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THE HANUNOO-MANGYAN : Society, Religion and Law among a Mountain People of Mindoro Island, Philippines

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THE HANUNOO-MANGYAN

Society, Religion and Law among

a Mountain People of Mindoro Island, Philippines

by

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National Museum of Ethnology
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PREFACE

During the course of this research project on the folk culture of the Hanunoo-Mangyan in Oriental Mindoro, the Philippines, I have been helped and encouraged in myriad ways by numerous individuals and institutions.

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Masaru Miyamoto

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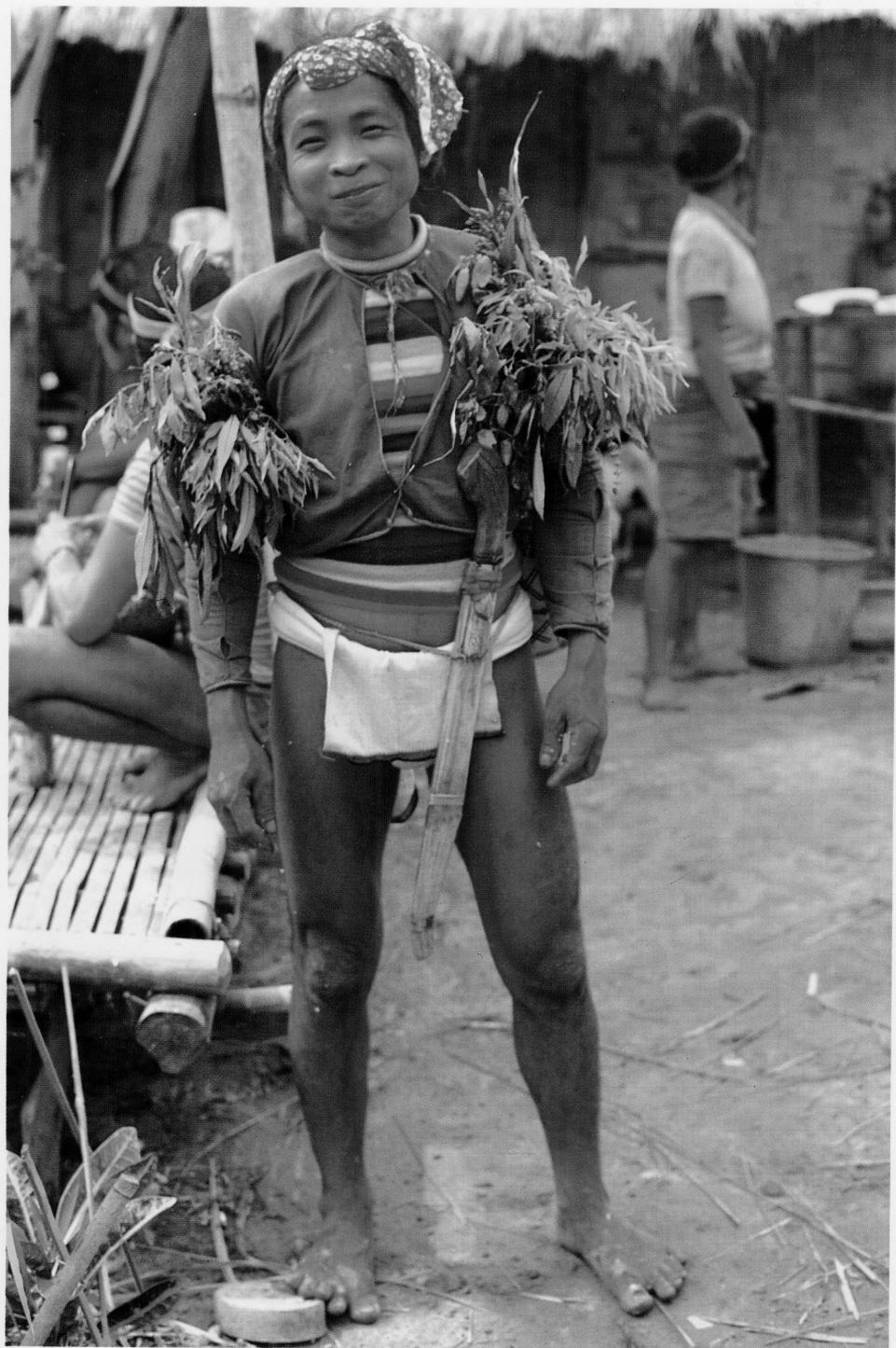


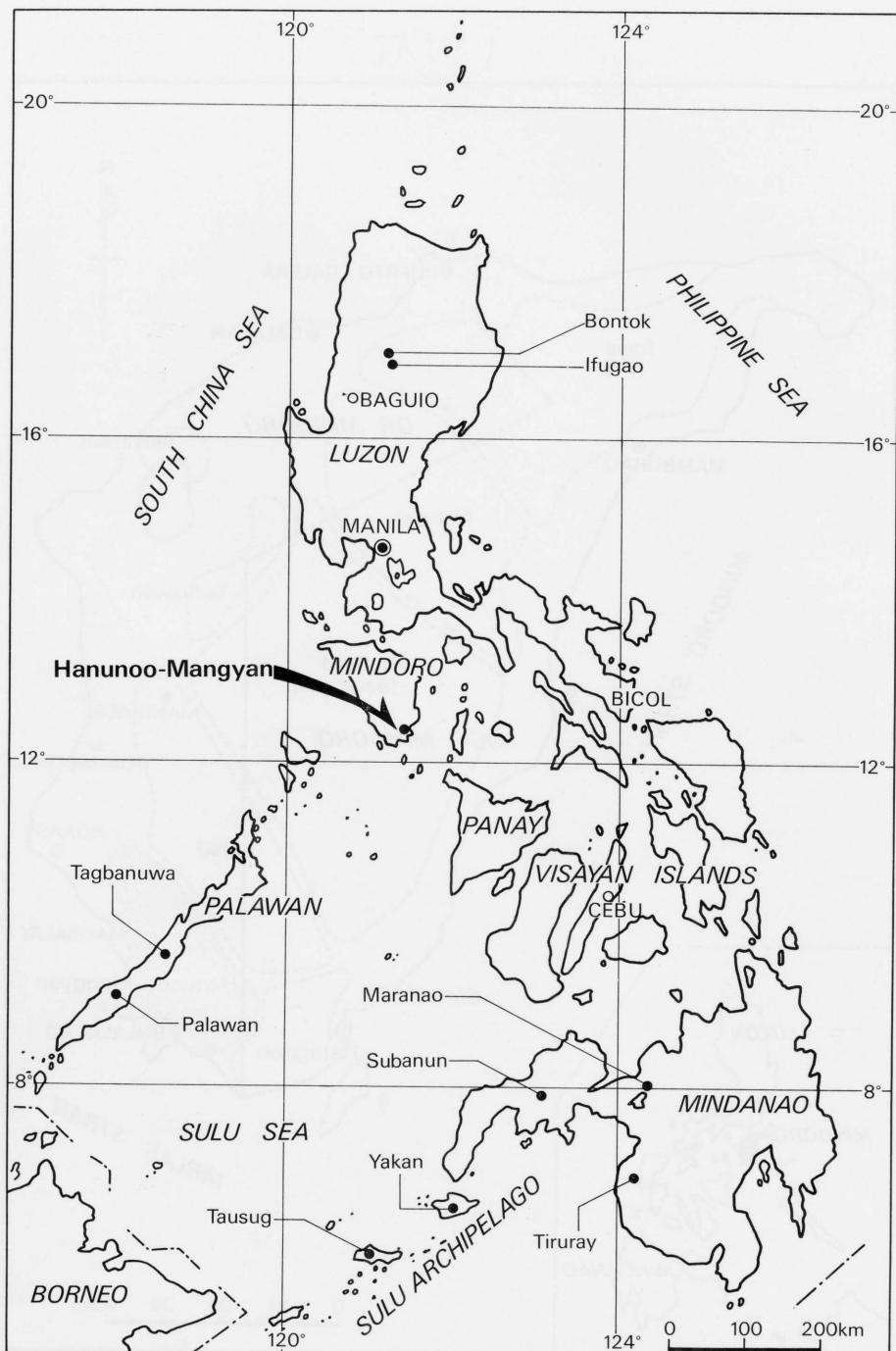
Plate 1. A Hanunoo-Mangyan decorated with fragrant leaves on his upper arms, participating in a feast



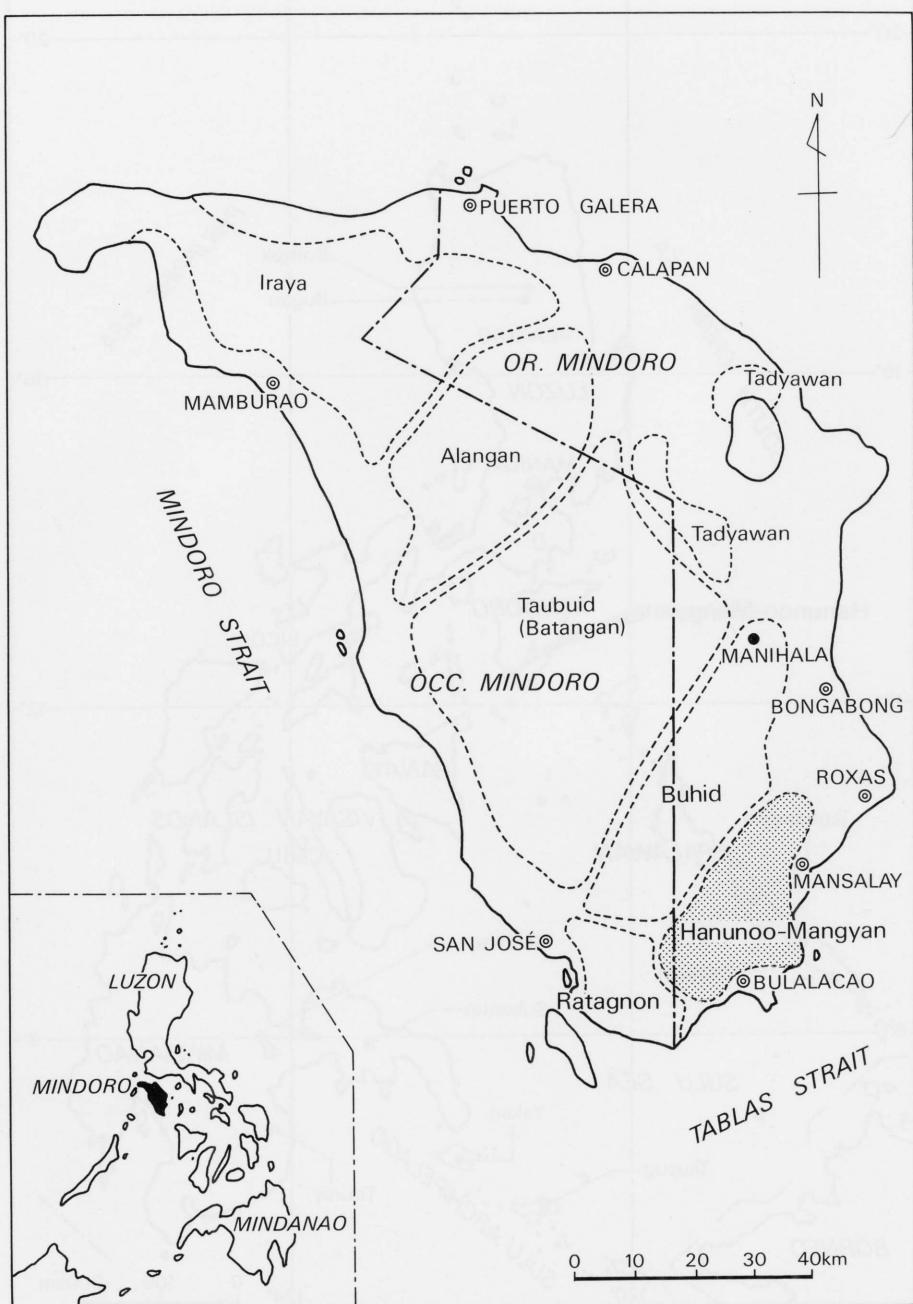
Plate 2. Kilapnit, a settlement in Wasig



Plate 3. Exhumation of human bones at a grave



Map 1. Map of the Philippines



Map 2. Schematic map of the distribution of mountain peoples on Mindoro Island (Based on the map of Tweddell [1970: 191])

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the folk culture of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, a Malayo-Polynesian ethnolinguistic group commonly known to linguists and anthropologists as the Hanunóo. They are swidden cultivators dwelling in the mountainous areas of Mindoro Island, the Philippines.

Mindoro is the seventh largest island in the Philippine archipelago, with an area of 10,244 km². It is located at the northern end of the Sulu Sea, west of the Bikol region and south of Manila, lying in quadrangle bounded by 12°9' N and 13°15' N and 120°1' E and 121°15' E (Map 1).

Historically, the Mindoro islanders traded with Chinese merchants as early as the tenth century. Spanish exploration occurred in the late sixteenth century, when recurrent Muslim raids were at their height, particularly in the northern part of the island. This island is divided administratively by a zigzag line into two provinces, Oriental Mindoro and Occidental Mindoro, under the present political organization of the Philippines. According to a recent census, the population of Mindoro was estimated at some 670,000 (1980) [NATIONAL CENSUS AND STATISTICS OFFICE 1982: 2].

The coastal plain area is inhabited by Christian lowlanders, such as the Tagalog, Bisaya and Ilokano. They are engaged in sedentary agriculture, fishing, forestry, commercial activities, office work, and the like. Although Mindoro is located only some 160 km from Manila, transportation is very poor. There are several airports on this island, but at the time of my fieldwork only two were used for regular daily service: one at San José and the other in Mamburao. Ports for regular shipping lines which connect Mindoro to Luzon Island are also few: one at San José and the other at Calapan. In the Province of Oriental Mindoro, there is only one office for long distance telephone calls. It is possible to call someone in Manila through the telephone at this office, but not *vice versa*. Mail takes a week, more or less, to arrive from Manila. Thus, urgent communication between this island and Manila must be made by telegram. So, although Mindoro is geographically close to Manila it is distant in terms of transportation and communication.

Most parts of Mindoro are mountainous. There are at least seven ethnolinguistic groups collectively referred to as "Mangyan" which are engaged in swidden cultivation in the highland region: the Iraya, Alangan and Tadyawan in the northern half, and the Taubuid (or Batangan), Buhid (or Buid), Hanunoo-Mangyan (or Hanunóo) and Ratagnon in the southern half (see Map 2).¹ This study is an ethnographic report of the Hanunoo-Mangyan folk culture. It attempts to consider

some theoretical problems in social anthropology. Its purpose is to elucidate the organization of Hanunoo-Mangyan society, how the inhabitants see their world, and how conflicts are managed and order is maintained in social life.

The study is composed of six main parts. First, the introduction briefly discusses the overall approach to the study. Then, the theoretical and methodological background is argued in Chapter II. In Chapter III, the general aspects of the Hanunoo-Mangyan traditional culture are briefly described in terms of natural environment, research sites, housing and clothing, food and subsistence, and their life cycle. This will serve as basic knowledge to approach the topics of the study.

In Chapter IV, social organization is examined, focusing on the kinship system and leadership in a traditional setting in relation to the socio-political impact of the outside world. The theoretical concern here centers on the axial family-line argument posed by Muratake [1967].

Chapter V deals with the religious aspects of Hanunoo-Mangyan culture. A description of their religious beliefs and practices (rituals) is made from the structuralist point of view, and their socio-cosmology or world view is discussed. For this discussion the taboo theory posed by Leach [1964] was employed as an analytical tool. This framework is effective to a certain degree, but it was found that an important aspect of human life is not included. Therefore, Foster's theory of envy is also discussed [FOSTER 1972].

One of the main concerns throughout this study is the problem of what kind of ethnography is adequate in describing an aspect of a culture. My viewpoint is largely based on the method of Frake [1964], and it appears in Chapter VI, which deals with the folk legal culture of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. The first part of this chapter discusses the socio-political significance of their traditional legal system from the structuralist point of view. The second part is devoted to a consideration of disputes actually occurring among the inhabitants so as to penetrate deeper into the realities of their life. In this chapter, not only social features but also cosmological significance extracted from their folk legal behavior is emphasized. The findings obtained in the previous chapters must be fully employed in this discussion.

The language of the Hanunoo-Mangyan (*minayyan* or *bāgaw mangyan*) belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic family [CONKLIN 1953a: 1].

The vowel and consonant sounds are fundamentally the same as those of Tagalog [PANGANIBAN 1972]. In the present study the five vowels and sixteen consonants are represented by the following symbols:

1. Vowels: *a, i, e, u, o*
2. Consonants: *b, d, g, p, t, k, ?, s, h, m, n, ɳ, l, r, w, y*

It is often difficult to distinguish *i* from *e* and *u* from *o*. In their traditional

1) Conklin [1949a: 270] and McFarland [1983: 77] have also prepared excellent ethnic distribution maps of this region.

writing system, *i* and *e*, and *u* and *o* are respectively written with the same script.²⁾ There is no problem even if *e* and *o* are represented respectively by *i* and *u*, as was done by Conklin [1953a, and others].

The glottal is indicated by ?. The voiceless consonants *p*, *t*, and *k* are unaspirated in final position. The velar nasal (as the English *ng* in *thing*) is shown by *ŋ*. The consonants *r*, *w* and *y* require brief explanation: *r* is an alveolar flap (as the Japanese *r* in *irori*), *w* is a rounded semivowel, and *y* is an unrounded semivowel (as the Japanese *y* in *yama*). Phonemic vowel length accompanied by loud stress is indicated by a macron over the vowel.

Names of persons, places and ethnic groups are written with initial capitals, but neither a macron nor a glottal stop is employed, as in *Adag*, *Manao*, etc. A hyphen stands for a glottal after a consonant, as in *Yam-ay*, *Sin-ay*, etc. The digraph "ng" is used to indicate *ŋ*.

In this study I refer to the ethnolinguistic group concerned as "Hanunoo-Mangyan", as Postma [1965] and Iturralte [1973] do. The problem of designation is beyond the scope of the present study, but a brief mention should be made.

This ethnolinguistic group was introduced to the anthropological world as "Hanunó" by Gardner and Maliwanag [1939], and Conklin [1949a]. Even though this designation has been commonly used in anthropology and linguistics, I hesitate to adopt it. This is because the people of this ethnolinguistic group never use the word *hanunō'o* independently in referring to themselves. It is only an adjective that means 'genuine', 'real', or 'true'. Since they ordinarily refer to themselves as "*mangyan*", they can be referred to with this word. But trouble arises if it is adopted as the designation of this ethnolinguistic group in a scientific study, because the word *mangyan* has two meanings. In the broad sense it denotes the mountain peoples in general of Mindoro Island, and in the narrow sense it indicates the people whose first language is *minangyan* or *bāgaw mangyan* (the 'language of Mangyan'). Therefore, if an alternative designation can be found, we should adopt it so as to avoid confusion.

The people of this ethnolinguistic group are often referred to as *mangyan pātag* ('Mangyan in a flat area') by the Buhid. This designation is used only to distinguish them from the Buhid who dwell in the higher interior region, and the usage is very rare.

They sometimes refer to themselves as *hanunō'o mangyan* or *mangyan hanunō'o* ('real Mangyans'), so as to distinguish themselves from other mountain peoples of Mindoro. I consider it most acceptable to employ this designation and call them Hanunoo-Mangyan: for it coincides with the designation employed by themselves, it implies the name of their language (*in* of *minangyan* is the infix), and it does not contradict the designation commonly used among anthropologists and linguists. In

2) In the Philippines there are three ethnolinguistic groups that employ traditional scripts, even today. They are the Tagbanwa (or Tagbanwa, of Palawan Island), the Buhid and the Hanunoo-Mangyan. Details of the Hanunoo-Mangyan script are presented in my essay [MIYAMOTO 1985a].

this study, the *mangyan* in the narrow sense are consistently called "Hanunoo-Mangyan", while the *mangyan* in the broad sense are indicated by the term "Mangyan".

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

1. Theory of Axial Family-Line

Since the late-1950's a great deal of attention has been paid to the Philippines, reflecting a new tendency in social anthropology. Although the nonunilineal (ambilineal) aspect of descent was pointed out in the 1920's by Firth [1929], most concern in the study of social organizations was directed to unilineal societies, from the viewpoint of African models [BARNES 1962], as represented by Fortes [1953, 1959], conceiving descent as a genealogical criterion for entitlement to membership of unilineally bounded groups. In the 1950's, however, the importance of "nonunilineal" (nonunilineal) descent groups in Malayo-Polynesian society was pointed out by Goodenough [1955], and the need for further studies of bilateral or nonunilineal societies was also emphasized by Firth [1957] and Davenport [1959]. Hence, the Philippines has been considered to be one of the areas which could provide an ideal setting for the argument of bilateral, or cognatic, social organization.

The predominant opinion denies the presence of unilineal descent groups and their formation in the Philippines. Murdock [1960] classified the "families" or bilateral descent groups of the Sagada Igorots studied by Eggan [1960] as a "bilateral (Eskimo)" subtype, and the bilateral kindred reported by Barton as an ambilineal ramage. It appeared that this viewpoint was most persuasive to explain the kinship systems in the Philippines.

Seven years later, however, a theoretical arrow was shot by Muratake [1967]. He reconsidered the theory of Beyer [1911], who applied the term "clan" to the bilateral groupings in Northern Luzon, and placed importance on the viewpoint of Kirchhoff [1959] who referred to the Igorot kinship system as a "conical clan", which would correspond to the concept of "stem lineage", the term proposed by Sahlins [1957]. Muratake writes:

Murdock, as well as Eggan and other scholars engaged in Philippine studies, seem to have an intention to give a structural definition to Philippine social organization (especially from the family-kinship system) fundamentally from the viewpoint that they are characterized in terms of ego-oriented kin=personal kindred and ambilineal descent. It is impossible to find in their history an attempt to extract and consider specific family-lines which are often found in cognatic societies in Southeast Asia and have an important meaning. [MURATAKE 1967: 4]

He shows that inheritance and succession are not made along a specific family-line among the Palawan living in the mountainous region of southern Palawan, and he presents the assumption that an ambilineal family-line, steady and axial, is formed on the basis of a cognatic structure as seen in Palawan [MURATAKE 1967: 5]. Basically, his main concern seems common to Eggan's, as noted by K. Kikuchi [1975: 241]. Eggan presented his viewpoint in the same year, writing:

In Indonesia we find bilateral social system widespread, but in certain regions such as Sumatra, we find unilineal systems, both matrilineal and patrilineal, which have apparently developed from a bilateral base. In the mountains of Formosa, as well, we find both bilateral and unilineal descent groups in neighboring communities. And in Micronesia and Polynesia—still within Malayo-Polynesian regions—we find further variations, including elaborations and specializations with regard to descent which go beyond those of Malaysia and neighboring regions. [EGGAN 1967: 201]

After conducting fieldwork in a local group of the Taubuid, in Occidental Mindoro, Muratake and Kikuchi [1968] analyzed their kinship system and considered the structure and function of the "head" (political leader). The authors pointed out the co-presence of personal kindreds and an axial family-line (of the head) in this local group. And they made it clear that Taubuid society is organized on the basis of both an ego-centered kin concept and an ancestor-centered kin concept, suggesting the germination of the characteristics of corporate groupings. They also put emphasis on the theoretical consideration of magico-religious and mythological features in association with a cognatic kinship system, although they presented only a small amount of field data on this aspect. Accepting Muratake's theory of an axial family-line, I discussed the axial family lines (of Sultan, Datu, and other socio-political leaders) with an agnatic tinge among the Tausug, one of the Muslim groups dwelling mainly in Jolo Island, and noted the importance of cosmological study for the consideration of Philippine Muslim social organizations [MIYAMOTO 1971].

Hanunoo-Mangyan society was regarded as a bilateral and leaderless one by Conklin [1957: 11]. However, in Chapter IV (on social organization) I propose that there is a monolineal tinge in the cognatic setting, and consider its significance.

In this study the term "settlement" is frequently employed. This term is originally a "concept which shows the scene of a congregation of dwellings" [ISHIKAWA 1970: 160]. This term is defined here in a broad sense: it is an aggregate of plural families (households). In this study the term "local community" is also used. This term corresponds to Murdock's concept "community", which is defined as the maximal group of persons who normally reside together in face-to-face association [MURDOCK 1949: 79]. Radcliffe-Brown [1950] clarifies the term "corporate", writing:

A group may be spoken of as 'corporate' when it possesses any one of a certain number of characters: if its members, or its adult male members, or a con-

siderable proportion of them, come together occasionally to carry out some collective action—for example, the performance of rites; if it has a chief or council who are regarded as acting as the representatives of the group as a whole; if it possesses or controls property which is collective, as when a clan or lineage is a land-owning group. [RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1950: 41]

A settlement or a local community comes to be tinged with corporateness if it is characterized by either of the above features [MIYAMOTO 1984: 74].

2. Theory of World View

There are not a few social anthropological works on the religious life of Philippine ethnolinguistic groups. Most of them seem to have been made by a "structural-functional analysis", as represented by Jocano [1968], who made a thorough study on the Sulod of Panay Island. It must be admitted, however, that little attempt has been made, with a few exceptions [e.g., ITURRALDE 1970, MACDONALD 1972b], to approach the thought system which would be fundamental to human beliefs and determining the folk cultures in the Philippines.

The social anthropological study of world view or cosmology (*i.e.*, symbolic classification in the human thought system), exploited by Durkheim and Mauss [1963] and Hertz [1960], was developed in the 1960's in terms of studies of symbolism or dualism by structural anthropologists such as Needham [1962, 1967], Lévi-Strauss [1963, 1966], Beidelman [1961], Rigby [1966], and others. The works of Cunningham [1972], who dialectically considered the house order of the Atoni in East Indonesia as a cosmological model, are evaluated as those which have overcome the studies of dualism of Needham and other Africanists. But a question remains as to whether or not models of dualism developed through studies on unilineal societies in Africa, Indonesia, and elsewhere can be satisfactorily applied to Philippine settings.

The central and guiding inspiration of structural analysis, as is well known, comes from "linguistics, and that inspiration is the idea of binary pairs, binary opposition, binarism" [POOLE 1969: 12]. The method of structural analysis depends primarily on the extraction of complementary oppositions and analogy of, for example, right/left, male/female, superior/inferior, sacred/profane, etc., from the phenomena of social and religious life. For instance, Needham [1958] provided strong stimulation to the anthropological world when he presented his analysis of Purum society, pointing out the structural correlation between the matrilateral alliance system and the cosmological system in this society, in support of the theory of Lévi-Strauss [1949] and against the argument of Homans and Schneider [1955]. Other works by structural anthropologists made a remarkable contribution to the interpretation of African folk cultures.

The theory posed by Leach [1964, 1976] is relevant to an investigation of the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view. His essay of only forty pages [LEACH 1964]

represents, I believe, one of the most revolutionary theories in social anthropology. In his essay Leach postulates a general theory of taboo (the "Leach Theory"), writing: "taboo inhibits the recognition of those parts of the continuum which separate the things," and suggests a correlation between three sequences of social distance from Self, *i.e.*, marriage and sex relationships, spatial categories and edibility of animals. Concerning his theory Leach maintains:

...that the physical and social environment of a young child is perceived as a continuum. It does not contain any intrinsically separate 'things.' The child, in due course, is taught to impose upon his environment a kind of discriminating grid which serves to distinguish the world as being composed of a large number of separate things, each labelled with a name. ...We achieve this second kind of trained perception by means of a simultaneous use of language and taboo. [LEACH 1964: 34-35]

Language gives us names to distinguish things, and the overlapping and bordering area between one thing and another, and yet separate from each is the tabooed part. The interesting point of Leach's argument is that this viewpoint is applied to religious phenomena:

Religious belief is everywhere tied in with the discrimination between living and dead. Logically, *life* is simply the binary antithesis of *death*: the two concepts are the opposite sides of the same penny; we cannot have either without the other. But religion always tries to separate the two. To do this, it creates a hypothetical 'other world' which is the antithesis of 'this world.' In this world life and death are inseparable; in the other world they are separate. This world is inhabited by imperfect mortal men; the other world is inhabited by immortal nonmen (gods). The category god is thus constructed as the binary antithesis of man. But this is inconvenient. A remote god in another world may be logically sensible, but it is emotionally unsatisfying. To be useful, gods must be near at hand, so religion sets about reconstructing a continuum between this world and the other world. But note how it is done. The gap between the two logically distinct categories, this world/other world, is filled in with tabooed ambiguity. The gap is bridged by supernatural beings of a highly ambiguous kind—incarnate deities, virgin mothers, supernatural monsters which are half man/half beast. These marginal, ambiguous creatures are specifically credited with the power of mediating between gods and men. [LEACH 1964: 38-39]

With regard to the two verbal category oppositions there is a third category which mediates the distinction of the two categories and shares attributes of both. This third category is taboo.

His dialectic theory of taboo later gave a clue to the investigations of Wi-jeyewardene [1968] and Tambiah [1969], who showed prominent and sharp insights in the study of Thai folk cultures. His theory was also adopted by Yamashita [1973] in rethinking the Lamet world view, and by Muratake [1974] in his discussion of the socio-symbolic order among the Ryūkyūan people.

Most of my discussion on the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view is devoted to the extraction of a rather geometric framework of validity within which to elucidate their belief system.

The last part of this discussion is directed at aspects which seem to be left out of this framework. An examination of illness illustrates that one of the main concerns of the Hanunoo-Mangyan in their daily life is envy, which they view as a dangerous element.

Simmel [1955] first argued this problem from the sociological point of view. Among anthropologists a sharp insight was presented by Foster [1972], whose viewpoint is summarized as follows:

Taking peasant society as representative of the type, I have described deprivation societies as characterized by an Image of Limited Good (Foster 1965a, 1965b, 1967), as societies in which one player's advantage is at the expense of the other. Since much of the evidence that will be cited in support of the basic envy hypothesis advanced in this paper comes from such societies, it is necessary to look a little more closely at the envy implications of the zero-sum game. ...Although in zero-sum game societies, anyone who has food, health, children, and a modicum of material well-being is envied, this envy becomes aggravated when either of two situations develops: (1) somebody, or some family, rises significantly above the average, or (2) somebody or some family, falls significantly below the average. [FOSTER 1972: 168-169]

Many cases of supernatural illness among the Hanunoo-Mangyan seem to be explained in the context of Foster's envy theory. It is definitely valid in an examination of their dispute cases.

3. Ethnography of Law

Although the anthropological study of law can be traced back to the literature of Maine [1861], Morgan [1877] and other jurists in the later 19th century, its assured status as a modern science was provided by Malinowski [1926], who investigated unwritten law in a primitive society as a cultural phenomenon [CHIBA 1969: 30-95]. Then, Hoebel and Gluckman overcame Malinowski's framework, which was restricted to primitive societies. Hoebel published *The Cheyenne Way* in collaboration with Llewellyn [LLEWELLYN & HOEBEL 1941] and *The Law of Primitive Man* [HOEBEL 1954], in which he dealt with primitive laws in a framework common to that of modern laws and established a methodology of anthropological study of conflict cases. Gluckman posed a methodology for the comparative study of primitive and state laws in *The Judicial Process among the Barotse of Northern Rhodesia* [GLUCKMAN 1955]. The literature was later broadened by the contributions of Bohannan [1963], Pospisil [1958], Nader [1964], and Omori [1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973], among others.

Chapter VI of this study is an attempt to provide an ethnography of the

Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system, focusing on litigation and dispute cases. Here three methods are employed in combination. The first is concerned with ethnographic methodology in general, which leads to the production of such an ethnography as does not depend on intuitive impressions by "devising operations for producing an ethnography from an ethnographic record" [FRAKE 1964: 111]. Frake remarks:

When an ethnographer first enters a strange society, each encountered event is new, unanticipated, improbable, and hence, highly informative in the communication-theory sense. As he learns the culture of the society, more and more of what happens becomes familiar and anticipatable. The ethnographer can plan his own activities on the basis of these anticipations. The more he learns of a culture, the more his anticipations match those of his informants. ...the adequacy of which is to be evaluated by the ability of a stranger to the culture (who may be the ethnographer) to use the ethnography's statement as instructions for appropriately anticipating the scenes of the society. [FRAKE 1964: 111-112]

From this point of view, Frake points out three tasks to be included in an ethnographic statement: 1) discovering the major categories of events or scenes of the culture, 2) defining scenes, and 3) stating the distribution of scenes with respect to one another, that is, providing instructions for anticipating or planning for scenes.

In this study, distribution of Hanunoo-Mangyan litigation is discussed first in terms of courses of action for conflict management. Second, the scene of litigation is identified and described in terms of the setting, paraphernalia, participants and process.

The second method employed is concerned with the legal process. Bohannan illustrates that the "event sequence" of legal institution can be represented in a simple diagram of a series of three typical actions that mark a situation as legal: 1) breach of norm, 2) counteraction, and 3) correction [BOHANNAN 1963: 284-285]. This diagram is too simple to be employed as an analytical tool to consider a legal procedure. However, its validity is enhanced if it is combined with the theory of ritual process posed by Turner [1969], applying the concept of *communitas* to a legal procedure. Festive aspects are emphasized here in interpreting the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system.

The third method employed here is that of case analysis developed by the anthropologists mentioned above. In this study, eighty-six dispute cases are first outlined, and then twenty-two of them are examined individually to elucidate the factors which appear to underlie the causes and characteristics of disputes, and/or the decisions made during the dispute settlement procedure. Through this task, not a few factors such as latent tension between in-laws, religious background represented by black magic, jealousy and envy, socio-political changes, etc., are pointed out. Lastly, dispute cases are considered in the context of socio-political change, emphasizing

ing the involvement of the power of the outside world of the lowlanders. Here the argument approaches the contemporary issue in the anthropology of law, *i.e.*, the problem of folk law (unofficial law) and state law (official law) which is the focal point of the IUAES Commission on Folk Law and Legal Pluralism [CHIBA 1983: 15; FINKLER 1983].

In this report, the terms conflict and dispute are employed to indicate a social friction. Conflict is used as a concept which contains the concepts of contention, dispute, competition and disturbance [CHIBA 1980: 69], although the distinction is not clearly made on the folk level among the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

4. Ethnographic Studies on the Mangyan Groups

The first ethnographic study, based on scientific methods and techniques, was carried out in 1947 by Conklin [1949a]. Although the southern Mangyan groups have been studied recently by researchers stimulated by Conklin, the northern groups are still almost an ethnographic blank. There are only two published reports on the Iraya: one by Maceda [1967] and the other by Macdonald [1972a]. Since these reports were based on short field trips—two weeks in the former case and two months in the latter—in the Iraya and Alangan areas, they provide us with little ethnographic information. However, Macdonald's report certified the presence of large houses (*banwa*) among the Alangan.

The first social anthropological survey on the Alangan was conducted in 1972 and 1974 by Kikuchi [1975, 1978]. Since his survey was conducted only for about nine weeks in all, his report was restricted to kinship, leadership and large houses among the Alangan. He attempted to discuss their cosmology and apply the taboo theory posed by Leach [1964]. However, Kikuchi failed to fully comprehend the dialectic logic of Leach: his mistake is obvious if examination is made of his diagrams of their living-space in terms of distance from SELF [KIKUCHI 1975: 233-234, 1984: 73-74] which presents a contradiction, having a plural SELF. Apart from this his report is important as it offers valuable data on large houses composed of plural nuclear families, which recalls the long-houses (*bilek*) among the Iban of Borneo [FREEMAN 1958]. After Kikuchi's study, comprehensive research was made on sickness and healing among the Alangan in a settlement called Paitan, by Leykamm [1979], through her long term missionary work there. Her data are reliable and meaningful in inquiring into the belief system of this ethnolinguistic group.

The Tadyawan have been almost untouched by anthropologists. There is no ethnography on this group except for an unpublished short report by Obata [1984], who conducted a preliminary survey on the kinship system among the Tadyawan in Socorro.

Intensive research has been conducted by some ten anthropologists among the southern groups. Among the Taubuid (or Batangan) initial research was carried out by Muratake and Kikuchi [1968]. The main concern in their study is, as noted

earlier, the theory of the axial family-line posed by Muratake [1967]. Kikuchi conducted fieldwork in another local group of the Taubuid from the same point of view [KIKUCHI 1971b, 1973b]. More comprehensive fieldwork was conducted later by Pennoyer [1977, 1978, 1979, 1980].

The first ethnographic report on the Buhid is that of Conklin [1953b]. I conducted social anthropological research on this ethnolinguistic group through short-term fieldtrips to the Kaguray and Kiyanaw-Inungdungan areas [Miyamoto 1974a, 1974b]. More substantial work was done by Lopez-Gonzaga [1976, 1983] and Gibson [1983]. The former conducted long-term research among the southern Buhid in Batangan, which was included in the project of the Commission on National Integration of the Philippine Government until 1975, when this organization was abolished. Her main concern was directed at the study of the ethnohistory and socio-economic transformation of this group. However, her study was criticized by Gibson. He remarks:

Because she conducted her fieldwork almost entirely in the settlement of Batangan which has undergone more dramatic changes in traditional economic, political and ritual practices than any other Buhid settlement, Lopez was unable to observe much of the traditional way of life.

...Lopez does not provide enough material on traditional forms of social organization to fully comprehend the nature of the transformation they are presently undergoing. [GIBSON 1983: 21]

Gibson's study on the northern Buhid (*i.e.*, Buid) is of great interest. His central concern is to "elucidate the fundamental principles and idioms according to which Buid society is organised" [GIBSON 1983: 22].

Information concerning the Hanunoo-Mangyan was introduced to the ethnological world early on by Gardner [1904, 1905, 1940, 1943, and others], and Gardner and Maliwanag [1939]. However, as indicated by Conklin [1955a: 33-34], their material was not handled scientifically.

It is, needless to say, Conklin who most significantly developed the study of the Hanunoo-Mangyan culture through a series of ethnoscience analyses dealing with a wide range of semantic domains, such as bamboo literacy [1949b], Minangyan vocabulary [1953a], plants [1955a], colors [1955b], music [1955c], swidden cultivation [1957], betel chewing [1954, 1977], argots [1959], and kin terms [1964]. Among these publications, those which dealt with plants, colors and kin terms form the theoretical basis of cognitive anthropology or ethnoscience today. His work on plants was taken up by Lévi-Strauss [1966] for the argument of symbolism, and this ethnolinguistic group came to be known not only among anthropologists but also among philosophers.

Great, also, is the contribution of Postma to the study of the Hanunoo-Mangyan culture. He is a Dutch Catholic missionary who has been engaged in mission activities at Panaytayan and other settlements for more than thirty years. He has published a series of reports on the general aspects of their culture [1974, 1977c,

1981] as well as on specific subjects, such as traditional forms of poem-songs [1965, 1972], traditional scripts [1971], folklore [1977a], and history [1977b], among other topics.

De la Paz [1968] made a general survey of Hanunoo-Mangyan culture and discussed problems regarding community development. Iturralte's work, which attempted to discover aspects common to Catholicism in the Hanunoo-Mangyan religion, is also of note [ITURRALDE 1973]. Although the insight she presented in the structural analysis of Philippine creation myths [ITURRALDE 1970] is not evident in her report, the great volume of data is of much interest.

Kikuchi [1973a, 1984], too, reported on Hanunoo-Mangyan cosmology from the viewpoint of "triadism". However, questions remain concerning his understanding of the concept of triadism and also on the reliability of his field data.

Also notable is the study of Watari, who started with a survey of Hanunoo-Mangyan techniques of weaving [1980b] and dyeing [1980a], and their costume culture [1983a, 1984]. He later reported in detail on everyday economic life in the Panaytayan settlement [WATARI 1983b]. This aspect is apt to be overlooked by social anthropologists.

My research reports appear in a series of publications on Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship, leadership and social organization [1977, 1978], funeral rites and cosmology [1976a, 1976b, 1983a], living-space and socio-cosmology [1975a, 1975b], amulets [1980], and customary law [1983b, 1983c, 1985b, 1985c, 1986], among others, much of which is presented here, together with additional data.

5. Fieldwork Techniques

The data on which this study is based were obtained through fieldwork conducted in the Mansalay region at intervals from March 1973 to January 1985.

The terms of fieldwork are grouped chronologically and by topic into five stages:

- 1) March, 1973
- 2) June, 1973–September, 1974
August, 1975
- 3) February, 1978
November, 1978
- 4) January–April, 1980
August–November, 1981
- 5) December, 1983
June–July and October–November, 1984
January, 1985

My fieldwork among the Hanunoo-Mangyan was not systematically scheduled. I arrived in Manila in the end of January, 1973, four months after the proclamation of Martial Law, for the purpose of doing research on the folk culture of the

Maranao, one of the Muslim groups living in Mindanao Island, among whom I had made a preliminary survey in May, 1972 and where I found that a tinge of corporate grouping could be found, and where materials for the argument of symbolism were abundant. After arrival in Manila, however, I came to realize that the Muslim areas were in an unsuitable political situation for fieldwork, and that I should find another place to do research. The term of my stay in the Philippines was limited to two years (until December, 1974), and three months had swiftly passed since I had arrived in Manila. I attempted preliminary research in Barrio Panaytayan, a settlement of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, for one week in May. This was possible through Fr. Antoon Postma, who introduced me to the people.

Certain materials presented by some anthropologists engaged in Philippine studies had given me a slight expectation that I might apply the structuralist theories mentioned above to the Hanunoo-Mangyan setting. For instance, it seemed to me that the concentric spatial arrangement of a community, the emphasis on the north-south axis, and the motifs of gravemarkers seemingly symbolizing the male and female sexual organs in the Tausug area [KIEFER 1968a, 1969] reveal a significant part of the total structure of their world view. And the analogical cognition of the house poles and the human body parts among the Tausug [JAINAL *et al.*, 1972] seemed to furnish me with a door to enter the study of Philippine cosmological systems. As for the Palawan, sharp insight was presented by Macdonald [1972b], who successfully analyzed their social and marriage systems and symbolic behavior at wedding ceremonies. These materials inspired me to take up the study of the folk culture of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. However, when I first visited Panaytayan I was surprised to find that those prominent theories applied to analyze unilineal societies seemed almost invalid to grasp the Hanunoo-Mangyan folk culture, since they have such a feeble sense of binary opposition of right/left, male/female, etc., which are of crucial importance to analyze the folk cultures in Africa and East Indonesia. It looked almost impossible to find even a tinge of corporate grouping beyond the level of the household among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, and what sounded fatal for the study of cosmology is that they are not required to perform a marriage ceremony.

After I finished the preliminary research I made a final decision to carry out fieldwork among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, although I anticipated that it would be beyond my ability to analyze the cosmology of this swidden group. Despite this I chose the Hanunoo-Mangyan region as a research site for several reasons. First, one of my biggest concerns in the study of Philippine cultures had been, aside from Muslim peoples, the swidden cultivators of Mindoro, due to my experience of short-term fieldwork among the Taubuid in 1970. Second, my stay in the Philippines was limited, as mentioned above, to a short time. It seemed to me almost impossible to learn a native language and collect ethnographic data within more or less one year. My financial capacity did not permit me to hire an interpreter all the time. Needless to say, I hoped to conduct fieldwork without an interpreter, because it could be easily guessed that there would be much to be missed if the informants'

words are always translated into English, especially when the topic comes to folk beliefs or religion. Fortunately, I found that many Hanunoo-Mangyan residents in Panaytayan and other settlements nearby were good at the Tagalog language that I could speak. Moreover, it was possible to obtain a guide book for Minangyan, *Hanunoo-English Vocabulary*, by Conklin [1953a]. Third, I hoped to undertake fieldwork also among the Buhid, a still unstudied ethnolinguistic group.

