on this text and traditional analyses, such as those found in *Studies in Philippine Linguistics, Supplementary Series of Philippine Texts* (Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics). Following recent analyses of other Philippine languages which have shown them to be ergative, I also treat Bontok as an ergative language, in the lexicase sense that the Patient is always marked nominatively, that is, it is always the grammatical subject of the sentence. Sentences that traditionally were described as being either goal (*-en*), instrument (*qi-*), locative (*-an*) or some other nonactor focus are, in fact, ergative constructions, with genitively marked Agents and nominatively marked Patients. They are true transitive constructions. So-called "actor focus" sentences then (having verbs with affixes such as *maN-*, *qin-* or *-um-*), in which the actor is subject, and therefore also Patient, are by definition intransitive. Those which have two complements are antipassive sentences, and the heads of noun phrases in such sentences which encode the second complement are assigned the Means case.

Another somewhat surprising result of the application of this theory is the requirement that the ubiquitous *nan* form in Bontok (see also Reid 1964b), generally translated as "the", cannot be a Determiner, since Determiners are always dependents of noun heads. There are innumerable examples of noun phrases in the text in which the form immediately following *nan* appears either to be a

verb in that it carries verbal affixation, or in many cases an "auxiliary" verb, which is treated in lexibase as the head of a verb phrase requiring a dependent "main verb" sister. In some cases, lengthy sentences with one or more "subordinate clauses" preceding the main verb immediately follow *nan*. Since a noun phrase by definition can only have a noun head, these forms following *nan* must either be zero-derived nouns, or *nan* is not a Determiner but is itself a noun and is the head of the phrase. If the latter is the case, then any form following *nan*, whether a verb or a noun, is the head of a relative clause dependent on it, and it is *nan* which carries the case relation of the phrase. Evidence to support the latter analysis is too lengthy to be included here, but depends on the fact that *nan* can be shown to be morphologically complex, consisting of a noun head *na* "the one" and a "ligature" suffix *-n*, which historically at least, functioned as a Preposition (probably *gen*) introducing a relative clause.

Morphology. The next interline provides a morphological breakdown of each full word, with each root and affix given its basic phonological form. Here glottal stop is represented as ʔ. The velar nasal is represented by *ng*, as in the orthographic representation. The back vowel, represented orthographically as *o*, is represented in this line as *u*. The accent on the full word is given, since its position is determined following affixation. Reduplication is a phonological process with a large number of different types, the detail of which cannot be adequately represented in a line of this type. The presence of reduplication in any word is therefore simply indicated by the abbreviation R.

Prefixes and suffixes are separated from roots by a hyphen (-). Infixes are extracted from roots and other affixes, and are given immediately preceding the forms in which they occur, separated from them by an equals sign (=). Their actual infixed position can be noted by reference to the initial orthographic line. Typically it is following the initial consonant of the matrix stem. Clitics are separated from the forms to which they are phonologically attached by a tilde (~). Morphological variation is not generally represented, that is, only a single form for each different morpheme is usually given. For example, the preposition ʔas will appear in this line even though its postconsonantal variant *si* appears in the orthography line. Similarly, all regular phonological processes are "undone", including those such as metathesis, and vowel and consonant reduction, which result in forms that are often drastically different from the base forms. Thus the orthographic *paypay-ana* "his putting in", would appear on this line as *R-pa-ʔey-án~na* (cntv-cstv-go-lctv~3s) in which the deletion of unstressed *e* from the root ʔey "go", plus the required metathesis of the root initial glottal stop with its following consonant, create a stem *payʔan* "put in", the first three segments of which are then reduplicated. The phonological processes involved in this and other forms can be inferred by comparing the first and third lines of each interlinear set. A full description of the morphology and morphophonemics of the language can be found in Reid (1964a).

Gloss. The final line of each set provides a gloss for each morpheme and reduplicative process. The actual meaning of each word does not necessarily conform exactly to the gloss provided. Contextual features which cannot be specified here modify the meaning of words. Thus the term *am-ama*, *R-qamá*, *sglr-father*, usually means one of the class of married men, whether or not he has a living child (Reid 1976), but in certain contexts the term refers specifically to an older married man, one who is qualified to perform rituals and say ritual prayers. These meanings are conveyed in the "free" translation given for each sentence (in an italic font) at the end of each interlinear set.

Free Translation. For this text especially, the free translation adheres fairly closely to the phrase order and where possible the syntactic forms of the sentence, resulting in a degree of unnaturalness in the English prose. Where necessary, to provide information that is implied by the author but which might not be inferred by an English reader, additional information appears in parentheses. Footnotes are provided where fuller comment seems desirable. Sentence internal punctuation is generally restricted to commas. These correspond wherever possible to main clause boundaries in the Bontok text. They are included more frequently than is desirable for normal English prose, but especially for the unanalyzed texts they aid in associating the translation with the Bontok text.

NOTES

¹ Bontok is a member of the Central Cordilleran branch of Philippine languages (Reid 1974).

² The root *piya* "good" is no longer used in Guinaang, but is commonly found in other Philippine languages.

³ Most villages in the Bontoc municipality are referred to in the *kapyá* with poetic names, the origins of which are sometimes apparent, but sometimes obscure. Mainit is called Chongliyan (*dengli* "reddish, the color of a wild chicken", perhaps having reference to the multiple colors of the volcanic rocks surrounding Mainit); Maligcong is called either Patyayan or Charkongan; Dalican (or Challik) is Likayan (*likey* "part of a bird trap"); Bontoc is Censachan (*gesad* "to descend", the village of Bontoc is about 500 meters lower in elevation than Guinaang); Tokukan is referred to as Maryokan; and Samoki is called Paingan ("Shady place"). Other poetic names often appear in songs.

⁴ Bontok phonemes are: p, t, k, ʔ, b, d, g, m, n, ŋ (ng), s, l, w, y, i, u, ə (e), a, and vowel stress.

⁵ For definitions of these case relations, see Starosta 1988:126.