The data on the social organization, and religious beliefs and practices were obtained mainly in the second stage of fieldwork. I stayed in one of Fr. Postma's houses in Panaytayan, and I expanded my activities of fieldwork to other settlements from this place. In Panaytayan and other neighboring settlements no problems arose, even though I made notes in my notebook, used a tape recorder, and took pictures. Nevertheless, I sometimes faced difficulty in doing so, because a few of the inhabitants, especially elders, suspected that I might be a provincial officer, a school teacher, a missionary, or probably a sort of businessman related to pasture lands. When I planned to visit a settlement for the first time, I made it a principle to ask a Hanunoo-Mangyan friend to accompany me so that he could explain to the residents about my purpose and certify that I had no intention to harm their life. In most cases, however, they accepted me with friendliness, serving me water, cooked manioc or sweet potatoes, or sometimes rice and side dishes, if my visit occurred on a special occasion.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan mentality of 'shame' did not allow me to collect some data smoothly. When I asked questions about their customs, many of them, particularly women and children, answered *ta?o* (I don't know), even though they knew the answers. Later they said that it was mainly because they lacked in their own understanding and were worried that their responses might not be accurate, and/or that they were embarrassed to show their knowledge to others.

During this stage of the research period I attempted two kinds of survey: intensive and extensive. An intensive survey was conducted in Panaytayan and Hawili. Whereas the former is a community which has adopted new elements, such as a Catholic church and an elementary school on the basis of the barrio system, and the inhabitants' contacts with the lowland world are comparatively frequent, the latter is a community which has refused to accept the new system. The survey was done through interviews and observations, *i.e.*, research techniques generally adopted by social anthropologists. There are not a few variations in their belief system, in particular. Therefore, I rechecked my data as many times as possible by repeating interviews with the same informants on different occasions and with different informants at different places. The information was recorded sometimes on cassette tapes, with the permission of informants, and most of the time in my notebook in a mixture of Minangyan, Tagalog, English and Japanese. Extensive survey was also attempted at the settlements near Panaytayan and Hawili, mostly in the Kagrankan and Amaga areas.

During the dry season of 1974, I made several short-term surveys among the Buhid in Barrio Batangan and in the Kaguray and Kiyanaw-Inungdungan areas,

together with Hanunoo-Mangyan companions [Miyamoto 1974a, 1974b]. I was able to benefit in two ways through these field trips. First, the data collected during the survey provided me hints in considering the characteristics of Hanunoo-Mangyan social organization. The result is presented in the discussion of the Chapter IV. Second, through the experience of eating together and sleeping under the same roof during the terms of field survey among the Buhid people, I became much closer with my Hanunoo-Mangyan companions. Two of them worked as my assistants later, when I made an intensive survey in Hawili.

In the pivotal settlement of Hawili I resided in a small, borrowed house which had been used as a *balay darāga?* (a house for an unmarried young girl). I prepared rice, dried fish, canned foods, etc., and my assistants cooked them. We often offered food to the neighbors, who served us, in return, sweet potatoes, bananas, and so on.

In June, 1974, I asked two inhabitants of Panaytayan to build a house in one corner of the barrio site. It was only one month before my departure that the house was completed: it was a perfectly traditional house constructed without even one nail. This house was meaningful: it gave a message, I believe, to the inhabitants that I loved their place and that I would return in the future. When I started fieldwork in Wasig six years later, I found that many of the residents knew me, and this fact facilitated my research activities there.

During the course of fieldwork in 1973 and 1974 I did my best not to become involved in chatting about sex, because it could be easily guessed that the presence of an unmarried young outsider itself might make people uneasy. In fact, I heard several stories that Hanunoo-Mangyan girls had been made pregnant by young lowlanders living in the town.

The third stage was in 1978. I stayed less than three weeks in total in Panaytayan, but this time I was with my wife. The inhabitants were glad to see her. The housewives and girls often visited us at my house to meet and talk with her. The main topic of research at this stage was on the material culture of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, because I was expected by the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, to collect ethnological materials in Panaytayan. I prepared slide films and an 8 mm movie that I had made in Japan to show the inhabitants the exhibits of this museum. Fr. Postma, who had an electric generator system, cooperated in my project and showed them the films. The project was a success, and more than two hundred items were collected. Since the topic of this study is not material culture, only a small portion of the data will be referred to in the following chapter, where the general aspects of their culture are briefly explained.

In the fourth stage, the focus of research was on the legal system. Since I knew through my visit in 1974 that traditional patterns were maintained in the Wasig area, I decided to undertake intensive research there. I tried to extract a great deal of knowledge about Mangyan Law from the legal authorities in Wasig. Whenever I heard news of a litigation, I attended it, taking along a notebook and tape recorder. A survey of the same sort was done also in Panaytayan and Hawili during this

period. Another main topic of my research was on the Hanunoo-Mangyan cognition of illness. Through research on these two topics I found that there were many aspects of the social and religious systems which had not been noticed during the research period in the second stage.

The last stage was devoted to checking data so far obtained. I stayed in Manila for fifteen months, until February, 1985, during which time I made several visits to my research sites. This period was of great significance, because I could obtain invaluable information concerning black magic and amulets, which the inhabitants try to keep secret from others. I continued my work of recording dispute cases, mostly through interviews. The settings of the research sites are described in detail in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE HANUNOO-MANGYAN: GENERAL ASPECTS

1. The Setting

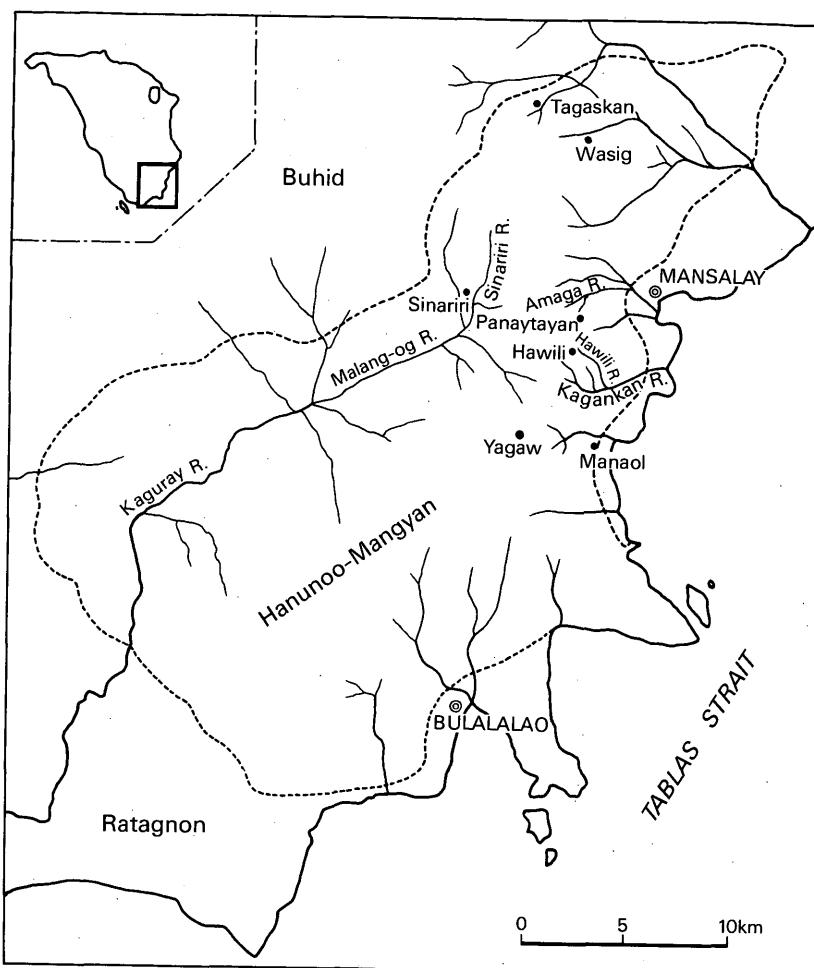
The Hanunoo-Mangyan occupy a mountainous region of about 800 km² in the southeastern part of Mindoro Island. Most of this region is within the districts of Mansalay and Bulalacao, the municipalities of Oriental Mindoro, and a small portion in the west falls in San José, a municipality of Occidental Mindoro. This region is surrounded by Christian lowlanders to the east, by the Buhid to the north, and by the Ratagnon to the southwest (Map 3).

On my way to the headwaters of the Kaguray River and the Inungdungan-Kiyanaw River, during fieldtrips to the Buhid areas made in 1974, I visited the Sinugbuhan and Tagaskan areas, and I found that not a few Hanunoo-Mangyan Buhid mestizos lived there [MIYAMOTO 1974a, 1974b]. The inhabitants of these areas use the Minangyan language in their daily life, but most understand the Buhid language.

It is impossible to obtain detailed data on the population of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. It was estimated at approximately 6,000, by Conklin [1957: 10], and at 7,000 to 8,000, by Postma [1965: 88].

Since archaeological studies have not yet been conducted on Mindoro Island, the historical background of its mountain people is little known. It is said that the people, collectively called Mangyan, began to dwell along the coastal regions of Mindoro, coming from the south, and that they were gradually forced into the mountainous interior by the lowlanders, who arrived later [POSTMA 1974: 21-22]. However, it is not known when these immigrations occurred. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan it is recognized that the ancestors of the Mangyan people have dwelled on Mindoro since the days of antiquity, and that the lowlanders settled there much later.

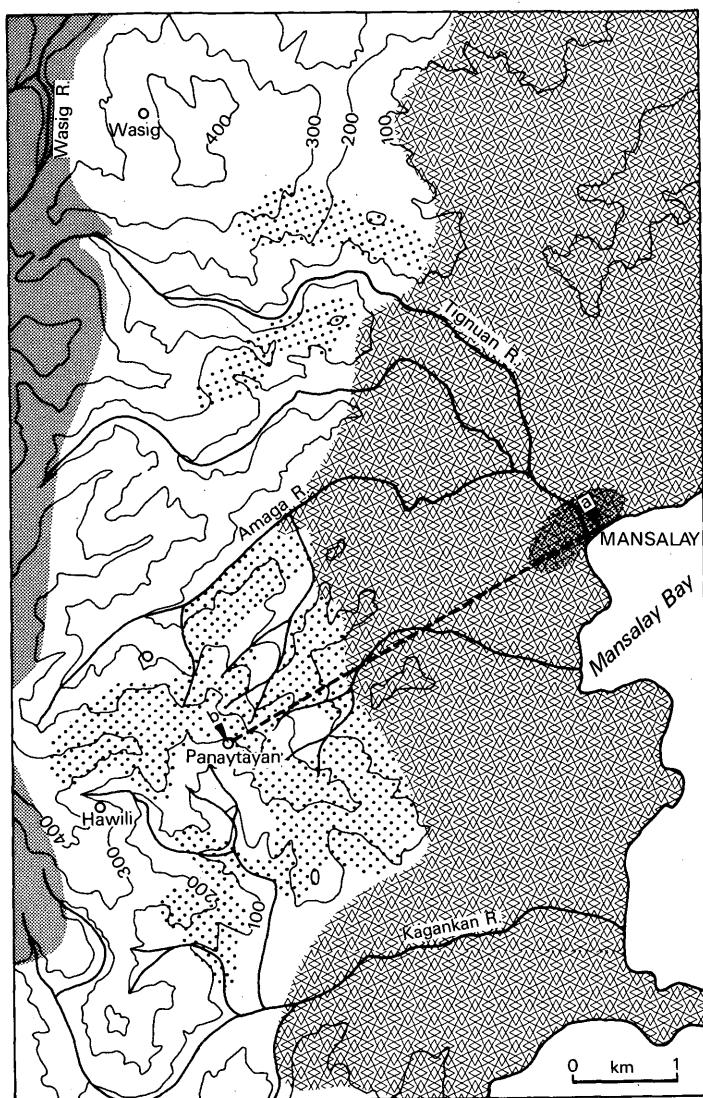
Although the Hanunoo-Mangyans show little interest in their own history, they regard two events as the most important—attacks by the Muslims and the Japanese invasion. Nothing concrete is said about the Muslims. But conduct of the Japanese soldiers during World War II is remembered by older people. The Japanese beaten by Filipino guerrillas in the lowland district of Mansalay fled into the mountainous areas where Hanunoo-Mangyan people lived. According to some older informants they rushed fearfully into the forest to hide when they saw the armed Japanese soldiers. One story tells of some people secretly caring for a wounded Japanese soldier since they were afraid of the Filipino guerrillas. People today recall that



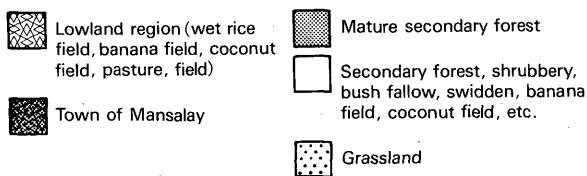
Map 3. Hanunoo-Mangyan region

some Hanunoo-Mangyan were shot by the Japanese, even though the former never fought the invader.

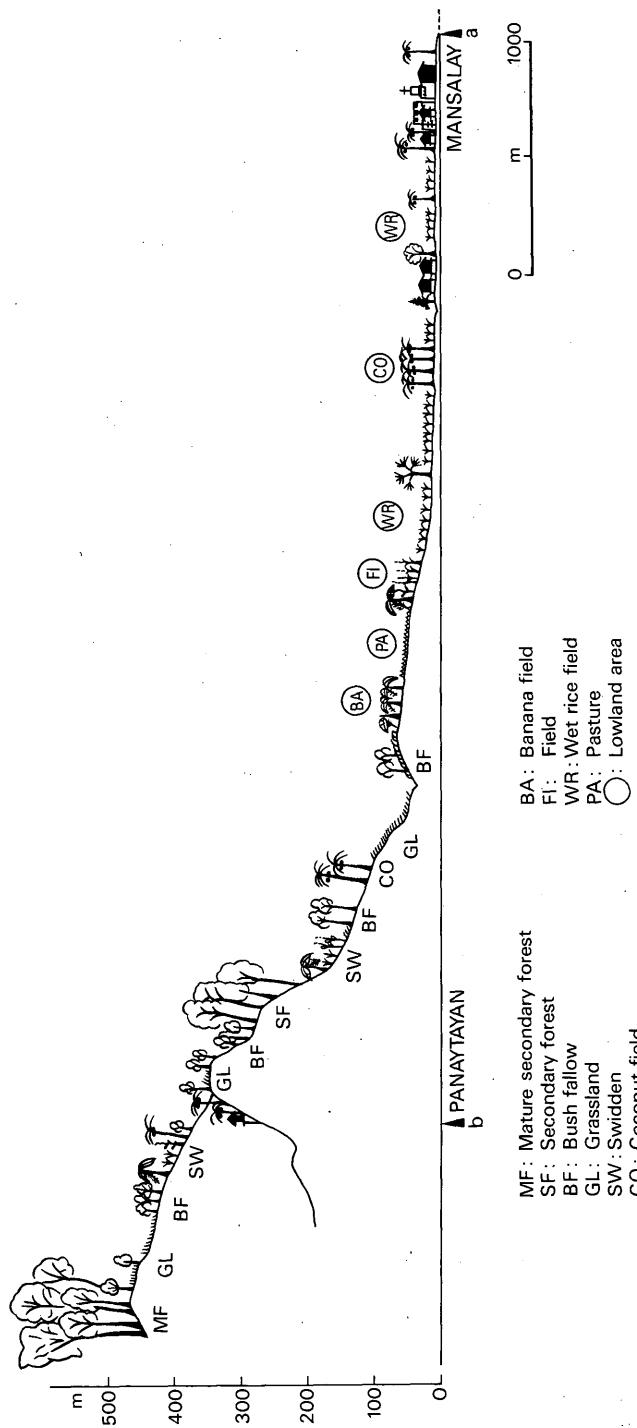
According to weather records made in 1974 by Teruhisa Tajiri, a Japanese agricultural engineer assigned to Panaytayan by the JOCV office, the mean air temperature at 9:00 a.m. from August, 1973 to August, 1974 was 26.3°C. During this period, the highest temperature was 30.0°C, and the lowest 22.5°C. The hottest month was May, 1974, when the average temperature was 29.12°C, and the coolest was March, with a mean temperature 24.91°C. Little rain falls from December to April. The rains begin in May, and signs of the dry season gradually appear in October.



Map 4-a. Approximate locations of research sites and their surroundings³⁾



3) Map 4-a is based on the maps of Mansalay (SHEETS 3257I and 3257II) reprinted by AFP Mapping Center (1982).



Map 4-b. Generalized transect of the principal biotopes from the Town of Mansalay to Panaytayan

2. Research Sites

My fieldwork was limited to the northern areas of the Hanunoo-Mangyan region, in the Mansalay district. Intensive research was conducted in three communities: Panaytayan, Hawili and Wasig. Watari writes on the environmental condition in the Panaytayan area:

Vegetation in this area has largely been destroyed by swidden activities of both Hanunoo-Mangyan inhabitants and Christian lowlanders. There are no primary forests in and around Panaytayan today. However, comparatively developed secondary forests still remain near the branches of the Amaga River. The greatest part of this area is occupied by shrubbery, bush fallows, swiddens, banana fields, coconut fields, grassland and so forth. The climax vegetation of this area seems to have consisted of trees typical to rain forests, such as *Pentaclea contorta* (Vidal) Merr. and Rofle, *Clethra lancifolia* Turcz., *Antiaris toxicaria* Lesch., *Canarium villosum* F.-Vill, etc. [WATARI 1983b: 88]

This condition is commonly observed in Hawili and Wasig, although the forests are better than in Panaytayan. The unsatisfactory condition of the recovery of vegetation by secondary forest in these areas is illustrated in Map 4.⁴⁾ Mainly because of overcultivation, *kogon* (*cogon*, *Imperata* spp.) grassland has rapidly increased. This tendency seems to be strengthened by the introduction of carabao plow agriculture by some residents of Panaytayan and Wasig.

Panaytayan, one of the *barangays* (recent formal designation for the lowest and minimal administrative body under the central government of the Philippines) is located in a comparatively flat area of 260 to 290 m above sea level. It takes almost two hours to walk from the town of Mansalay to this settlement. This settlement was legally approved as a *barrio* (former designation of barangay) in 1967, when the Catholic missionary from Holland was assigned there. He has been engaged in a Mangyan development project since that time. A spring in the western portion of this settlement was dammed in a cement tank and a hand pump installed. There are some 120 inhabitants today. This population is much larger than those of other Hanunoo-Mangyan settlements, partly due to this newly introduced water supply. A large house of wood, bamboo, and cogon grass was built in the central portion of this settlement to be used as a church and for other purposes. An elementary school (grades 1 to 4) was built near this large house.

Before World War II, it is said, there were only several houses in this settlement. But today many Hanunoo-Mangyan houses stand around the barrio site for the development project where the elementary school, houses of the Catholic missionary, a small store, a residence for schoolgirls from distant places, library

4) This transect was made based on observations at various elevations along the principal paths from the mountain top, as shown by points a and b on Map 4-b. Elevations were verified using an altimeter. Linear measurements were not taken, therefore the extent to each biotope is approximate.

(Mangyan Research Center), clinic, and a house for volunteers of this project are located.

Every Sunday the inhabitants of this barrio and neighboring settlements attend a mass, and afterwards enjoy chatting in front of the church and the store. Children play actively and merrily here. Although many of these people wear clothes typical to the Hanunoo-Mangyan costume, the scenery in this barrio site gives an impression that this is not a suitable place for social anthropological fieldwork on the traditional customs and beliefs of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. Nevertheless, it is apparent that at the houses located around this barrio site, the children are rather quiet, different from their behavior at the barrio site, and are quite loyal to their parents and elder brothers and sisters. The main concern of the Hanunoo-Mangyan centers on agricultural activities, traditional human relations, rituals, conflicts, illness and so forth. They sometimes (mainly at night) enjoy folktales and *?ambāhan* (poem-songs) in their houses. Agricultural, funeral and other rituals are carried out there in accordance with the customs handed down from generation-to-generation. When they become sick many of them first try their traditional medicine or visit a *panhilütan* (healer by massage) or a *pamara?an* (medicineman with a *pamara?* stone). They go to the clinic only if they do not get well after trying the traditional ways.

Hawili is located near the headwaters of the Hawili River. It is composed of three settlements. The population was 67 in 1974, when I conducted intensive research there. All of the residents were related through kinship ties. It takes less than one hour to walk from Hawili to Panaytayan. As explained in detail later, the residents of Hawili sometimes go to Panaytayan, but they never attend the Sunday Mass. No children have ever been sent to the elementary school there. Although this community is very near Panaytayan and the lowland region, their traditional life style is maintained.

Fieldwork was done in Wasig in 1980. This community is located 6-7 km northwest of the center of the town. It lies near the northernmost part of the Hanunoo-Mangyan region. Small-scale settlements are scattered along seven tributaries of the Wasig River and at about 400 m above sea level. The population of this community was some 210, comprising 45 households. All the inhabitants are related to one another by consanguinity or affinity.

In 1979 a young legal authority tried to establish a new settlement, named Kilapnit, in this community, with the cooperation of the Catholic missionaries (Plate 2). He attempted to persuade the residents of other settlements to move to this new settlement so that it could officially qualify as one of the barangay of Mansalay. The young legal authority was elected later by the residents to the position of leader, and he organized an informal administrative body following the Barangay Council of Panaytayan.

3. Housing and Clothing

The Hanunoo-Mangyan house (*balay*) usually contains one or two rooms with

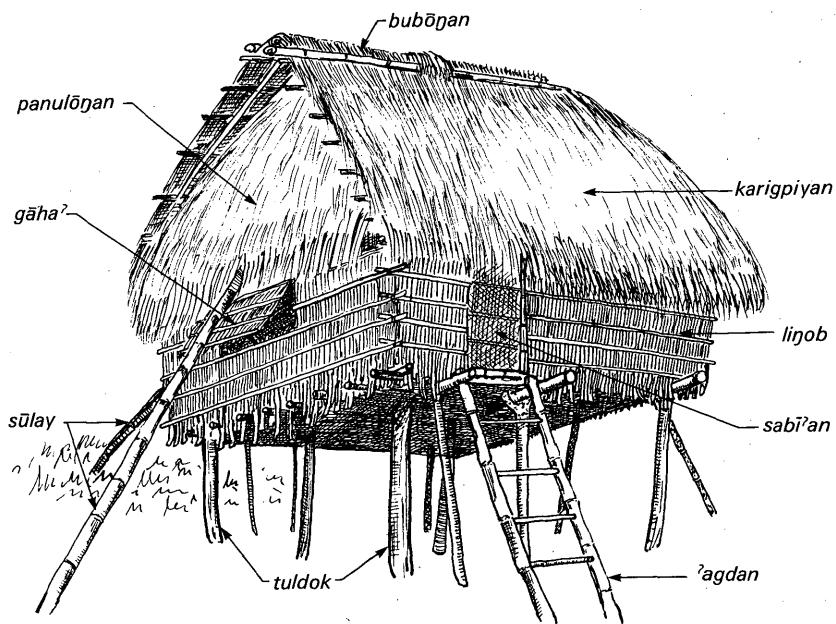


Figure 1. The outside of a typical Hanunoo-Mangyan house

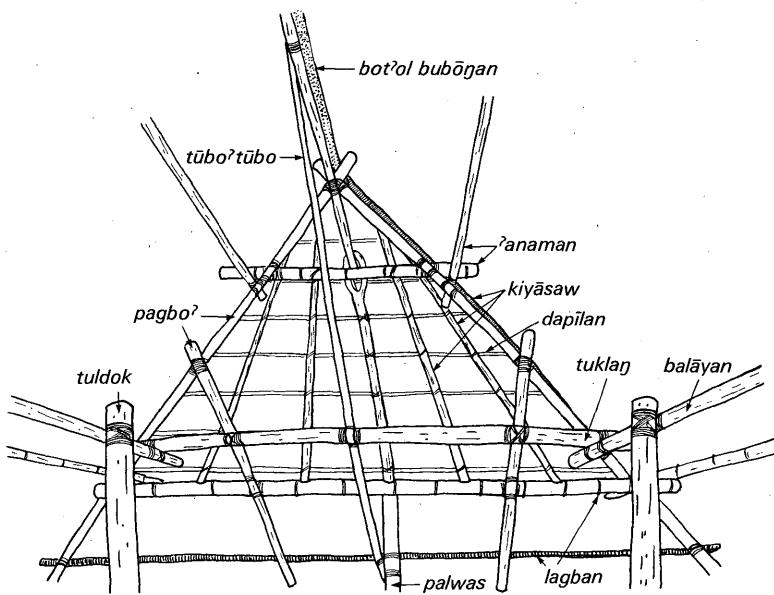


Figure 2. Main parts of the framework of a Hanunoo-Mangyan house

an elevated floor and, in many cases, a veranda outside. The terms for the main parts of a house are shown in Figure 1 (outside view) and Figure 2 (inside view).

I spent much time in obtaining detailed information on the house order at the initial stage of my research, because I wanted to know if it has some correlation with cosmology among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, from the point of view that "the house may be an effective means to communicate ideas from generation to generation in a preliterate society" [CUNNINGHAM 1972: 117] (although the society I am concerned with is not preliterate). However, I later concluded that the Hanunoo-Mangyan house cannot be said to be a model of the cosmos for this people. But some data on their house cannot be overlooked in examining their view of the world.

It is a man's task to build a house. A woman can also build a house where there is no man to build it, but this is quite rare. The first step in house building is to select a site. Necessary conditions for a house site are:

1. that the land is comparatively flat;
2. that there is a nearby spring or a river for obtaining drinking water;
3. that it is located at a place where strong wind never blows; and
4. that it is near a swidden site.

When one finds a place for building a house, he first cuts the weeds and small trees, and he goes home.

The second step is a divination, referred to as *tahābidan*. The following day the builder must stay home if he hears the crying of a *soksok* (a lizard, *Hemidactylus frenatus*, Dumériland and Bibron), a *tiki?* (a large lizard, *Gekko gecko* L.) or a *kudkuro?* (a species of bird of black color, *Ptilinos* sp.), if he sees a *putyukan* (a honeybee, *Apis* sp.) enter his house or if he takes a false step at the doorway, when he is about to go to build a house. If he ignores these omens, some misfortune will occur (it is said that he will be injured, bitten by a snake, etc.).

In the third step he erects a branch of *hawili?* (a species of a medicinal plant, *Ficus hauili* Blco.) with five or seven leaves in the central spot of the house site. He can use dried grains of maize instead of *hawili?* leaves. In this case he makes holes in the ground and puts five or seven grains in them. There is no strict rule concerning the number of the *hawili?* leaves or maize grains. Some maintain that any number is acceptable. These days a small ten centavo coin with a figure on one side is sometimes used. In this case the builder stands it on end in the ground with the figure's head upward.

Then, the builder faces toward the sun, concentrates, closes his eyes, and murmurs a prayer (*darāgin*). Some people state that the prayer is offered to their ancestors, but others say that they do not know to whom it should be offered. His prayer is:

no parawan di, managin?op ?ako da?ot.
no ?unman, mayad di kan tagin?op.

(If prohibited, let me dream a bad dream.
If not, may my dream be good.)

If one sees a fallen tree or if one falls down from a high place in his dream, it is regarded as a bad dream. It is also bad if he dreams of someone bleeding. Dreams of heavy rains, the ocean and swiddens are considered good.

He continues his prayer. If he uses grains of maize, he prays, for instance:

?inda pragma?is bilay tanda? sitay sa buruwātan balay. no parawan ?inda kay ma?is madūra?.

(This maize is just like a mark here at the house site. If prohibited, may this disappear.)

no mayad pagpanahon, tumūbo? ?inda pragma?is; ?ag no da?ot di, madūra? yi ?inda pragma?is.

(If good timing, may this maize germinate; and if bad timing, may this maize disappear.)

If one fails to make a prayer of this sort before he builds a house, evil spirits will, it is said, make the residents ill, or someone of the family will be injured or bitten by a snake.

After the prayer, the builder goes directly home and sleeps. If he dreams a good dream, he goes back to the house site on the following morning. Nevertheless, he must stay home if there is a bad omen; for example, if he hears a lizard crying.

When he arrives at the house site, he examines the central portion. If even one *hawili?* leaf, or maize grain is lost or the head of the figure on the coin is downward, it is prohibited for him to start construction that day, and he must repeat the former procedure. It must be repeated until the *hawili?* leaves or maize grains are found to be complete in number, or the coin is found in the right setting.

A house is made by a specific process: 1) setting up pillars, 2) roof-making, 3) flooring, and 4) wall-making. Description of the details concerning this process is not made here, for it would require too many pages.

House-building is done usually by one man. If he has a son, he takes him to the house site. This is a good opportunity for the son to learn the traditional technique of house-building.

After the builder finishes the flooring, he makes a window (or windows), a veranda (if he wants one) and a ladder at the doorway (if needed). Finally he makes a hearth (*dapogan*) on the floor near a wall.

A specific practice is, or was, made by the person who enters the house first after it is completed. The practice seems to differ from one area to another. In Wasig, for instance, the person enters the house with a fire (in any form) in his hand if the weather is cold, and he carries water (in a small bowl or glass) if it is hot. It is important to enter the house with the appropriate item. The fire or water is thrown away after this. In the Panaytayan area there was a custom that at least one person should stay at the house on the night after it was completed, and he should not let the fire in the hearth die during the night. In Wasig, people maintain that the

custom is practiced so as to neutralize heat and coldness. No explanation was given concerning the old custom in Panaytayan.

There is no rule regarding the direction of a doorway (*sabi?an*) or a veranda (*pantaw* or *?uklog*). The roof peak (*bubōyan*) is ideally placed on a north-south axis. If it is on an east-west axis, it is believed that some misfortune will occur to the residents. Although no roof peaks are laid exactly on a north-south axis, neither do any houses have roof peaks approximately on an east-west axis.

The cogon grasses of the roof and the *buri* (*Corypha elata* Roxb.) leaves of the walls must be replaced every three years. If not, the house will deteriorate rapidly mainly due to the leakage of rain. The pillar must be replaced if it is damaged by termites.

If many parts of the house are damaged or rotten, a new house is made just beside it or in another location. A person having a conflict with a neighbor (especially a close affinal kin) and who desires to keep a distance from him/her, might allow his/her house to deteriorate. This deterioration of the house would provide a good excuse to move.

To the Hanunoo-Mangyan clothing (*rütay*) is one of the most important



Plate 4. Hanunoo-Mangyan traditional dress: the man is wearing a loin-cloth and a shirt, the woman is dressed in an indigo-dyed skirt and a blouse

criteria in distinguishing a Mangyan from a *damū'ōŋ* (non-Mangyan, or lowlander). A Hanunoo-Mangyan male wears a *ba'ag* (loin-cloth) and a *balūkas* (shirt). A female wears a *ramit* (indigo-dyed skirt) and a *lamboy* (blouse) (Plate 4). Since detailed reports were made by Watari [1980a, 1983a, 1983b, 1984], only a few important aspects are noted here.



Plate 5. Weaving using a backstrap loom

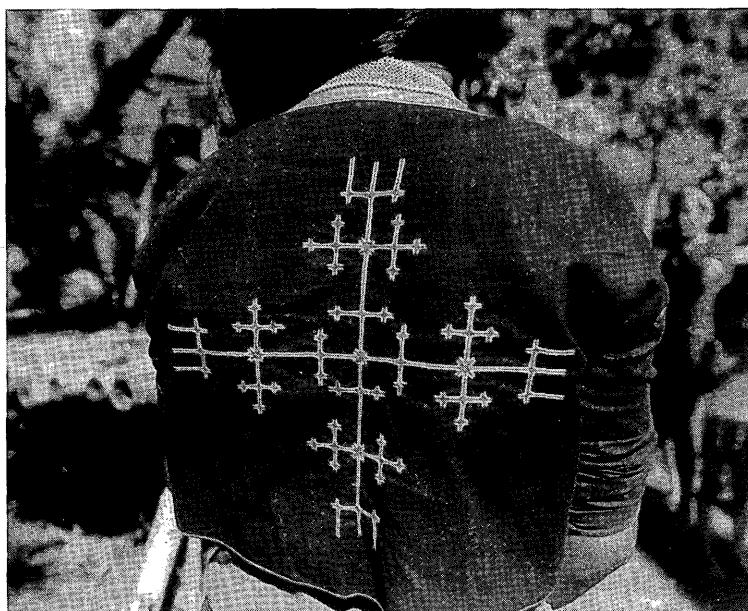


Plate 6. A cross-design embroidered on the back of a blouse

It is a female's work to make clothes. Traditionally, cotton (*būrak*) cultivated in swiddens is spun, dyed by *tāgom* (*Indigofera suffruticosa* Mill.) and woven with a *halablan* (a backstrap loom) (Plate 5). Since spinning and weaving are difficult tasks, most shirts and blouses are made with cloth sold in the town market. Skirts are also made with thread from the town.

Many of the traditional style shirts and blouses are embroidered on the back with a design called *pakudus* (fr. Sp. *cruz*, 'cross') based on the cross shape (Plate 6). This design is also found on their bags made of *buri* (palm leaf) and *nīto?* (black fern, *Lygodium japonicum* [Thunb.] Swartz), called *bay?on*. Most people say that they employ this sort of motif only because it is beautiful. Some explained, however, that it is to keep evil spirits away. Persuasive data could not be obtained on this cross design, but I suppose that the meaning might be revealed if considered in the context of the sacred number 4 and the motif of Mandalas widely seen in Southeast Asia [MABUCHI 1972]. If a Hanunoo-Mangyan is ill for a long time, his family erects crosses of *bagākay* (a species of bamboo, *Schizostachyum* sp.) on the four corners of the houseyard. Additional customs of this sort must be discovered to support my supposition.

Both sexes wear a *hagkos* (twilled rattan belts with a pocket) at their waist. Women also wear a *hūlon* over it. They put medicinal plants, amulets, cash, and other items of importance in the pocket of the *hagkos*. Long hair is the traditional style for a man. It is tied in one spot at the back of the head with a cloth hair-band (*saplog*). Women also have long hair sometimes dressed with a headband of beads.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan of all ages and both sexes are very fond of wearing necklaces and bracelets of beads. Beads have an important value not only for decoration but also for social, magico-religious and judiciary purposes (*vide infra*).

Most Hanunoo-Mangyan carry a basket with a cloth handle, hanging it on their shoulder. Inside the basket are kept a comb, mirror, betel chewing materials, medicinal plants, amulets, a *siyaw* (small knife), and so on. When they meet together, the Hanunoo-Mangyan take out a set of betel nut materials, exchange areca nuts, *būga* (areca nut, *Areca catechu* L.), *litlit* (betel leaf, *Piper betel* L.), *?āpog* (slaked lime), etc., and then begin their conversation.

4. Food and Subsistence

The Hanunoo-Mangyan have a wide range of materials which they culturally admit as *pagkā?on* ('food'). There are only a few items, such as cacao, dog meat, snails and snakes, which are edible but not classified in the category of *pagkā?on*.

They have three 'meals' (*pag?āpoy*; fr. *?āpoy*, 'fire') a day—*bāhaw* (breakfast), *yābas* (lunch) and *yāpon* (supper)—but they sometimes skip breakfast, especially during the rainy season when food is in short supply. An ideal meal consists of *karan?ūnon* (staple foods) and *?āpi?* (side dishes). Inside the house of a married couple is a *dapogan* (hearth; fr. *dapog*, 'ash'), where they cook food. Three rocks are placed in the hearth, forming a triangle. A temporary hearth can be made very easily.

ly even in the houseyard, simply by putting three rocks there. Before World War II, when the Hanunoo-Mangyan had little contact with the lowlanders, they started a fire with flint (*santik*). Today, they buy matches in the town or at Barrio Panaytayan, although most of them still keep their flint.

Only starchy materials are eaten as staple foods, such as rice (*pāray*, *Oryza sativa* L.), maize (*ma?is*; fr. Sp. *maíz*, *Zea mays* L.), banana (*sāgiŋ*, *Musa sapientum* and *Musa paradisiaca*), sweet potato (*kamōti*; fr. Sp. *camote*, *Ipomoea batatas* [L.] Poir), yam (*?ubi*, *Dioscorea alata* L.), taro (*gābi*, *Colocasia esculenta* [L.] Schott and Endl.), manioc (*kayukāyu*, *Manihot esculenta* Crantz), etc. Wild yams (*kūrot*, *Dioscorea hispida* Dennst.) are transferred from the forest to the houseyard garden or preserved in a certain way.

Ordinarily, these materials are boiled, except for wild yams. They obtained large-size clay pots (*talagman*) for this purpose from the Buhid. Many people use them today, but they usually use a *kaldīro* (a metal caldron). They eat boiled root crops with salt. They sometimes pound them with a pestle (*hal?u*) in a wooden mortar (*lusog*). This kind of food is soft; so it is good for the elderly without teeth, as well as for infants. The elderly grate cooked bananas, which are hard for them to chew, with an *?ari?idan*, a grater of *banāgu* (*Thespesia populnea* [L.] Soland.). Although the preferred starch food of the Hanunoo-Mangyan is rice, they cook it only on special occasions. They sometimes boil rice into gruel for a sick person.

There are other ways of cooking staple foods; parching powdered material, popping, roasting, and steaming. For powdering, they use a wooden mortar or a stone grinder (*giliŋan*, Tagalog).

For steaming, they pour water in a caldron, and cover it with a ceramic dish. They put materials on it, cover the caldron, and heat it. Since it was difficult for them to obtain ceramic dishes before, they used coconut-shell bowls with small holes. They slice sweet potatoes with a *?utak* (bolo, a large bush knife) and fully dry them under the sun. Then they pound them into powder with a wooden mortar. They add water (and sugar if they have any) to the powdered sweet potato and knead it with a pestle. Then they steam it. Wild yams are sliced and placed in running water for a few days to remove the bitter poisonous alkaloid substance. The slices are dried and kept at home for a time when provisions are in short supply, due to some phenomenon such as drought.

Side dishes are non-starchy materials such as *kabatsi* (sieve bean, *Phaseolus lunatus* L.), *kadyes* (pigeon pea, *Cajanus cajan* [L.] Millsp.), *lumābuŋ* (cowpea, *Vigna sinensis* [L.] Savi), *talɔŋ* (eggplant, *Solanum melongena* L.), *labāsa* (squash, *Cucurbita maxima* Duchesne), small fish, small shrimp, etc. Whereas they will cook a wild pig or a monkey, it is quite rare that the meat of a domestic animal is cooked for an ordinary meal.

Materials for side dishes are boiled in water mixed with *gata* (coconut milk). Salt, ginger, vinegar, etc., are used as flavor additives. Fish are sometimes roasted.

Cooked staple food is served on a *nīgo* (a flat and circular winnowing tray made of twilled bamboo strips) or a *tīwa?* (a low and squared basket of twilled bam-

boo strips) placed on the floor of the house. Family members squat around the *nigo* or *tiwa?* and eat with their fingers. If there are many, more *nigo* or *tiwa?* are prepared. Special meals are indispensable for ceremonies, certain kinds of litigations and other large-scale gatherings (*vide infra*).

Although some agricultural plants (e.g., bananas and manioc) are sometimes planted in the houseyard, most are cultivated in swiddens. Since details on the Hanunoo-Mangyan swidden cultivation are comprehensively reported by Conklin [1957], it is enough to show an outline of their agricultural cycle and a few other economic activities here.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan employ the term of Spanish origin *timpo* (fr. Sp. *tiempo*, 'time') to mean 'year'. They do not give a clear answer as to when a year (*?usa ka timpo*) starts. It seems that they use this term only as a temporal span composed of two seasons: the dry season (*turuñon*) and the wet season (*?abāgat*).

After the initial rite of rice planting is performed by a person called *panudlakan*, people await the onset of the southwest monsoon (*?abāgat*) to begin rice planting (*pagpamgas*) in swiddens prepared during the previous January or February. They are engaged in planting in early-May and usually finish it in all the swiddens before the end of June. This period is the second only to rice harvesting as a ritual high point in the annual round of swidden activities [CONKLIN 1957: 89]. Whenever rice planting is carried out in a swidden, the owner calls his relatives to help him and his household members with the task. When the working group arrives at a swidden to plant, the owner performs a special ritual, with obligatory ritual paraphernalia he has prepared, usually at the upper part of the swidden. The continuous rites held in May and June are for the rice spirits of all the swiddens in which rice seeds are planted. After planting, the swidden is called *tanman*.

After rice planting (also with maize and beans), the swidden cultivators are engaged in weeding (*pag?ilamnon*). This is a hard task, but a good harvest cannot be expected if they fail to do it.

Yam and taro are planted before rice planting, and manioc and sweet potato are planted afterwards. Both tasks are done, in general, by females. Emphasizing this aspect, Sasaki presented a hypothesis that the Hanunoo-Mangyan swidden cultivation, which is grouped into the root-crop/upland rice type, originally had features of the root-crop type, and that the cultural elements of upland rice plants were added to it [SASAKI 1970: 202-203].

In early-October, although the *?abāgat* wind still blows, people feel a sign that the dry season of the northeast monsoon (*?amīhan*) is near at hand. This is the starting time of *magbugkos pāray* (rice stalk tying). Rice harvesting (*pag?āni*) cannot be done before the performance of this ritual in each swidden. After rice harvesting, a special feast called *pamag?ūhan* is held usually within a circle of close kin or within the range of a settlement. When this feast is finished, perhaps before the end of November, people are released from taboos imposed after rice planting. After this feast, the cultivators' work is cleaning their swidden covered with the leaves and stalks of rice plants.

In January or February they begin selecting sites for new swiddens. If one finds a site, he erects a cross sign made of bamboo or wooden branches at the path nearest to it, so that other persons will know that they cannot use the site. Then they start the work of slashing trees and making a swidden. This activity is called *gāmas*. This work continues until early-March. When it is finished, a fire break (*kayig*) several meters wide is made around each newly made swidden, to prevent fire from escaping to the forest during the burning (*tūtud*) of dried branches and leaves. In early-April a number of people, irrespective of age and sex, get together at each swidden, and work at burning and extinguishing fires making sure that sparks do not fly to other places. Instead of the *?amīhan*, the *timog* wind blows from the southeast. Farmers have to choose a day without wind for burning. In the swidden where burning is finished they are engaged in the work of cleaning the swidden, usually before the end of April, so that planting can be made smoothly in early-May.

Side dishes are mostly vegetables in Hanunoo-Mangyan meals, but sometimes animal meat and fish are cooked. Domestic animals used for meals are pigs (*bāboy* *?alāga?*, 'pigs taken care of'; with black hair) and chickens (*manok* *?alāga?*). They are cooked only on special occasions. Cows, carabaos, goats and horses are raised by a few people, not for food, but for sale to lowlanders. Recently some people have adopted plow agriculture, using carabaos.

Today men never go hunting in a group. However, every adult male has his own bow (*bāy*) and arrows (*?ogyon*). Many men keep spears (*bangkaw* and *kalawit*). Most males (even small boys) carry a Y-slingshot (*tirador*; fr. Sp. *tirador*) to shoot birds with small stones.

Boys catch small fish and shrimps in a river, using a small hand-made *pamāna?* (a harpoon gun using a rubber band and an iron arrow). The residents of Panaytayan, Amaga and other settlements which are located at a distance of less than two hours' walk to the seashore go to the sea in a small group (2 or 3 persons) during the dry season. It is a sort of recreation for them. They spend a whole night at the seacoast, looking for octopus, squid, sea cucumber, and so on. They catch them with their hands, or by using a bolo or a harpoon gun. They carry the catch in a bag back to their settlement. Octopus, squid and sea cucumber are broiled on a fire, and fish are cooked together with beans in coconut milk.

Especially on Sundays, people sometimes go to the town area to sell their crops or animals. With the cash thus obtained they buy salt, tobacco leaves, kerosene, etc., at the town market. They are happy if they can buy salted and dried fish. Since the price of fish has increased rapidly over the last several years some residents of the Amaga community made their own canoe, and planned to buy a fishing net in 1984.

5. Life Cycle

Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan no specific rites of passage are performed, except for a series of rites regarding death. However, it is possible to point out some

markers which indicate transitional points from one life stage to another. There are six markers which divide the course of a human life into five stages or periods:

- 1) Birth,
- 2) Speech ability,
- 3) Change of voice or menstruation,
- 4) Marriage,
- 5) Loss of teeth, and
- 6) Death.

There are various beliefs and practices regarding pregnancy (*budoy*) and childbirth (*mag'anak*). When a Hanunoo-Mangyan adult explains the mechanism of pregnancy he often compares the womb (*?aranakan*; fr. *?anak*, 'child') of a woman to a swidden, saying that crops are produced because a man sows seeds. Anyone who is over the age of puberty knows that a woman's pregnancy is brought about by the emission of a man's semen (*buras*) inside her vagina (*sūlat birat*, 'hole of vulva') through sexual intercourse (*kīnud*, *kirindan*), and that the child grows in her womb.

When a married woman (or a girl who has a boyfriend with whom she has sexual relations) does not have menstruation (*magkadugo?*) at the expected time, she thinks that she is pregnant. When her pregnancy becomes apparent, several prohibitions are imposed on her and her husband. The prohibited deeds are:

1. To make any kind of knot, as in sewing, house-making, and other tasks in which knot-making cannot be avoided;
2. To weave something (both cloth and baskets);
3. To hang something on a wall, tree, fence, etc.;
4. To nail and to make cement;
5. To eat cooked rice which has been returned to a caldron; and
6. To plant rice.

In Hanunoo-Mangyan belief any one of these deeds makes the delivery of a baby difficult. The first four are compared to the difficult situation of a baby inside the mother's body or at the time when the baby is delivered. No explanation is given concerning the fifth prohibited deed. As for the sixth prohibition, there is a possibility that a woman cannot avoid planting rice. At that time she and her husband plant rice seeds at one corner of the swidden. Then she can plant rice anywhere in the swidden.

If the head of a baby is in the right side of its mother's womb in the late stage of pregnancy, they think that it must be male. If in the left side, on the other hand, the child will be female.

A *panhilutan*, healer by massage (mostly male), gives her a massage to lessen pain and facilitate her delivery. Her husband and children (if any) are also in the same room.

When a baby is born its amniotic sac is removed and placed in a new *bay?oy*

(*buri* basket), ordinarily by its father. The mother lays her baby on her insteps with its head at her toes, and puts cotton, in which water is absorbed, on its mouth. At this moment, some informants say, the child's soul approaches it. She ties two strings on two points of the umbilical cord (*pusod*) near its body, and cuts it later between the two points with a piece of *?ogyoy* (reed-like grass, *Miscantus floridulus* [Labill.] Warb.) or with a sharpened piece of *bagakay* (*Schizostachyumu* sp.). The umbilical cord is placed together with the amniotic sac in the basket. This cord is kept inside the house or carried by an old person, for there is a belief that it brings good luck.

The baby's father puts the placenta (*?alulunan*) in a *balakwas* (a bamboo container) covered with a banana leaf. He goes to the forest to bury it. He carries it upward if the baby is male, and downward if female.

There is no specific belief concerning a baby whose feet come out first (*su?i*) or twins (*si?ig*). A stillborn baby (*lunas*) is buried in the graveyard, without any ritual.

Abortion (*?agas*) is practiced by means of taking a certain kind of medicinal herb and undergoing a special massage.

As mentioned above, there is no rite or ceremony regarding childbirth. The mother is prohibited from working in a swidden for one month, by the end of which the baby is given a personal name.

After birth the baby has a soul near (not inside) his/her body, and the first life stage starts. In this stage, one is referred to as *lapsag* (baby). The baby has a soul but not *?isip* (the ability to think). Even though it comes to be able to walk, it still takes mother's milk and cannot speak well. It does not wear a loin-cloth or a skirt yet.

At the age of about three, a child can speak better and the adults around him/her say that s/he is *daka yi* (big already). S/he is no longer referred to as *lapsag*, but as *daka ?anak* (big child). S/he does not cry for his/her mother's breast, s/he understands, although not perfectly, what the adults say, and s/he knows to be ashamed. Boys wear loin-cloths and girls wear skirts. The boys and girls play in a group. When they become about five years of age, they are expected to assist their parents, carrying drinking water from a spring or a river to their house and taking care of their younger brothers and sisters. They often accompany their parents to a swidden and gradually learn agricultural techniques.

After a boy's voice changes, he is referred to as *kan?akan*. And a girl who has experienced menstruation is referred to as *daraga?*. In many cases the boy builds his own house and sleeps there. He has his own swidden, and travels around often to find a spouse. The girl, too, sleeps in her own house. Everyone enjoys this third stage of life.

The fourth stage is also a happy one. When a boy and a girl begin to live together, people say that they are already married. No special ceremony is required for marriage, except for a few situations. If a boy and a girl are close kin, a special rite and a feast are required. If the parents are against the marriage a certain social gathering will probably be held for 'discussion', and the offering of a special meal

will be requested. A married couple will have countless new experiences, such as childbirth, conflicts with in-laws, illness of their family members, the difficulties of life, the death of their parents, and so forth. When one marries and has a child, s/he is classified in the category of *gorājon* (old persons).

The last stage of life is marked by the loss of teeth, white hair, a weak physical condition, etc. An elder in this stage is referred to as *gūraŋ gūraŋ* (very old). S/he lives in his/her own house with his/her spouse (if alive), and s/he has his/her own swidden. S/he works hard until s/he cannot move any more due to his/her old age. Then, his/her son or daughter takes complete care of him/her. This stage of life closes with death, and the soul of the person goes to the world of the dead, where a new life on a different dimension begins.

In this chapter only the data on childbirth were presented in detail. Additional description will be provided on puberty, marriage and death in the following chapters.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

1. Introduction

One of the most difficult tasks imposed on social anthropologists is to find a theoretical framework of validity within which to explain bilateral, or cognatic, social organizations. Muratake [1967] points out the presence of "family-lines", steady and axial, among some ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, and he presents the hypothesis that a specific axial family-line is formed on a cognatic base. In their analysis of kinship relationship and political leadership in a local group of the Taubuid (Batangan), swidden agriculturists dwelling in the central-southern portion of Mindoro Island, Muratake and Kikuchi [1968] point out the co-presence of personal kindreds and an axial family-line (of the head). The authors make it clear that Taubuid society is organized harmoniously on the basis of both an ego-centered kin concept and an ancestor-centered kin concept, suggesting the germination of the characteristics of corporate groupings. This viewpoint seems to be valid in analyzing Philippine social organizations, as well as inferring the formation of the *ie* system in Japanese society.

In this chapter the Hanunoo-Mangyan social world is outlined, applying the axial family-line theory posed by Muratake. The first part of this chapter is devoted to a general description of the social view, kinship terminology and social groups of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. In the latter part, the analysis focuses on socio-political and magico-religious leadership, and the composition and orientation of their society is discussed.

2. Social View

The largest spatial range for the Hanunoo-Mangyan is the universe referred to as *sinukūban* (fr. *sūkob*, 'facing down') or *kalibūtan* (fr. *libot*, 'surround'). All existence, visible or invisible, is embraced in this spatial range. In their belief the universe has a globular (rather ellipsoidal) shape like a coconut. It is composed of plural strata (*?oklot*), and between one stratum and another is the *pāwa?* (interval space). According to some informants in Panaytayan, there are eight strata in the universe, the fifth stratum from the highest being the earth on which people live. The inhabitants of Hawili maintain that the lowest stratum is the earth with a rather flat surface, and that over it is the sky (*lāyit*) composed of eight horizontally arching strata.

The stratum of the earth is designated as *?usa ka daga?* ('one land'). In the Hanunoo-Mangyan image the oval surface of the earth is concentrically composed of three parts. The area inside the smallest oval is the *daga?* (land) and the broad area around it is the *dāgat* (sea). Most informants have an image that the land itself is floating on the sea: they maintain that one would reach the sea should he go straight down through the land. They believe that the outer border of the sea (and also of the earth) is covered with thick woods and rocks with nothing beyond it, and that all other arching strata of the universe converge at this border area. This area is said to be the *katapūsan* (edge, 'finished area') of the universe and is believed to be inhabited by horrible beings. Most informants remark that these beings must be *labaj tāwo* (evil spirits in the form of persons) that kill people and eat their flesh.

The land is classified into two categories: *rataq* (plain area) and *bantud* (mountainous area). While the former is inhabited by Christian lowlanders, the latter provides the Hanunoo-Mangyan with space for living.

For any Hanunoo-Mangyan, his/her living-space is basically composed of the *kabalāyan* ('aggregate of houses', settlement) and the *talon* (forest). Their cosmology can be understood in the context of the dichotomy of the settlement and the forest. While the settlement is a routine spatial domain inhabited by living persons, the forest around it is a non-routine spatial domain occupied by various kinds of spirits. Countless spirits (*kalag*) of plants are, in their belief, loitering around the forest. A large number of evil spirits (*labaj*) are prowling in the forest, especially at night. It is believed that these evil spirits have their residences at specific sites in the forest. It is also in the forest that sacred stones needed by medicinemen and most kinds of medicinal plants with magical powers are discovered. The soul (*karadwa* or *kalag*) of a dead person is said to go to the *karadwāhan* (the world of the dead) which is believed to exist far beyond the forest, and his/her corpse is buried at a graveyard (*lubōjan*) located in the forest. To the Hanunoo-Mangyan, the forest is a vital domain which provides them with resources indispensable for their daily life. They have been engaged in swidden activities for generations, opening the forest, slashing and burning it from one place to another. Without the forest it would be almost impossible for them not only to obtain food but also to make houses, clothes and most of their tools.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan social world is developed on this spatial setting. In their taxonomy, people (*tāwo*) are classified into the *damū?oj* and the *māyan* (in the broad sense). The term *damū?oj*, which originally means 'those who have come by boat' [POSTMA 1974: 22], is employed as a word to collectively refer to non-Mangyans or lowlanders. The term *kristiyāno* (fr. Sp. *cristiano*, 'Christian') is often used as a synonym of *damū?oj*.

The criteria for differentiating the *damū?oj* and the *māyan* are costume, residential conditions, religion and language. The Hanunoo-Mangyan generally define the *damū?oj* as those who wear pants or a skirt and shoes, live in plenty on plain lowland areas, and believe in Christianity. And this mountain people define the *māyan*, including themselves, as those who wear a *ba?ag* (a loin-cloth, in the

case of males) or a *ramit* (a skirt-like clothing, in the case of females), live in the mountains, engage in swidden activities, and have a traditional religion different from that of the *damū?onj*.⁵⁾ To the Hanunoo-Mangyan, the category of *damū?onj* includes not only Filipino lowlanders such as the Tagalog, Bisaya, Ilokano etc., but also the Chinese (*?insik*), Americans (*merikāno*, fr. Sp. *americano*), Spaniards (*kastīla?*, fr. Sp. *Castilla*), Dutch (*?ulandes*, fr. Sp. *holandés*), Japanese (*hapon*, fr. Sp. *Japón*) and so on. All these peoples, who speak languages different from the Mangyans', are considered to be Christianized.

Hanunoo-Mangyans often buy things (salt, matches, kerosene, etc.) at the market in the town of Mansalay, or ride on a tricycle (a motorcycle with a side car) or a jeepney with lowlanders. This gives the impression that a smooth relationship exists between the lowlanders and the Mangyans. Nevertheless, the impression is effaced when it is realized, for example, that a Hanunoo-Mangyan is hired by a lowlander for work in the latter's farm usually at sub-standard wage (1-2 pesos, about US \$ 0.15-0.30 in 1974, when the minimum wage was stipulated as 4.75 pesos per day by the national *Labor Law* of the Philippines), and that landgrabs, legal or illegal, by lowlanders are still prevalent.⁶⁾ In reality, the Hanunoo-Mangyan, as well as other mountain peoples in Mindoro Island [KIKUCHI 1984: 36], are afraid of Christian lowlanders.

I frequently observed Hanunoo-Mangyan parents saying to their crying babies, "*damū?onj*, *damū?onj!*" This is in order to terrify them and make them quiet. The Hanunoo-Mangyan believe in various kinds of evil spirits, such as *laban̄ kuti?* (evil spirits in the form of cats), *laban̄ bāboy* (evil spirits in the form of wild pigs), *laban̄ manok* (evil spirits in the form of forest fowl), *laban̄ tāwo* (evil spirits in the form of persons) and so on. Of these, people are especially afraid of *laban̄ tāwo*. According to them, there are two kinds of *laban̄ tāwo*: those that look like Hanunoo-Mangyans and those that look like lowlanders; and they say that the latter are the most terrible. Hanunoo-Mangyan children, who are very lively in their mountains,

5) Dr. Harold C. Conklin, who conducted ethnographic fieldwork several times between 1947 and 1957 among the Hanunoo-Mangyan in the Yagaw area, is still remembered and loved by many elderly persons. One of the old inhabitants in Hawili, who had sometimes visited his friends in Yagaw and met Dr. Conklin, answered my question that this anthropologist is a *kiristiyāno*, "*?unman kiristiyāno si kānkilin*" (Conklin is not a Christian). The reason was because he was a kind person. For the Hanunoo-Mangyan, religion itself is not a main criterion defining whether one is a *kiristiyāno* or not.

6) The recent official exchange rates of pesos per US dollar are (from the *Daily Bulletin on Exchange Rates*, Foreign Exchange Department, Central Bank of the Philippines): ₱3.94 (Jan., 1970), ₱6.25 (Jul. 1970), ₱6.435 (Jan. 1971), ₱6.435 (Jul. 1971), ₱6.435 (Jan. 1972), ₱6.778 (Jul. 1972), ₱6.7795 (Jan. 1973), ₱6.7585 (Jul. 1973), ₱6.725 (Jan. 1974), ₱6.745 (Jul. 1974), ₱7.072 (Jan. 1975), ₱7.507 (Jul. 1975), ₱7.4726 (Jan. 1976), ₱7.429 (Jul. 1976), ₱7.427 (Jan. 1977), ₱7.395 (Jul. 1977), ₱7.372 (Jan. 1978), ₱7.361 (Jul. 1978), ₱7.377 (Jan. 1979), ₱7.372 (Jul. 1979), ₱7.416 (Jan. 1980), ₱7.55 (Jul. 1980), ₱7.65 (Jan. 1981), ₱7.95 (Jul. 1981), ₱8.295 (Jan. 1982), ₱8.5 (Jul. 1982), ₱9.391 (Jan. 1983), ₱11.002 (Jul. 1983).

look nervous and follow their parents or adult companions closely once they walk down to the town. Traditionally, sexual relations between a lowlander and a Hanunoo-Mangyan are banned. There is a belief that one who violates this rule will suffer from pains due to the swelling of his/her sexual organ and that any child born from such a union will die. Marriage with a lowlander is axiomatically prohibited. According to Hanunoo-Mangyan religious beliefs, their world of the dead is completely isolated from that of dead lowlanders. It is said that lowlanders have no influence on the Hanunoo-Mangyan world of the dead. Thus, in the Hanunoo-Mangyan social world a definite line of demarkation is drawn between Christian lowlanders and Mangyans, and the former are placed at the remotest social distance from any Hanunoo-Mangyan.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan have a sense that they can relax in front of any Mangyan even though the latter's language is different from the former. Marriage with a Mangyan of another ethnolinguistic group is permitted as long as s/he is out of a specific range of kinship. In general, however, the Hanunoo-Mangyan seem to look down on other Mangyan groups. For instance, they characterize the Buhid people, by saying "They seldom bathe in water", "In their region are lots of leeches", "Many people have skin disease there", and so on. It seems that the ethnic identity of the Hanunoo-Mangyan is maintained by means of maintaining a certain social distance from other Mangyan groups.

For any Hanunoo-Mangyan (Ego), all Mangyans are classified into kin and non-kin (or others). With regard to the generation of Ego, kin terms are applied only to his/her consanguineal kin within the fourth-cousin range and to their affinal kin. The fifth cousin and the cousins beyond this degree are considered "*?arāyo? yi*" (already far), and an expression is made for them, *?ud yi may tawāgan* (there is no more designation). They are excluded from the category of *katawūhan* and classified into the category of *?iba tāwo*. In the Hanunoo-Mangyan theory, all lowlanders are also *?iba tāwo*. But in their general usage the term *?iba tāwo* indicates only "Mangyans who are not kin". The *?iba tāwo* mostly dwell in distant settlements, and one keeps little reciprocal relations with them in daily life. In principle, however, one marries a non-kinsman: therefore, the *?iba tāwo* are persons who have a possibility of becoming affinal kinsmen.

It is generally said that the *katawūhan* extend to the *baliwsāŋa* (fourth cousins). The term *katawūhan* indicates the whole circle of kinsmen within the fourth-cousin range, embracing both consanguineal and affinal kin. The term *kaway* is employed to show a maximal circle of consanguines, but there is no term which includes all affinal kin. Generally, affinal kin are considered socially remoter than consanguineal kin, because the relationship of the former ceases by divorce whereas that of the latter is permanent. But some informants maintain that affinal kin are as important as consanguineal kin, since the former are also *katawūhan*. Marriage with a person within the range of *katawūhan* is prohibited or avoided (*vide infra*).

Those included in the category of *katawūhan* are expected to cooperate with

one another. In reality, however, it is almost impossible for an individual to maintain mutual social intercourse with all of them, for the circle of his *katawūhan* includes a great number of people. Accordingly, he selects a certain number of kinsmen from this circle with whom he maintains close social associations.

The kinsmen who maintain frequent reciprocal relations to one another in their socio-economic and ritual life are collectively referred to as *magtal'anākan* (fr. *'anak*, 'child'). The term *magtal'anākan* is used in two different senses by the informants, and they often become confused when asked to explain it. In the narrow sense, the *magtal'anākan* is said to be up to the first cousin, consisting of the spouse, grandchildren, siblings and their children, parents, parents' siblings and their children, grandparents, and the spouses of these consanguines. The consanguineal kin within this circle are strictly prohibited from having sex and marriage relations. One is expected to maintain face-to-face relations and cooperate with the other members of this circle. It can be stated that the *magtal'anākan* in the narrow sense is a restricted kindred, the members of which are closely bound by interdependent relationships.

The *magtal'anākan* in the broad sense can be regarded as an extended kindred (or selected kinsmen) which functions as an occasional kin group [MURDOCK 1960:

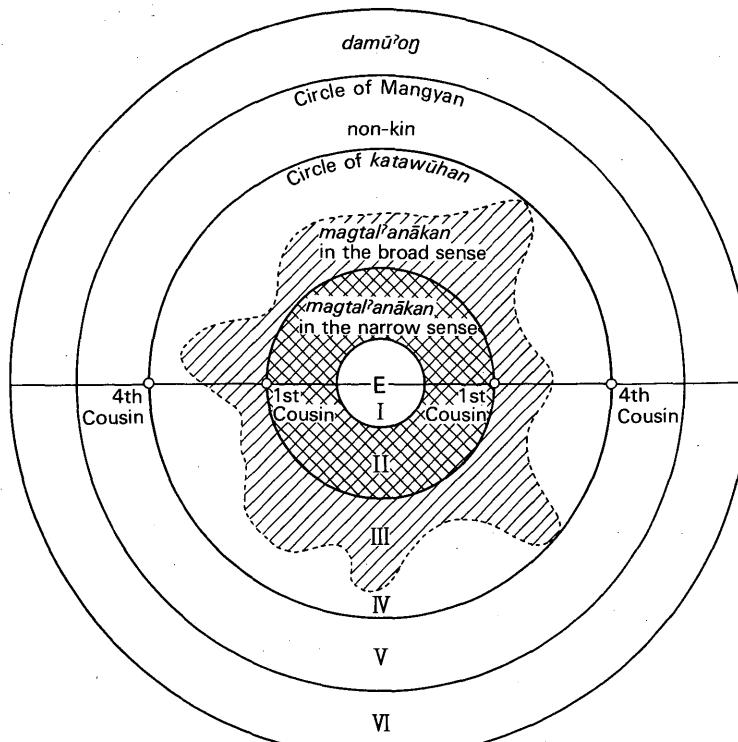


Figure 3. Classification of people and social distance

5] at specific times, such as rice planting and harvesting, large-scale feasts and other life crises. Genealogical distance constitutes a criterion in selecting certain kinsmen as *magtal?anakan* in a broad sense. But it is not definite. Other criteria must be considered such as the distance of residence, location of swiddens, sex, age, personality and so on. For instance, some second cousins are included in this range and other second cousins are excluded. Moreover, the range is not permanent, but changeable.

Thus, the category of *katawuhan* is further segmented into three classes: (1) the *magtal?anakan* in the narrow sense, (2) the *magtal?anakan* in the broad sense, and (3) the kinsmen who are not included in either of these *magtal?anakan*.

To summarize: when a focus is placed on the frequency of social intercourse or degree of social intimacy as the scale of distance from Ego, people of his/her social world fall into six categories (I-VI), as shown in Figure 3.

3. Kinship Terminology

3.1. Terms for consanguineal kin

This section is devoted to a description of Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology and its relationship to their social behavior. The kinship terminology of this people emphasizes, to use the terms of Murdock [1949], some aspects of the Eskimo type in combination with an aspect of the Hawaiian (or generational) type, and indicates a bilateral kinship system.

I will begin by describing the terms applied to consanguineal kin in Ego's generation (GEN.0). The term *patar?ari?* is used to refer to a sibling. To show a difference in sex, the word *lalaki* (male) or *babayi* (female) is sometimes added to this term, as *patar?ari?* *lalaki* (brother) or *patar?ari?* *babayi* (sister). In address, although personal names are frequently used, an elder sibling, either male or female, is called *kaka* or *?aka* by the younger. The term *?ari?* is sometimes used to address the younger sibling, although s/he is usually called by a personal name. These vocative terms are sometimes used also as referential terms. This usage showing the age difference between siblings seems to correspond to social behavior. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan is found a sort of seniority principle, although not strong, which makes them respect elder brothers and sisters.

A half-sibling is referred to as *patar?ari?* or *?ulon patar?ari?* (or *patar?ari?* *?ulon*). When half-siblings have a common father, they refer to each other as *patar?ari?*, *i.e.*, with the term used for full siblings. When they have a common mother and different fathers, they refer to each other as *?ulon patar?ari?* (*?ulon*, 'untrue, false'). The informants explain this method, saying that the children are considered to be of the same blood if they have a common father, and that the children of the same mother and different fathers have different blood. One of the informants in Panaytayan added: "It is just like a swidden. If there is no person who plants seeds, no rice grows. And if someone else plants in my swidden, rice plants which grow there do not belong to me but to him. A female is just like a swidden.

That is what old people told me." The vocative terms used for full siblings are also used to address half-siblings and step-siblings. But the word *?alāga?* ('to take care of') is added to *patar?āri?* in referring to a step-sibling, as *?alāga? patar?āri?* or *patar?āri? ?alāga?*.

The cousin relationship of two individuals is usually traced through the knowledge of the relationship of their parents. And the degree of cousins is, in general, recognized within the fourth-cousin range, as noted earlier. The following terms are employed for cousins:

(Cousins)	(Reference)	(Address)
1st cousin	<i>?insan</i> , or <i>pinsan</i>	<i>?insan</i> , or <i>pinsan</i>
2nd cousin	<i>?arwa</i> , <i>saywa</i> , or <i>pinsan sa ?arwa</i>	<i>?arwa</i>
3rd cousin	<i>?atlo</i> , or <i>pinsan sa ?atlo</i>	<i>?atlo</i>
4th cousin	<i>baliwsāja</i> , or <i>pinsan sa baliwsāja</i>	<i>baliwsāja</i> , or <i>sāja</i>

If the word *pinsan* is pronounced independently, it means first cousin. But it is used as a term which refers to cousins in general (within the 4th-cousin range), as shown in this usage applied to referential terms for the second, third and fourth cousins. The fifth cousin and cousins beyond this degree are considered to be out of the consanguineal category, although some informants in Hawili give the terms *tar?āri?* and *?insan* to designate the fifth and sixth cousins, respectively.

To an individual, cousins are important for his/her daily life, and he keeps face-to-face relationships with them, although not all of them. Sex relations with a first cousin, as well as with a sibling, is considered incest and strictly prohibited. If one violates this rule, unusual phenomena are believed to occur: his/her sexual organ cannot be separated from that of the other, the floor of the house where the two are having sexual intercourse will spout water, strong lightning and thunder will occur, drought will begin if it is the rainy season and everyone's crops will wither, and so forth. It is axiomatic that marriage with a first cousin is impossible. With regard to marriage regulations, one of the *tultulānon* (origin myths) of the Hanunoo-Mangyan says:

Long ago an old man named Mahal Maako (*mahal ma?āko*) went to a river, where he saw a small wooden box floating down the stream. He took it up and opened it. Inside the box was a small male baby covered with cloth. He brought the baby to his house and took care of it.

It took eight days for the baby to become a young man. On the eighth day, Mahal Maako gave a name to the boy. It was Adan (*?adan*). He looked like Mahal Maako. This old man took one of his ribs from his left chest, and placed it down on the left arm of Adan. Then, the old man said to the boy, "Adan, wake up! Here is your *?iba* (companion)." When Adan woke up, he found a young girl sleeping with her head on his elbow. "You are lucky, Adan," said Mahal Maako, "because you have your own *?iba*." The name of the girl was Iba. Adan and Iba were not a married couple yet. Mahal Maako said to the two before going out, "Take care of this plant. It will have fruit, but don't eat it." Adan and Iba took care of the plant. Iba said to Adan, "Why can't we eat the

fruit?" She took one, ate a bite and said, "Adan, how delicious this fruit is!" Adan also ate it. Then they came to have sexual organs. Both of them became lonely.

Mahal Maako came back and asked them, "Why do you look so lonely?" He thought: "Maybe they ate the fruit..." "I'll do something for you," said the old man. He gathered the fat of pigs, cut it into pieces, and scattered it around. These pieces became cotton. Adan and Iba were pleased to see it. They covered their sexual organs with cotton. The old man gave them a set of weaving equipment, and Iba wove clothes with it: a *lamboj* (blouse) and a *ramit* (skirt) for her and a *ba²ag* (loin-cloth) for Adan. The old man went out again.

Now, Adan and Iba saw a *balangkad* (big mosquito) in the hole of a tree, where there was water. They saw the mosquito drinking water with its body moving up and down. Iba asked, "Adan, why is that insect doing that?" "I don't know," answered Adan. Then Iba said to Adan, "Let's do the same thing. What is that?" The two started.

Iba became pregnant. Eight children were born: four boys and four girls. Adan and Iba cut their umbilical cords, bathed them and put clothes on them. Time passed. The four brothers and sisters asked one another, "What shall we do?" They asked Mahal Maako. He said to them, "The thumb can marry the middle finger, the index finger can marry the third finger, and so on. One can get married with every other finger, and he added, "First cousins cannot marry, but second cousins can."

Second, third and fourth cousins comprise an ambiguous category as far as sex and marriage relations are concerned. It is not recommended to court and have sexual relations with a cousin within these degrees, but if it is not of a long-term duration it is often overlooked. Marriage with a second, third or fourth cousin is neither recommended nor prohibited. If they want to marry, they must ask a *pandaniwan* (a religious medium possessing a sacred stone of *dāniw* spirits) to perform a specific prayer for them. If they marry without a prayer of a *pandaniwan*, it is believed that one of them or a child born to them will die, that lightning and thunder will occur, and/or that the married couple will be drowned by waters of the sea which will suddenly engulf them if they visit the seacoast.

As for the first ascending generation (GEN. + 1), the term *gūraŋ* ('old') is used. In this case, the sex of the parent is not indicated. To show the distinction of sex, the term *?āma²* is used for the father and *?ina²* for the mother. In address, the father is called *?āmay* or *māma²*, and the mother *?inay*. The children are expected to show respect to their parents. In the past, it is said, people were not allowed to pronounce the personal names of their parents, even though the latter were absent. They always had to designate their parents with kin terms. This custom seems to be maintained today by elderly persons, especially those from interior areas, such as Malang-og, Sinariri, etc. It sometimes occurred during my fieldwork that when I asked the names of the parents of an elderly person whom I was talking to, s/he said to another person beside him, instead of answering me, "*si ?uno kaygāran kāŋ ?āma², kay ina², kūno* (He asks what the names of my father and mother are)." The

referential term for a child is *?anak*. Sometimes *lalāki* or *babāyi* is added to this term to show a sex distinction, as *?anak lalāki* (son) or *?anak babāyi* (daughter). In address, the child is called by his/her personal name. The referential term *pajānay* is used for the first (eldest) child, and for the youngest child the term *kapus?an* (fr. *kapus*, 'last in time') is employed. A child between a *pajānay* and a *kapus?an* is referred to as *?anak karaw?an* (*karaw?an*, 'middle') or *pajāraw?an* (*pajāraw*; Tagalog for 'dry season').

An adopted child is referred to as *?alāga?* *?anak* (or *?anak ?alāga?*). The male adopter and the female adopter are respectively referred to as *?alāga?* *?āma?* (or *?āma?* *?alāga?*) and *?alāga?* *?īna?* (or *?īna?* *?alāga?*).

If a woman becomes pregnant and gives birth to a child after having sexual relations with more than one man, the child born is believed to have the blood of all of the men. This idea is reflected in their kinship terminology. For instance, if a man marries a woman who is pregnant after sexual relations with another man, the former will refer to the child born after this marriage as *?anak sū?od* (or *sū?od ?anak*; *sū?od*, 'bond' or 'tie'). On the other hand, the latter, who may have been her husband or her sweetheart before this marriage, refers to the child as *?anak sa kalyag* (*kalyag*, 'illegitimate'). The former is referred to as *?āma? sū?od* by the child whereas the latter is *?āma? sa kalyag*. It is not rare that a single girl receives several boys who court her on different nights during the same term, and she becomes pregnant. Then, she comes to have a steady boy friend and marries him. In this case, the baby will have several 'fathers'. This phenomenon involves a problem of crucial importance but untouched in the study of kinship; however, it is out of the range of argument in this report.

One of the interesting features of Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology is the designation of the collaterals in the first ascending and descending generations (GENS. ± 1). Both in reference and address, the siblings and cousins (within the fourth cousin range) of the parents are called *bāpa?* if they are male, or *bāyi?* if they are female. On the other hand, Ego is, whether male or female, called *bāpa?* by the male sibling or cousins of Ego's parent, or *bāyi?* by the female sibling or cousins of Ego's parent. The collaterals of the first descending generation, focused on Ego, are as follows. If Ego is male, he is called *bāpa?* by the children of his siblings and cousins (within the 4th-cousin range), and all of these children, either male or female, are *bāpa?* for Ego. If Ego is female, she is called *bāyi?* by the children of her siblings and cousins, and all of these children are *bāyi?* for Ego. Thus, either *bāpa?* or *bāyi?* is reciprocally used between two collaterals with one degree of generational distance, and the usage of these two terms is determined by the sex of the collateral concerned who is of an upper generation, and not by the sex of the other collaterals in a lower generation.

The more detailed relationship between Ego and a collateral in GEN. $+1$ is sometimes expressed in reference using additional terms concerned with the relationship between Ego's parents and the collateral. For instance, Ego's parents' brothers are referred to as *bāpa? sū?od*. Other designations are as follows:

(Collaterals in GEN. +1)	(Male collaterals)	(Female collaterals)
sibling of Ego's parent	<i>bāpa?</i> <i>sū?od</i> (or <i>sū?od</i> <i>bāpa?</i>)	<i>bāyi?</i> <i>sū?od</i> (or <i>sū?od</i> <i>bāyi?</i>)
1st cousin of parent	<i>bāpa?</i> <i>sa ?insan</i>	<i>bāyi?</i> <i>sa ?insan</i>
2nd cousin of parent	<i>bāpa?</i> <i>sa ?arwa</i>	<i>bāyi?</i> <i>sa ?arwa</i>
3rd cousin of parent	<i>bāpa?</i> <i>sa ?atlo</i>	<i>bāyi?</i> <i>sa ?atlo</i>
4th cousin or parent	<i>bāpa?</i> <i>sa baliwsāja</i>	<i>bāyi?</i> <i>sa baliwsāja</i>

These referential terms are reciprocally used between Ego and the above-listed collaterals. Hence, the child of Ego's sibling is referred to as *bāpa?* *sū?od* if Ego is male or *bāyi?* *sū?od* if Ego is female; the child of Ego's first cousin is referred to as *bāpa?* *sa ?insan* if Ego is male and *bāyi?* *sa ?insan* if Ego is female, and so forth. The respect for parents is expected to be extended to their siblings and cousins.

Similar usage to that of *bāpa?* and *bāyi?* in GENS. ± 1 is applied to the consanguineal kin in the second ascending and descending generations (GENS. ± 2). There is no distinction in designation between lineals and collaterals in these generations. In reference and address the parent's father (grandfather) and his male siblings and cousins (within the 4th-cousin range) are called *laki*. And the parent's mother (grandmother) and her female siblings and cousins are called *?idu*. If Ego is male, all his grandchildren, male or female, and their cousins (within the 4th-cousin range) are called *laki* in reference and address. If Ego is female, all her grandchildren and their cousins are designated as *?idu*. Thus the terms *laki* and *?idu* are reciprocally used between two consanguineal kin with two degrees of generational distance, and the usage of these terms is, as with *bāpa?* and *bāyi?*, determined by the sex of one of the two in the upper generation.

In theory the additional terms employed for the collaterals in GENS. ± 1 are also applied in the same usage to the consanguines in GENS. ± 2 , although such usage is rare in daily life. For example, a male second cousin of Ego's grandparent is referred to as *laki sa ?arwa*, a grandson of female Ego's fourth cousin is referred to as *?idu sa baliwsāja*, and so on. Then an additional term used for a consanguine in GEN. $+2$ or -2 shows the relationship between a consanguine in GEN. $+2$ and Ego's grandparent or between the grandparent of a consanguine in GEN. -2 and Ego. In other words, the usage of additional terms for GENS. ± 2 are, similar to those for GENS. ± 1 , determined by the relationship of the consanguines in the upper generation.

Only one term, *?umput*, is employed to refer to and address the consanguines in the third ascending and descending generations (GENS. ± 3). A great grandparent and his/her siblings and cousins (within the 4th-cousin range) are also called by the same term, whether Ego is male or female. In other words, the term *?umput* is reciprocally used for two consanguines with three degrees of generational distance.

When it comes to the fourth ascending and descending generations (GENS. ± 4) the kin term employed is rather theoretical, since the people lack opportunities,

in reality, to use this term for a living person. For the consanguineal kin in GENS. ± 4 , the term *pūpu?* is employed.

The term *?apo* is employed for the consanguineal kin in the fifth ascending and descending generations (GENS. ± 5). This term has the meaning of 'owner', and it is sometimes used as a word which means 'spirit', as *?apo danom* (spirit of water), *?apo dāniw* (spirit of *dāniw*), etc. The term *kanunununū?an* or *saginūra?* is used to refer to all ancestors. The genealogical line which obscurely ties an ancestor and Ego is sometimes called *lināhi?*. It seems that this term is related linguistically to the Tagalog word *lāhi?*, which means 'race', 'family line', etc.: *i.e.*, *lināhi?* seems to be composed of *lāhi?* and the infix *in*. But this assumption cannot be made with certainty since it is impossible to deny the possibility that *lināhi?* came from the Spanish *linaje* (lineage, race). At any rate, in approaching the axial family-line argument it must be recalled that in a bilateral society, such as that of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, there is a concept which indicates a vertical line between an ancestor and Ego, as *tayarian* among the Alangan, *fufuama* and *fufuina* among the Taubuid and *turoinopo* among the Palawan [KIKUCHI 1975: 231].

3.2. Terms for affinal kin

There are six specific terms applied to affinal kin, and four terms for consanguineal kin are also employed as affinal terms.

The referential term for spouse is *?asāwa?*, without distinction of sex. The husband and the wife usually call each other by personal names. The term *bayaw* is used to address and refer to the spouse of Ego's sibling or the spouse of Ego's cousin (within the 4th-cousin range). This term is reciprocally used between these affinal kin and Ego. The parent of the spouse is called *manūgaj* both in reference and address. This term is also applied to the sibling and parent of the spouse's parent (*i.e.*, the spouse's uncle, aunt and grandparent). However, unlike the above-mentioned affinal terms, the term *manūgaj* is, in principle, not used reciprocally between these affinal kin and Ego. The spouse of the child or grandchild is referred to as *?umāgad* and addressed by his/her personal name. Today, however, the term *manūgaj* is sometimes employed to refer to the spouse of a child or grandchild. But the term *?umāgad* is never used to address and refer to the spouse's parents and their siblings and grandparents.

The term *balāyi* is used for the siblings and cousins of Ego's sibling's spouse in reference and address. The parents and grandparents of these affines are also *balāyi*. And the siblings, cousins, and parents of the spouse of Ego's child or grandchild are called by the same term.

The spouse of the spouse's sibling or cousin is called *bilas*, and the parent and grandparent of this affine are referred to as *balāyi*. The term *balāyi* is applied also to the siblings and cousins of *bilas*. It means that any Ego has quite a wide range of people who are considered to be *balāyi*.

Some consanguineal terms are, as already mentioned, widely used as referential and vocative terms for affinal kin. The usage of these terms is the same as that ap-

plied to consanguineal kin. First, the spouses of Ego's collaterals in GEN. +1 (i.e., *bāpa?*, *bāyi?*) are called *bāpa?* if male, or *bāyi?* if female. Similarly, the spouses of Ego's consanguineal kin in GEN. +2 (i.e., *laki*, *?idu*) are called *laki* if male or *?idu* if female. Second, the spouses of Ego's collaterals in GEN. -1 are designated as *bāpa?* if Ego is male, or *bāyi?* if Ego is female. In principle, as mentioned earlier, the spouse of Ego's child or grandchild is to be called *?umāgad*, but these affines are also designated as *bāpa?*, *bāyi?*, *laki* or *?idu*, in accordance with the usage already mentioned. In theory, these terms are applied also to Ego's sibling's (and cousin's) spouse's sibling's (and cousin's) children and grandchildren, to the children and grandchildren of the sibling and cousin of Ego's *bilas*, and to the children of the sibling and cousin of Ego's *?umāgad* (in this case, *laki* or *?idu*). Thus, the range of the usage of these terms is also quite wide.

3.3. Terminological principles of kinship

As already examined, the Hanunoo-Mangyan terminology for consanguineal kin is determined by the combination of four variables: (1) the generational position and distance of object (the person to be designated), (2) the lineality or collaterality of object, (3) the sex of object, and (4) the sex of Ego. It will be more satisfactory if (5) the age of object is added to these variables. Six characteristics can be extracted from this terminology, as follows:

GEN.	COLLATERALS	LINEALS		COLLATERALS
+n }	?āpo	?āpo		?āpo
+5				
+4	pūpu?	pūpu?		pūpu?
+3	?umput	?umput		?umput
+2	laki/?idu	laki/?idu		laki/?idu
+1	bāpa?/bāyi?	?āma?/?īna?		bāpa?/bāyi?
0	pinsan	patar?āri?	EGO	patar?āri?
-1	bāpa?(bāyi?)	?anak		bāpa?(bāyi?)
-2	laki (?idu)	laki (?idu)		laki (?idu)
-3	?umput	?umput		umput
-4	pūpu?	pūpu?		pūpu?
-5 }	?āpo	?āpo		?āpo
-n				

Figure 4. Diagram of Hanunoo-Mangyan terms for consanguines

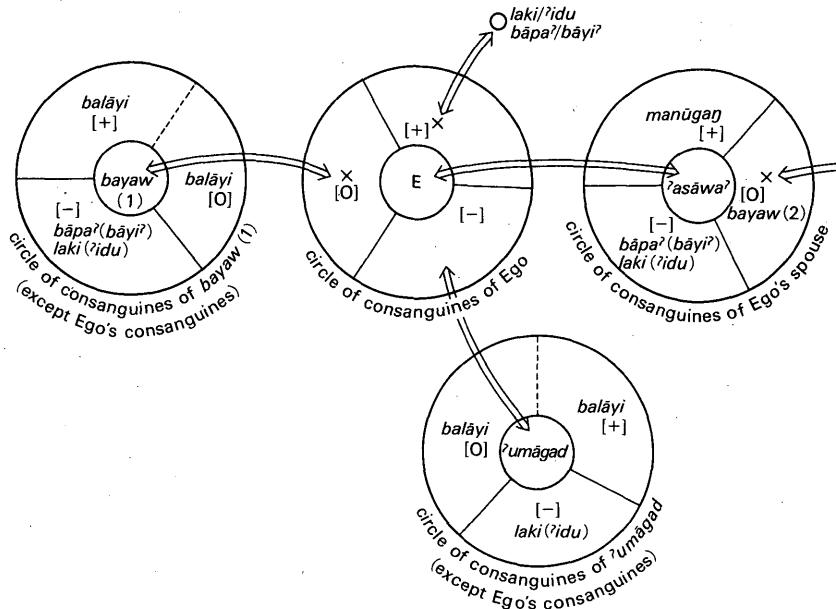
Each term shown at the left side of an oblique line is used if the object is male, and the term at the right of this mark is used if the object is female. The terms shown in parentheses are used when Ego is female.

1. Each generation is distinguished up to the fifth degree;
 2. Paternal kin and maternal kin are not distinguished;
 3. Lineals and collaterals are distinguished in three generations (GENS.0 & ± 1), while terms for lineals are applied to collaterals beyond these three generations, *i.e.*, the range of the nuclear families of Ego are emphasized;
 4. In Ego's generation, genealogical relationships are limited to the fourth-cousin range;
 5. The terms for collaterals in GENS. ± 1 and the terms for consanguines in GENS. ± 2 are reciprocally used, but usage between two individuals is determined by the sex of the one in the upper generation; and
 6. The difference of age is shown in the vocative (sometimes referential) terms for sibling and referential terms for children, while other terms do not show any age difference.

As clarified in Figure 4, the Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology differentiates each generation (to a certain extent) and at the same time it emphasizes the nuclear family (lineals in GENS.0 & ± 1). The former is one of the features of the Hawaiian terminological system, and the latter is an important characteristic of the Eskimo type. In this manner, the Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology indicates the bilateral symmetry of their kinship system. Other features of their terminology (e.g., the superiority of upper generations and distinction by age among siblings) are understandable in the context of their social behavior.

With regard to the terminology of affinal kin, it is possible to point out the following characteristics:

1. The term *manūgaj* (if the contemporary tendency is disregarded) and the term *?umāgad* are not used reciprocally, while each of the other affinal



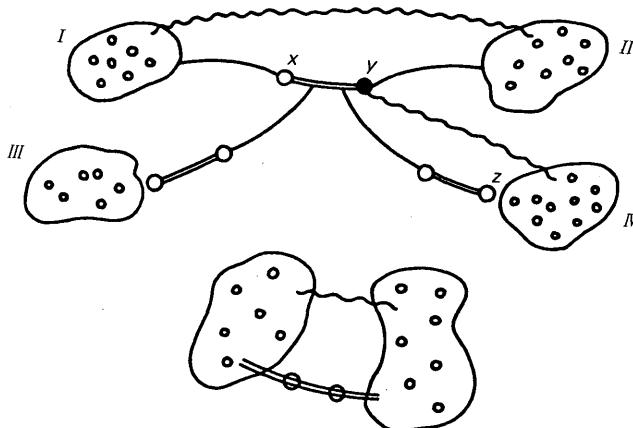


Figure 5. Explicit Hanunóo principles in reckoning kinship (after Conklin [1964: 42])

terms is reciprocally used;

2. Of the six specific terms (except for consanguineal terms applied for affines), three terms, *balāyi*, *manūgaj* and *?umāgad*, are applied to different generations, i.e., *balāyi* to every generation, *manūgaj* to upper generations and *?umāgad* to lower generations. The other three terms are applied to only one generation each; and
3. There are affines designated with terms used for consanguineal kin. Namely, the terms applied to Ego's consanguines beyond GEN.0 (except for lineals in $\text{GENS. } \pm 1$) are extended to their spouses and terms used by Ego's spouse to designate the kin of the spouse (i.e., Ego's affines through the spouse) below GEN.0 are also employed by Ego to address and refer to them.

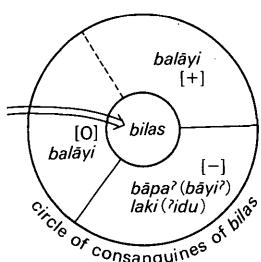


Figure 6. Diagram of Hanunoo-Mangyan terms for affines

The \times mark shows a consanguine in the category where the mark is put. By "bayaw(1)" the spouse of Ego's sibling or cousin is shown, and by "bayaw (2)" the sibling or cousin of Ego's spouse is shown. Each arrow shows a conjugal tie. The marks [+], [0] and [-] show generational positions: e.g., in the consanguineal circle of *bilas*, the range with the mark [+] shows the consanguines of *bilas* in a higher generation than *bilas*, the mark [0] in the same generation, and the mark [-] in a lower generation.

Variables which determine the terminology for affines are difficult to define. Usage of the term *balāyi* is especially confusing. With regard to this problem, Conklin [1964: 42-46] introduces his "ethno-models", using "potato-like sketches" which were, according to him, made by his informants. The drawings given in his paper [CONKLIN 1964: 42] are reproduced in Figure 5. In these drawings, large enclosures indicate maximal consanguineal categories (*kaway*), and small circles stand for individual kinsmen. The wavy lines illustrate, assuming *x* and *y*, and *z* and a child of *y* (also of *x*) are respectively spouses, that any member of *I* (*x*'s *kaway*) is a *balāyi* of any member of *II* (*y*'s *kaway*), and *vice versa*, and that *y* and *x*, together with the combined membership of *I* and *II*, are reciprocally *balāyi* of all members of *IV* (*z*'s *kaway*). The same features are shown in the other sketch of Figure 5.

The problem here is that the ethnographic data collected in Panaytayan, Hawili and other neighboring settlements are not completely satisfied by the interesting model introduced by Conklin. According to his data, DaHuSiSo (No. 61 of Page 32 in Conklin [1964]), for example, is *balāyi*. But this affine is designated as *bāpa?* or *bāyi?* in the settlements where I conducted research. To clarify the usage of affinal terms, I made a diagram (not complete) shown in Figure 6. This illustrates that the category expressed in terms of *balāyi* is determined not only by the sequence of kinship ties (through consanguineal and conjugal ties) but also by generation; *i.e.*, consanguineal kin of such affines as *bayaw*, *bilas* and *?umāgad* are not called *balāyi* if they are in lower generations than that of each of these affines. In other words, the examination of affinal terms will lead to the assumption that they are determined by the combination of consanguineal and conjugal ties and at the same time by the generational position of the object and each of the consanguineal assemblies that link the object to Ego.

The analysis of Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology seems to embrace interesting problems, but the discussion must cease here so that the argument might not stray too far from the topic of the study.

4. Social Groups

4.1. Family and household

As already examined, the Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology emphasizes the range of a nuclear family. The term *mag?arasawan?an* (or *mag?asawan?an*) is employed to designate the nuclear family. The *mag?arasawan?an* is the smallest social group based on kinship, and it consists of a married couple and their children. An adopted child is also included in this kin group. S/he is considered to be similar to a real child, and sexual relations between step-siblings are regarded as incest. This, according to the Hanunoo-Mangyan, is because the adopted child is fed on the same mother's milk and hence has the same blood as the real child. The range of *mag?arasawan?an* has no relation to locality, and one never loses his/her membership to this group, even though s/he changes his/her residence.

Within a nuclear family, as already noted, a seniority principle is found. This is

observed among the Taubuid [MURATAKE & KIKUCHI 1968: 33-34] and many other ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines. Hanunoo-Mangyan children are expected to show respect and to be obedient to their parents. The sibling link is strong and the elders are expected to take care of the youngers, while the latter are to be obedient to the former. It is often observed that an elder child of several years of age takes care of his/her younger brothers and sisters while their parents are out doing swidden work. The elder is, for example, expected to share food and other things with the younger brothers and sisters. The strong bond among the siblings provides a basis for the relationship with cousins: the first cousin, especially, is considered similar to a sibling.

The goods and property considered to be objects of inheritance (*patayak*, a 'gift left by someone going away') are beads, clothes, bolos, small knives (*siyaw*), domestic animals, agricultural plants and crops, cash, gongs (*?āgoŋ*), blacksmithing equipment (*panday*), land (in limited areas), and so on. In Hanunoo-Mangyan traditional thought, land itself is not to be possessed by an individual or by any social group. However, the inhabitants of Panaytayan and some neighboring settlements pay annual taxes for certain lots legally released to them by the Philippine Government. Land is regarded as an object for inheritance only in this case.

Inheritance of an individual's goods and property is made after s/he dies, but it must be done before *pasāka*, the ritual held traditionally on the eighth day, when the members of the deceased's nuclear family are released from prohibition: they can work in their swiddens after this ritual.

Gongs and blacksmithing equipment are inherited by one of the children. Other goods and property are distributed equally, in principle, to the children regardless of sex, and sometimes to one or more grandchildren. According to one of the cases of inheritance in Panaytayan:

On November 1, 1974, Ilig of Panaytayan died. He was a blacksmith (*pandāyan*). He was sick for a long time. Before he died he told his wife, Oping, to divide his goods and property equally among his children, except for Nayō, one of his daughters living in Kagangan with her husband and children. Tipon, Nayō's husband, had abused Ilig's family, saying that everyone of his family in Panaytayan was possessed by evil spirits. So Ilig did not like his son-in-law and his family. Ilig also added that a part of his goods must be given to Ayaw, his favorite grandson (Daniw's son), who had always been very kind to him. After the burial rite for Ilig, his wife, Oping, called her children (except Nayō) and grandson. Ilig's goods and property were divided among them (Table 1 and Figure 7). As for the blacksmithing equipment, Ilig had told his wife that it would belong to all the children except Nayō. He had also said that the cash obtained from blacksmithing should be used for the payment of tax for the lands given by him, and the amount left would belong to Soklob, who would become a blacksmith. Soklob had learned the technique of blacksmithing from Ilig. Banya, Oping's father, was a blacksmith when Ilig married her, and Ilig learned the technique from his father-in-law and the equipment was given to him after the latter died.

Table 1. Ilig's goods and property inherited

Goods and property inherited	Inheritors	Daniw (3rd child)	Soklob (4th child)	Ondong (5th child)	Ayaw (grandson)
Rice		3 <i>kaban</i> *	1 <i>kaban</i>	1/2 <i>kaban</i>	2 <i>salop</i> **
Beads					
reddish		1 <i>balut</i> ***	2 <i>balut</i>	1 <i>balut</i>	—
white		1 <i>salūpin</i> ****	2 <i>salūpin</i>	3 <i>salūpin</i>	—
Shirts (<i>balukas</i>)		3	4	3	—
Knives					
<i>bole</i>		2	2	—	—
small knife		—	5	4	—
Cash		30 pesos	30 pesos	—	—
Gong		—	—	1 pair	—
Blacksmithing equipment		(1)	1 set	(1)	—
Land		2 hectares	4 hectares	?	—

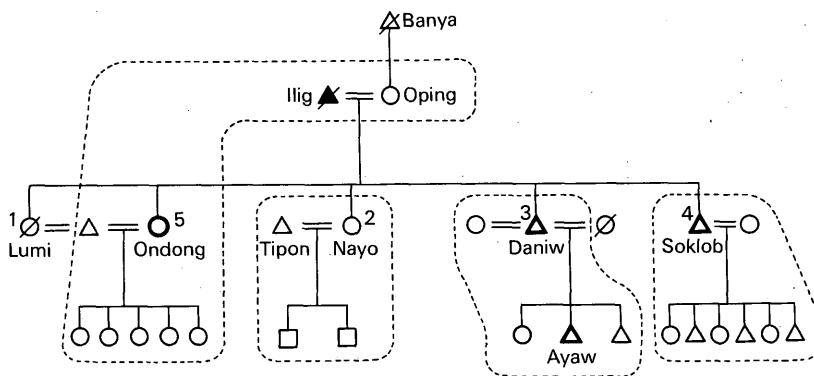
* *kaban*: about 75 liters** *salop* (*ganta*): about 3 liters*** *balut*: length of a long necklace**** *salūpin*: length of a short necklace

Figure 7. A case of inheritance: Ilig and the families of his children

In Hawili concrete data were not obtained concerning inheritance. Lands are not an object for inheritance there, but such goods as rice, clothes, planted crops, chickens, bolos and cash are handed down equally, in principle, to all the children.

Succession (*?ilis?ilis*, 'replacement') is made in other ways. Objects for succession are knowledge, techniques and position for various kinds of folk medicinemen and ritual performers, such as *pamulūyan* (herbal doctors), *panhilūtan* (healers by massage), *pamara?an* (medicinemen possessing one or more sacred stones of *pamāra?* spirits), *pandaniwan* (medicinemen possessing one or more sacred stones

of *dāniw* spirits), *panugkutkūtan* (ritual performers of exhumation of human bones), *manugbugkos* (ritual performers of harvesting, binders of rice stalks), *panudlākan* (ritual performers of the first rice-seed planting), and so on. Among these, the position of the *panudlākan* is passed on strictly through kinship. Since this is directly connected with the theme of the present chapter, it will be examined later in detail.

Although the Hanunoo-Mangyan vocabulary lacks a specific term which corresponds to household, those living in one house (*balay*) form a minimal co-residential and domestic group [BENDER 1967]. The typical Hannunoo-Mangyan house has one or two square rooms with elevated floors and, in many cases, a veranda (*pan-taw*) outside. Every household has one hearth (*dapog*) on the floor of the house. It is strictly prohibited to have two hearths in one house, which are compared to the eyes of the evil spirits.

The household is ideally composed of the members of one nuclear family. It is considered ideal for a newly married couple to live in a house independent of their parent's residence. But an extended family consisting of two nuclear families related by a parent-child tie can temporarily form a household. This occurs especially when one of the parents is too old and weak to conduct swidden work and s/he lives together with the nuclear family (of procreation) of their child in the same house. In this case the parents tend to live with their youngest daughter, her husband and children. The household composed of plural nuclear families related by a sibling tie is considered uncomfortable, and hence it is not found in the Mansalay region. In Hanunoo-Mangyan society, polygamy (especially polygyny) is institutionally permitted, although very rare in practice. In this case, the household of a polygamous family (plural nuclear families related by plural marriage ties) is formed. Circumstances also permit the household to include one or more unmarried members, who are usually kinsmen.

In most settlements of the Mansalay region are found simple and small houses which appear different from the others. They are called *balay kan?*ākan ('house of an unmarried boy') or *balay darāga?* ('house of an unmarried girl'). This kind of house is built near the parents' house and a boy or girl at the age of puberty sleeps there at night. A boy is called *kan?*ākan from the time when his voice changes until he gets married, and an unmarried girl who has experienced menstruation is called *darāga?*. When a boy or a girl becomes *kan?*ākan or a *darāga?*, the cusps of his/her front teeth are traditionally flattened with a stone. This custom was practiced in earlier times but it is rare today. The young boy or girl sleeps alone or together with his/her siblings, cousins or friends of the same sex who have reached the age of puberty. It is considered shameful for a boy or a girl to make a hearth in his/her house, although people do not know why. Therefore, s/he makes a simple hearth of three rocks outside of his/her house and cooks there. But s/he usually eats together with his/her parents and siblings at their house. Also s/he does not sleep at his/her house every night, but sometimes at the house of his/her parents. In other words, an unmarried youth who has his/her own house is still a member of his/her parents'

household, and his/her house is socially a part of his/her parents' house, although the former is physically independent from the latter.

In the Hanunoo-Mangyan tradition one comes to have a spouse after passing several steps. The first step toward marriage is, in general, the *lāyis* (courting). The young girl's house is often used as a place for courting. It is not easy for a Hanunoo-Mangyan boy to find a marriageable girl in or near his settlement, because almost all the unmarried girls in and near his settlement are, generally speaking, within the range of *katawūhan* (kin). So, he must go to places as distant as a several-hour to one-day walk. He usually asks his friends to accompany him. They carry musical instruments, such as *gitāra?* (hand-made small guitars; fr. Sp. *guitarra*) and *gitgit* (small hand-made violins), and white blankets (*tūmōj*). At night, they reach the settlement of the girl to be courted, and they cover themselves with blankets. They quietly approach the house of the girl and they suddenly start playing the musical instruments. If the girl does not refuse the serenade she lets the boy concerned enter her house. Traditionally, the boy talks to her in *pahāgot* (speech produced by inspiration, not by expiration) with his head covered with the blanket, making it impossible, at first, for her to identify who he is. The girl should not, by tradition, open the boy's blanket. This is partly because she is ashamed to do so and partly because she is afraid. There is a story on this matter: "Long ago, a girl opened the blanket of the boy who courted her and then she disappeared. She did not come back to her parents anymore." Some informants maintain that the boy must have been an evil spirit or a Christian lowlander.

In most cases courting is repeated many times afterwards. When the boy and the girl decide to get married, she formally introduces him to her parents. The boy stays with her, in the presence of her household members, almost all the time, and works at their swidden for a certain period. Then the boy formally introduces her to his parents at their house. A kinsman (usually an elderly person) of the boy acts as a go-between for both the boy's and the girl's sides, setting the date of *harampayan* ('discussion').

On the scheduled day the boy's father prepares rice and a pig for a feast, and goes to the house of the girl's parents with his wife. The kinsmen of the boy and the girl wait for them to observe the *harampayan*. The boy and the girl ordinarily squat with their parents in the center of the participants. If one of the parents is against the marriage, the rice and the pig are taken back by the boy's father: this means that the boy and the girl cannot marry. If the parents of both sides and all the participants agree to their marriage the rice and the pig are cooked and served to everyone there.

The last step (*i.e.*, the 'discussion' and the feast) is not strictly required. Even if this step is omitted, the boy and the girl are socially admitted as a married couple. In the Mansalay region, in fact, they rarely have a 'discussion' and a feast as a procedure for marriage. Once an unmarried boy settles in a newly built house, and they make a hearth inside, people say that the two are *?asāwa?* *yi* (already a married cou-

ple). The new couple then loses membership in the households to which they have belonged, and they form a new and independent household.

In traditional Hanunoo-Mangyan thought, as mentioned earlier, land is not possessed by an individual or by a social group. Instead, only agricultural plants and trees with fruit are owned privately by an individual or his/her household. A swidden belongs to an individual and his household temporarily—only during preparation and when crops are planted there. The inhabitants of Panaytayan and some other neighboring settlements are exceptional in their ownership of lands and payment of land taxes.

The central concern of the Hanunoo-Mangyan in daily life lies in swidden cultivation, and the core social unit of swidden activities is the household: the members frequently go to the swidden and work together.

4.2. Aggregates of households: the settlement and the local community

The households maintain reciprocal relations to one another on the basis of closeness of locality and kinship ties. In the Mansalay region it is rare to find a single house located far from others, except for one temporarily made near a swidden for the purpose of agricultural activities. A simple hut, called *pāyag*, is made near a swidden when it is far from the house of a household, and all or some of the household members live there temporarily.

In general houses are located in groups, and those who live there maintain interdependent relations with one another. Plural households form an aggregate not only geographically but also socially. The aggregates of households are classified into two levels: the settlement and the local community.

The settlement is a sort of hamlet designated as *kabalāyan* (fr. *balay*, 'house'). It is composed of one or a few clusters of houses. Each house cluster, which is sometimes called *kabalāyan*, too, consists of two or more adjacent houses. Generally, a settlement does not have a proper name. In order to indicate a settlement concretely, the personal name of an old inhabitant there is often used, as *kanda ni ?uto?* (Uto and the people), *kanda ni ?umhum* (Umhum and the people), *kanda ni gawid* (Gawid and the people), etc. Most households in the same settlement are usually related to one another by close kinship ties. For any individual, in general, the residents of his/her settlement are within the range of his/her *magtal?anākan* in the narrow sense (*i.e.*, restricted kindred) or *magtal?anākan* in the broad sense (*i.e.*, extended kindred). The households in the same settlement are considered to be *kamālay* (neighbors) to one another. Frequent visits, exchanges of food, labor and other gifts, lending and borrowing, and other reciprocal activities are practiced among them. Since there is no specific rule with regard to transference in and from a settlement, there are rather frequent changes in its population. The settlement is nonetheless a discrete social group, possessing one or more springs for drinking water and functioning as an action group [BLEHR 1963] in swidden cultivation.

The settlement is, as mentioned earlier, generally surrounded by a forest. People vaguely think that they can make swiddens in any forested area around their set-

tlement if the sites are not considered to be within tabooed areas. In late-December or early-January, they begin to search for places to make new swiddens in the forest. They ordinarily discuss beforehand where they plan to make their swiddens so that the sites do not overlap. When an inhabitant of a settlement of another local community wants to make a swidden near their settlement this discussion becomes more important. At the time of rice planting (early-May to late-June) and harvesting (early-October to late-November), the residents work cooperatively, and enjoy feasts related to these agricultural activities.

A few to several adjacent settlements form a larger social aggregate, which is referred to as *?usa ka pū?ok* ('one place'). (Since I cannot find a suitable term which would imply the characteristics of this aggregate, I call it "local community" here, following Conklin [1957: 15].) Since my fieldwork activities were confined to a limited region, as noted earlier, the total number of local communities in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society is not known.

The residents of a local community also have a sense that all of them are *kamālay* (neighbors). They often visit one another and eat together. Most residents of the same local community are related by kinship ties. For an individual they are *magtal?anākan*, at least in the broad sense. All residents of a local community are expected to help whenever one of them faces difficult circumstances. When an agricultural or funeral rite is held at the settlement level, residents of other settlements, but of the same local community, often participate in it. A ritual for rain is ordinarily practiced at the level of a whole local community.

During the wet season, when rice plants and grains grow, a specific ritual, called *panagdahan* (fr. *sagda*, 'propitiation'), is carried out if a drought continues for many days.

The local community, as well as the settlement, is characterized by frequent socio-economic and ritual interactions among the residents and their mutual kin relations. To elucidate more concretely, I will cite the case of the Hawili local community in the following section.

4.3. The case of Hawili

The area along the Hawili River running through the Mansalay area is called *hawili?*. There are three local communities along this river, and each of them is vaguely referred to also as *hawili?*. For the sake of convenience, the name "Hawili" in this study indicates only the local community near the headwaters of the Hawili River.

Hawili had a population of 67 persons in June and July, 1974, when I stayed there at intervals for an intensive survey. (Data presented here are based on this survey.) The people regard this *?usa ka pū?ok* (local community) as being composed of three settlements. They may be called Settlements A, B and C respectively, as shown in the schematic map of Hawili (Figure 8).

Settlements A and B are located on rather flat sites to the north of a mountain ridge which runs eastward. To the north of Settlement A is located Settlement C. It

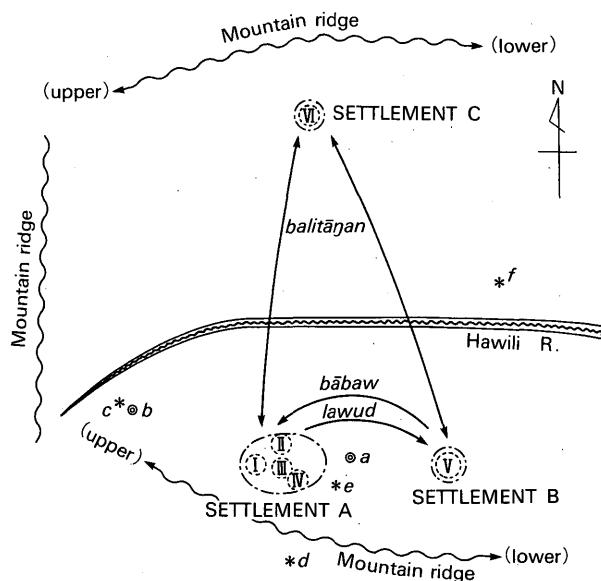


Figure 8. A schematic diagram of the geographical setting of Hawili

is on the southern side of another mountain, the ridge of which runs eastward. Running between and along the bottom of these two mountains is a river called *sāpa? hawili?* (Hawili River). It flows eastward, starting from the mountain ridge which is to the west of Settlement A. In short, the Hawili local community is surrounded by mountain ridges to the north, west and south, commanding a distant view of the sea, to the east.

Although there is by no means a rigid line of territory, the residents of Hawili think that they can make swiddens at any place in the forest which surrounds their settlement, with the exception of several sites. There are seven areas (a to g in Figure 8) where it is strictly prohibited to make a swidden, as described below:

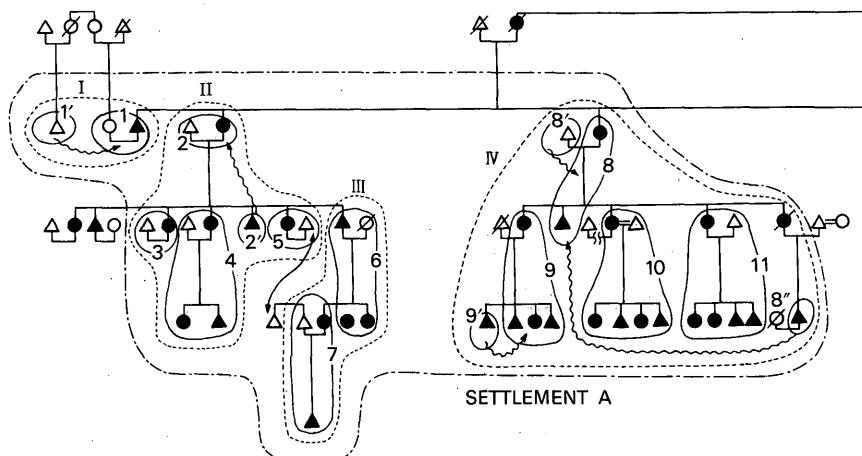
- a. *lubōyan* (graveyard): Near and to the east of Settlement A. Corpses are buried here. The bones are exhumed later.
- b. *pūro? mapākol* (thick woods named Mapakol): The graveyard where unexhumed corpses are buried. It is located to the northwest of Settlement A.
- c. *pūro? hawili?* (thick woods named *hawili*): Near the headwaters of the Hawili River. It is believed to be a residence of evil spirits.
- d. *pūro? naba?ūgan* (thick woods named Nabaungan): To the south of Settlement A. It is believed to be a residence of evil spirits.
- e. *pūro? līday* (thick woods named Liday): To the southwest of Settlement A.
- f. *pūro? ma?ayahay* (thick woods named Maayahay): To the east, near the Hawili River.

g. *punso daldālo* (termite mound): To the south of Settlement A.

The graveyard (area *a*) located to the northwest of Settlement A is not regarded as a site to which entrance is forbidden, but the residents are afraid of entering it. However, to walk into the other graveyard (area *b*) on occasions other than burial is prohibited. It is believed that a great number of horrible evil spirits wander about in these graveyards. The four thick woods in the forest (*c*, *d*, *e* & *f*) are thought to be inhabited by evil spirits, and it is strictly prohibited to enter them. It is also taboo to approach *punso daldālo* (area *g*), where a specific sacred spirit is believed to dwell. It is axiomatic that making swiddens in and near these seven areas is prohibited.

Settlement A is about 200 m above sea level. It consists of four house clusters (I, II, III & IV). Settlements B and C are each composed of only one house cluster (V & VI). Since Settlement A is located at a little higher site than Settlement B, the former is referred to as *bābaw* (upper) and the latter as *lawud* (lower). The inhabitants of these settlements refer to Settlement C as *balitāyan* (side), and this designation is also used when the inhabitants of Settlement C refer to Settlements A and B.

There are 17 households (1-17) in Hawili (Figure 9). Out of 17 households, 15 are composed of members of a nuclear family. As for the other 2 households, one of them (household 1) includes one first cousin of the wife, and the other one (household 8) contains a grandson of its head. The household head, who takes a



Signs:

- ▲ ● Those who were born and brought up in Hawili
- Residents in a house
- House cluster (I~VI)
- Range of settlement

- △ ○ Those from other local communities
- └ Conjugal relation
- Remarriage
- ↔ Divorce
- ↔ Same person
- ↔ Joins eating

leading position in daily activities, is the father (or husband), and his wife plays the role of a household head in the event of her husband's death. Households consisting of an extended family or polygamous family, or households including non-kinsmen, are not found in this local community.

The genealogy of the residents of Hawili illustrates the closeness of their kinship relationships: all the residents are closely related to one another by consanguineal or affinal ties (Figure 9). For the inhabitants of Settlement A, Settlement B is the closest not only geographically (it takes only a few minutes to walk from Settlement A to Settlement B) but also genealogically, and *vice versa* for those of Settlement B. There are frequent visits and reciprocal relations among the residents of these two settlements. Since Settlement C and Settlement A are at a relatively greater distance apart both geographically and genealogically, mutual visits are less frequent than those between Settlement A and Settlement B. The same can be said of the relationship between Settlement C and Settlement B. Of these three settlements in Hawili, Settlement A is the largest in scale. It has the largest population (about 61.2% of the Hawili population) in this local community. Naturally, this settlement provides the residents of Hawili with the most convenient place for social intercourse. They consult elders (male) when a conflict occurs among the residents, and the number of elders is the largest in Settlement A. One of the elders in this settlement is, as mentioned later in detail, the main person who tries to avoid conflicts with lowlanders. In Hanunoo-Mangyan tradition the corpse of a dead person is

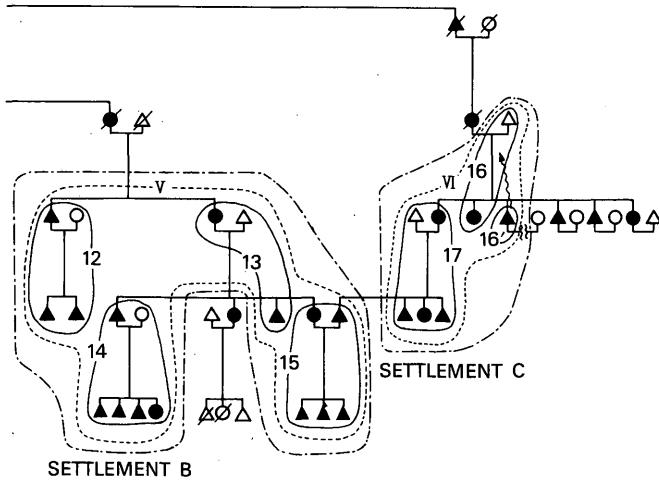


Figure 9. Households, settlements and genealogy in Hawili in 1974

buried in a graveyard located in the forest after certain funeral rites. When an inhabitant dies, his/her corpse is usually buried in one of the two above-mentioned graveyards, both of which are located near Settlement A. Hawili has a ritual performer of the first rice-seed planting (*panudlakan*), and all the performers of this rite in the past have lived in Settlement A. In other words, Settlement A is the central settlement of Hawili not only in terms of population but also in terms of socio-political and ritual importance. In this study, I call this type a "pivotal settlement".

It is said that long ago in Hawili there was only Settlement A and that the other two settlements were founded later, although the time is not known. This seems to be an interesting story reference to the forms of Hanunoo-Mangyan settlements in olden times. However, Hawili is not a typical local community in Hanunoo-Mangyan society. Rather, it is one of those that I selected for intensive research on the problem of bilateral kinship and leadership, because a person who tries to avoid conflicts with lowlanders is not necessarily found in each local community, and ritual performers of the first rice-seed planting live only in a limited number of local communities. When a local community lacks figures of importance in the socio-political and ritual contexts, one of its settlements plays a main part in the socio-political and ritual activities of the inhabitants. A settlement of this kind may be designated as a "quasi-pivotal settlement".

Thus it seems that local communities in Hanunoo-Mangyan society can be classified into two types. Taking the above into consideration, I will return to the Hawili case and focus on the leadership in this local community.

5. Leadership and Family-Line

5.1. Leadership in the socio-political context

In Hawili there is no person who is consciously considered to be their leader by all the residents. In other words, there is no institutionalized or formal socio-political leader in this local community. There is a word which means 'leader', 'head', or 'boss' in the Minangyan language. It is *pūno?* (or *pinūno?*). This word is from Tagalog *pūno?*, and it is used only to refer to leaders among the lowlanders or Buhid people. The residents of Hawili maintain that they do not have any *pūno?*; that everyone is of the same social rank.

If a problem or conflict occurs between individuals that cannot be solved by themselves, it is discussed by their families. They visit the elders in their local community to ask their opinions if the conflict cannot be settled at the family level. Sometimes a *kasāba* ('litigation') is held at one of the houses, and many residents of this local community get together to observe it.

There are five elders in Hawili. Their age is not known, because the Hanunoo-Mangyan people do not customarily count and remember the ages of individuals. Three of these elders live in Settlement A (households 1, 2 & 8), one in Settlement B (household 13) and the other one in Settlement C (household 16). Of these five, only one elder of Settlement A was born and brought up in Hawili. He is Gihitān of

household 1. This man has lived in Settlement A since birth, although he temporarily stayed in his wife's settlement for a short time after marriage. The other four were born in settlements of other local communities and moved into Hawili long ago, after marriage.

All these elders are respected by the other residents of Hawili. They are knowledgeable in Hanunoo-Mangyan customary law, and they are expected to be the main persons in solving problems and conflicts among the people. Consultants or arbitrators of this sort are commonly found in each local community in the Mansalay region, and elders generally perform this function. In case a conflict among the residents of different local communities is not solved for a long time, the elders of both sides become important as arbitrators. However, when it comes to conflicts with lowlanders (such as in landgrabs), the situation differs. Most of the elders become passive and incapable in a case such as when people complain to them that a lowlander built a house on their farmland after harvesting.

Beyond the mountain ridge to the northwest of Hawili there is an area which has long been used as a pasture by lowlanders. The residents of a local community located in a lower region near the Hawili community used to associate with the residents of Hawili. However, the former have had less contact with the latter since they began to work under a Christian boss. Thus, the residents of Hawili are faced with a situation in which the lowlanders' impact is near at hand.

In Hawili the only person who has been in a position to solve problems occurring between residents of Hawili and Christian lowlanders is Gihitan, the elderly person of household No. 1. He is by no means a formal socio-political leader. People never say that he is their *pūno*⁹ (leader). However, careful observation reveals that he is not only a consultant or arbitrator but also a figure who plays a leader-like role with regard to the Hawili residents' political attitudes toward the Christian world.

When I visited Hawili for the first time with my Hanunoo-Mangyan assistant, a resident of Panaytayan, the person who served me bananas, pineapple pieces and boiled sweet potatoes, and asked many questions about myself, was Gihitan. Whenever I made notes in my notebook, he asked me (with an anxious look) what I was writing. After chatting for about an hour with him, I was about to take a picture of some people who live nearby. I asked Gihitan to join them, but he refused. I explained to him that I wanted to do so in order to give them copies as a gift when I returned to his place. He then accepted my request to join them, telling me not to give the picture to any public officer in the lowland, such as a policeman, a municipality officer or a tax officer.

It was at this time that I came to doubt the viewpoint that there is no socio-political leader in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society. Later, I learned that this old man was afraid that I might be a school teacher, a Catholic missionary, a municipality or tax officer, or a business man who might be engaged in pasture land business. It seems that all possible suspicions ordinarily raised toward non-Mangyan outsiders had occurred to him. And when he learned that I was from Japan he even suspected that I might be affiliated with the Japanese military!

The residents of Hawili sometimes, but not often, visit Panaytayan, which is, as mentioned before, an exceptional settlement in the Hanunoo-Mangyan region. They go there to visit friends, to buy salt and matches at the small store, or to undergo medical treatment at the clinic. But they never attend Mass at the church. No child has ever been sent to elementary school in Panaytayan in spite of the fact that it takes less than one hour to walk there from Hawili. According to Gihitan, the people of Hawili do not like to be baptized, because they want to keep their own religion as handed down by their parents and elderly persons. Children themselves seem to have a slight hope to join the Hanunoo-Mangyan pupils at school in Panaytayan. But, according to a young informant living in Hawili, they have been told by elderly persons not to go to school. And the opinion of these persons seems to have been influenced by Gihitan. The young informant also maintained that Gihitan was afraid that if the children were sent to school, they might be forced to be baptized and undergo military service, as Christian high school students in the town do.

Gihitan sometimes (probably a few times a year) goes to Panaytayan with some agricultural crops to see the Catholic missionary there and offer the crops as a gift to him. This elder also walks down to the town once in a while to sell crops such as coconuts, pineapples, bananas, etc., to lowlanders, and he offers a part of the crops to persons who have pasture lands in the Hanunoo-Mangyan areas.

Thus Gihitan has influenced the people to be careful not to become involved in the outside world, and he has tried to keep smooth interpersonal relations with Christian outsiders. It seems that this elder wants to avoid trouble with lowlanders by means of keeping them at a respectful distance. In other words, he is a sort of go-between or "diplomat" for Hawili with respect to Christian outsiders, and he may be regarded as an informal (or concealed) socio-political leader in this local community. Although definite data were not obtained, his grandfather (mother's father) seems to have also been in the position of informal socio-political leader when he was alive. No data could be obtained with regard to the situation before his generation.

Gihitan is respected by the residents of Hawili. He is regarded as a man of intelligence (judging things carefully and correctly) who knows a great deal about their tradition and takes good care of others. Among the five elders in Hawili, Gihitan alone can speak the Tagalog and Bisayan languages fluently, and he often serves food to visitors in his comparatively large house. It seems that these are the factors which make it possible for him to maintain his leadership. However, an examination of the genealogy of Hawili residents (Figure 9) indicates another sociological factor.

In Hanunoo-Mangyan society uxorilocality is considered an ideal pattern of residence after marriage, although circumstances sometimes lead to virilocal or neolocal residence. In most cases a married couple dwell in the wife's settlement or local community during the initial period after marriage (at least one year, *i.e.*, a swidden cycle). Then they alternate their residence between the husband's settle-

ment (or local community) and the wife's for a few or several years. Finally they settle in the wife's settlement.

The genealogy of the Hawili residents illustrates that eleven married couples out of fourteen (about 78.6%) have followed the uxorilocal rule of residence. The other three couples practice virilocal residence. During the initial period after marriage, however, each of these couples lived in the settlement of the wife (uxorilocal): one married couple (household 1) at Amaga and the other two (households 12 & 14) at Kagankan.

One of these three is Gihitam and his wife. After he married his present wife more than thirty years ago, he stayed with her in her settlement of Amaga for more or less one year, and cultivated their swidden near this settlement. Later, this couple made their own swidden in the Hawili area, and they alternated between Settlement A and the wife's settlement for a few years. Finally, they settled in Settlement A (virilocal). Gihitam had one elder brother and three elder sisters: the latter stayed in Hawili after marriage (two of them in Settlement A, and one in Settlement B), but the former died.

The other two cases of virilocal residence in Hawili are explained in terms of the location of their swiddens. The two couples (households 12 & 14) once stayed at the wife's settlement in Kagankan and had a swidden near there. It is said, however, that they transferred to the husband's settlement in Hawili because they can enjoy better swiddens there than in the Kagankan area. Nevertheless, no one could explain the virilocal residence of Gihitam and his wife. The settlement of his wife is located in a place suitable for swidden cultivation. The interesting point is that his mother's father, who was also in the position of informal socio-political leader, also practiced virilocal residence.

Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, as noted above, marriage within the 1st-cousin range is strictly prohibited, and marriage within the 4th-cousin range tends to be avoided. Generally, unmarried residents in the same local community are, as shown in the genealogy of Hawili residents, related to one another by consanguineal ties. Therefore, endogamy within the same local community is very rare. Thus, logically and empirically, the uxorilocal tendency together with the rule of marriage prohibition leads to a situation that for a married woman most residents of her local community are consanguineal kin while for a married man most of his local community are affinal kin. Consanguineal kin are placed at a closer social distance than affinal kin in Hanunoo-Mangyan society. When we take these conditions into consideration we can understand the necessity of the residential pattern of the informal socio-political leader in Hawili. He maintains, different from most of the male residents in Hawili, consanguineal relations with all the households and with most of the people in this local community. It seems possible to assume, then, that the residential pattern (virilocality) of the informal socio-political leader is an important factor in establishing and maintaining his leadership.

In Hanunoo-Mangyan society we can find informal socio-political leaders, but not a formal leader whose position is passed on through a certain family-line.

However, the situation differs in relation to the sociological aspect of the *panudlakan*, ritual performer of the first rice-seed planting.

5.2. *Panudlakan*: ritual planter of the first rice seeds

It is not an exaggeration to state that the daily life of the Hanunoo-Mangyan centers around swidden activities for the cultivation of rice. Rice cultivation is believed to be impossible without the power of *kalag pāray* (rice spirits). It is said that rice plants in a swidden can grow only while the swidden is full of rice spirits and that plants wither as soon as the spirits leave them. When the ceremony of rice harvesting is over the rice spirits leave the world of men and return home. They come back to the forest near newly made swiddens, following the order of Binayi, a female spirit dwelling in the *pugso daldālo* (termite mound). It is said that termite mounds of this kind are found in the forested areas near specific settlements. Settlement A of Hawili is one of them. The people of Hawili believe that Binayi, the *?apo pugso* (owner of the termite mound), has the power of controlling rice spirits.

The rite of the first rice-seed planting is performed every year, usually late in April. No one can plant rice before this rite is held and a certain period passes. The most important person in this rite is the *panudlakan*, possessor of a ritual stone called *batu tudlak* (stone of the *tudlak* spirit) which is specifically used for this rite. The Hanunoo-Mangyan *panudlakan* are found only in a limited number of local communities.

People can only start planting rice at their swiddens seven days after the rite of the first rice-seed planting by the *panudlakan* of Hawili. And the local communities commonly affiliated with the same *panudlakan* are collectively referred to as *pagka?usāhan* ('one area'). The *panudlakan* are also found in Yagaw [CONKLIN 1957: 89], Wasig, Malang-og and some other local communities (the exact number and locations are not known), and each *pagka?usāhan* seems to be formed with one *panudlakan* as a central figure. The *pagka?usāhan* lacks the function of a social group, constituting a grouping only at the occasion of the ritual planting of the first rice seeds by its *panudlakan*. The grouping is formed solely on the basis of locality. Accordingly, if one transfers to another *pagka?usāhan* s/he becomes affiliated with the *panudlakan* there in connection with the

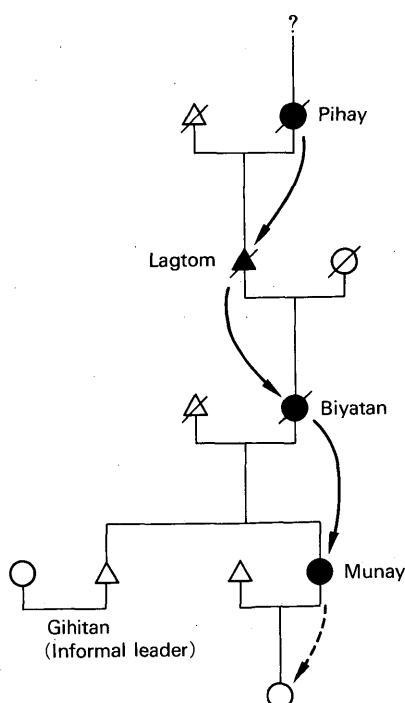


Figure 10. Succession to the position of *panudlakan*

rite of rice-seed planting.

The ritual stone of the *tudlak* spirit is passed on from the parent to one of the children. Munay, the *panudlakan* of Hawili (household No. 8 in Figure 9, also see Figure 10), inherited the ritual stone from her mother, Biyatan, in 1966, when the latter was still alive. It was not that Munay wanted to become a *panudlakan* but that her mother decided that she would succeed to the position. Biyatan taught her daughter how to perform the rite of rice-seed planting. Munay remembered the names of two others who were *panudlakan* in the past. Biyatan received the stone from her father, Lagtom, and Lagtom from his mother, Pihay. It is maintained that the ritual stone has been passed on from one parent to a child through many generations, and that the person who first possessed it must have been the founder of Settlement A of Hawili. In general, the *panudlakan* selects one of his/her children in his/her settlement as a successor. There is no rule with regard to the sex of the successor.

For the Hanunoo-Mangyan it means the end of agricultural activities if the succession line ceases: the *lināhi?* (descent line) of *panudlakan* maintained within the same settlement until today must be continued in the future as well. For this purpose a child is needed. Therefore, when the *panudlakan* decides to which son or daughter s/he should hand down the ritual stone, s/he excludes any son or daughter without a child.

6. Composition and Orientation of Hanunoo-Mangyan Society

Hanunoo-Mangyan society is, in general, characterized by bilateral features of kinship. In parallel a different aspect may be extracted in the succession to the position of *panudlakan* and the inheritance of his/her ritual stone which is indispensable to it. Furthermore, a figure who may be viewed as an informal socio-political leader was discovered through the case study of the Hawili local community.

It seems that Conklin saw Hanunoo-Mangyan society as a bilateral and leaderless one. He summarized their social organization as in the following:

Hanunoo society is bilaterally structured, loosely stratified, and predominantly egalitarian. There is no stress on unilinear descent and there are no large corporate kin groups. A degree of authority and influence attaches to the status of eldest close kinsmen in any given group, and a skilled medium, smith, or weaver gains prestige as such; but there are no formally recognized or titled leaders even of a jural sort, no chiefs, no headmen, and no servants. [CONKLIN 1957: 11]

It sounds as if this description would not elicit any objection. But if limited to this point of view it is impossible to explain certain facts with regard to the *panudlakan* and the informal leader as found in Hawili.

If focus is placed on its social functions the settlement as an aggregate of households can be regarded as a local kin group [MURRAY 1973] with a tinge of a

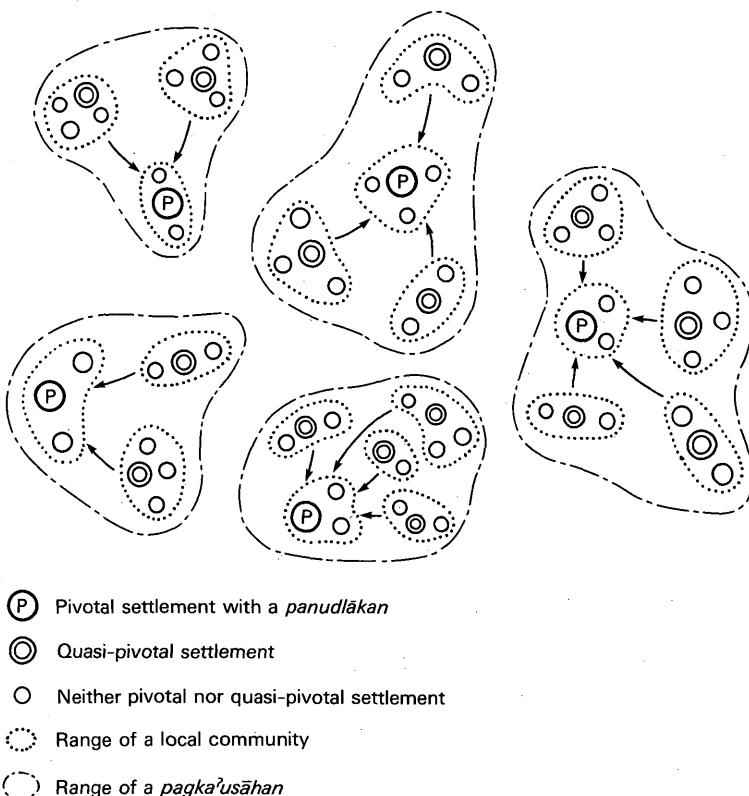


Figure 11. Composition of Hanunoo-Mangyan society as an aggregate of local cult groupings

corporate group. And the corporateness is extended to the level of the local community. The *pagka'usahan*, aggregate of local communities, lacks social corporateness. It is organized only at the ritual level with a *panudlakan* as its center. Each *pagka'usahan* can be regarded as a “*panudlakan*-centered local cult grouping”, and it may be possible to state that the whole of Hanunoo-Mangyan society is composed of plural *pagka'usahan*, as shown in Figure 11.

The *panudlakan* dwelling in the pivotal settlement of each *pagka'usahan* may be considered a sort of institutionalized or formal magico-religious leader. The position is, together with the ritual stone, passed on monolineally [MABUCHI 1971: 49-50] from a parent to one of the children, on the basis of the ambilineal principle within a particular family. In other words, it is possible to point out the presence of one “*panudlakan* family-line” based on an ambilineal (monolineal) succession line in each *pagka'usahan*. A family-line of this sort can be referred to as a “pivotal family-line”, since no other kind of solid succession line is found in Hanunoo-Mangyan society. And it must be noted that the *panudlakan* family-line structurally

resembles the "axial family-lines" found among the Taubuid [MURATAKE & KIKUCHI 1968] and a few other ethnolinguistic groups in Mindoro.

No solid succession line for the position of informal socio-political leader in Hawili is found. All we know is that his grandfather was in a similar position. However, if focus is placed on the functions of his leadership it also reminds us of the formal leaders of other ethnolinguistic groups in Mindoro. I will cite here the Buhid case for comparison.

The Buhid are swidden agriculturists dwelling in the south central strip of Mindoro Island. The population of this ethnolinguistic group is estimated at more than 2,000 (perhaps more than 3,000 before the smallpox epidemic of 1950) by Conklin [1953: 1]. They were reported as Buhil more than forty years ago by Gardner [1943: 65-72]. In his report is found an interesting description on their leader:

Lisigan, the Chief, speaks of himself: I do not know why many of the Buhils believe in me. We are the same Buhils. They chose me as a leader or chief. I have learned nothing in school. I do not play tricks or speak boisterously to them. I am ugly. I am not busy. I have a small house. Why then? I suppose because my late father was a leader, and these things counted much for me. [GARDNER 1943: 68]

This passage, which suggests the presence of formal socio-political leadership passed on through an agnatic line, motivated me to carry out several fieldtrips to the Buhid area during fieldwork among the Hanunoo-Mangyan [MIYAMOTO 1974b]. The data presented here were obtained through short-term fieldwork of May 17-24, 1974, in the Manihala area.

The Buhid settlement, called Manihala or "Sitio Palanan", is located in the mountainous area of Bongabong. In this area settlements are scattered without forming a local community such as the *?usa ka pū?ok* of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

Their kinship terminology is based on a combination of the Hawaiian and the Eskimo types. Namely, each generation is clearly marked and the range of the nuclear family (*talānak*) is terminologically emphasized. The personal kindred, composed of kinsmen within the first-cousin range, have important functions in their social and religious life. This range coincides with the circle within which sexual relations and marriage are prohibited. The ideal pattern of residence after marriage is uxorilocal, and most of the married couples live in the settlements of the wife's side. These features are commonly found in Hanunoo-Mangyan society. However, the situation differs in the aspect of leadership.

The Manihala settlement has been under a "development project" of Protestant missionaries who live in the lowland region of Bongabong. The Buhid in this mountainous area have long suffered from the impact of lowlanders (mainly Ilocanos) who became unable to maintain their livelihood in the lowland Tagalog society. The Buhid lands were reduced by the invasion of those lowlanders. It is said that many houses stood together in the Manihala settlement long ago when there was no

influx of lowlanders, and that a great number of Buhid people lived in abundance under the guidance of a leader called *hatiwala'an* or *hatulan*.

In Manihala there lives an elderly person who has been appointed to the position of *konsehal* (fr. Sp. *concejal*, 'councilman') by the municipal office of Bongabong. Before this settlement was officially registered as one of the *sitios* of Bongabong, he had been designated as *hatiwala'an* (or *hatulan*). Whenever a conflict occurred among the people he was asked to solve it with his knowledge of their customary law. He was also a negotiator for the solution of troubles which occurred between the Buhid residents of Manihala and lowlanders.

Although it is regarded as ideal for a man, as noted above, to transfer to his wife's settlement after marriage, this elderly person has never changed his residence since his birth. He says that this is because his father and grandfather did the same. Most of the residents of this settlement are his consanguineal kin, and others are male affines who immigrated there after marriage. He is respected and regarded as a leader or a representative of this settlement by all other people, even today. It is only this person who is a fluent speaker of the Tagalog and Ilokano languages and only he writes and reads the traditional bamboo script completely. It is said that these

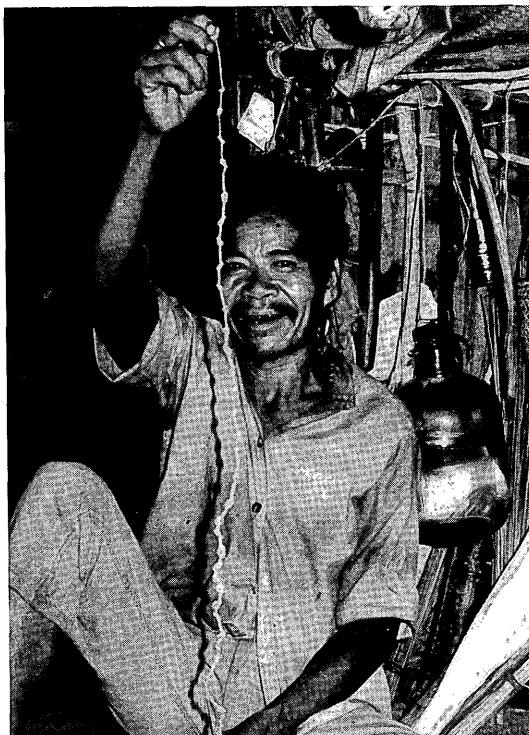


Plate 7. The leader of Manihala, holding a thin rope with knots, used to keep a record of residents and affiliated persons

were necessary conditions to become *hatiwalā'an*. According to the elderly man, he learned them from his father, when he was a young boy. Today he keeps a thin rope of about 80 cm in length, with 38 knots tied in it. These knots show the number of Manihala residents and those who left this settlement. If a baby is born, or a new inhabitant joins this settlement (usually by marriage), a knot is added to the rope. When a resident dies, another knot at one end of this rope is cut off and buried with the corpse in the graveyard. This rope was handed down to him by his father. It was considered to be one of the obligations of the *hatiwalā'an* to keep this rope.

He remembers only the names of his father, grandfather (father's father) and great grandfather (father's father's father). According to him, the three of them lived in this settlement and they successively occupied the position of *hatiwalā'an*. He says that the position of *hatiwalā'an* has been passed on from father to son since olden times, and that the one who was in this position had to teach the customary law, Tagalog and Ilokano, and bamboo-writing to his brightest son, after which he handed over the above-mentioned rope to him. He said: "The rope is short, but it would be long if all the knots ever cut off in the past and those which will be added in the future should be placed together in one line." (See Plate 7.)

In the past, the *hatiwalā'an* was also a medicineman and a ritual planter of the first rice seeds, keeping the two ritual stones indispensable for these positions. Among the Buhid, similar to the Hanunoo-Mangyan, there is a belief that a person becomes sick when his soul (*fālad*) leaves his body for fear of evil spirits (*labay*), and that he dies when the soul does not come back. One of the ritual stones was used before to repel evil spirits. Since the missionaries mentioned above started their activities in this settlement, they have, according to the elder, continued to tell the people that they should forget and abandon all their customs because it is bad to practice them. A radio on which only sermons in Tagalog can be heard was placed in the elder's house by the missionaries. He followed their advice and threw away his ritual stones in the forest, so he is no longer performing the roles of medicineman and ritual planter. Before, however, these two kinds of ritual stones were also necessary conditions to be a *hatiwalā'an*, and they were passed on, together with the above-mentioned rope, from father to son.

Thus in the past the *hatiwalā'an* of Manihala was institutionally both a socio-political leader and a magico-religious leader. The roles played separately by an informal socio-political leader and by a *panudlākan* (and also a medicineman, *i.e.*, a *pandaniwan* and *pamara'an*) in Hanunoo-Mangyan society were fulfilled by the same figure in this Buhid settlement. And the socio-political and magico-religious leadership was succeeded to monolineally through an agnatic line from father to son. It can be stated, therefore, that the settlement of Manihala had an atmosphere of a corporate group with one solid "*hatiwalā'an* family-line" based on an agnatic succession line.

The leadership of the Alangan structurally resembles the *hatiwalā'an* of the Manihala Buhid. According to Kikuchi [1975] the Alangan have traditionally lived in large houses. Three to twenty nuclear families live in one large house, forming a

local group. And in each local group is a man designated as *kuyay*, who is in a position to keep peace and order among the residents in his local group as a socio-political leader ("caretaker" in Kikuchi's term), and to act as a ritual performer at the planting and harvesting ceremonies. His title is succeeded to through a male line, ideally by his first son. According to Muratake and Kikuchi [1968], the "head" (*tanujan*) of the Taubuid, too, is both a socio-political leader and a magico-religious leader (possessor of a ritual plate which is beaten to cure a person of disease), and the succession to this position is made through a male line. In other words, the formal socio-political leadership and magico-religious leadership are attributed to the same figure among the Manihala Buhid (at least in the past), the Alangan and the Taubuid. It may be possible to call this kind of society a "formal socio-political leader=magico-religious leader centered cognatic society".

As cited earlier, Muratake [1967: 4] hypothesized that a specific axial family-line is formed on the basis of a cognatic structure, as found among the Palawan. It is not suitable to take up the Palawan society as a model of a cognatic structure lacking in an axial family-line because, according to Kikuchi [1971: 88], in their society a folk medicineman whose title is passed on ideally from father to son, forming an agnatic family-line, is found. However, Muratake's assumption itself is suggestive in considering the formation of a particular family-line with monolineal characteristics.

Later, Kikuchi reconsidered Taubuid society, and presented his viewpoint:

From an ego-centered grouping in tradition, the social system of the Batangan is developing with corporate political, social and economic features (verband), which the writer believes has led to a local group within a monolineal atmosphere developed from an ambilineal atmosphere—a political leader (caretaker)-oriented kin group or Gaban-oriented kin group. [KIKUCHI 1984: 34]

It seems that Kikuchi's viewpoint emphasizes the scheme of transition from an ego-centered kin group to a formal political leader-centered kin group. But this scheme is not enough to characterize Hanunoo-Mangyan society. If emphasis is placed on leadership in the magico-religious context in addition to the socio-political aspect, as attempted in the present study, a hypothesis can be postulated concerning the orientation of Hanunoo-Mangyan society.

It seems to me that the informal socio-political leader (internal and external), as seen in Hawili, emerged from internal consultants (elders) under a situation where the political impact of Christian lowlanders could not be avoided. Actually no solid succession line of socio-political leadership is found in Hanunoo-Mangyan society. But the fact that the informal socio-political leader and the *panudlakan* in Hawili are siblings and that one of the former *panudlakan* (the grandfather of the present *panudlakan*) was once an informal socio-political leader suggests the hypothesis that the *panudlakan* family-line forms a basis which would accept the emergence of a formal socio-political leader. This possibility can be inferred from

the cases of other ethnolinguistic groups (Manihala Buhid, Alangan, and Taubuid) in Mindoro. In short, it may be stated that present Hanunoo-Mangyan society is a "magico-religious leader (and informal socio-political leader) centered society" and that it is in a transitional process towards a "formal socio-political and magico-religious leader centered society".

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND WORLD VIEW

1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the religious life of the Hanunoo-Mangyan in association with their social life. "How do the Hanunoo-Mangyan see their world?"—the target of the argument in this chapter is to pursue an answer to this question.

The first part of the chapter attempts to outline the supernatural or superordinary beings which men are concerned with in daily life and on special occasions. In the second part a description is given of a few classes of occasions in which the Hanunoo-Mangyan exhibits an emphasis on contacts with those supernatural beings, such as during funeral rites, agricultural rites, and rites of restoration. The analysis is made basically from the hypothetical viewpoint that the living-space itself is a model of the world (cosmos) for the Hanunoo-Mangyan, focusing on the interactions of living men with supernatural beings, *i.e.*, the relationship between this world and the other world. The last part is devoted to an examination of the Hanunoo-Mangyan cognition of illness, a crisis during which their world view seems to be clearly expressed.

2. Supernaturals

The universe is composed of two categories of existence: those phenomena which can be physically seen, such as the sun, stars, mountains, rivers, animals, men, etc., and those which cannot be seen by ordinary men. The latter are supernatural or superordinary beings, such as *karadwa* (human souls), *labay* (evil spirits) and many other classes of *kalag* (spirits). The spirits are classified into two: those which reside in natural objects such as animals, plants, lands, rocks, etc., and those which inhabit *galig* (amulets, charms) of special plants or stones. The spirits of amulets are controlled by men, and they fight against the evil spirits or work for black magic. For the Hanunoo-Mangyan one of the biggest concerns is how to associate with various kinds of supernaturals.

2.1. Human souls

One of the most important features of Hanunoo-Mangyan religion is the belief in the human souls referred to as *karadwa* or *kalag*. In their belief each healthy living man has his own *karadwa* which exists near his body. There are two opinions among the Hanunoo-Mangyan concerning the number of *karadwa* for one person.

According to one, each man has only one soul appearing in the form of *tāwo* (man). This soul is specifically called *karadwa tāwo* (human soul). But some people believe that a man has one *karadwa tāwo* and also one or a few *karadwa* in the form of animals, such as dogs (*karadwa ?idu?*), birds (*karadwa manok*), mice (*karadwa ?aynbo*), cats (*karadwa kuti?*), etc. According to this opinion, souls in the form of animals have their own residences in the forest, although it is not known exactly where they are, and these souls approach the body of a man at his birth.

No one (even a religious medium) knows where a human soul comes from. They know only that a soul approaches the body of a baby at its birth. A Hanunoo-Mangyan in Panaytayan who is influenced by Catholic beliefs would say that the human soul comes from *diyos* (fr. Sp. *dios*, 'god') or *paninō?on* (fr. Tag. 'Lord', 'God'), and at the same time he would utter the name of the God, "Mahal Umako" (or *mahal ma?āko*, or *mahal makaka?āko*), which is the name of the supreme deity for the Hanunoo-Mangyan. But most inhabitants of other settlements maintain that they really do not know where a human soul comes from. On the other hand, they believe clearly that the soul of a man goes to the 'world of the dead' after his death (*vide infra*).

One must be very careful of others' souls. It is prohibited to suddenly pretend to hit someone, or threaten someone with a bolo (bush knife). There is a belief that the soul of a terrified person, upon being surprised, will leave the body, causing the person to become ill. Even if the action is only in jest, the result will be the same. Therefore, if one jokingly pulls out his bolo pretending to attack someone, movements must be done slowly and softly, putting the flat of the bolo on the body of the latter to show that there is no intention of harming him. Unless this is done, the soul which leaves the human body will not return easily. The illness caused by such a menacing action is referred to as *nanalyo*. It is said that one who becomes ill from such an action will weaken and grow thin, and that he will die in more or less one year if special treatment is not made. The offender must hold two chickens, *tigbaw* grass (*Saccharum spontaneum* L.) and a small stone in his hands, and wave them right and left just above the forehead of the victim, saying the prayer: "May the soul come back to your body." Right after this, the offender lets the chickens go free, drops the stone, and he buries the *tigbaw* grass in the forest. Then the victim will recover.

This is why the Hanunoo-Mangyans are always very careful not to frighten the souls of others. Threatening words, such as "I'll kill you!", are included in the category of menacing actions. These actions sometimes cause disputes (*vide infra*).

The human soul is afraid of evil spirits: it leaves the human body and runs away to a distant place to hide itself if they attack. Some people insist that a soul appears in the form of an animal. They say that a human soul changes thus so that it will not be easily identified by the evil spirits as that of a man. Moreover, since an animal can run faster than a man, a soul assuming the form of an animal will be able to escape from pursuing evil spirits more easily. Therefore, the human soul is able to "trick" the evil spirits by means of "disguising" itself as an animal.

In Hanunoo-Manyan belief a living man consists of flesh (including skin, blood, hair and nails), bones (including teeth) and *karadwa*. If one of these elements is damaged or lacking, a living man falls into a state of *sakit* (illness) or *matay* (death). A dream in one's sleep is explained as a *karadwa* which has taken a stroll. When the *karadwa* leaves the body (flesh and bones) of a man for fear of evil spirits, he becomes sick or crazy. The evil spirits wait for the *karadwa*, which has hidden itself at a distance, near the body of the man (for example, under the floor of the house), to capture it. Certain kinds of evil spirits are fond of eating the flesh of a living man. If a man is seriously ill for an extended period it often means for the Hanunoo-Mangyan that a number of evil spirits are near him and his *karadwa* cannot return to his body. If the *karadwa* finds it completely impossible to return to the human body, the latter loses consciousness and then stops breathing. In other words, he dies. Certain evil spirits, instead of trying to eat the flesh of a living man, injure specific parts of the body and leave invisible 'scars' inside it. As long as these scars remain in the body, the man suffers from pain. Then his flesh, one of the components of the man as a living being, is further damaged and it might even cause his death. If certain kinds of evil spirits attack the body of a man his *karadwa* goes away and he becomes crazy, behaving as if he were an animal.

If one becomes ill due to black magic, he has to be treated by a prominent medicineman. If not, he will become weak and die.

2.2. Evil spirits

When one dies, as noted later in the description of the deathwatch, a great number of evil spirits are believed to be wandering about near the house where his corpse has been lain. Although the evil spirits which eat the flesh of a living man are limited to certain kinds, all types of evil spirits are fond of the flesh of the human body, even though it is dead.

The evil spirits collectively referred to as *labaj* are believed to appear in the form of animals or men (either male or female). Each evil spirit is named after its form or conduct in Hanunoo-Mangyan belief. The people of Hawili and Panaytayan count nine kinds:

1. *labaj kuti?*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a *kuti?* (a cat). Itchy toes are caused by this spirit. If one becomes crazy, it is thought to be caused also by this spirit.
2. *labaj bāboy*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a *bāboy* (a pig), more precisely a forest pig (*talon bāboy*). Coughing is caused by an evil spirit of this kind.
3. *labaj manok*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a small, black, wild, forest fowl (*talon manok*). Headaches are caused by this evil spirit. It also makes a man crazy in the same way as does a *labaj kuti?*.
4. *labaj ?idu?*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a dog (*?idu?*). It bites a man and results in injuries to his body.

5. *labaj bāka*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a *bāka* (fr. Sp. *vaca*, a cow). Its deeds are similar to *labaj ?idu?*.
6. *labaj karabaw*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a *karabaw* (a water buffalo). Its deeds are similar to *labaj ?idu?*, biting men.
7. *labaj kambij*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a *kambij* (a goat). The deeds are similar to *labaj ?idu?*.
8. *labaj lumalākaw*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a small naked Mangyan, either male or female, who walks (*lakaw*) very swiftly. This evil spirit makes a man lose his way and eats his flesh.
9. *labaj tāwo*: An evil spirit appearing in the form of a *tāwo* (man), either male or female. The evil spirit of this kind does not speak but whistles. They often visit the houses of men and hide themselves under the floor. They eat human meat.

Two kinds of *labaj tāwo* are believed to exist. One of them looks like a Hanunoo-Mangyan with a loin-cloth (male) or a short skirt (female) but without any clothing on the upper part of the body. The other kind of *labaj tāwo* is most feared by the Hanunoo-Mangyan. It appears in the form of *damū?oy* (lowlander) wearing long pants. It is specifically referred to as *labaj damū?oy*. All *labaj tāwo* have the same kind of vertically wide eyes as *labaj lumalakaw* do. (Some of my informants made drawings of *labaj tāwo* in my notebook. The drawings in Plate 8 are copies of two of them.)

In Hanunoo-Mangyan belief evil spirits reside in certain areas of the forest. They sleep there in the daytime, come out of their dwellings when it becomes dark, and loiter around the forest and even near houses in the settlement. In the forest surrounding the settlements of Hawili, for instance, there are four areas (c, d, e, and f in Figure 8) considered to be inhabited by evil spirits. It is strictly prohibited to enter these areas, and everyone believes that a person will surely be attacked by evil spirits

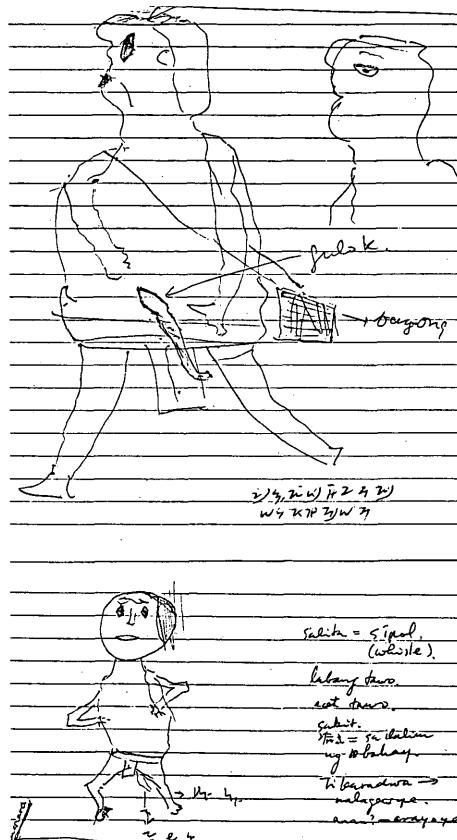


Plate 8. Evil spirits in the form of men, drawn by young Hanunoo-Mangyan boys

and immediately killed if he enters these tabooed areas. It is said that a number of evil spirits are loitering in the graveyards located in the forest. In particular, a great many dangerous evil spirits which eat human flesh are believed to be wandering about in a graveyard where an exhumed corpse is buried. Therefore, it is also forbidden to enter this kind of graveyard, because, it is said, one who does so will surely be killed by the evil spirits.

2.3. Spirits for sorcery

Whereas evil spirits are uncontrollable, those for sorcery, or black magic, can be controlled. There are four classes of spirits for sorcery: *?apo panhīri?*, *?apo padāya?*, *?apo paŋīwa?* and *?apo suŋāyan*.

The first, *?apo panhīri?*, or the spirit of *panhīri?*, dwells in a small stone called *panhīri?*. The sorcerer, or possessor of this kind of stone, is designated as *panhīri?an*. He can order his spirits to make a detestable person fall seriously ill. An illness of this sort is referred to as *hinīri?an*. The patient suffers from headaches, stomach aches, chest pains, pains in the eyes or ears, toothaches, swelling, and the like, and then becomes feeble. It is said that he will surely die unless he is treated by a prominent medicineman.

It is said in general that one is attacked by black magic due to the envy (*hīrak* or *hīkay*) or jealousy (*?imon*) of a sorcerer. Therefore everyone is very careful lest he should become an object of envy or jealousy. An amulet (*galiŋ*) designated as *sanga? sa panhīri?* protects its possessor from the attack of *panhīri?*.

The second such spirit, *?apo padāya?*, resides in an amulet called *padāya?*. This amulet is made from a combination of several kinds of plants. Its effect is the same as that of *panhīri?*. A person known to own this sort of amulet is feared. The amulet which repels the spirit of *padāya?* is called *sanga? sa padāya?*.

A person who falls ill due to *panhīri?* or *padāya?* cannot recover without treatment by a *pandaniwan* and/or a *pamara?an* (mostly, one religious medium holds these two positions).

The third such spirit, *?apo paŋīwa?*, dwells in a stone called *paŋīwa?*. The possessors of this sort of stone are *paŋīwa?an*. There are very few *paŋīwa?an*. If a *paŋīwa?an* utters an incantation in front of his stone, concentrating on the person he hates, the latter will suddenly be attacked by a violent pain. The pain continues more or less for a couple of weeks, and the patient dies unless appropriate treatment is made. Only a medium designated as *paŋūli?an*, who also holds the position of *pandaniwan* and *pamara?an*, can treat a patient of this kind. (This illness will be discussed in detail later.) There is no amulet which can drive away the spirit of *paŋīwa?*; so one must own a *paŋīwa?* stone to protect himself from *paŋīwa?* possessed by others. If a *paŋīwa?an* is afraid that another *paŋīwa?an* will attack him through black magic the former has to attack the latter first, to protect himself.

Of all classes of spirits for sorcery *?apo suŋāyan* is the most terrible. According to informants a spirit of this class dwells in *suŋāyan*, an iron cylinder some 12 centimeters in length with a *sūŋay* (a horn) about the size of a little finger. It has a string

so that it can be hung on a tree. In this case, an incantation with the words "You die!" is uttered by its possessor, the tree will wither in a couple of hours. If the point of the horn is directed toward a person whom the possessor of the amulet hates and a special prayer said, the victim will surely die within three days.

There is no method for treating this kind of illness, and it is maintained that there are no amulets which can repel the *sūnjay* spirits. An informant of Wasig, who is a possessor of various kinds of amulets, secretly taught me that an amulet made of the roots of three kinds of plants—*?anolig* (*Pisonia umbellifera* [Frost.] Seem.), *sabila?* (*Nopalea cochinellifera* [L.] Salm-Dick) and *bunway* (*Ficus ruficaulis* L.)—will protect its possessor from an attack of the *sūnjay* spirit. The informant said that one *sujāyan* possessor hung his amulet on all kinds of trees and all of them withered except for these three kinds of plants.

The spirits for sorcery are, similar to evil spirits, objects of fear. As noted above, envy or jealousy often causes black magic, so people do their best not to arouse the envy or jealousy of others.

I often discussed the topic of envy with my Hanunoo-Mangyan informants, who showed a great interest in it. According to them, *kasipāgan* (diligence) most arouses the envy of others. The father might say to his son, "*daya kāwo magbūwat masiyādo. bāraj kāwo hirakan maya tāwo* (Don't work too much. Maybe you will be envied by the people)", if the latter is always very diligent in his work at his own swidden. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, to be lazy surely becomes a focus of criticism but to be diligent is not always highly valued. If one is diligent, he can enjoy a better harvest. His goods will, in other words, accumulate. Then, he must share his accumulated goods with others on such an occasion as a feast. If he fails to do so he will be envied, and might become a target of black magic.

Other items which arouse envy are domestic animals, cash, clothes and health. One who keeps a certain number of new and beautiful clothes will be envied. Informants say that it is dangerous to keep more than 3 loin-cloths and shirts or more than 5 skirts and more than 3-5 blouses.

Even if one is diligent he should do his best not to show that he is a hard worker. If he is asked for something he must share, even if just a little; even though a person obtains good quality clothing, it should not be shown off to others, but kept secretly at home. If a man enjoys a good rice harvest he should pretend that it is very poor, otherwise he must generously offer food on a special occasion. A Hanunoo-Mangyan must therefore live carefully so as to be free from envy and black magic.

A person who becomes ill due to black magic must consult a religious medium for prayer. Serious illness must be treated by plural prominent mediums. The residents of the patients' local community gather at the latter's house to observe the prayer of the mediums. Generally, the mediums tell the parent's family to prepare a large quantity of unhusked rice (one or two *kaban*) and one adult pig. The participants help the family to cook them, and they enjoy eating the food together. Thus, a special meal of this kind works as a device to distribute or share accumu-

lated goods, and the envy of the people, *i.e.*, distortion in social life is dissolved.

2.4. Spirits for mediums

There are four kinds of medicinemen or religious mediums: *pandaniwan*, *pamara?**an*, *panihulan* and *pandulawan*.

The *pandaniwan* is one of the most important mediums in Hanunoo-Mangyan religious life. He is a possessor of one or a few sacred stones referred to as *batu dāniw* (or *dāniw batu*). Spirits of stones (*kalag batu*) which are specifically designated as *dāniw* are believed to dwell in *batu dāniw*. There are, according to *pandaniwan*, ordinarily plural *dāniw* (sometimes single) in a sacred stone.

It is believed that the spirits inside the sacred stone do not like the *pandaniwan* to show them to other persons, because, it is said, the spirits might lose their power. It is especially important for a person who has just become a *pandaniwan* not to allow others to see his stone. I had only two chances to see *batu dāniw* during my fieldwork. Since their possessors are also *pamara?**an*, I was able to see several *batu pamāra?*.

The *dāniw* stone is round and black, and several centimeters in diameter (Plate 9). Each *dāniw* spirit has a human-like body and wears a loin-cloth and a cotton shirt if male, or a short skirt and a blouse if female, similar to a living Hanunoo-Mangyan. Only with this stone and training under a skilled *pandaniwan* can one perform a prayer as a *pandaniwan*. The power of the prayer (*panāgin dāniw*) is given by the *dāniw* of the sacred stone. As mentioned earlier, the power of the prayer of the *pandaniwan* is said to drive away or capture the evil spirits which cause disease



Plate 9. The stones of the *dāniw* spirit (right) and the *pamāra?* spirit (left)

or death. This power is also believed to lead the soul of a deceased to the *karadwāhan* (the place of *karadwa*, the world of the dead).

If one wants to become a *pandaniwan*, he offers white beads (*?ūno malagti*) and other gifts (usually a chicken) to a skilled *pandaniwan*, who is usually related to him through kinship. If the *pandaniwan* accepts the applicant the former gives one of his stones and a loop of his white beads to the latter. This applicant must go through training for eight months. During this period, he repeats special training in the use of the stone and he follows his master whenever the latter is called for prayer.

A certain procedure is required when an apprentice receives his stone from a skilled *pandaniwan*. On the first night of *lati?* (a crescent moon) after he receives the stone, he has to practice *pagdug?on* (blood pouring). He cuts the neck of a chicken or one toe of its foot (either right or left) with his small knife and drips several drops of blood on the stone which is placed on a ceramic white plate. The chicken must be a domestic and matured hen of *maragay* (a reddish color). A rooster, an immature hen or a wild chicken are never used. After blood pouring, the stone is covered with a second white plate. There is no rule concerning the acquisition of these plates, but the color must be *malagti* (whitish). He must not remove the cover until the following morning.

He will dream of a forked road representing whether or not he can become a skilled *pandaniwan* on the night after the practice of blood pouring. In his dream *dāniw* spirits appear wearing clothes. If the color of the clothes is white he will be able to obtain power from them to cure the patient, and he can become a skilled *pandaniwan*. If the clothes appear blackish in color it is a sign that the *dāniw* spirits refuse to give power to him. The stone will bring about misfortune if the clothes of the spirits look reddish, since the sick person for whom the prayer is said with the stone may die. If the color of the clothing of the *dāniw* spirits is blackish or reddish, the stone must be thrown away at the edge of a spring or a stream in a far forest, and the applicant can never become a *pandaniwan*. Thus, the first condition for the new possessor of a *dāniw* stone is to dream of *dāniw* spirits wearing white clothes. There is another condition. The clothes must not have holes. If the figure of *dāniw* in his dream wears white clothes with even one small hole, the dreamer loses the possibility of becoming a *pandaniwan*.

If one is lucky to dream of *dāniw* spirits wearing white clothes without holes, he takes the sacred stone out of the ritual plates. Thus he enters the first step toward becoming a *pandaniwan*. The practice of chicken blood pouring must be repeated on the night of every crescent moon for the following seven months. If a new *pandaniwan* fails to do this he will not be able to acquire the power of the *dāniw* spirits. During this term he accompanies his senior *pandaniwan* to learn and practice the prayers.

It is said that a female is able to become a *pandaniwan*, but no example was found in the Mansalay area. A skilled *pandaniwan* is able to find another *batu dāniw*. If he dreams of this kind of stone at night, he goes in early morning to the ex-

act place of his dream. A *batu dāniw* is always found in this manner. It is said that a *batu dāniw* can only be found at the edge of a small spring or a stream in the forest. If one is not a *pandaniwan* he will be unable to dream of a *batu dāniw*, and hence he can never find this kind of stone. If a *pandaniwan* becomes seriously or frequently sick, it is believed that he can no longer make use of the power of the *dāniw* spirits. He must carry the *batu dāniw* to a spring or a stream in the forest and leave it there. Even after a *pandaniwan* completes his obligation to practice blood pouring eight times, he sometimes kills a reddish hen on the night of a crescent moon.

In Hanunoo-Mangyan belief illness is also brought about by the anger of the soul of the dead. Only the *pandaniwan*, who are able to see the *karadwa* of a deceased, can pronounce whose *karadwa* is angry with the patient. After diagnosis by this religious medium the patient performs a food offering (*pajahāwan*) to the deceased's soul. The food offerings after the burial rite are held continually, so that the household members do not arouse the anger of the deceased.

A *pandaniwan* is, in general, also a *pamara?**an* who is the possessor of one or more round (or cylindrical) black stones designated as *batu pamāra?* (stones of the *pamāra?* spirits). With the magical power of this stone the medium of this sort can control other classes of spirits. This medium is able to see the 'scars' (*?ūyon*; deep-seated source of pain, illness, etc.) in his prayer, and the power of the prayer comes from the spirit (or spirits) referred to as *pamāra?* dwelling in his stone. He cups his palms on the painful spot of the patient's body and throws away the air he grasps there. He repeats this process many times. The number of times this action is repeated is said to equal that of the scars in the patient's body which were brought about by the evil spirits. After he removes all the scars from the patient's body he blows out his breath on the patient's white bead necklace. The necklace containing the breath of the *pamara?**an* comes to have a magical power to ward off evil spirits and to give potency to the medicine of the patient for the time being. If the patient does not become well, even after the treatment of the *pamara?**an*, he might think that the scars have not been completely removed. He will consult as many other *pamara?**an* as necessary until he recovers completely.

The *panihūlan* is a medium who possesses a stone inhabited by a spirit called *tihol*. This spirit is, similar to the *dāniw* and *pamāra?*, a fighter against evil spirits. It is said that this spirit looks like a very small man. It can fly around easily. Since it is invisible to ordinary persons without special magical power the possessor of this stone orders his spirit to work for him as a spy.

The *pandulāwan* is a possessor of a pair of small boards called *pandūlaw*. The size of each board is, according to informants, some 25 cm × 5 cm × 1 cm. A spirit, referred to as *dūlaw*, dwells in the pair of boards. A patient who becomes ill due to the anger of the spirit of land or the spirit of water can be cured with the power of the *dūlaw* spirit. If one jokingly hits the ground with a leafy branch, or romps about while taking bath, when it becomes dark, the spirit of land or the spirit of water will become angry, and make him ill. The patient feels itchy with *bulhog* (eruptions) all over his body in the first stage, and then gradually becomes weaker and thinner.

There is no medicine which can cure this kind of patient. He must undergo treatment by a *pandulawan*.

The *pandulawan* faces the patient when it becomes dark, and he suddenly shouts, "Uwaaa!" Then he strikes the pair of boards just above the patient's head, and shouts again. These shouts are said to be the language of the *pandulawan*. The patient will become well by the next morning.

2.5. Other spirits

So far, explanation has been made of human souls, evil spirits, and the spirits which are controlled by men. There are many other kinds of spirits which are controllable. Most of them dwell in amulets or charms collectively referred to as *galiq* or *hāpiñhāpiq*, which are mostly made by means of combining special kinds of plants and used for various purposes. These amulets can be classified into four groups: (1) amulets for safety, (2) amulets regarding customary law, (3) amulets regarding love and jealousy, and (4) amulets for health.

There are at least nine kinds of amulets which fall in the first group. They are:

1. *talitoktok*: An amulet to keep wicked persons away from its possessor. It works also for the safety of his family.
2. *sapol*: An amulet to locate thieves who have stolen agricultural crops.
3. *?āwog*: An amulet to place such thieves in an abstracted state of mind.
4. *tagalmo?*: An amulet to protect its possessor from attacks with a bolo, by causing the bolo to snap being separated from its handle.
5. *tagilyas*: An amulet to protect its possessor from arrows, spears or even bullets by changing the direction of such weapons in flight.
6. *tali?udog*: An amulet to protect its possessor from attacks with a bolo by suddenly paralyzing the attacker's hand.
7. *tabiyūnan*: An amulet which makes the front doors of the house shake when an outsider approaches to notify the possessor of a potentially wicked visitor.
8. *paryāgad*: An amulet to inform its possessor of the identity of future visitors.
9. *tagadlom*: An amulet which makes its possessor invisible to the eyes of others.

The amulets of the second group are directly related to practices based on Mangyan Law. There are at least four:

1. *tagalukmay*: An amulet which pacifies an angry man. It is also called *?amīgos* (fr. Sp. *amigo*, 'friend').
2. *dalūpi?*: An amulet which makes its possessor eloquent.
3. *tampāyak*: An amulet which makes its possessor brave.
4. *tagoramig*: An amulet to protect its possessor from boiling water at an ordeal so that his hand will not be scalded.

More detailed description will be made in the following chapter, where the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system will be discussed.

There are at least four amulets which are classified in the third group. They are related to love and jealousy:

1. *gayūma*: An amulet to make a particular person love its possessor.
2. *pintas*: An amulet which enables the possessor to separate from his/her sweetheart, making the latter ill.
3. *pahūli?*: An amulet to counteract *pintas*.
4. *tagablag*: An amulet to separate a boy and a girl who love each other, due to the jealousy of the possessor of this amulet. If the sweetheart of the possessor leaves him and goes to another man, then the rejected one might use his amulet.

The amulets of the fourth group keep their possessors healthy. There are many kinds of amulets which fall in this group. Some are:

1. *kabal*: An amulet to protect the possessor from injuries.
2. *himag*: An amulet to protect the possessor from injuries to the head.
3. *santas ?abad*: An amulet to protect the possessor from injuries to other parts of the body.

It is said that one would become immortal and he could enjoy a splendid life if he possessed all kinds of amulets, including those for religious mediums and sorcerers.

Although many of the residents in Panaytayan are baptized by Catholic missionaries, they maintain that there is no need to throw away their amulets. However, they must not carry them to Mass since the power might be weakened if they are carried to the chapel.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan maintain that the *kudus* (crosses; fr. Sp. *cruz*) which they obtain from the missionaries at the Catholic chapel protect them from ghosts (*?asway*). Also the *?orasyon* (spells; fr. Sp. *oración*, 'prayer') are of great importance in their religious life. However, it is very difficult to obtain data on this topic.

So far, I have described supernatural beings in the Hanunoo-Mangyan belief system without referring to supernatural beings which belong to natural objects, such as animals, plants, etc. The rice spirit is one of the most important supernaturals of this sort.

2.6. Rice spirits

The cultivation of rice is believed to be possible through the power of *kalag pāray* (spirits of rice). Without the help of rice spirits in the swiddens, the rice plants would wither away. Farmers are required to show special respect to these spirits during the growing season so that they do not leave the swiddens. It is not known what the rice spirits look like. Only a limited number of old residents in Hawili said that

the rice spirits look like *daldālo* (queen termites which fly in large numbers). There are numerous folk tales on the origin of rice. According to one story:

Long, long ago, there was no rice in Mindoro. A dog barked, but no rice arrived. Then a cat mewed, and the rice arrived in Mindoro from the south.

Another story tells:

Long, long ago, Mindoro was full of rice. But one day all the rice disappeared. Malway brought a dog to the forest to call back the rice. The dog barked. But no rice returned. A cat mewed. Malway heard someone sobbing. It was one rice plant. The rice said that all the others left, but that it could not follow them since the cat mewed at the moment when it was about to leave. The other rice plants went home to Panay (an island in the Visaya region, to the south of Mindoro).

It seems that there is a belief among the Hanunoo-Mangyan that the home of the rice spirits is originally to the south.

Now that a basic description of the Hanunoo-Mangyan beliefs regarding various kinds of supernaturals has been made, attention can be turned to the observation of the rituals actually practiced. Description will be made here of their rituals regarding death, rice cultivation, natural phenomena and incest.

3. Rituals Regarding Death

3.1. The world of the dead

When a person dies his soul is believed to go to *karadwāhan* (the place or residence of *karadwa*, the world of the dead) with the help of a prayer performed by a *pandaniwan*. This belief is expressed by the rite of *pamarāsan*. All the informants believe in *karadwāhan*, but they do not know where it is located. The images concerning *karadwāhan* common to all of these informants are:

1. The *karadwāhan* is in a distant place where a living person cannot go;
2. At the entrance of the *karadwāhan* is a cave in which a terrible giant, named Balungabon, dwells with his wife, Binayi, and a truculent dog. This cave is located to the north;
3. There is a narrow invisible path from the graveyard to the *karadwāhan*. Only the prayer of a *pandaniwan* can lead the soul of the dead to the *karadwāhan* along this path. To enter the *karadwāhan*, a soul must pass by the cave of the giant who is waiting for human souls. Without the prayer of *pandaniwan* the soul would be immediately captured by the giant and his dog, and it could not enter the *karadwāhan*;
4. The *karadwāhan* is divided into three sections: one for the Hanunoo-Mangyan, one for the Buhid, and another for the lowlanders. In the Hanunoo-Mangyan section there are mountains, rivers and the sea. In the

mountains are houses where the souls of dead Hanunoo-Mangyans dwell. They wear a loin-cloth (male) or a skirt (female) similar to living Hanunoo-Mangyans, and they are engaged in swidden activities. There is no disease, no starvation, no impact from the lowlanders (for the souls of the lowlanders are in their own section), nor evil spirits. The souls never die in the *karadwāhan*; and

5. If a soul in *karadwāhan* finds the living offspring losing respect for the former, it goes back to their settlement and makes them ill or makes their harvest (rice, coconuts, and other plants) poor. As long as the living show respect to their dead parents, grandparents, etc., the souls of the latter bring about health and good harvest to the former.

To summarize: a man dies when his *karadwa* separates from his body (flesh and bones); this separation often being caused by evil spirits. In the explicit image of the Hanunoo-Mangyan the concept of *karadwa* and *labay* are created to explain the phenomenon of death. The *karadwāhan* is imagined to be located outside the visible world of the living. The concept of *karadwāhan*, the world of the dead, is created to isolate the *karadwa* of the dead from the world of the living.

3.2. Deathwatch

After a person stops breathing his corpse is placed face and stomach upward on a *buri* mat, inside his house. The head is directed toward the south and the legs toward the north, and the body is covered with a blanket. The corpse is kept thus until it is placed in a coffin the following morning.

The deathwatch (or wake) starts in the evening of the day of death and ends on the following morning, when it becomes light. This rite is referred to as *maghāya*, which means 'to continue'. In the evening close kinsmen of the deceased (most of them within the range of his restricted kindred) and the neighbors meet at the house of the deceased. There are three rules concerning the deathwatch:

1. During the deathwatch, a light must always be lit;
2. The participants must not sleep during the deathwatch. At least one person must be awake; and
3. A person who does not participate in the deathwatch from the beginning cannot join it later.

It is said that another close kin of the deceased will die soon if even one of these rules is not followed. Violation of these rules is believed to be a deed which would allow evil spirits to come out of their residences in the forest and hide themselves under the floor or near the wall of the house during the deathwatch. The participants talk all night. One of the informants gave an explanation to the first and second rules, saying:

A long time ago an old man died and a wake was held in his house. At midnight all the participants fell asleep, and the light went out. Then, the deceased open-

ed his eyes and suddenly got up off of his mat. He took a rope out of his mouth and wrung the necks of all the participants with the rope. On the following morning when other residents visited the old man's house, they were surprised to find all the participants dead near the corpse of the dead old man. The visitors tried to find out why all of them had died. At last they discovered the rope in the old man's mouth. When the rope was taken out, all the participants returned to life, and the burial rite for the deceased proceeded without further problem.

The actions of the deceased must have been due to evil spirits. It is evil spirits that made the deceased kill the participants, since the latter fell asleep. That is why even today the participants must not sleep and the inside of the house must be kept bright all night.

People could not explain why the evil spirits caused the deceased to kill the participants.

For the Hanunoo-Mangyan the daytime is a "safe time" whereas the nighttime is a "dangerous time". They say that they are afraid of walking out alone at night, because they fear that they might be attacked by evil spirits coming from their residences in the deep forest. Some people say that they have heard the sound of footsteps of evil spirits outside the house at night. People are engaged in their daily activities in the daytime when it is bright, and sleep at night when it is dark, whereas the evil spirits are engaged in vivid activities during the nighttime and sleep during the daytime. In other words, men are awake while the evil spirits are asleep, and *vice versa*. Thus the dichotomy of daytime/nighttime is associated with the opposition of bright/dark, safe/dangerous, waking time of men/sleeping time of men, and sleeping time of evil spirits/waking time of evil spirits.

During the deathwatch the participants stay up keeping the inner space of the house bright. This may be interpreted as a symbolic deed to make the time of deathwatch a "daytime" when it is safe, and thus to put evil spirits near the house in a sleeping state. The designation of a deathwatch in the Hanunoo-Mangyan language seems to explain it. As noted before, *maghāya* means 'to continue': *i.e.*, although people never say so, the deathwatch is the 'continuation' of the daytime. (Linguistically, *hāya* in Minangyan is related to *haya* in Hiligaynon, which means 'to lay out a corpse'.)⁷⁾ Concerning the third rule of a deathwatch, it is said that entrance of a visitor after the beginning of the rite would allow evil spirits to enter the house.

3.3. Burial rites

Rites for burial are held on the morning following the deathwatch. The corpse is still laid on a north-south axis inside the house. Close male kinsmen (usually participants of the deathwatch) prepare a sort of coffin. There are two types of coffin. One of them consists of three parts: (1) *sāra*, a *buri* mat in which the corpse

7) This was suggested by Fr. Antoon Postma in 1974. His suggestion covered Tagalog *tihaya*, meaning 'light', 'glean', 'illuminate', and old Javanese *caya*, meaning 'glow', 'shine'.

(straight) is wrapped, (2) *yayūjan*, a bamboo carrying pole, the ends of which are carried on the shoulders of those who carry the corpse, and (3) *bugkos*, rattan-like vines with which the corpse wrapped in the *buri* mat is tied to the carrying pole. Another type of coffin is called *lingalingga?*. It also consists of three parts: (1) *yayūjan*, a carrying pole, (2) a house-like corpse container made of bamboo (this part is specifically called *lingalingga?*), and *bugkos* (vines). The *lingalingga?* is said to be the room of the deceased. Its floor is trapezoidal with one side narrower than the other. The legs of the corpse are placed in the narrower part and the head in the wider part.

When the coffin is prepared in the houseyard, one of the family members of the deceased approaches the corpse in the house. S/he opens the blanket and places a set of food (ordinarily cooked sweet potato, uncooked banana and water) beside the head of the corpse, which is said to be "sleeping". After the food offering is made, one of the close kinsmen ties the big toes, knees, thumbs, and the jaw and head of the corpse with white strings. Several seconds later the strings are untied and placed together on top of the stomach of the corpse.

One of the male members of the deceased's family carries the coffin inside the house, and places it on an east-west axis. If it is a *lingalingga?* type, the wider part is directed to the west and the narrower part to the east. Then he moves the body of the deceased to the east-west axis, with its head directed to the west and the legs to the east. He places the corpse inside the coffin with the help of another participant, and ties the carrying pole on the corpse container with vines. The head of the corpse must be placed toward the west (the face and stomach upward) with the legs toward the east, as long as the corpse is inside the house.

Then the participants waiting in the houseyard approach the house. The man who carried the corpse container and placed the corpse inside it puts his hands on the carrying pole, and, facing the corpse inside the coffin, asks several questions to the deceased. All the participants inside and around the house observe it. The questions asked are:

- Why did you die? Was it because of evil spirits or not because of them?
- Do you want your bones to be exhumed or not?
- If so, when? After harvesting?
- When do you want the *panlūdan* (or *ponsiyon*, feast) to be held?

After every question the man lifts up the coffin, and announces the answer. If he feels the coffin light, it means the answer of the deceased is "Yes" or "I want it". If heavy, the answer is "no" or "I don't want it". So all the questions must be composed so that they can be answered by one of these expressions. Some informants explain that if an answer is negative they feel the coffin heavy because the soul of the deceased pushes the coffin down.

After the questions are asked a part of the wall nearest to the path leading to the graveyard is broken and a hole is made. The coffin is then passed through the hole in a relay manner with each pole bearer passing his end of the pole to another

pole bearer waiting on the outside, so that the narrower part of the coffin is ahead.⁸⁾ No one is allowed to pass through the hole or touch the wall surrounding it.

When the coffin is carried out the participants follow it, walking in a line along the path leading to the forest where the graveyard (*lubōyan*) is located. Food for the deceased is placed in a basket and carried to the grave. All the bamboo pieces left in the houseyard after construction of the *lingalinga*⁹ are bundled together and carried to the grave. Once a person joins the procession it is strictly prohibited for him to leave it before the entire process of the burial rites end. It is said that someone else within the deceased's kin circle will die if this rule is violated.

As soon as the procession arrives in the graveyard two poles of bamboo with Y-shaped branches are erected in the ground near the spot where the coffin is to be buried. Both ends of the carrying pole of the coffin (the wider part toward the west and the narrower toward the east) are placed on the poles, so that the coffin is hung above the ground. The food in the basket is also hung on the west pole (i.e., near the head of the corpse). The coffin and the basket must not touch the ground. If either of them touches the ground, the grave must be dug there (Plate 10). A hole is dug in the ground, the size being measured by a simple cross (*sampad*) made of *bagākay* bamboo.

It is said that the width of the grave must be almost the same as that of the coffin. If the hole is too wide it is believed that another member of the deceased's



Plate 10. A bamboo coffin, containing the corpse of a small boy, hung above the ground

8) Today there are a few cases in which no hole is made in the wall, but the corpse is carried out through the doorway nearest the path toward the graveyard. Among the Buhid, the practice of making a hole in the wall at the stage of burial rites is widespread.

family will die soon. I tried to find a correlation among (1) this cross, (2) the cross motif of a traditional shirt, (3) the cross used for agricultural rites, and (4) the numbers 5 and 7, which are important for agricultural rites and house building; but no conclusive evidence was found.

After the measurement the coffin is placed in the grave. The head of the corpse must be toward the west and its legs toward the east. People are unable to explain this east-west requirement: they say only that it is the direction of the dead.

After the coffin is placed inside the hole the carrying pole is removed and the hole is covered completely with the earth which was removed. Since all the earth which was removed must be put back on the coffin, the burial spot is covered by a mound. The two poles supporting the coffin beside the burial spot are erected at both sides of the mound, and the carrying pole is placed again on the branches of the poles. On the carrying pole are placed three pairs of bamboo (*sūlay*).

On the mound of earth are put *pintal* (bamboo pieces). The *bagākay* cross, which was used to measure the size of the burial hole, is placed on the *pintal* with the longer crosspiece parallel to the corpse (*i.e.*, east-west). The result looks like a house, and is, in reality, referred to as *balay lubon* (a 'grave house') and considered to be the house of the corpse. The *balay lubon* is covered with *?ātop* (a roof of dried grass), similar to a house inhabited by the living Hanunoo-Mangyan, which is covered with cogon grass as a roof. Then a fence (*?alad*) is constructed around the *balay lubon*, using wooden branches and bamboo pieces (Plate 11). At this time bark from all of the wooden branches must be completely removed. It is said that another of the deceased's family will soon die if even a small piece of bark is left on the branch. All the *pintal* are fixed with small Y-shaped branches. One of these *pintal* will be removed at the rite of *panhugūtan*.

Then the following six items are added to the fence (Plate 12):

1. *bantūyun*: A long vine tying the upper part of the fence;
2. *bahog*: The food offered to the corpse in the house;
3. *sudok*: A trap made of vine, usually used for capturing wild fowl. Due to this trap, *labāñ manok* (evil spirits in the form of fowls) cannot enter;
4. *sūyak*: A pointed bamboo spear;
5. *baykaw*: A long bamboo spear; and
6. *kalawit*: A bamboo arrow (used for killing wild pigs).

When they finish putting all the items listed above on the fence, the people start walking back in a line toward the deceased's house. At this time they sometimes (but not always) choose another path, and the arrangement of the participants in the line must be reversed: the person who was at the head of the procession on their way to the graveyard must walk at the back of the line. If the arrangement is the same on the way back the evil spirits loitering around the graveyard might, according to the informants, follow the procession. However, if the arrangement is reversed they cannot do so.

When the procession arrives at the houseyard of the deceased, a square



Plate 11. A fence around the 'grave house'

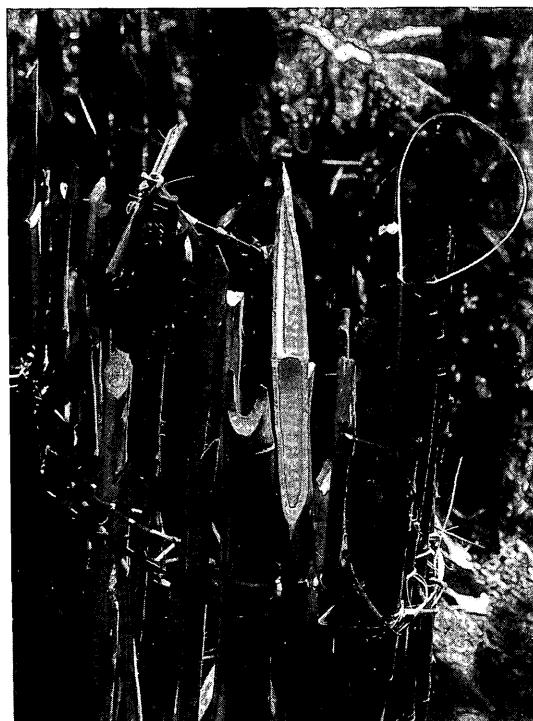


Plate 12. Items placed on the grave fence



Plate 13. Ash on a banana leaf being examined by the participants

package of ash wrapped in a banana leaf is placed on the ground near the place where the corpse was carried out. It is prepared by someone of those who did not join the procession, but remained in the house. One-by-one all the persons in the procession step on the square-shaped banana leaf lightly with one of their feet (either right or left). When all the members of the procession have finished, the person who asked the questions of the corpse takes up the leaf and opens it on the hand of someone else. The square-shaped ash on the banana leaf is placed on an east-west axis. And, seeing the ash, he announces to everyone what part of the deceased's body was damaged (Plate 13). It is said that any part of the ash block which has broken away from the block indicates the damaged part of the deceased. If the western part of the ash is damaged, it means that the head part (or upper part) of the deceased's body was damaged. If the southeastern part is damaged, the right leg was damaged. If the northeastern part is damaged, the damaged part is the left leg. If the part between the the west and the east looks loose, the stomach is believed to have been damaged. Thus, the square shaped ash placed on the east-west axis represents the body of the deceased.

Dried leaves are piled together at one corner of the houseyard nearest to the path leading to the graveyard, and they are burned. Then all the male participants, who cut the bamboo and wooden branches to make the fence and other items in the graveyard, pull out their bolos and place them in the flame for a moment, and water is poured on them. They explain this practice, saying that the fire is to drive away evil spirits which might be hiding in the bolos used in the graveyard. No explanation is made concerning the water.

With this the procedures of the burial rites end. All the members of the

deceased's household are prohibited from working in a swidden (in the forest) until the rite of *pasāka* is performed by them in the forest.

3.4. Prayer for exorcism of evil spirits

The rite of cleansing the deceased's house of evil spirits and sending his/her soul by a religious medium *pandaniwan* is referred to as *pamarāsan*. It is said that this rite is formally held on the fifth day after death, but today it is usually carried on in the evening of the burial rite.

For this rite a medium is called by the deceased's household, and he performs a prayer in the house to repel the evil spirits which are believed to be in and near the house, and also to send the soul of the deceased to the world of the dead. Only the medium and his assistants (new *pandaniwan* in training) are invited to the deceased's house, and other persons are not allowed to attend this rite.

Inside the house the medium kills a hen, using an arrow with a white feather. A ring of white beads is tied near the point of the arrow. The medium holds this arrow and performs a prayer against the wall, walking around inside the house. I could not obtain more detailed data about this ritual.

It is said that the soul of the deceased arrives at the world of the dead and all the evil spirits are driven away from his/her house and settlement when the rite of *pamarāsan* is completed.

3.5. *Pasāka*: release from prohibition

After one dies, as already mentioned, his/her household members are prohibited from engaging in agricultural activities until the rite of the *pasāka* is held. Ordinarily it is performed on the eighth day after the death, but it can be done on any day after *pamarāsan* and before *panhugütan*, which is usually held on the twelfth day.

The head of the household (spouse, parent, or child) asks a third party to become a *kumūyog* ('companion'; fr. *kūyog*, 'going together', 'companionship') for the rite of *pasāka*. The *kumūyog* must be someone who has had the experience of losing a household member. If one's wife dies, he asks someone whose wife is also dead to be his *kumūyog*. If one's father dies, s/he asks someone whose father is also dead. In the early morning of the day when *pasāka* is to be held, the head of the household sends one of his close kinsmen to the house of the person who is to become *kumūyog*. The *kumūyog*, who cannot refuse the request, prepares a cooked banana and a set of betel chewing material. Two of them go to the house of the deceased, and the *kumūyog* leads the household members to the forest.

The *pasāka* is held in a place with thick woods near the graveyard. The place is referred to as *pasakāhan* (place for *pasāka*), and if someone else sees the *kumūyog* and the household members he must not talk to them. In the *pasakāhan* the *kumūyog* gets one log and places it on the low forked part of a tree at one end and on the ground at the other end. There is no rule concerning the direction of the log. He erects a pole at the end of the log placed on the ground, and puts a large banana

leaf on top of this pole and on one part of the tree. The result looks like a simple hut. The household members sit on the log and the *kumūyog* stands in front of them. He cuts the cooked banana into the same number of pieces as there are participants. If there are four household members in the *pasakāhan*, the banana is cut into five pieces (one is for the *kumūyog*), and one piece is given to each participant. When the banana pieces are eaten, the betel nut and tobacco leaf are divided and shared by everyone. Sometimes the *kumūyog* makes simple vine bracelets (*galay*), the number of which is the same as that of the participants. After the bracelets are distributed to all the members they exchange them with one another. There is no particular direction in exchanging them. After this the *kumūyog* makes a declaration that all of the household members are now free from prohibition.

After this rite the household members of the deceased are permitted to work in their swidden. The goods and property have to be inherited before *pasāka* is held, and after this inheritance cannot occur.

It is difficult to understand why a person who has had the same experience as the head of the deceased's household is selected as a *kumūyog*. This ritual may be understood as functioning to restore an ordinary lifestyle to a household which has fallen into an extraordinary state due to the death (loss) of one of its members. The extraordinariness is symbolized by the site where the rite of *pasāka* is held, *i.e.*, the forest which is, in a sense, an antithetic category of the settlement (routine, ordinary), as will be discussed later, and the ordinariness restored is symbolized by the distribution of banana and tobacco (also betel nuts) and the exchange (reciprocity) of bracelets.

3.6. *Panhugūtan*: the ritual and feast for temporal invitation to the soul of a deceased

It is said that one of the *pintal*, a bamboo stick at the foot of the fence of the grave, is removed traditionally on the twelfth day after the death. Today it can be done anytime after the rite of *pasāka*. The rite of removing the *pintal* is designated as *panhugūtan* (fr. *hūgot*, 'pulling up') or *panhulnūtan* (fr. *hulnot*, 'removal').

In the early morning, food (rice, bean soup, and chicken meat) for the feast is cooked at the deceased's household. The close kin and the residents of the deceased's settlement visit the house and wait for the feast. The head of the deceased's household goes to the graveyard with a few assistants. When they arrive at the grave, the head swiftly removes one of the *pintal* which has been placed in the western part (*i.e.*, above the head of the corpse) and places it beside the fence. As soon as this is completed, they walk quickly back to the house.

When they return to the house, the cooked rice is placed in several *nigo* (flat and circular wicker trays for winnowing), and the side dishes (soup with chicken meat) in coconut-shell bowls are served to all the visitors inside the house. At the place where the corpse was laid on the night of deathwatch and on the morning of burial rite, the household members squat facing one another in a circle, leaving a place for one additional person (the soul of the deceased). This space is usually in

the direction of the graveyard, but they are not strict concerning its location. In the center of the circle is placed a wicker tray on which cooked rice is served, and a side dish is served to each of the household members squatting in the circle. A plate with chicken meat (although it is very rare, they sometimes cook pork) and soup is placed at the above-mentioned space in the circle. The head of the household calls the name or pronounces the kin term (in case the deceased is his/her parent) and invites the soul to eat. After this the household members start eating, and so do all the visitors. When the visitors finish eating they can leave the house at any time they desire. It is said that the soul of the deceased goes back to the world of the dead when it becomes full.

For this feast they cook animal meat. It is prohibited to cook the meat of wild animals obtained from the forest: the meat offered to the soul of the deceased must be that of domestic animals.

After the *panhugutan* the household members are obliged to offer food at intervals. Usually they bring it to the grave in a basket and hang it on the fence of the grave. In some cases they offer food to the deceased, putting it in a miniature house made at the edge of the houseyard. To neglect this duty is believed to arouse the anger of the deceased, and a poor harvest or disease may afflict the household members. This food offering is referred to as *läwag*. There are two kinds of graveyards, as mentioned above. One is for the corpse whose bones are to be exhumed later. Although people are afraid to enter this kind of graveyard, they are not prohibited from doing so. In this case the food can be taken there. But it is strictly prohibited to enter the other type of graveyard, one in which the corpses whose bones are not to be exhumed are buried. In this case, a miniature house is constructed and the food is taken there. Also, if the graveyard is located in a far forest, this kind of miniature house is constructed at the edge of the houseyard.

The food offering is made continually, until the feast called *panlüdan* is carried out.

3.7. The rites and feast for the secondary burial

The bones are exhumed, it is said, following the answer of the deceased inside the house before the burial. Usually the bones are exhumed more or less one year after the death. When the time comes, a simple house is built in the houseyard. This house is called *balay but'ol* (a house of bones), and there is no regulation concerning the placement of a *balay but'ol*.

The rite of exhumation (*kutkut*) and the feast (*panlüdan* or *ponsiyon*) are usually held on the same day. But the term for the feast is usually restricted to the dry season, while there is still a stock of rice. If digging is done during the rainy season it is difficult to hold a feast, since little rice is left during this period. In this case the bones are kept in the bone house and the feast is carried out after rice harvesting.

When the head of the household of the deceased makes a decision as to when to carry out the feast, he calls his close kin (ordinarily to the 1st or 2nd cousin range) one or two weeks before the scheduled day. He announces his plan to them, telling

them not to inform others of this news. The reason is, according to some informants, that the more visitors they have, the less food is served to each of them, which is *magkay?a* (shameful) to the visitors. In one way or another, however, the news spreads quickly, even to distant settlements. Later another simple but larger house is made in the houseyard. This house is called *balay ponsiyon* (a house for a feast). On the day before the feast the close kin visit the deceased's house, carrying caldrons, coconut-shell bowls, wicker trays, rice, pigs, chickens (only domestic animals), etc., to contribute to the feast. They kill these domestic animals, and prepare food for the following morning. They spend the evening chatting, singing *?ambāhan* (poem-songs), telling folktales, and so on. The *pandaniwan* is called and a prayer is performed to drive away evil spirits.

On the following morning a great many visitors wait around the house (Plate 14). If the news is that several pigs would be killed, the houseyard and the grassland nearby will be filled with more than two hundred visitors. They dress up in their best clothes. Many of them play small hand-made guitars (*gitāra*) and/or violins (*gitgit*).

At about nine o'clock in the morning food (including soup and water) is placed in the center of the bone house. The family of the deceased and their close kinsmen enter the house and eat the food. Then almost all the participants start walking in a line toward the graveyard. At this time everyone must remember who is walking at his/her back, because, similar to the procession at the burial rite, on the way back to the house s/he has to follow the person who was after him/her on the way to the graveyard.



Plate 14. People gathering at the houseyard of a deceased person, to participate in the ritual and feast for the exhumation of bones



Plate 15. A *panugkutkutan* arranging the exhumed bones



Plate 16. Young participants observe the exhumation of bones from around the grave



Plate 17. Exhumed bones dressed in the Hanunoo-Mangyan traditional style



Plate 18. The special meal with the bones of a deceased person at the 'bone house'

At the graveyard people approach the fence of the grave and remove it. Then the grass and bamboo pieces on the mound of earth are taken away. The leading part is played by a *panugkutkutan* (male) who is skilled in arranging bones in the traditional way.

When everything is removed from the mound of the grave the *panugkutkutan* spreads a white blanket on it. He grasps the central portion of the blanket with his hand, murmuring a prayer. This is, they say, to call the soul of the deceased. Then several persons (male) standing around the grave start digging the ground of the grave with their bare hands. The bones exhumed are handed to the *panugkutkutan* one-by-one, and he places them on the ground, separating the bones of the right side and those of the left side, sometimes discussing with other participants (Plates 3 and 15). Meanwhile, the participants observe from around the grave, playing musical instruments (Plate 16). When all the bones are completely exhumed (no piece of bone may be left in the grave), the *panugkutkutan* places the bones in due sequence on the blanket. Roughly speaking, the order of arranging the bones is:

- 1) *but?ol ?ulo* (skull),
- 2) *?ariwāran* (pelvis),
- 3) *bunboj dāyo?* (lumbar),
- 4) *kapusgan* (tibia),
- 5) *balaybay* (femur),
- 6) *takyay* (carpus), and
- 7) *tagyan* (ribs).

The right bone of each pair is placed on the blanket first, if the bones are of a male, and the left one first, if the bones are of a female. The bones are arranged as if they were in a sitting posture. Then the corners of the blanket are picked up and brought together, wrapping the bones, and the upper part is tied. If the bones are of a male, the blanket wrapping the bones is dressed in a loin-cloth and a shirt. If they are of a female, it is dressed in a skirt and a blouse. The belt, necklaces, and a round basket of *buri* containing betel chewing materials are put on the bones. The clothing is the same as that of the living (Plate 17). When the bones in the blanket are perfectly dressed, the participants go back to the houseyard in a line, the order of which is reversed from the procession to the graveyard. When they are near the houseyard they pick particular leaves (*pamaylo?*) near the path and put them on the outer surface of the wall of the bone house.

The bones are placed in the rear of the bone house, facing the doorway. Cooked rice, meat soup, and water are placed before the bones. Also a wicker tray with rice is placed in the bone house. The participants enter the house one-by-one and eat some of the food (Plate 18).

In the main house and the large *ponsiyon* house a number of wicker trays with cooked rice are arranged with side dishes and water. The participants wait around these houses, chatting and/or playing musical instruments (Plate 19). When the meal is completely prepared they squat around the trays and start eating.



Plate 19. The participants waiting in the houseyard for the meal

After they finish eating, the bones in the blanket are carried out of the bone house by one of the deceased's household members. He takes the bones wrapped in the blanket to the *ponsiyon* house, and they begin tapping their feet on the floor, accompanied by the fast melody of the gongs, the *gitāra* and the *gitgit*. Other participants also dance around him. The food, playing of the musical instruments and the tapping are said to be gifts to the soul coming from the world of the dead.

If the corpse is buried in a graveyard in which the bones are not exhumed, the feast is carried out without bones.

Several days after the feast the *taragū?an* is practiced: the set of exhumed bones wrapped in the blanket and dressed in new clothes is carried to a burial cave which is ordinarily located at the seacoast or at the edge of the high portion of a mountain commanding a view of the sea. The soul of the deceased, which temporarily returns to the world of the living, goes back to his own world after *taragū?an*. The bones are placed inside the cave (*kwība*: fr. Sp. *cueva*, 'cave'). It is not prohibited to visit this cave, but the people are afraid of doing so.

3.8. Subsequent offerings

People believe, as noted already, that illness and poor harvest are sometimes due to the anger of the soul of a dead close kin. In case one of the household members suffers from serious illness or a portion of the agricultural crops is damaged, a medium (*pandaniwan*) is called to the house. If the medium confirms the name of the deceased who is bringing about the misfortune, all the members of the deceased's nuclear family are called to the house, where food (cooked rice and soup of the meat of a domestic chicken or pig) is prepared.

They make a simple miniature house of about 0.30-0.40 m² at the corner of the houseyard which faces the forest. At night they temporarily offer food and clothes to the deceased at this small house. This offering is called *pajahawan*. It is to show respect to a dead close kin, such as a parent or grandparent. They walk around it many times praying for the health and good harvest of their families. Then they eat together.

If they fail to perform this ritual the deceased will, in their belief, become angrier and they will suffer from endless misfortune.

4. Rituals Regarding Agriculture

4.1. The world of rice spirits

As mentioned earlier, the daily life of the Hanunoo-Mangyan centers around swidden activities. Swidden cultivation is one of the greatest concerns for them. Although their production of rice is very poor and they seldom eat it as staple food, their biggest concern in their swidden activities is dedicated to its cultivation. This is mainly because rice is important for rituals and feasts.

According to Hanunoo-Mangyan belief, all kinds of plants, as well as animals and human beings, have spirits (*kalag*). The cultivation of rice is believed to be impossible without the power of *kalag pāray* (rice spirits). However, they lack a clear image of what these spirits look like or where they come from. The people definitely state that the world of rice spirits exists in a far place beyond the forest and the sea.

Some people maintain through stories on the rice spirits that their world is located somewhere to the south. Anyhow, it is the world which provides the people with rice.

Agricultural rites are practiced not only for rice cultivation, but also at the time when maize and taro are planted and when maize is harvested. There is an interesting report, too, on the ritual regarding cotton cultivation [WATARI 1980: 10-12].

It is maintained that no problem will develop if they do not practice rituals for plants other than rice, but that people must not fail to perform a ritual regarding rice cultivation; if one omits a ritual of this kind, the rice spirits will not be sent from their world.

There are two kinds of rites for rice-seed planting. The first is a rite performed on the basis of the 'area' or the aggregate of local communities, and the second is one practiced on the basis of a single household.

The rites for rice harvesting are also performed in two stages: first at each swidden, and then on the level of a settlement.

4.2. The rite of the first rice-seed planting

The rite of the first rice-seed planting is performed every year, usually late in April. No one can plant rice before this rite is held and a certain period passes. The most important person in this rite is the *panudlākan*, possessor of a ritual stone call-

ed *batu tudlak* (stone of the *tudlak* spirit), which is used specifically for this rite. The Hanunoo-Mangyan *panudlakan* are found only in a limited number of settlements. As mentioned earlier, there is an elderly woman in Hawili who possesses a ritual stone of this kind.

On the day of the *lāti?* (a waxing crescent moon) in April, the *panudlakan* of Hawili makes preparations for the rite held on the following morning. The rite is composed of three steps:

- 1) *pagpa?ūya?*: The pouring of blood on the ritual stone and rice seeds with an invocation by the *panudlakan* inside her house;
- 2) *panudlak*: Ritual planting of rice seeds and other agricultural crops at a termite mound; and
- 3) *karan?an*: A feast.

The ritual paraphernalia for the first step are the ritual stone, the *tāya* (a coconut-shell bowl), one handful of unhusked rice grains, one hen of *maragan* (a reddish color), and a *siyaw* (a small knife). For the second step, the *panudlakan* prepares a *kudus* (a cross) made of *bagākay* (a species of bamboo), one stick of *?alīwas*, several small branches of *taylad* leaves, and agricultural crops such as ginger (one piece), banana (one piece), taro (one piece), yam (one piece), sweet potatoes (three pieces), sugar cane (one short piece), maize (three grains) and pigeon peas (three pieces). These crops are put into a basket together with the cross, the *?alīwas* and the *taylad* leaves.

At about seven in the morning most people of Hawili go to the houseyard of the *panudlakan* and wait for the commencement of *pagpa?ūya?*.

The *panudlakan* is inside the house alone. No one else is allowed to enter the house during the *pagpa?ūya?*. She sits near the hearth, and places the ritual stone inside the coconut-shell bowl. Then she also puts the rice seeds in the bowl. It is only at this time that people can see the stone, which is black and round, and some ten centimeters in diameter. The *panudlakan* has to keep it secretly inside her house at other occasions: therefore, no one else, except for her successor, knows where it is hidden. She cuts one part of the hen's neck with her knife and drips several drops of the blood on the stone and the rice seeds inside the bowl. While doing this she murmurs an invocation, as in the following:

pag?uyāhi di? tanan tāwo. (May all the people enjoy a good harvest.)
daya makūri? ti ?ilamnon. (May the weeding not be difficult.)

The blood pouring (*pagdug?on*) and the invocation (*darāgin*) are specifically designated as *pagpa?ūya?*. It is strictly prohibited to use a hen of other colors or a rooster for this rite. The reddish colored hen must be a domestic one, and it is considered *da?ot* (bad, misfortune) to sacrifice any wild animal obtained from the forest. The meat of the hen killed at this rite is later cooked in soup for the following feast. During the *pagpa?ūya?* the participants observe the performance of the *panudlakan* from the veranda or the houseyard. When she finishes the invocation

she suddenly leaves her house with the ritual stone and the rice seeds in the bowl, plus other ritual paraphernalia prepared on the previous day. She must not talk to anyone as she is leaving. She walks alone towards the termite mound that is located in the forest. It takes about half an hour to go there. It is strictly prohibited for others to accompany her.

As mentioned above, it is banned for the *panudlakan* to show the ritual stone to the people on other occasions. It is believed that a small spirit, called *tudlak*, dwells therein. Only the possessor of this stone can obtain the help of the *tudlak* in calling Binayi, the female spirit inhabiting the termite mound and controlling the rice spirits which make rice plants grow.

When she arrives at the termite mound she first erects the *bagakay* cross in the highest and central part of it, directing the horizontal crosspiece along the north-south axis. It is said that the cross must be placed "*balitay sa 7init* (crossing the sun's path)", similar to the roof ridge of a house. According to some elderly persons in Hawili, it must be directed towards Panay, since that is the home of the rice spirits. She makes seven holes in the ground around the cross and plants some rice seeds in each hole. Then the *7alwas* stick, the *taylad* sprays and the ginger are placed beside the base of the standing cross. After this seeds of all other varieties of crops to be planted are planted around the cross. Thus the termite mound itself becomes a *yugmak* (a miniature swidden). When the *panudlakan* finishes the ritual planting, she goes home. If someone observes the *panudlakan* performing this rite, it is said that the planter will not be able to call Binayi, even with the help of the *tudlak* spirit in the ritual stone. It means that the rice seeds to be planted in the swiddens will not grow because this female spirit fails to call the rice spirits from their world.

There are also ritual performers of this kind among the Buhid. When I conducted short-term fieldwork (April 14-19 and May 17-24, 1974) among the Buhid in the Kiyanaw-Inungdungan area, I obtained information through interviews that the ritual planter later harvests the rice grains from the miniature farm, and keeps them in a bamboo container for the next planting rite. However, this custom is absent in Hawili.

When the *panudlakan* comes home from the termite mound in the forest, food is already prepared. Cooked rice and soup of the meat of the hen are served to all the visitors. Most of the participants in the rite were only from Hawili. It is said, however, that a great many people from other local communities also joined the feast before, and that a pig was sometimes killed and cooked for the visitors.

In addition to a few taboos concerning this ritual there are still several prohibited matters. On the day of the rite all participants are banned from shaking trees or digging holes in the ground. These acts are considered *da'ot* (misfortune), for they will, according to the belief of the residents of Hawili, cause major typhoons: the rice spirits hate typhoons, and this results in a poor harvest. A set of prohibitions is also imposed upon the *panudlakan* for the following seven days. This period is referred to as *kalhi'an dudlak*, and the *panudlakan* is prohibited

from shaking trees, eating food other than rice and sweet potatoes as a main dish, eating at the house of anyone else and having sexual intercourse.

When this period is over, anyone can start planting rice at his swidden. There is a rule that he must not plant rice before the end of the rite by the *panudlakan* and the following taboo period. If he violates this rule it is believed to arouse the anger of Binayi, and hence this spirit will not call the rice spirits from their world: *i.e.*, a poor harvest is brought about not only to the violator but also to others in Hawili and neighboring local communities. This rule must be firmly obeyed, not only by the people of Hawili but also by all residents of Panaytayan, Kagangan, Amaga, Ambulong, Budburan and other neighboring local communities.

4.3. The rite of rice planting

Hanunoo-Mangyan cultivators wait for the beginning of the rainy season when they hear the news that the rite of the first rice-seed planting has been completed and the tabooed term for the *panudlakan* is over. It is usually in the beginning of May when they start planting in their new swidden. The rite of rice planting takes place as a part of the following procedure:

- 1) Gathering at the house of the owner of the swidden;
- 2) The rite of rice planting;
- 3) The work of planting; and
- 4) The feast.

The focus is, of course, placed on the second step here. Those who are informed directly or indirectly by the owner of a swidden go to his house early in the morning (about six o'clock) on the scheduled day. Most of them are close kinsmen of the owner. The rice seeds and other ritual plants are prepared in a small *buri* container. Although it is seldom practiced in Panaytayan today, in many other areas (*e.g.*, Wasig) a reddish domestic hen is killed and some drops of its blood are poured on the rice seeds for the ritual in the early morning, when it is still dark. It is said that even a domestic pig was killed in the past.

While the helpers are waiting for others to arrive, they chat at the house or in the houseyard of the owner. Meanwhile, the owner gets a stick of *?alīwas* wood (40-50 centimeters long) and two sticks of *bagākay* (one is 100-120 centimeters long, and the other about 20 centimeters long). He peels the bark from the *?alīwas* stick and erects it in the ground near the houseyard. With the *bagākay* sticks, he makes a *kudus* (cross) and places it beside the *?alīwas* stick. Then he gets a few branches of *darānaw* leaves, which are used as a medicine for stomach-aches, and places them between the *?alīwas* stick and the cross. At this moment, it is said, these two ritual paraphernalia must not fall down. He also gets *taylad* leaves, which are used as medicine for snake bites. When the ritual paraphernalia are prepared the planting group proceeds to the swidden, led by the owner.

When the group arrives at the swidden the owner goes to one spot near one corner to perform a rite. Usually he goes to a spot in the higher part of the swidden, but

there is no regulation concerning the spot where the rite is performed. He places the cross, the *?alīwas*, and other ritual paraphernalia inside a basket on the ground. First, he erects the cross in the ground in front of him, and then he stabs the *?alīwas* stick into the ground around the cross five or seven times. He grasps a handful of ritual rice seeds from the small *buri* container and pours them into the holes on the ground. After seeding he implants the *?alīwas* stick in the ground near the cross. Next he makes several holes with a bamboo stick obtained near the swidden. In these holes are put the *darānaw* and *taylad* leaves. Then he places the small *buri* container in which five items have been placed. Each of the five items have a meaning for the Hanunoo-Mangyan cultivators, as follows:

1. *būja* (areca fruits, *Areca catechu* L.): Rice will be abundant, similar to areca fruits.
2. *li?a* (ginger, *Zingiber officinale* Roscoe): Ginger is used as medicine for many illnesses. Rice is protected by it.
3. *sambarība* (*Bryophyllum pinnatum* [Lam.] Kurtz.): It is a strong tree and used as a medicine for fever; this plant is placed so that rice will become strong.
4. *tagbak daraka?* (*Kolowratia* sp.): Rice will be strong, similar to this plant, which will not die.
5. *sudlay* (a comb): Rice stalks will become beautiful, similar to combed hair.



Plate 20. The ritual paraphernalia for rice planting, placed in a swidden

Then the big basket, in which rice seeds are placed, is placed beside the standing *?alīwas* stick, and the handle of the basket is tied to the *?alīwas* (Plate 20). It is said that there are no regulations concerning the direction of the horizontal piece of the cross or the spots to put *?alīwas* and the ritual leaves (*taylad* and *darānaw*). However, the cross piece is ordinarily set in a north-south axis while the cross, the *?alīwas* and the big basket (*binhī?an*) are laid on an east-west line. The holes for ritual leaves are made around the cross in a clockwise direction. The *bagākay* cross is said to be a gift to the rice spirits.

When the above-mentioned rite is completed the working group begins planting. Men make holes, jabbing into the ground with long wooden sticks of more than two meters in length. And the other workers sow rice seeds in these holes. When the planting is completed, all the wooden sticks used for making holes are erected in a circle around the cross and ritual plants. Now the swidden is called *tanman* (planted swidden). The working group returns to the owner's house and they are served cooked rice and side dishes. When a swidden becomes a *tanman*, several deeds become prohibited until the rite of harvesting is completed. The prohibited deeds are:

1. Playing the *kalūtan* (a musical instrument made of wooden sticks) and a *pasil* (a wooden top), shouting and urinating near and inside the *tanman*, throwing things there.
2. Passing through a *tanman* while carrying a bow and arrow.

4.4. The rite of harvesting (1): ritual binding of rice stalks

Two specific rites are performed before and after rice harvesting. The first one is referred to as *magbugkos* (fr. *bugkos*, 'tying'), and the second one as *pamag?uhan*.

The rice is harvested usually from the beginning of October to November. Before starting the harvesting of rice the rite of binding rice stalks (*magbugkos*) must be performed at each swidden. In one local community there are persons who are considered to be *manugbugkos* (binders). It is only the *manugbugkos* who know exactly how to perform this rite. In the Panytayan community, for instance, there are at least eight *manugbugkos*, all of whom are male. They were taught by their parents how to perform this rite. A slight difference in performance of this rite is found between two *manugbugkos* who are from different families. This is because the same technique is handed down from generation to generation within a family, and the technique might be different from that of other families.

When the rice is ripe, the owner of each swidden considers when to perform the rite. It is said that this rite is usually held in the evening of the day when the tide of the sea is high. If the owner of a swidden is not a *manugbugkos*, he asks someone who knows this rite.

There are several omens concerning this rite. It is prohibited for *manugbugkos* to go to perform the rite if he hears a house lizard, a large lizard, or a *kudkuro?* (a

type of pigeon) crying at the time when he is about to leave the house for the swidden. Also, if a *manugbugkos* dreams at night of a large, fallen tree, he cannot perform the rite on the following day. These two omens are believed to yield a poor harvest if the rite of *magbugkos* should take place. The dream of a high tide, on the contrary, is considered to be an omen of good harvest.

The *manugbugkos* leaves the house for the swidden usually at about five o'clock, because the rite must be performed when it is neither bright nor dark. It is strictly prohibited for him to bring anything related to fire (e.g., matches, cigarettes), a round wicker tray, water, a *buri* mat (*?amak*) or a chicken. And he must not shout or whistle. These are believed to be deeds which will make him unable to catch the rice spirits, and consequently he cannot expect a good harvest. No one can follow him, except for an offspring who is under training or one who is not a *manugbugkos* and requests the ritual performer to conduct the rite in his swidden.

After leaving the house, the *manugbugkos* looks for *bagākay* bamboo to make a cross of 35-40 centimeters in length. When this cross is completed, he goes directly to his swidden. He must not drop in at a house of anyone else.

He usually walks to the upper right corner of the swidden. After standing contemplatively for a while, he steps inside the swidden slowly and softly. There is a strict rule about how to enter the swidden. First, he lifts his right foot (not left) forward and places it down with his heel above the toes of the left foot (they must not touch) or with his heel just in front of the left foot. Then he makes the second step, lifting his left foot and placing it down above the toe of the right foot. When the seventh step (right foot) is made, the left foot is placed underneath the heel of the right foot, and he slowly kneels down in front of the trunk of a small tree, the greater part of which has been slashed and burned previously. (This trunk was found beforehand by the same *manugbugkos*.) He gently erects the cross in the ground just beside the trunk and he holds a rice stalk close to the trunk and the cross, bending it toward them. Then he does the same thing to the other six stalks one by one in a clockwise direction, he binds them (seven stalks) together with a leaf, also in a clockwise direction. There is a specific way to tie these stalks: he must tie the seven stalks around the trunk and the cross with a single bow-knot. Tying them with two knots without a loop would prohibit the owner of the swidden from attracting rice spirits.

While doing this he closes his eyes, holds his breath, and murmurs an invocation taught by his parent. For example:

madakop ti kalag halāman. (I've caught the spirit of the plants.)

pagyāmo kita no mabu?ol kanta halāman. (May our plants increase when we harvest them.)

This invocation is said to be offered to the rice spirits so that they will not go back to the forest but remain inside the swidden until the harvest is over. Even if such an animal as a snake approaches him, he cannot drive it away: there is a belief

that it is the incarnation of rice spirits. The seven stems of rice stalks must not be untied until the harvesting is completed in the swidden. After binding, the *manugbugkos* steps back (also seven steps starting with the right foot) slowly to the corner of the swidden. Then the rite ends.

If he dreams of a large number of people or thick forests on the night after the rite of *magbugkos* is performed, it means that the swidden will yield a good harvest.

On the following day the owner of the swidden (or the *manugbugkos*, if he is the owner) begins ritual harvesting. No one can follow him. He severs, using his thumb nail, the panicles of rice, moving around the spot where the rite of rice binding was held, in a clockwise direction. He does this only for a short time, and repeats this process for five days. Within this period the rice around the ritual spot (within the radius of about one meter) is harvested. These days this is often done in one day, usually the morning following the rice binding rite.

Afterwards the owner can ask his kin and neighbors to help him with his harvesting. During the harvest no one can smoke inside the swidden.

When the entire procedure of the harvest is completed in a swidden the owner approaches the ritual spot, and the seven stalks are untied. He severs the panicles of these rice stalks with his bare hands, and places them on top of the heap of rice panicles in a basket. Then the participants carry all the baskets of rice to his house. These panicles are usually placed on an upper part of a wall inside the house. These are placed there until the feast of *pamag'uhan*, in which a part of the rice of these panicles are cooked together with other rice. The remainder of the panicles are, although not always, kept there and used as part of the ritual seeds in the next rite of rice planting.

Even though harvesting is completed it is prohibited to eat new rice until the *pamag'uhan* is held.

4.5. The rite of harvesting (2): the feast

When all the households of a settlement, together with those households living in other places but having swiddens near it, have finished rice harvesting, a special feast called *pamag'uhan* takes place. They go to one of the houses in the settlement where the feast is to be held, carrying a portion of the newly harvested rice. In the afternoon the house is full of visitors. They pound the new rice. Everyone chats merrily with each other. The term of hunger during the latter part of the wet season is nearly over, because this ceremony enables them to eat the new rice.

It is usually late at night when all the rice carried by the participants is pounded. When the pounding is finished, the rice is cooked outside the house.⁹⁾ First a clay pot (*aylit*) is placed on a hearth made outside the house. A miniature bow and arrow is placed at the bottom of the pot and covered with a banana leaf, then the new

9) I attended the feast held in a settlement of Kagangan in November, 1973, but I failed to observe them cook the new rice, because I was talking to other participants inside the house. Therefore, the information on the method of cooking was obtained through interviews, not by observation.

rice and water are poured inside. After cooking the new rice in this manner other rice is cooked. Before anyone can eat the new rice an offering is made to the soul of the dead and to the rice spirits.

Then the cooked rice is placed in wicker trays and served to all participants inside the house. They squat around the trays and start eating. At this moment it is prohibited to blow on the new rice even though it is hot, because this is believed to make the rice disappear immediately.

After attending this feast one can eat the new rice at his own house, and all prohibitions imposed after rice planting come to an end. They play *kalūtan* (musical sticks) and children enjoy playing with *pasil* (tops).

5. The Rites of Restoration

Continuous thunder and lightning and a drought are feared by the Hanunoo-Mangyan as extraordinary phenomena that cause disorder to their world, and specific rites are performed to restore the order. Violations of incest and marriage rules are also considered to bring about disease, death and other extraordinary natural phenomena.

5.1. Drought and rites for rain

During the wet season, when the rice is growing, a special rite, called *panagdāhan* (fr. *sagda*, 'propitiation'), is performed if a drought continues for many days. It seems to have been performed frequently before, but today it is rare in the Mansalay area.

In September, 1974, no rain fell for almost one month. Since this month is important for the last stage of the growth of rice, people were afraid that all the rice might be spoiled. A few weeks later, after the drought began, several rumors concerning violations of the incest taboo by some Hanunoo-Mangyans in distant settlements were heard, and some people suspected that the drought might have been caused by those violations. At the end of September elders of Kagangan went from their mountains with rice and pigs to have a feast at the seacoast, in the town of Mansalay. (I wanted to accompany them, but they did it rather secretly. Later, I learned that it is not permitted for non-Mangyans to join the rite.) At *panagdāhan* they offer prayers as well so that problems caused by Christian lowlanders would be resolved smoothly.

This rite is to propitiate *?apo danom* (spirits of water), which are believed to dwell in the sea, rivers and springs, by offering cooked rice and pork. It began to rain a few days after the performance of the rite by the Kagangan people, and many people of Panaytayan believed that it was thanks to the feast.

5.2. Thunder and lightning

The rite for calming thunder and lightning is referred to as *panlabāyan*, and is performed privately by a *panlabāyan* if these phenomena continue for a long time.

This ritual performer is the possessor of a ritual iron stick (about 50 cm long) called *sambog*. With the help of the iron stick and a certain procedure required for this rite, the *panlabāyan* is, in Hanunoo-Mangyan belief, able to stop thunder and lightning. The lightning is often compared to the diarrhoea of the sky; thus the rite of *panlābay* is thought to be medicine for the stomach trouble of the sky.

No one in Hawili and Wasig owns a ritual iron stick. Between Hawili and Panaytayan is a small new settlement called Lupok, where an elderly woman possesses one. If strong thunder and lightning continue for a long time she prepares the ritual paraphernalia, consisting of this iron stick, a piece of ginger (medicine considered efficacious against various diseases), *kusol* (*Kaempferia galanga* L., a plant ordinarily used by *pamulūyan*, herbal doctors, to cure stomach troubles) and a set of betel chewing materials (betel leaf, areca nut and slaked lime). Then she gets a *bāyod* (unidentified myriapod) and makes a chicken discharge excrement. She pulls out a few hairs from her head and burns them in the hearth inside the house. She also puts the iron stick in the fire. She eats the ginger and makes the sign of a cross in the air with the *kusol* in her fingers, chewing the betel leaf and areca nut. Then she puts the insect and the chewed betel in one dropping of the chicken feces. She suddenly bursts out laughing. Next, she takes her iron stick and erects it in the ground at the foot of the *sūlay* (bamboo supporting the roof of the house).¹⁰⁾ If the thunder and lightning does not stop after the performance of this rite, people are inclined to think that someone might have violated the incest and marriage rules.

5.3. Violation of incest and marriage rules

Hanunoo-Mangyan rules and beliefs with regard to sexual relations and marriage are related to the degree of consanguineal distance from an individual, and their attitudes toward outsiders.

Siblings and first cousins are considered to share the same blood. Sexual relations with either of these consanguines are considered to be incest (*kararanyan*) and are strictly forbidden. Violation of this rule is believed to bring about extraordinary phenomena, due to the anger of *‘āpo danom* (the spirit of water): his/her sexual organ will not be able to be separated from that of the other, the floor of the house will spout water, strong thunder and lightning will occur, a drought will start during the wet season, etc. It is axiomatic that marriage within this circle is impossible. Courting a first cousin is considered to be a shameful act. Half-siblings and step-siblings also fall in the category of siblings.

Second, third and fourth cousins comprise an ambiguous category as far as sex and marriage are concerned. It is not recommended, but is overlooked if a relationship is only temporary. If the couple want to marry, they must ask a *pandaniwan* to

10) The content of this ritual seems to differ from one area to another. According to an informant from Panaytayan, there was a male *panlabāyan* (already dead) in Amugis. He kept not only an iron stick but also a small round ritual stone and a clay pot. He first boiled the ritual stone in the clay pot on the hearth inside the house and carried it outside when he performed the ritual to stop thunder and lightning.

perform a prayer for them. But if they marry without his prayer, it is believed that one of them or their children will die, thunder and lightning will occur, or they might drown if they go to the seacoast (the water will come up to them). But an ordinary state can be restored if a *pandaniwan* prays for them.

Sexual relations with others (non-kinsmen, outside the range of *kāway*) is possible and marriage is approved. But both parties must be Mangyan (including Buhid).

It is not recommended (almost prohibited) to have sexual relations with lowlanders. If one has sexual intercourse with a lowlander, it is traditionally believed by many Hanunoo-Mangyans that his/her sexual organ will swell, s/he will suffer from pains, and that the resultant child will die.

Two cases concerning the violation of sex and marriage rules are remembered by some people in Panaytayan and Hawili. One case happened about thirty-five years ago in Kagankan. According to an informant in Panaytayan:

the man and the woman were first cousins. They were single at that time. One morning, the girl's father was wondering why his daughter did not appear from her *balay darāga?* (house of a single girl). It was time for them to leave for swidden work. The father called her from in front of her house, the door of which was still closed. The girl answered but did not come out. He opened the door and looked in. The father found, to his great surprise, his daughter with her first cousin: both of them trying to separate their sexual organs and suffering from pain. The father called a *pandaniwan* immediately. After his invocation, the young boy and girl were able to separate from each other at last. But both of them became sick. They did not get well and the disease became more serious.

So, the girl's father prepared a sack of rice and a pig. He called three *pandaniwan* (including the one who had been called first) and invited his relatives to his house in the evening. The three *pandaniwan* performed a prayer for the two patients in front of the visitors, and cooked rice and pork were served to everyone there.

After this, the two recovered. Later the boy married a non-kin, and so did the girl. Nothing has happened to either of them since.

According to the informant, since this is a shameful act, it is a secret. Another case is said to have occurred also in Kagankan. According to some informants in Panaytayan and Hawili:

thirty years ago, a man and woman, who are second cousins, married without the prayer of *pandaniwan*. A baby was born but died soon after birth. Strong lightning and thunder started one week later and continued for several days. The couple called one *pandaniwan*, but his prayer could not stop the extraordinary phenomenon of nature. So they called four *pandaniwan* known for their long experience. Four of them prayed together at the house of the couple. Finally, the lightning and thunder ceased. Later the married couple had three children and all of them have been healthy since.

Table 2. Beads required for incest in Wasig

Relation	Beads	Old beads given from		Golden colored beads given from	
		male	female	male	female
parent-child	1 <i>mag²islon</i> *	1 <i>mag²islon</i>		2	2
brother-sister	1 <i>mag²islon</i>	1 <i>mag²islon</i>		2	2
parent's sibling-sibling's child	1 <i>sabud</i>	1 <i>sabud</i>		1	1
1st cousins	1 <i>sabud</i>	1 <i>sabud</i>		1	1
2nd cousins	1 <i>mag²isijsiq</i>	1 <i>mag²isijsiq</i>		1	1
3rd cousins	1 <i>magisijsiq</i>	1 <i>mag²isijsiq</i>			1
4th cousins	1 <i>mag²isijsiq</i>	1 <i>mag²isijsiq</i>			1

* The circumference of a human head.

Thus violations of incest and marriage rules are believed to yield disorder, and the *pandaniwan* plays an important part to restore order. A *pandaniwan* who can deal with the problem of incest is specifically referred to as *pandaniwan sa kararanyan*. He can communicate with the spirit of water. He is a religious authority with a special kind of ritual stone which enables him to restore the order of the universe broken by the spirit of water. A man named Kabal is said to have a quality of this kind of religious authority. He lives in Pungso Kawayan, north of the Wasig area. The most prominent *pandaniwan sa kararanyan* in the entire Hanunoo-Mangyan region is said to be Awi of Hulo Kagangan.

A male and a female who commit incest must visit a *pandaniwan sa kararanyan*, usually following a 'judge' or a legal authority. They do so in the daytime, because a visit at night is considered impolite in this case. They submit certain kinds and amounts of glass beads to this religious authority. Then, the religious authority says, "I'll ask the spirit of water," and he goes alone to a place where there is water, *i.e.*, the sea or a river, to receive a message as to whether or not the two may marry.

According to data obtained in Wasig, the beads given to the religious authority are of two kinds, 16 *bugway* of old glass beads and a *bugwāyan* (a small loop of old beads which contains one or two larger golden beads). The amount of beads varies in accordance with the kind of incests committed (Table 2). It seems that the amount of beads required differs from one area to another.

6. Living-Space and World View

6.1. The settlement and the forest

The most important local group beyond the range of the household for cooperative activities in Hanunoo-Mangyan daily life is the settlement consisting of one or more aggregates of households. Swidden activities would be difficult to maintain with only the members of one's own household. Therefore, the help of others is

indispensable. For any Hanunoo-Mangyan most of the reciprocal helpers are his close kinsmen, and a larger part of them are residents of his settlement.

The range of a settlement as a social group is clearly determined, but its range as a part of their living space is not so discrete. In the Mansalay highland region there are settlements which have a fence surrounding house clusters, houseyards and bush areas (e.g., Settlement A of Hawili). The scene gives an impression that the fence constitutes a physical boundary of the settlement. But, ordinarily, it is explained that the fence prevents domestic animals (pigs and chickens) from straying and eating plants cultivated in the *halāman* (gardens, orchard). The *halāman*, where pineapples, coconuts, bananas, jack-fruits, maniocs, and so forth are planted, are also considered to be a part of the settlement space, even though they are located outside the fenced area. No ritual is performed concerning the fence, and no religious belief is found with regard to it. A simple gate of bamboo and/or wooden poles is often set up at one part of the path leading to the house clusters. In this case, however, no other sign is made to show the boundary of the settlement. There are many settlements without a fence or a gate (e.g., the other settlements of Hawili and the settlements of the Panaytayan area). The spatial boundary of a settlement is recognized in contrast to the forest. The inner space of a typical Hanunoo-Mangyan settlement consists of houses, houseyards, gardens (or orchards), bushes (clusters of small trees and bamboo) and other grassy places, and it is surrounded by the forest. This spatial arrangement seems to reveal a fact of crucial importance for the consideration of the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view.

As briefly noted in the previous chapter, it is in the forest that sacred stones are discovered by the magico-religious mediums. Most folk medicines with magical powers (in Hanunoo-Mangyan belief) are also obtained in the forest. The evil spirits, which threaten human life, are believed to dwell in the deep parts of the forest (*pūro?*). Thus, whereas the settlement is space inhabited by living men, the forest is space inhabited by supernatural (non-human) beings. This dichotomy of the settlement and the forest seems to constitute a basis for the Hanunoo-Mangyan view of the world.

The forest is a non-routine space for the Hanunoo-Mangyan, and simultaneously it is a space which provides them with food and goods indispensable for their daily life. Needless to say, the forest is a vital domain for those engaged in swidden cultivation. If the forest is taken away from them, it means their death as swidden cultivators. The means of living are, for the Hanunoo-Mangyan, mostly dependent on the resources of the forest. Without the forest it would be almost impossible not only to obtain food but also to make houses, clothes, and most of their tools. It may be said that this unilateral relationship between the forest and the settlement is typically expressed in the rite of rice planting. The Hanunoo-Mangyan explain this relationship in terms of rice spirits, *Binayi* (a female spirit in a termite mound) and *tudlak* (a spirit in the sacred stone of *panudlākan*). The *panudlākan* pours chicken blood on the ritual stone and rice seeds before s/he goes to a specific termite mound where the holy spirit *Binayi* resides. The blood of a chicken is considered its essence

and is, together with other ritual paraphernalia, thought to be a *pakā?on* (gift, offering) to the holy spirit Binayi, a controller of rice spirits. The sex of the holy spirit and the chicken sacrificed (female), the color of the chicken (reddish), the time of the rite (morning of a waxing crescent moon) and the number of holes in which to plant rice seeds (seven) may be related to fertility, but the data are too limited to verify this assumption. What is important is that the termite mound is, for the Hanunoo-Mangyan cultivators, space which bridges the world of men and the world of rice spirits (the latter is imagined to be located outside the former), and that the chicken to be sacrificed must not be a wild chicken, but a domestic one. Although the termite mound is located in the forest, it is at the edge of the forest in Hanunoo-Mangyan folk geography: no one can accompany the *panudlākan* to the termite mound for the rite of first rice-seed planting. This kind of termite mound is, at their folk level, similar to other tabooed areas, such as thick woods, where evil spirits are believed to reside, and the graveyards, both of which are located in the forest but constitute the remotest area of the forest and hence its edge in their folk geography. The informants maintain that rice spirits spread out over the forest after the performance of *tudlak*, and the rice spirits are in the form of *daldālo?* (winged termites). The rite of rice planting performed in each swidden is considered to be a gift to the rice spirits which wander about in the forest near the swidden. In Hanunoo-Mangyan belief those rice spirits are charmed by the rite and enter the swidden. The several deeds prohibited after rice planting are explained by them as those which might drive away any rice spirit inside the swidden. It is noteworthy that each swidden cultivator performs (although very rare in Panaytayan) a rite of blood pouring on rice seeds, as the *panudlākan* does. Also in this case a domestic chicken (or pig) is killed. Under the rites of blood pouring there seems to be an implicit underlying idea that the unilateral relationship of the forest (the world of rice spirits, supplier) and the settlement (the world of men, consumer) turns out to be reciprocal, through a gift (a domestic animal) which belongs to the settlement.

The swidden constitutes an intermediary space in the context of the dichotomy of the settlement and the forest. Any resident is able to make a swidden in the forest surrounding his settlement, except for some parts which are forbidden (the thick woods of evil spirits, graveyards, termite mounds for the rite of *panudlak*, bone caves, etc.). For the residents of the pivotal settlement of Hawili, for example, seven sites in the forest are banned for swidden use. One is the termite mound inhabited by the holy spirit and its surrounding space (*g* in Figure 8). Should one make a swidden at the termite hill all the rice plants cultivated in the area of the extended cult group would immediately die and it would be impossible to cultivate rice any more. In their belief, making a swidden at or near the termite mound drives away the holy spirit; hence the rice spirits are not controlled and leave the rice plants in the swiddens for their own world.

Two of the seven banned sites in Hawili are graveyards. If a swidden is made near a graveyard it arouses, in Hanunoo-Mangyan belief, the anger of the souls of the dead whose corpses are buried there. And the evil spirits loitering around the

burial spots would run away from the graveyard and attack living men in the settlement. The sites, believed to be inhabited by evil spirits, are spaces wherein no swiddens can be made. If one of those sites is burned it is believed that the evil spirits leave their residence for fear of fire, and attack the settlement for revenge.

In Hanunoo-Mangyan cognition the forest is segmented into two categories: that prohibited for use for swiddens and that which can be used for this purpose. Let the latter be called "forest (1)" and the former "forest (2)", for convenience sake. Then forest (2) constitutes, as already mentioned, the edge of the forest in Hanunoo-Mangyan folk geography. And forest (1), surrounding the settlement, is that common property of all the residents of the settlement. Whereas the components of the inner space of the settlement (houses, houseyards, domestic animals, crops in gardens, etc.) are privately owned by individuals, the forest, precisely forest (1), is the common property of all the residents of the settlement. One can catch forest animals, gather wood, bamboo, nuts, and other wild plants in the forest (1) without the permission of other residents. But once a part of it is cut open and seeds planted, the crops are privately owned by an individual and his household members. Thus a swidden is an extended part of the settlement. In other words, making a swidden is a "temporary settlementization" of the forest. When the rice plants in a swidden are harvested and the site is cleaned, other crops, such as sweet potatoes, beans, manioc, etc., are planted, and it continues to be used as a farmland (but not for rice cultivation) in following years. Later, when this site is covered by grass, trees and bamboo, it is called *talon* (forest) again. (This seems to be common among other swiddening societies, as reviewed by Yamashita [1973] for the Lamet of northern Laos.)

As already mentioned, the souls of the dead and rice spirits have their own worlds. The Hanunoo-Mangyan imagine that these two worlds are located outside the space of this world, where living people are engaged in daily activities. One can never go to the world of the dead nor can a live person see it: it is a world completely isolated from this world of the living. In their belief only the soul of a deceased person is allowed to go there, with a help of the prayer of a *pandaniwan*, along an invisible path that connects these two worlds.

In general, as pointed out by Komatsu, whose sharp insight in the consideration of the Japanese view of *takai* (other world) guided me in my consideration of the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view, it is possible to classify the views of other worlds in different folk cultures into two kinds: in one view the other world is "the one which exists only in the domain of ideas" and in the other view it is "the one represented as space actually existing on the earth" [KOMATSU 1972: 156]. It is impossible for the living to see or visit the other world completely isolated from this world. The world of the dead obscurely pictured in the Hanunoo-Mangyan idea corresponds to this, as does the world of rice spirits, if the other world is conceived broadly as a world to which non-human supernatural beings belong. In contrast, the other world in the second sense is believed to be located in a certain place that the living would be able to visit and see. Graveyards, burial caves and termite

mounds for the rite of the first rice-seed planting form a category which corresponds to the other world in this sense.

6.2. This world and the other world

There would not be the concept of *buhi?* (life) without the concept of *matay* (death), and *vice versa*. It is impossible to have one without the other. But from the viewpoint that human cognition is constructed by creating a discontinuum in a continuous phenomenon, it can be said that the basic logic of Hanunoo-Mangyan cognition would be agitated if *buhi?* and *matay* are linked together in one category. It seems, as noted before, that the concepts of *karadwa* (human soul) and *labay* (evil spirits) are devised by them to explain the phenomenon of death, and the concept of *karadwahan* (the world of the dead) is created to isolate the soul of the dead from this world. This is the cognitive operation of the Hanunoo-Mangyan to separate life and death. But this imaginary operation cannot extinguish the corpse of a dead man. For the living a corpse is both like them and not like them. It is an ambiguous (half-alive/half-dead) being. It lies between the two opposing categories, life and death, which must be separated. The Hanunoo-Mangyan maintain that a corpse laid inside the house is "dead" and, at the same time, still "sleeping" (*i.e.*, alive). Thus for the living the corpse forms a continuum between life and death. To separate these two the corpse must either be made alive or put away in a state impossible for the living to perceive.

There are today graves in the forest of the Buhid areas that I visited during my fieldwork similar to those of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. It is said by Buhid informants, however, that long ago the Buhid ran away from the house if a dead person was found there, and that they were afraid of going back to it. Gardner reported on the "Buhil" (Buhid) of the past, writing:

The Buhil have poor character. When sickness occurs in the house, the patient is left alone and, if he dies, the house is burned to ashes. (Apparently the corpse is burned with the house.) [GARDNER 1943: 67]

When someone has died in the house, everybody is warned not to visit the house. If you visit to see the spirit, one month should elapse before visiting the house. The spirit crawls and whistles at night, and feels cool. ...Unfortunate is the Buhil who becomes sick. They are neglected. They do not care for the sick, and leave him in the house alone, only peeping to see if he is still alive. If he is dead, they burn the house, and are then satisfied that the spirit will not trouble them. [GARDNER 1943: 72]

According to information obtained during my stay with a Taubuid (Batangan) group on Mt. Igit, the abandonment of a corpse in the house is also practiced by them. Once a man dies in his house, his household members leave the corpse, and build a new house at another place, and they are afraid of going back to their old one. It may be said that the Buhid (in the past) and the Taubuid sever the con-

tinuum between "life" and "death" by isolating themselves from the corpse. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, however, the corpse is made ritually "alive" at the first stage of the funeral rites. They keep the corpse on the south-north axis and never place it on the east-west axis, which is explicitly considered the direction of the dead, until the corpse is about to be placed in a coffin.

The process of the burial rite may be understood as a transitional process of the corpse from the "ritually alive state" to the "ritually dead state". In the morning, when people visit the house of a dead person, the corpse is still in an "alive" state, being placed on the south-north axis. The food offering at the head of the corpse illustrates this. The practice of tying several parts of the corpse is, it seems, a symbolic action of making it unable to move, *i.e.*, the corpse is still "alive". The following practices of placing the corpse on the east-west axis (the direction of the dead) and putting it in a coffin (placed on the east-west axis) can be interpreted as symbolic actions to make the corpse ritually "dead" at last. Now the corpse is different from the living men around it. This is affirmed by carrying the corpse through a hole made in the wall of the house. No one can pass through this space: it is a non-routine tabooed space for the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

The corpse carried out of the house is, although placed in the coffin, still within sight. It has to be put in a state impossible for the living to perceive, so that the continuum mediating the world of the living (this world) and the world of the dead (the other world) would be severed. Whereas the Buhid and the Taubuid separate themselves from the corpse, the Hanunoo-Mangyan separate the corpse from the space where they are engaged in daily life. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan a corpse is carried out of the settlement and buried at a graveyard in the forest. This contrast seems to be related to a difference in the forms of their life style. The Taubuid, for instance, form local groups consisting of plural households, and each of these groups is semi-sedentary: it transfers from one place to another in the forest every few to several years. Their houses are simply made of bamboo and cogon grass, whereas those of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, who are sedentary agriculturists, last probably ten or more years.

For the Hanunoo-Mangyan the graveyard is both a part (edge) of the world of the living (this world) and a part (the entrance) of the world of the dead (the other world). The graveyard is, in other words, an ambiguous space: it overlaps these two opposing categories. In Hanunoo-Mangyan belief there are two types of graveyards: one for the corpses the bones of which are not exhumed, and the other for the corpses the bones of which are exhumed (*vide supra*). It is strictly prohibited for people to enter the graveyards of the first type. They maintain that there are a great many horrible evil spirits inside. Although entrance is not banned, people are afraid of entering the second type for fear that they might be attacked by the evil spirits lurking there. The graveyards of both types are ordinarily maintained to be in an invisible state, and a taboo is imposed upon the perception of them. It goes without saying that this is a cultural operation of the Hanunoo-Mangyan to persuade themselves to separate the other world (death) from this world (life). Thus the

world of the dead, which is antithetical to the world of the living, is transposed to a part of the forest, more exactly to a part of the forest (2). What is important for the argument of this study is that the world of the dead in the Hanunoo-Mangyan image is transposed to the forest through the graveyards placed in this space.

6.3. Human, animal and living-space categories

Needless to say I have made the present argument, bearing in mind the hypothetical scheme of human cognition of the world (or cosmos) based on the Leach Theory. The diagram presented in Figure 12 summarizes the present argument. If focus is placed on Ego (any Hanunoo-Mangyan), the world surrounding him/her can be understood as a series of six categories in terms of distance from Ego: I. Ego, II. House, III. Settlement, IV. Swidden, V. Forest (1), and VI. Forest (2) (other world). Of course this diagram does not represent the geography in reality, but a spatial arrangement based on the folk cognition of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. A swidden may be physically remoter than the areas belonging to the forest (2), but at the level of Hanunoo-Mangyan folk geography the former is nearer to Ego than the latter. If a part of the forest (1) is used as a swidden, it

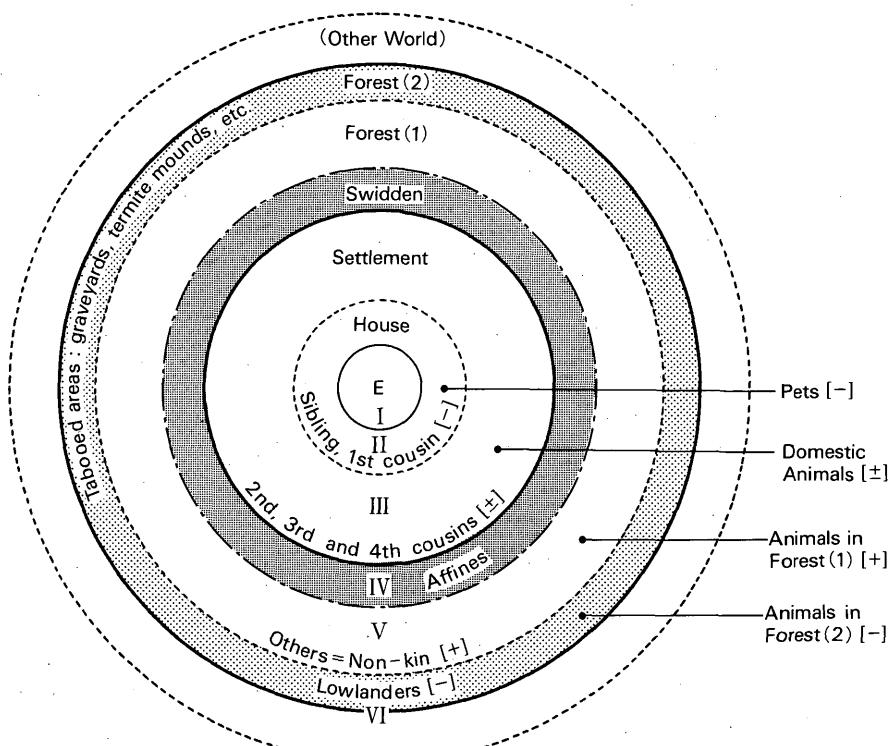


Figure 12. Diagram of the living-space in relation to the Hanunoo-Mangyan cognition of the world

belongs to the category IV, and it comes to belong to the category V when the site is no longer used as a farmland and becomes a part of the forest (1) again.

As noted earlier, the terms of rice planting and harvesting (May-June and October-November) are at the ritually highest points in the annual cycle of swidden activities. These terms are switching temporal spans in which a part of the forest (1) becomes a swidden (planting) and the swidden begins its return to a part of the forest (1) (harvesting).

In the description concerning the rite of restoration brief mention was made of incest and marriage prohibitions. If sex and marriage regulations are spelled out as a scale of social distance from Ego, men are classified into a series of six categories: I. Ego, II. Siblings & first cousins (incest taboo), III. 2nd, 3rd & 4th cousins (sex overlooked, marriage possible under certain conditions), IV. Affines (intermediate between consanguineal kin and non-kin), V. Others or Non-kin (marriage recommended), and VI. Lowlanders or Non-Mangyans (sex and marriage prohibited).

Leach [1964] and Tambiah [1969] correlated the three categorical sets of social distance from Self, *i.e.*, human categories in terms of sex and marriage relationships, spatial categories and animal categories in terms of dietary rules, in English and Katchin (Leach) and northern Thai (Tambiah) cognition. It is impossible to demonstrate definitely the correspondence between these three categorical sets in the Hanunoo-Mangyan setting, but this topic seems of great importance for the discussion of their socio-cosmology.

Animals are classified into seven categories: *hāyop* (domestic and wild animals), *manok* (domestic fowl and wild fowl), *?ūlay* (snakes), *?isda?* (fish), *biyūku* (land snails), *pakinħasun* (eels and shellfish) and *?iyay* (insects). The residents of Panaytayan, Hawili and Wasig collectively refer to animals as *hāyop*. According to them the *hāyop* (animals) are largely classified into (1) *?alāga?* or *?alāga? hāyop* ('protected animals', domestic animals) and (2) *hāyop talon* ('forest animals'). They (not all) are listed in Table 3. (This list does not comprise all the animals in Hanunoo-Mangyan region.) Insects, fish, molluscs and most fowl are omitted, and focus is placed on those animals closely related to the people's daily life.

Animals referred to as *?alāga? hāyop* are those raised by the residents in the house, houseyard or settlement. (The term *?alāga?* is also employed to designate an adopted child.) Domestic animals include the cat (*kuti?*), dog (*?idu?*), pig (*bāboy*), and the chicken (*manok*). Of these only the cat and the dog are permitted to sleep inside the house, whereas the pig and the chicken are driven away if they enter. The former are specifically called *būya* (toys, playthings).

People say that although there is no taboo on eating cat meat they never eat it. The dog is not edible, either. The Hanunoo-Mangyan know that dog meat is preferably eaten by Christian lowlanders, but the former avoid eating it. (It seems that Christian lowlanders are, in general, fond of eating dog meat throughout the Philippines. But, as far as I know, it is rare for a dog to live in the house of a lowlander. The dog is, generally speaking, not a "pet" in a strict sense for Christian

Table 3. Domestic animals and forest animals

Domeatic animals		Forest animals
<i>kuti?</i> (cat)	[−]*	<i>siggālon</i> (Malay civet) [+]*
<i>?idu?</i> (dog)	[−]	<i>?iru?</i> (civet) [+]
<i>bāboy</i> (pig)	[+] conditional	<i>talon bāboy</i> (wild pig) [+]
<i>manok</i> (chicken)	[+] conditional	<i>talon manok</i> (wild chicken) [+]
<i>bāka</i> (cow)	[+] rare	<i>?amo?</i> (monkey) [+]
<i>kambīg</i> (goat)	[+] rare	
<i>kabāyo</i> (horse)	[+] rare	
<i>karabaw</i> (water buffalo)	[+] rare	
		<i>?irāwo</i> (python) [−]
		<i>?ulay</i> (snake) [−]
		<i>soksok</i> (house lizard) [−]
		<i>fiki?</i> (large lizard) [−]

* The mark [+] means "edible" for the Hanunoo-Mangyan, and [−] means "inedible" for them.

Filipinos.) Today some people in Panaytayan eat dog meat, but it is said that no one ate it in the past. They say that they can eat dog meat if it is someone else's dog, but that they cannot eat one they have raised in their own house. Although the dog is regarded as an animal close to man, its meat is considered, in general, to be unclean since it eats excreta (*?ugat*). This animal is also considered to be incestuous. It seems that the inedibility of the dog is related to its being unclean and incestuous.

While the dog is viewed as an unclean animal, the cat appears as a useful animal in a folktale concerning the rice spirits, as mentioned earlier.

The domestic pig and chicken are edible. Although the people maintain that they can eat these animals at any time, it seems that they ordinarily eat them at funeral and agricultural rites and on other special occasions. While the dog and cat are not sacrificial animals, the blood of a domestic chicken is offered to the holy spirit Binayi and also to rice spirits, and pork and chicken meat are offered to the souls of the dead.

People add the cow (*bāka*), goat (*kambīg*), horse (*kabāyo*, fr. Sp. *caballo*) and water buffalo (*karabaw*) to the category of *?alāga?* *hāyop*. These animals are ordinarily raised for sale to the lowlanders, and not for food. It is said that in the past the cow was sometimes butchered and eaten at a feast of *panlūdan*, but it is rare today. In Kagangan and Wasig some cows are raised for sale to lowlanders, as are some goats in Hawili. They neither eat the meat nor even drink the milk of these animals. Informants state that although they can eat the meat of these four kinds of animals they rarely do so.

In Hanunoo-Mangyan thought forest animals stand in opposition to domestic animals: the former dwell in the forest and wilderness whereas the latter live in the settlement and are raised by men. There are a great many kinds of animals in the forest. Almost all these animals (mammals and birds) are edible for the Hanunoo-Mangyan. They use a bamboo bow and arrows to catch them. The prohibition on carrying a bow and arrow to a swidden during the term when rice is planted there, and the way of cooking the first rice in a clay pot with a miniature bow and arrow, seem to have some association with hunting (forest), but my data are not enough to develop this hypothesis. The wild pig (*talon bāboy*, 'forest pig') and the wild chicken (*talon manok*, 'forest fowl') are viewed as the counterparts of the domestic pig and the domestic chicken, respectively, and the former are used neither as sacrificial animals nor as feast food.

Pythons (*?irāwo*, *Python reticulatus*, Schneider), snakes (*?ulay*, general term for snakes), house lizards and large lizards are considered to have original residence in the deep forest (*pūro?*), and they are referred to as *hāyop sa pūro?* (animals in the deep forest). The python and the snake are regarded as dangerous animals for men, and tabooed to eat. There is a belief among the Hanunoo-Mangyan that an eclipse of the moon is caused by the python: the phenomenon occurs, in their belief, if the python ascends to the sky and starts eating the moon. (When I visited Panaytayan on December 13, 1974, I heard that people began to beat gongs and other things when they noticed the lunar eclipse which occurred in the end of November, 1974. They explained saying that the noises made would drive away the python which was about to eat the moon.)

The house lizard and the large lizard do not harm men, and thus are different from the other two classes of animals in the deep forest. But they are inedible and it is considered to be taboo to eat them. An interesting matter is that the house lizard and the large lizard live in the houses of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, more precisely in the bamboo forming parts of the roof and ceiling, although they are considered to have residence in the deep forest (they live there also). The large lizard especially is ambiguous, and hence given a sort of sacred attribute. According to some informants this animal runs back and forth in the *sūlay* (bamboo supporting the roof of the house) and says a prayer when it reaches the base of the *sūlay*. Although no definite data are available, the *sūlay*, which connects the roof and the ground, seems to symbolize the connection between the upper world (sky) and the lower world (earth). As observed earlier, the heated ritual iron stick (*sambonj*) is placed by the *panlabāyan* at the foot of the *sūlay* to stop thunder and lightning (in the sky). Although no development of this discussion can be made at present, the belief concerning the large lizard, *sūlay*, and the practice of the *panlabāyan* must not be overlooked for a deeper consideration of the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view. For the time being I restrict myself to pointing out that the large lizard (and also the house lizard) has an ambiguous attribute when compared with other forest and domestic animals: it lives, as do other lizards, in the forest and also in the house; and it lives in the house but it is never cared for as a domestic animal would be.

Although it is impossible to make a definite assertion, the ambiguity of the house lizard and the large lizard seems to be associated with an omen in regard to house-building and agricultural rites: one cannot embark on these tasks if he hears the crying of a lizard at his house.

To summarize the discussion on edibility and inedibility of forest animals: most are edible except those which are considered to have original residence in the deep forest (the latter are inedible and taboo). Thus, it is possible to postulate an opposition of edible forest animals and inedible (tabooed) forest animals, and this opposition is associated with the opposition of the forest (1) and the forest (2).

Hence, it is possible to interrelate the series of animal categories intertwined with the spatial categories in terms of distance from Ego: Pets (inedible)=House, Domestic Animals (edible on special occasions)=Settlements, Forest Animals (edible)=Forest (1), and Deep Forest Animals (inedible and taboo)=Forest (2).

For the Hanunoo-Mangyan, in general, it is not recommended to enter the house of non-kinsmen without permission, and this act is considered to be *magkay'a* (shameful) if the person of the house is out of the range of restricted kindred (1st-cousin range). But first cousins are, as mentioned above, similar to siblings, hence entrance of the house of a first cousin without any permission is possible. If the "House" in the above series of spatial categories is broadly considered to be the category which also includes the houses of the first cousins, the category series in terms of spatial distance and edibility distance reveals a correlation to the human categories. Although not precise, a correlation is present in these three series. A sexual relation between siblings (in the same house) is considered to be incest, as is that between first cousins. Almost all the residents in the settlement, if neighboring settlements are included in this category, are close kin. One is allowed to marry his second, third, or fourth cousin only under certain conditions. Domestic animals (settlement) are edible, but they are ordinarily eaten only on special occasions. The residents in remote settlements are, if not precisely, non-kin, and marriage with them is recommended. The animals in the forest (1) are mostly edible. If remote settlements are included in the category of the forest (1), a correspondence between the marriageability with a non-kin in a remote settlement and the edibility of the animals of the forest (1) exists. The uxorilocality in Hanunoo-Mangyan society leads to the logic that remote settlements are the provider of labor (males) for the settlement of Ego. This corresponds to the relationship between the forest (supplier) and the settlement (consumer) as discussed earlier. The sex and marriage regulations of the Hanunoo-Mangyan prohibit them from having sexual relations and marrying Christian lowlanders. The deep forest is believed to be inhabited by horrible evil spirits, and the animals in this area are dangerous and tabooed to eat. Although it is not evident, the bitter experiences of the Hanunoo-Mangyan in contact with the lowlanders seem to make their sex and marriage regulations unconsciously associated with the food regulations.

I accept the possible criticism that the scheme of the three category series is too rough and extracted rather forcefully. But without this it would be impossible to

understand their beliefs and practices regarding the violation of sex and marriage rules. It seems to me that under this scheme lies the system of category series which determines the Hanunoo-Mangyan cognition of the world, as shown in Figure 12. If focus is placed on this diagram, category IV (swidden) coincides with the category of affine. The affines become non-kin again through divorce, and the swidden becomes forest again when no agricultural crops are planted there. As the swidden is an ambiguous category between the settlement and the forest, the affines form an ambiguous category between the *kaway* (consanguineal kin) and the *iba tāwo* (others). Category VI is the "border" of this world—settlement, swidden and forest (1)—and the other world which brings about both fortune (good harvest, health) and misfortune (poor harvest, disease, death) to the former. It seems to me that the negative (unexpected) aspect of the attributes of the other world coincides with the attributes of Christian lowlanders in category VI.

In Chapter IV I briefly described courting custom. I presented a story that long ago a girl opened the blanket of the boy who courted her and the girl disappeared. Some informants explained that the boy must have been an evil spirit or a lowlander. Thus, the category of evil spirits and that of lowlanders are linked in a sense. The Hanunoo-Mangyan belief in *labay damū'oy* (evil spirits in the form of lowlanders which are considered to be the most horrible of all) seems to give additional evidence to my assertion.

It is possible to state now that the schemes of living-space and animal categories almost coincide with that of human categories. Such a cognitive order is disturbed or destroyed if the regulations regarding incest and marriage are violated. The rituals required after the violation of incest and marriage rules must be regarded as a cultural operation for the restoration of cognitive order.

In this section an attempt was made to clarify the framework that the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view is ordered in association with their living-space based on the binary opposition of the settlement (inner) and the forest (outer), and it was found that many aspects of their rituals can be interpreted in this framework. However, it must be stressed that this framework cannot cast light on all their religious behavior. To illustrate another framework I discuss illness in the following section.

7. Illness and Culture

The study of the cultural aspect of illness is indispensable in inquiring into a people's world view, because this domain is directly related to their problem of life and death. Most ethnographic reports on the world view of a human group refer to illness in one way or another. There is a tendency for only illnesses related to remarkable cultural behavior, such as magic and healing rituals, to be dealt with in these reports. On the contrary, only a limited number of studies considers quite ordinary illnesses. While the illnesses in the former sense are called "supernatural" il-

lnesses, those in the latter sense are called "habitual" or "natural" [OHNUKI-TIERNEY 1977: 245].

A study of habitual illnesses has been made by scholars specializing in cognitive anthropology or ethnoscience, such as Frake [1961], Himes [1972], Yoshida [1978], etc. I also attempted to obtain data on the Hanunoo-Mangyan cognition of illness from the viewpoint of cognitive anthropology. However, most description in this section is concerned with so-called supernatural illnesses in which an attempt is made to elucidate the world view of this ethnolinguistic group.

7.1. The Concept of 'illness'

The physically healthy condition is referred to as *bisog* ('strength', 'being strong'). "Being healthy" is "*mabisog ti bilog*" ('the body is strong': *ma-* means 'having...' in Minangyan). The opposing concept is *sakit* ('illness', 'pain'). If one says "*masakit ?ako*", it means "I am sick." The condition of *sakit* is accompanied by various symptoms, such as *masakit* ('painful'), *mahūyāñ* ('languid', 'feeble'), *ma?imbug* ('feverish'), *matakig* ('having a chill', 'shivering', *ma?alugāhog* ('feeling like vomiting'), *mabūyonj ?ulo* ('dizzy'), *mataklay* ('extremely tired', 'having difficulty in breathing'), *magatol* ('itchy'), *magkadāka?* ('feeling uneasy'), and so on.

7.2. Classification of illness

So far 185 illness names have been listed through my research among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. Various kinds of minor troubles (e.g., insect bites) are included in this list as independent illnesses. So the number will be smaller if they are grouped into one illness category. (The Hanunoo-Mangyan never do so.) Nevertheless, there is a possibility that more names, which have not been examined yet, will be added to the list in the future.

Through interviews with five informants (3 in Panaytayan and 2 in Wasig) inquiries were made on each illness in terms of four aspects: 1) symptoms, 2) cause, 3) treatment, and 4) cases. I set about research regarding their classification of illnesses on the basis of these data.

The "KJ Method" was adopted to the Hanunoo-Mangyan setting.¹¹⁾ I prepared 185 small paper slips (callingcard size), and I wrote one Hanunoo-Mangyan illness name on each card in their script. (This method can be used only among literate informants.) I scattered these cards on a *buri* mat spread on the floor so that all the illness names could be read. In the absence of others I asked each informant to move the cards to make small groups of the items having similarity, then to combine

11) It is a technique developed by Jiro Kawakita [1967]; it has a high validity in discovering the unconscious system by means of which one classifies and reconstructs the items of a certain domain. It is somewhat similar to the slip sorting task employed by Berlin and others [1968: 292-293]. However, as pointed out by Yoshida, who successfully adopted Kawakita's technique in discussing the classification of illness among the Toba-Batak, in Indonesia, the KJ Method differs in the sense that it moves up from terminal categories to upper levels, naming a grouped cluster of paper slips, and ordering named clusters in accordance with their relational distances [YOSHIDA 1978: 416-420].

them into larger groups until they cannot do so any more, giving a name to each group. I recorded the process of the informant's task, asking, "How come can you move this group to this group?"

One informant, a married man of about 30 years of age, was puzzled in front of these cards, and he could do nothing for hours. Another informant, also a married man of about 30 years of age, finally arranged the cards into five major groups, and he named them as follows:

1. *sakit ?ūlo*: illness of the head
2. *sakit lukob*: illness on the skin
3. *sakit but?ol*: illness in the bones
4. *sakit tiyan*: illness in the stomach
5. *sakit sa kalag*: illness due to spirits

It is obvious that this informant used a two dimensional criteria in reconstructing the data. One criterion is concerned with affected body parts. That is, which part of the body is affected. The other criterion is concerned with the causes of the illness: whether or not an illness is caused by supernaturals. The interesting aspect of this test is that the informant was not conscious of his criteria at the initial stage; he noticed them later in the process.

These two criteria were employed by all other informants except for one, a married man of about 55 years of age. He is known as a prominent herbal doctor, and he has had the experience of playing the role of a religious medium.

He classified the 185 cards into 39 classes on the basis of healing methods (one criterion), as shown in Table 4. Out of the 185 illnesses, according to his classification, 111 are healed by medicine, and they are classified into 32 groups in accordance with the classification of medicines (32 kinds).

There are eleven kinds of illnesses which require a treatment called *?abāy*. It is not easy to understand the illnesses of this class, which are collectively referred to as *?abāyon*. In many cases those who are affected by *?abāyon* have no symptoms. A

Table 4. Classification of illness by a herbal doctor

Method of treatment	Number of classes	Number of illnesses
Medicine	32	111
<i>?abāy</i> + medicine	1	11
<i>dāniw</i> + <i>pamāra?</i> + medicine	1	22
Only <i>pamāra?</i>	1	2
<i>hilot</i> (massage)	1	19
<i>barabādan</i>	1	1
Treatment unnecessary	1	18
No method (impossible to heal)	1	1
Total	39	185

person who eats at the house of a patient of *?abājon*, or one who only sees the patient, will probably contract the illness and become weaker and thinner. If one notices that he has contracted *?abājon*, he visits the patient from whom he probably contracted it and asks the latter to say “*?abay?abay*” in front of him, then he consults an herbal doctor.

Explanation has already been made concerning *dāniw* and *pamāra?* (spirits for religious mediums). The word *hilot* means massage. This treatment is not related to any magical power.

The illness called *nasapol* requires a treatment designated as *barabādan*. This illness was briefly referred to above when explanation was made on amulets. The spirit *?apo sapol*, a dweller in an amulet called *sapol*, causes this illness. The owner of this amulet is *sapolan*. The *sapolan* puts black pitch (*sapol*) at the bottom of an arrow container in his banana or coconut farm, and he makes an invocation, “If one eats our crop, please make him *nasapol*.” It is said that the one who steals bananas or coconuts will have a rash or vesicles all over his body, and will die if no specific treatment is performed. The patient must confess his guilt to the owner of the crops, asking him for treatment. The *sapolan* grips the arrow set with *sapol*, breaths on it, and waves his hands holding the arrow set above the patient’s head, as if the hand were making circles. He moves his hand to the counterclockwise direction (the ‘direction toward which the fingers of the right hand bend’ in the Hanunoo-Mangyan sense) six times, and later one time in the reverse direction. Then the patient recovers his health.

To sum up, there are 39 classificatory boxes of treatment in the mind of this informant, and 185 cards were put in these boxes based on only one criterion, methods of treatment.

7.3. Cases of illness

According to the informants some illnesses are easily diagnosed through their symptoms to be caused by evil or other kinds of spirits. However, there are many which look slight and mild at first but turn out later to have been caused by evil spirits. These so-called supernatural illnesses require a specific treatment by a religious medium, such as a *pamara?an* and/or a *pandaniwan*. If one becomes ill because of black magic or the anger of the soul of the dead, he must not only request a prayer from one or more mediums but also he must offer a special meal (cooked rice and soup of a domestic animal’s meat) to his kinsmen and neighbors.

Umbos, a young legal authority in Wasig, has an experience of being attacked by black magic several years ago. According to his story:

Usting (about 52 years of age at that time) of Waigan committed incest with his ‘niece’, Manay (14 years of age). There was a litigation in December, 1979. Umbos was a judge and he told Usting and Manay to make a special offering of two adult pigs and two *kaban* (about 150 liters) of unhusked rice, and to offer a certain kind and quantity of glass beads to a *pandaniwan* who specialized in

curing patients of this sort. Usting became angry at this decision, and he did not obey it. He was known to be a possessor of various kinds of amulets. In September, 1980, Umbos was carrying a log on his shoulder along a path in the mountains. He suddenly felt a severe pain in his chest, and fell down. At that moment, Umbos said, he saw Usting in his imagination.

Umbos called a prominent *pajuli'an* (a medium who can cure an illness due to *pajīwa?*). The medium said that Umbos had become sick due to Usting's black magic. Usting was a possessor of a *pajīwa?* amulet, and his spell made Umbos suffer from pains. It is said that one who suffers from this illness will die if he does not receive suitable treatment.

If the possessor of *pajīwa?* chants a spell the victim will have severe pains at the same moment. That is why Umbos thought that he saw Usting's figure when he was attacked. When Umbos made a decision at the litigation nine months before, he did not imagine that Usting was a possessor of *pajīwa?*. The medium *pajuli'an* placed his hand on the affected part of Umbos, then he stretched it outside the window. To the surprise of Umbos, the medium's hand was full of blood. The medium explained to Umbos that the blood was that which Usting got from Umbos previously. The medium put the blood on his hand, and rubbed it on Umbos' affected part. He repeated this many times as if he were getting blood from the part, sometimes breathing upon it. Finally, the medium made an invocation.

A couple of weeks later Umbos recovered. He did not offer a meal to the people, because he was told by the medium that he did not have to do so.

There are other cases of illness due to black magic. The following is the case of Sambong (a married man of about 40 years of age) who lives in Wasig.

In the early dawn of April 10, 1980, a *pajahāwan* (offering to the soul of the dead) was held at Sambong's house. He had become weak three months previously. He did not recover even though he took medicine. He consulted one of the religious mediums of Wasig. The medium said that he was sick, and that he went down to the town to drink so often that the soul of his deceased father was angry with him. The medium advised Sambong to hold a *pajahāwan*.

A number of residents of Wasig and the nearby area gathered at Sambong's house, and helped him with the cooking. Sambong offered one big pig and more than two *kaban* of unhusked rice. He was such a hard worker that he had a large quantity of rice and a few other pigs.

The participants made a miniature house at one corner of his houseyard for the ritual. On that night many mediums gathered at Sambong's house and said a prayer to satisfy the soul of the dead and drive away the evil spirits which approached the patient.

At dawn Sambong and his family offered new clothes and food to the soul of his deceased father at the miniature house, and they walked around it for almost 30 minutes. After this prayer they served a meal to the more than 200 participants. Afterwards, however, Sambong did not recover. He became worse. He consulted another medium who was well known for his ability to cure. The medium diagnosed his case as an illness due to *padāya?* (black

magic). The medium said a prayer to drive away the spirits of black magic. Since Sambong offered a special meal at the *panahawan*, he was told by the medium that it was enough. Later, Sambong recovered.

I was conducting fieldwork in Wasig in 1981, when Yansing, the oldest woman in this local community, suffered from a prolonged stomach ache. She was a ritual planter of the first rice seeds in the area, and her deceased husband had been a prominent religious medium.

Yansing was treated by herbal doctors and massagers, but she did not recover. She became weaker and weaker. On the night of October 10, 1981, three mediums were invited to her house. Since the feast after harvesting was going to be held, a number of people gathered at her settlement.

Two weeks previously she had consulted a medium. The medium said that her illness was due to evil spirits, and he made a prayer for her. However, she did not become well. That is why she decided to call more mediums on that night. The mediums explained about her illness after they prayed. According to them, the soul of Yamo-an, Yansing's deceased husband, made her ill, because their son Linaw was a drunkard and not kind to her. [Then, why did the soul of Yamo-an make his wife sick, and not his son? Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan there are many cases in which the soul of a dead person punished a person by making one of his close kinsmen seriously ill. The logic is that in punishing a person it is more effective to give pain to another person that he loves.] The mediums made another announcement after an additional prayer: "The young residents of Wasig often drink in the town and they shamelessly get drunk these days. They gamble for money with lowlanders. Furthermore, and even worse, they eat new rice before the feast. That is why Yamo-an's soul became angry and made Yansing seriously ill." After this announcement all who gathered there cooked the rice that they carried, and a pig that Yansing had offered. They offered food to the souls of Yamo-an and others, and ate together. After this, Yansing's son rarely drank and those who ate new rice before the feast reflected on their conduct. This old woman died the next year. People thought her death was due to old age.

7.4. Consideration

In this section, only three cases have been introduced. The true cause of the first two illnesses was, needless to say, envy. The difference between these two cases is that the middle-aged diligent man in the second example was required to offer a special meal to the people whereas the young legal authority in the first example was not.

The young legal authority was talented; hence, he was envied by the old sorcerer, not by the other people. The medium consulted by this legal authority judged that the latter had been fully sanctioned by the fact that he had been taken seriously ill. On the contrary, the middle-aged man was envied by the sorcerer because of his accumulated goods. The mediums judged that both the sorcerer and the other people envied him. The mediums must have judged, in my opinion, that

the sorcerer's envy was the reflection of the feeling of all the others. In other words, it was not only the sorcerer but also the other people who envied him. Hence, illness was not sanction enough, and he was requested to share a part of his wealth.

As discussed above, the Hanunoo-Mangyan always do their best not to be envied by others. Behind envy is always hidden the "image of limited good" [FOSTER 1965a, 1972] in one way or another. "If someone earns a certain portion, someone else will lose it; and the person who will lose might be myself"—this is the image which basically arouses the feeling of envy.

The special meal that accompanies a ritual for curing is a good occasion for the distribution of accumulated goods. The participants who suffer from daily poverty, annoyed by envies and grudges, can actually feel the pleasure of richness during the course of a meal. They can eat as much as they want at that time. The feast of this sort is, so to speak, an ideal setting for the solution of the people's envy.

The elderly woman's illness in the last case was considered to have been caused by the younger persons' deeds against Hanunoo-Mangyan morality and custom. This case illustrates that illness has a mechanism for correcting the distortions created in the traditional system of social and religious behavior.

CHAPTER VI

CUSTOMARY LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE

1. Introduction

How are conflicts managed and how is order maintained in a society without such physical force as a police system or a prison? This is one of the most fundamental problems for social anthropologists and ethnographers who study law.

Barton was the first to study customary laws among the mountain peoples of the Philippines. His literature on Ifugao Law [BARTON 1919] became widely known to the ethno-logical world through the work of Hoebel on primitive law [HOEBEL 1954]. Barton also reported on Ifugao Law and Kalinga Law in other monographs [BARTON 1930, 1938, 1949]. There are other works on customary law among the Ilongot of Northern Luzon [ROSALDO 1980], the Tagbanuwa of Palawan Island [FOX 1982] and the highlanders of Mindanao Island, such as the Subanun [FRAKE 1963], the Tiruray [SCHLEGEL 1970], and the Manuvu' [MANUEL 1973], among others. These reports indicate that there are no formal judicial and political institutions with complex structures among these highlanders. This characteristic is not restricted only to them: probably it is common among all the highland groups in the Philippines.

Hanunoo-Mangyan society is not exceptional. In their society are found no complicated judicial and political institutions: there is no police nor prison there. However, 'litigation' takes place rather frequently when an offense is committed against customary law and a conflict occurs. The Hanunoo-Mangyan show strong interest in this legal action. Indeed, similar to various kinds of feasts or rituals, 'litigation' seems to be one of the events which greatly animates or revitalizes their community life. One of the main purposes of this chapter is to elucidate the socio-cultural significance of their traditional legal system, focusing on their 'litigation'.

Secondly, focus is placed on the legal authorities, or 'judges', who are central figures in 'litigations'. Description and analysis is made of the requirements, magico-religious background and sociological aspects of the legal authorities. Consideration of the legal authorities is indispensable to a full understanding of the Hanunoo-Mangyan system of conflict management.

Third, an attempt is made to consider the conflicts actually occurring among the people. Data on dispute cases in a few communities and some nearby areas are presented and examined in my search for factors which appear to underlie the causes and characteristics of conflicts, and/or the decisions made during dispute settlement procedures.

The case studies in the Hanunoo-Mangyan communities indicate that socio-political pressures from the lowland world have recently effected some changes in the characteristics of conflicts and legal authorities. This problem is discussed in the last part of this chapter, in which emphasis is placed on the new trend to use physical force, as in the lowland world, which has been gradually introduced into the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system.

2. Some Aspects of Mangyan Law

2.1. The concept of 'Mangyan Law'

Although the Hanunoo-Mangyan have no written laws they have a customary or traditional law designated as *batas mangyan* ('Mangyan Law'). They maintain that it was laid down by their ancestors long ago and that it has been handed down for generations among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. No attempts have been made to record it, except maybe once, as recalled by Adag, one of the old legal authorities in the Wasig area:

In the days of the Spanish regime lived a man named Sabong. He was called "Kabisa Sabong" (*kabisa*; fr. Sp. *cabeza*, 'head') by the people. He was bright and knew much about the Mangyan Law. He arranged a great number of cases which had occurred in the past, recording them in *surat mangyan* ('Mangyan characters') on papers, and made a thick book of the Mangyan Law. However, the book disappeared later, for one reason or another.

Apart from the fragmentary description by de la Paz [1968], there have been no ethnographic reports on Mangyan Law. Therefore it is necessary to obtain information directly from Hanunoo-Mangyan informants to outline their traditional law.

Mangyan Law is present only in the mind of the people. But since it is never memorized systematically they have difficulty in explaining it to an ethnographer. They might say that the *batas* ('law') of the Hanunoo-Mangyan is their *?ugāli?* ('custom'). The latter is sometimes used as a term which means 'habit', 'inclination' and 'propensity', *i.e.*, as a term related to personal conduct or practice. Usually, however, it indicates 'manner', 'moral', 'convention', and so on: namely, it is related to criteria for cultural behavior, meaning 'norm' or 'custom'.

These terms *batas* and *?ugāli?* are often regarded as synonyms. However, examination of the usage of *?ugāli?* shows that it has a wider meaning than *batas*. It is natural to use *batas* in place of *?ugāli?* when saying "He stole a chicken from me and that is against our *?ugāli?*. He has to pay a fine to me due to our *?ugāli?*." But it is unnatural to use *batas* in place of *?ugāli?* when saying "We place exhumed human bones in a cave: it is the *?ugāli?* of the Mangyan." The term *batas* originally came from the Tagalog word *batas*, which means 'law'. (This word means 'border' or 'limit' in Malay.) According to older informants, the Hanunoo-Mangyan seldom used the term before World War II, when they often used *?ugāli?*. The frequent usage of the term *batas* has occurred since the War.

Most conflicts occurring among the Hanunoo-Mangyan are settled in the traditional manner. Such offenses as theft or infliction of injury, which, to the lowlanders, obviously seem to be included in the category of criminal cases (in the sense of State Law), are dealt with on the level of Mangyan Law. Recently, however, such cases as homicide and robbery are managed by the police and/or the town court. The Hanunoo-Mangyan know that the lowlanders (*damū?on*) have their own law, and they designate it as *batas damū?on* ('law of the lowlanders') in contrast to *batas mangyan* ('law of the Mangyan'). There are many Hanunoo-Mangyan who are disinclined to be under the control of *batas damū?on*, insisting that it is nothing but the law of the lowlanders. In fact, there are many cases where people moved to the interior parts because they disliked paying tax to the Municipal Office. For the Hanunoo-Mangyan, who take for granted that Mangyan Law does not have any physical sanction, it is difficult to wholly accept the *batas damū?on* which is backed by the police and military forces. At the same time, however, the Hanunoo-Mangyan seemingly consider it impossible to resist the power of the lowlanders.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan try to explain Mangyan Law by citing cases from past examples. Except for small children, people generally remember various instances of 'litigation', some through direct observation and others having heard from third parties, such as relatives and friends. In order to properly understand Mangyan Law one requires a stock of knowledge of past dispute cases.

2.2. Basic categories of offense

It seems that some particulars of Mangyan Law differ more or less from one area to another inside the Hanunoo-Mangyan region. In Wasig, for example, the unit *dūpa?* ('fathom') is used most frequently for the payment of 'fines' in the form of glass beads, whereas a different unit is employed in the Panaytayan area. They maintain that the *batas* (law) differs slightly from one place to another.

Although variations are observed in some particulars of Mangyan Law, a common cognition is present with regard to offense categories. From the knowledge of conflict cases in the past and the explanation of the informants we can deduce at least sixteen basic categories of offense which can qualify for 'litigation'. Related to these cases are the payment of fines and other kinds of punishment, as will be explained later in detail. The following is the list of basic offense categories, arranged in alphabetical order:

1. *hidugo?*: Violence which brings about bleeding. A certain amount of fine must be paid by the offender to the victim for the first drop of blood. Another amount is paid for the second drop. Payment of fine is up to the second.
2. *himaydānan*: Perjury or an offense wherein the accused attempts to escape punishment by telling a lie—falsely putting the blame on someone else. When the sham story is uncovered by the judge at the 'litigation', the

- offender will have to pay a certain amount of fine to the victim.
3. *hinagpaw*: Offense by protecting a boy and a girl who have eloped. For example, *A* (a boy) and *B* (a girl) want to get married but the parents of *B* do not give consent. Then *A* and *B* elope and go to *C*. *C* is generally an elderly person and respected by the people. Consequently, *B*'s parents visit a judge and accuse *C* of giving protection to those who eloped. At the 'litigation' *C* has to pay a fine to the parents. If the parents of *A* also accuse *C* of the same offense, he must pay the same amount of fine to them. By means of this settlement the judge persuades the parents of *A* and *B* to allow their marriage. The parents are thus saved from humiliation.
 4. *hinakit*: Violence, such as beating, kicking, or the like, which does not cause bleeding.
 5. *hinūyo?*: Offense of impolite attitude toward older relatives, such as a parent-in-law, an elder sibling-in-law, and others. For example, a person who does not show *gālanj* ('respect'), such as the non-use of words of respect for a wife's father, might be accused by the latter of *hinūyo?*.
 6. *hijilba?* or *hiniiba?*: The offense of menace without physical violence. A 'threatening action' (*?āyāŋ*) is said to cause the victim to become ill, based on their religious belief. The victim's soul is said to be frightened by this menacing action and thus flees from his body. One who is threatened by another with a spear, a bow and arrow, a bolo, etc., complains to a judge of the offense.
 7. *kagalājan*: Impolite behavior. Troubles caused by this offense often occur.
 8. *ka?uyā?an*: Offense by insulting someone else, as for example, uttering harsh words in the presence of other persons, or spreading an unfounded rumor about a person. The victim is put to shame and feels badly hurt. The root word of *ka?uyā?an* is *?ūya?* which means 'shame' or 'self-esteem'. Similar to the lowland Christian Filipinos [Fox 1956; LYNCH 1959, 1962, 1968] and the Filipino Muslims [KIEFER 1968b, 1969], the Hanunoo-Mangyan put much emphasis on shame and self-esteem. (The word *?ūya?* in Minangyan corresponds to *hiya?* in Tagalog, *huya?* in Hiligaynon, and *ba?in* in Ilokano.) The 'guilt' (*kasalānan*) committed in this offense is said to be a very 'heavy' (*mabuyat*) one.
 9. *minatay*: Homicide. This offense has been very rare in the Hanunoo-Mangyan region. Killing by means of a religious method, such as *panhiri?* (a sort of black magic), is classified in this category. The family of the victim become the plaintiffs in this case.
 10. *pahūyot*: The question of possession of the offspring between a couple in a divorce proceeding. For example, a married couple ask for divorce at a 'litigation', and the wife wants to have possession of the child. Then she has to pay a certain amount as a fine to her husband for *pahūyot*.
 11. *pamasab?ihan*: Adultery which turns to polygyny. Assuming that a woman *D* has adulterous relations with a man *E* who is married, and then *F*, the

wife of *E*, discovers the illicit relations, *F* will accuse *D* of adultery. However, if *F* agrees to allow *D* to become the second wife of *E*, the offense is classified into the category *pamasab?ihan*.

12. *panakawan*: Theft.
13. *panayakan*: Divorce. For example, *G* and *H* are a married couple, and the former wants to divorce the latter, then *G* pays a certain amount of fine to *H* for *panayakan* at a 'litigation'. If *H* receives the payment, their divorce is publicly admitted. If *H* does not accept *G*'s proposal, *H* would also decline

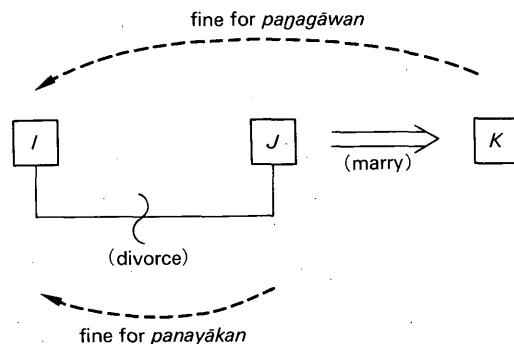
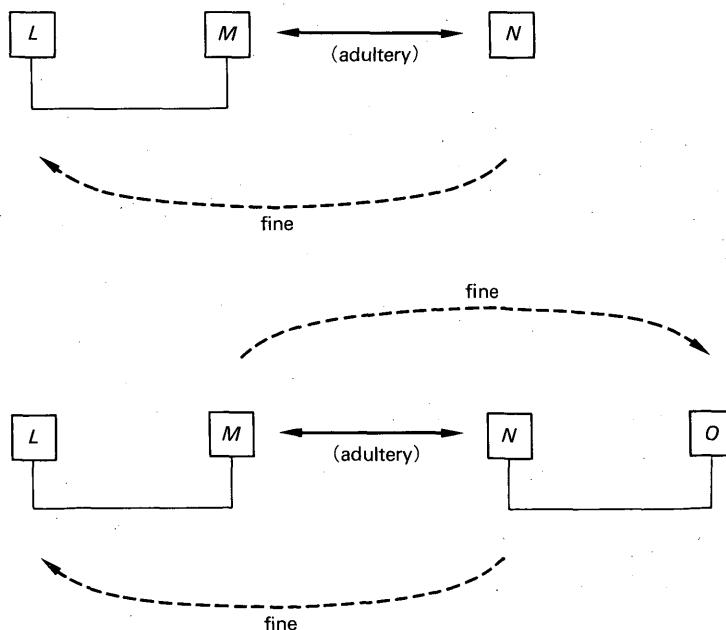


Figure 13. Payment of fines for *panayakan* and *pagagawan*



Fine 14. Fine for *panasal?an*

the payment offered by *G*; instead, *H* tries to pay *G* a sort of fine *hināwid* ('refusal of divorce'). Divorce is usually accompanied by an offense called *panjagāwan*.

14. *panimā?an*: Offense arising from the utterance of menacing words, such as "*matyon niko kāwo!*" (I'll kill you!), "*pu?ūtan!*" (Stop, I'll kill you!), and so on. They are said to frighten the soul of the victim, similar to the case of *hijilba?*.
15. *panjagāwan*: Marriage with a person who has a spouse. If this marriage results in divorce it is classified into the category of *panjagāwan*. For example, as shown in Figure 13, *I* and *J* are a married couple. *J* divorces *I* and marries *K*; then, *K* pays a fine to *I* for *panjagāwan*, and *J* to *I* for *panayākan* (divorce).
16. *panjasal?an*, *panjasalā?an*, or *kalaligdāson*: Adultery with a married person. As shown in the upper diagram of Figure 14, *L* and *M* are a married couple. *N*, who is single, commits adultery with *M*, and it is discovered by *L*. Then *N* has to pay a fine for *panjasal?an* to *L*. If *N* is married, as illustrated in the lower diagram of Figure 14, fines must be paid by *M* to *O* and by *N* to *L* respectively, for *panjasal?an*.

The basic categories enumerated above are considered to cause conflict and 'litigation'. There might be other deeds that, to us, do not seem to be classified into any of the above-listed categories but that would doubtlessly cause disputes. Each of those deeds would somehow be included within one of the basic categories or could be a combination of two or more of them. For example, fraud, in our sense, is considered *kagalāyan* or *hinūyo?*, impolite attitude toward a non-relative or a relative from the viewpoint of Mangyan Law. Rape is usually interpreted as a combination of several offenses, such as insult (*ka?uyā?an*), threat (*panimā?an* and/or *hijilba?*), violence (*hinākit*, *hidugo?*), etc.

2.3. Punishment

Mangyan Law prescribes and imposes *?āyat* ('punishment') on offenders. It is composed of three categories:

1. *bugtan* or *karamangādon* (fr. *mangad*, 'beads'),
2. *padurog* (reimbursement), and
3. *?iyāwan bayūhan* (fr. *?iyaw*, 'slaughtering'; *bayo*, 'pounding').

The first category, *bugtan*, is a 'fine' or 'solatium' paid by the offender to the victim. The second category, *padurog*, is 'reimbursement' made to the victim for an economic loss. The last one is a special meal offered by the offender to all the participants in a 'litigation'.

A fine imposed on the offender is paid formally in the form of beads (*?ūno?*, or *mangad*). To the Hanunoo-Mangyan beads are valuable property, similar to domestic animals, tools, agricultural crops, clothes, cash, and so forth. Necklaces

and bracelets made with beads are used not only as ornaments but also as gifts exchanged between relatives or friends. Beaded necklaces of reddish and white color are offered to the souls of the dead at such an occasion as *panlūdan*, in which buried bones are exhumed at a cemetery. A loop of white beads is often used as a charm for protection from evil spirits. These examples illustrate that beads are important in the economic, social and religious activities of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. All the beads kept by them today were obtained directly or indirectly from lowlanders.

Beads used as payment of fines at 'litigation' are of a special kind: they must be old opaque glass beads of white or red color and somewhat small in size (more or less 2 mm in diameter). A cotton thread is passed through the holes of the beads to form a loop. The quantity of beads for payment of fines is of four basic units of length: *dūpa?* (or *dinūpa?*), *bugway* (or *binugway*), *sabud*, and *mag?isigsig* (Figure 15). The first unit, *dūpa?*, means 'fathom'. Two lines (double) of beads of one arm span (*i.e.*, some 140-160 cm) are called *?usa ka dūpa?* ('one fathom'). The second unit, *bugway*, is the specific length of a double-lined loop of beads which when hung on the neck reaches the wearer's underbelly is termed *?usa ka bugway* ('one *bugway*'). The length of a loop of beads around the base of the four fingers is the third unit, *sabud*, or more precisely *sabud sa dalūkap* ('palm of the hand'). When in a single line, the length is termed *?usa ka sabud* ('one

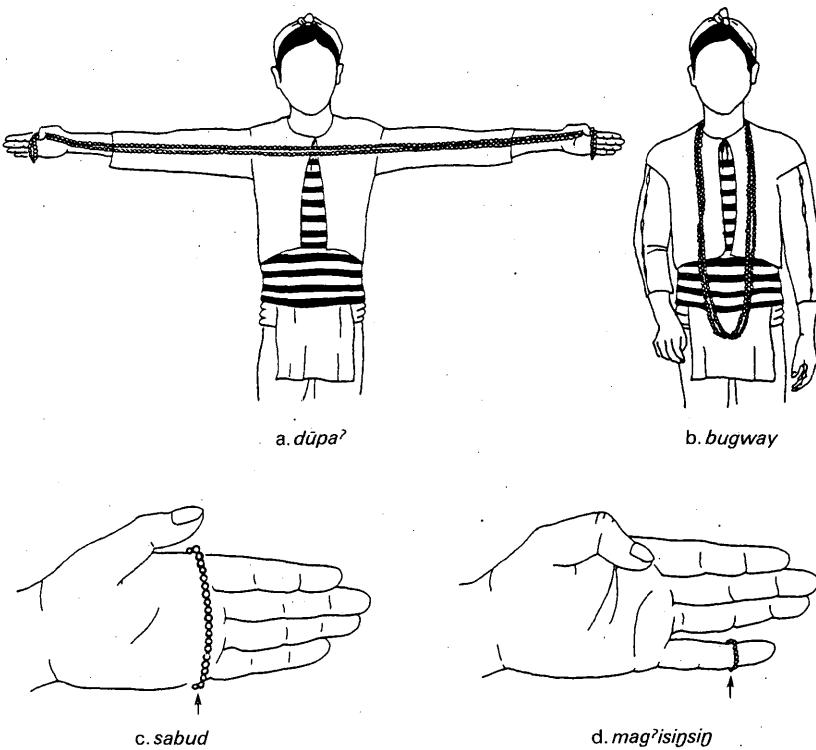


Figure 15. Four basic units of length of beads for fines

sabud). The last unit, *mag'isijsij*, is the length around the first joint (near the tip) of the little finger. A ring of beads in one line of this length is called *?usa ka mag'isijsij* ('one *mag'isijsij*').

The quantity or unit of beads paid as a fine is decided by the judge. The decision must be based on precedents. In the Wasig area fines are most frequently paid in *dūpa?*. For instance, an offender who committed *kagalājan* (an offense of impoliteness toward a non-relative) will usually pay four *dūpa?* to the victim. In the case of theft the offender will pay eight *dūpa?* to the victim, unless both of them are relatives, in which case the amount of fine will be halved. With regard to *ka?uyā?an* (an offense by insulting someone) the fine is not paid in *dūpa?* but only in one of the other three units. No one knows the basis of this rule. It is merely said that it is their law. The quantity of beads used as a fine varies not only in accordance with the category of offense and the presence or absence of a kinship relation between the litigants; attitude of the offender or defendant during a litigation is also taken into consideration. For example, if the judge thinks that the offender is reflecting on his conduct and realizes his misdeed, the former lowers the fine imposed. The specific quantity would be based on precedents. In previous cases of homicide the offender was required to offer a heap of beads on a *nigo* (a shallow and circular wicker tray for winnowing) to the family of the dead. Today, as mentioned above, homicide cases are turned over to the police in town.

The residents of Panaytayan maintain that the *?ugāli?* (custom) of their area is different from that of Wasig. They say that the Wasig people are similar to the Buhid in that both usually employ *dūpa?* for fines. In Panaytayan the content of fines prescribed differs somewhat from the Wasig area.

Fines can be paid in cash if it is permitted by the judge. The amount of cash paid as a fine in the Wasig area is shown in Table 5, which illustrates the local explanation. One *sabud* is said to be equivalent to 4 pesos, however all the precedents are not satisfied by this calculation. People often designate one *sabud* of beads as *?ūpat ka pisos* ('four pesos') or only as *?ūpat* ('four'). On the other side, it seems that either one *bugway* or one *dūpa?* is equal to 1 peso, but neither of them is called 'one peso'.

With regards to the fine for a deed which causes a dispute but is not classified under any of the basic offense categories, the judge imposes a fine the amount of which is based on his interpretation of the offense committed. Going back to the examples given earlier, fraud might be interpreted as *kagalājan* if the offender and the victim are not relatives. In Wasig, generally speaking, the offender must pay the victim four *dūpa?* of beads or four pesos in cash. In the case of rape the situation is much more complicated. If the judge analyzes the deed as *ka?uyā?an*, *panimā?an* and *hinākit*, on the basis of information obtained from the litigants (non-relative), the offender will have to pay one *mag'isijsij* and twelve *dūpa?* of beads or 42 pesos to the victim. The parents of the victim, too, might accuse the offender of, say, *ka?uyā?an*. In this case additional payment will be required from the offender.

Reimbursement is made by tendering goods, cash or labor services. If physical

Table 5. Content of fines in Wasig

Offense		Fine				Cash	
		Beads					
		<i>dūpa?</i>	<i>bugway</i>	<i>sabud</i>	<i>mag?isipisig</i>		
1. <i>hidugo?</i>	1st drop	8	8	2	—	₱8.00	
	2nd drop	8	8	2	—	₱8.00	
2. <i>himaydānan</i>		8 (4)*	8 (4)	2 (1)	—	₱8.00 (₱4.00)	
3. <i>hinagpaw</i>		4	8 (4)	1	—	₱4.00 or ₱8.00 (₱4.00)	
4. <i>hinakit</i>		8 (4)	8 (4)	2 (1)	—	₱8.00 (₱4.00)	
5. <i>hinūyo?</i>		4 (4)	—	(1)	—	(₱4.00)	
6. <i>higilba?</i>		4	8 (4)	1	—	₱4.00	
7. <i>kagalāyan</i>		4	8	1	—	₱4.00 or ₱8.00 (₱4.00)	
8. <i>ka?uyā?an</i>		—	30	30	1	₱30.00 (₱8.00/4.00)	
9. <i>minatay</i>		? [many]	? [many]	—	—	?	
10. <i>pahūyot</i>		4	—	—	1	₱4.00	
11. <i>pamasab?ihān</i>		8	8	?	—	₱8.00	
12. <i>panakāwan</i>		8 (4)	8 (4)	2 (1)	—	₱8.00 (₱4.00)	
13. <i>panayākan</i>		12	12	1	—	₱4.00 or ₱12.00	
14. <i>panimā?an</i>		4	8 (4)	2 (1)	—	₱4.00 or ₱8.00	
15. <i>pagagāwan</i>		12	12	—	—	₱12.00	
16. <i>pagasal?an</i>		8 (4)	—	2 (1)	—	₱8.00 (₱4.00)	

* Numbers in parentheses show the amount of fine if litigants are relatives.

or economic loss is caused by the offender to the victim, the judge decides that the former should compensate the latter for the loss in addition to payment of a fine. For example, the offender must return to the victim twice the amount of the stolen goods. If one is injured, the offender must cover all the expenses for the treatment of the injury by a Hanunoo-Mangyan medicineman or by a medical doctor in the town. When a victim is semi-incapacitated due to the harm done by the offender, the judge orders the latter to work for the former for a certain period.

In the case of homicide, the offender compensates in goods and labor services to the victim's family. Traditionally, the offender provides them with the following various kinds of items: one large jar (*sibūran*), six plates (*piñgan*), two big golden beads (*bulāwan*) and a pair of gongs (*?āgon*). It is said that each of these items has a certain significance. The jar signifies the body of the deceased; the plates, his ears, hands and feet; the golden beads, his eyes; and the gongs, his voice. Apart from these symbolic items, all the necessities that the deceased would obtain were he alive, such as a house, clothes, food, etc., must be provided by the offender to the bereaved family.

Table 6. Content of reimbursement and meals requested as punishment in Wasig

Offense	Reimbursement	Meal*
1. <i>hidugo?</i>	payment for medical treatment if necessary	B or C
2. <i>himaydānan</i>	—	[±] B or C
3. <i>hinagpaw</i>	—	B or C
4. <i>hinakit</i>	payment for medical treatment if necessary	[±] B or C
5. <i>hinūyo?</i>	—	B or C
6. <i>higilba?</i>	—	B or C
7. <i>kagalāyan</i>	—	B or C
8. <i>ka²uyā²an</i>	—	[±] B or C
9. <i>minatay</i>	symbolic set, labor service, etc.	many
10. <i>pahūyot</i>	—	[—]
11. <i>pamasab²ihan</i>	—	A
12. <i>panakāwan</i>	double the amount stolen	[±] B or C
13. <i>panayākan</i>	—	[—]
14. <i>panimā²an</i>	—	[±] B or C
15. <i>panagāwan</i>	—	[—]
16. <i>panasal²an</i>	—	[±] B or C

* The content of meal as punishment is shown as A (2 pigs and 2 *pāsog* of rice), B (1 pig and 1 *pāsog* of rice) or C (2 chickens and 8 *salop* of rice). In case a meal is not required, the mark [—] is used. In case it depends on the situation as to whether a meal is required or not, the mark [±] is used.

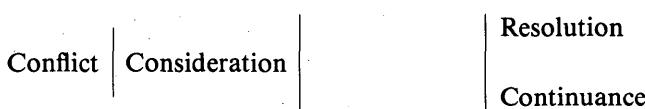
While the offender pays a fine in cash or in beads and makes due reimbursement in various material forms to the victim or to the bereaved family, the former offers a special meal to all participants. The content of the meal is decided by the judge also in accordance with precedent cases. The details are shown in Table 6, together with brief information on reimbursement. Formally the offender was required to prepare one adult pig and one *pāsog* (about 150 liters) of unhusked rice. Recently the quantity of rice has been reduced to half or some 75 liters, which would be equivalent to the lowlander's one *pāsog* or one *kaban*. The reduction is due to the recent decrease of rice production in the area, which has made it difficult for offenders to prepare a large quantity of rice. Where litigants are relatives the offender is seldom requested to prepare more than a set of two chickens and eight *salop* (1/25 of one *pāsog* or *kaban*) of unhusked rice.

To an offender who is being punished, the expense for the fine and meal offering is a major economic burden, but at the same time the meal is a source of pleasure to other participants.

3. Traditional Methods of Conflict Management

3.1. Courses of action for conflict management

For the structural description of Subanun religious behavior, Frake employs a distributional analysis which "seeks to answer the question: what does the occurrence of a given event imply to the knower of the culture about the occurrences of other possible events in the system?" [FRAKE 1964: 123]. He deals with occurrence of illness as an example of an unscheduled event in contrast to a scheduled event as seen, for instance, in the annual agricultural cycle. The frame presented by him is applicable to the occurrence of conflict among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. The outcome to be anticipated from the occurrence of conflict is resolution of the conflict or continuance of the conflict, from which the following frame is given:



When a conflict occurs, the parties involved consider several courses of action open to them. Traditionally, the anticipated alternatives are:

1. Psychological means
 - 1.1. Patience
 - 1.2. Backbiting
2. Religious means: black magic
3. Private dialog in pursuit of 'reconciliation'
4. 'Discussion', 'meeting' in pursuit of 'agreement'
5. 'Litigation'

While the first three means are private or informal, the other two are public or formal. The traditional courses of action for conflict management can be simplified and diagrammed as shown in Figure 16. This diagram clearly indicates that the first two private means, psychological and religious, lead the conflict to its continuance, and the other private means and the two public means lead the conflict to its resolution.

3.2. Private means

To be patient is one of the psychological means. For instance, if the offender is an affinal kin of the victim, e.g., a parent-in-law or a sibling-in-law, the latter might have forbearance because he has to show respect to the former. He will be patient, too, if the offender is considered to be a sorcerer: he is afraid of a counterattack by the latter. If the course of psychological means is selected, the conflict will not come into the open and will continue to be unresolved. There is a strong possibility that the latent conflict will be made public someday in a different form of confrontation. This must be always taken into consideration in examining the background of each conflict.

The other psychological means is backbiting or rumors (*libak*; or *tismis*, fr. Sp.

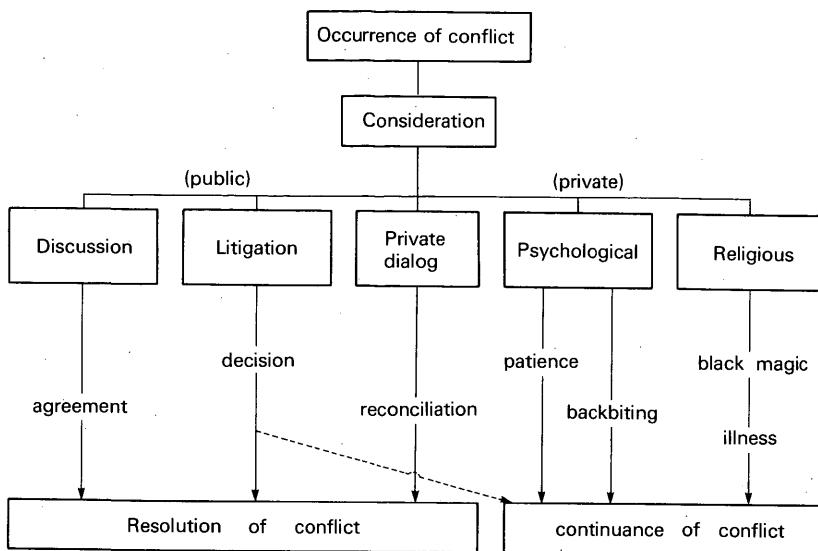


Figure 16. Courses of action for conflict management

chisme). Generally, the Hanunoo-Mangyan are very fond of gossip, although they say that it is not good to speak ill of others in their absence. It seems that behind most rumors is hidden envy (*hirak*) or jealousy (*?imon*). The problem of envy and jealousy will be discussed later, when dispute cases are examined. The victim spreads a rumor about the offender, attempting to place the latter under psychological pressure. This method sometimes results in a much more severe sanction against the offender than a punishment imposed during a 'litigation': it is a very effective means of retaliation. In this case, the offender becomes a victim at the same time. That is, the conflicting parties enter a relationship of "negative reciprocity" [KIEFER 1968b], and the conflict continues. There is a case in which two persons reproached each other by means of backbiting and simultaneously made a complaint to the same legal authority: *i.e.*, each of them became a plaintiff and at the same time a defendant.

The private means for conflict management partially overlaps religious behavior. As introduced in Chapter V, there are several kinds of black magic, such as *panhiri?*, *padaya?*, *pajawa?* and *sugayan*. It is said that a victim with an ability in black magic might attack the offender with black magic, and hence he becomes a victim too, and will die unless he undergoes religious treatment. A prominent religious authority can find through prayer who practiced the black magic. An offender attacked by black magic now becomes a victim. As a result the conflict usually continues.

After the occurrence of a conflict the victim generally consults an elder who is knowledgeable in Mangyan Law. Sometimes the victim consults an elder when the offender is only furious with him.

The elder ordinarily advises the victim not to resort to a public or formal action, but to talk privately with the offender in pursuit of 'reconciliation' (*payāpa?*). In the private dialog the elder plays the role of consultant, if requested by the parties concerned. The establishment of reconciliation means the end or resolution of the conflict.

3.3. Public means

There are two choices of public means for conflict management: the *haram-payan* (a 'discussion' or a 'gathering for discussion') or the *kasāba* ('litigation').

When a problem arises which requires agreement between both parties in the presence of their relatives, *e.g.*, a problem regarding marriage, a discussion is held. This meeting does not result in an imposition of punishment: its target is 'agreement' (*kasundū?an*).

If an elder is consulted by a victim and he deems it difficult for the conflicting parties to be reconciled (*e.g.*, when the economic or mental damage to the victim is extremely large), then he advises the victim to complain to a 'judge', or a legal authority of Mangyan Law. A victim of damage often goes to a 'judge' without consulting an elder. The 'judge' who receives such a complainant usually tries to persuade the visitor to search for a way toward reconciliation. Nevertheless, he makes an arrangement for a 'litigation' if he agrees that the victim's damage is great. Where a victim is a legal authority he sometimes becomes the judge in a 'litigation'. More detailed consideration is made on this public means in the following section.

4. Litigation

4.1. Identification of 'litigation'

For an ethnographer who has stayed in a Hanunoo-Mangyan region for a given period of time, it would be easy to distinguish the scene of *panjahawan* (the ritual of offering to the soul of a dead) from others. It is possible to observe rather clearly the constituents, such as a miniature house, newly hand-made clothes and food of cooked rice and meat which are served in it, the bereaved family members walking in a circle saying prayers around the miniature house, etc. However, it is difficult to differentiate a 'litigation' from other common scenes, until explanation is provided by informants or until the content of the conversation of the participants is understood. The scene of 'mere conversation' (informal talk) of many persons might possibly be confused with a 'discussion'. Naturally, it would be more difficult to distinguish a 'discussion' from a 'litigation'. It is not easy for an outsider to differentiate these three scenes at first glance.

Four criteria appear to be involved in differentiating the three scenes of speech behavior. They are:

1. Topic,
2. Purpose,
3. Participants, and
4. Integrity.

The frame of analysis is shown in Table 7. It was prepared by simplifying Frake's frame of semantic analysis applied to the litigation of the Yakan, a Muslim group on Basilan Island in the Sulu region [FRAKE 1969].

Both a 'discussion' and a 'litigation' are said to be a sort of *tulultulan* (conversation), and speech behavior which is not a 'discussion' nor a 'litigation' is called "*tulultulan lag*" (merely a conversation).

In a 'mere conversation' the topic is not definitive. The purpose is to talk about any matter. The participants are not definite. Integrity in this frame "refers to the extent to which the activity is construed as an integral unit as opposed to being a part of some other activity" [FRAKE 1969: 152]. It is possible that a 'mere conversation' occurs within the context of another kind of scene. It is not always an integral activity. In other words, the integrity of a 'mere conversation' is low.

On the contrary, a 'discussion' and a 'litigation' require specific topics, purposes and participants. Both a 'discussion' and a 'litigation' are integral activities.

While the topic of a 'discussion' is a disagreement, the topic of 'litigation' is a dispute. A 'discussion' aims at an agreement or adjustment of different opinions or requirements. The purpose of a 'litigation' is a dispute settlement which takes the form of a ruling or legal decision. While a 'discussion' is composed of opposing sides and observers, a 'litigation' is composed of opposing sides (the plaintiff and the defendant), observers and a judge.

Now Hanunoo-Mangyan 'litigation' can be identified as an integral speech event aimed at a dispute settlement through a decision of a judge in the presence of the disputants and observers.

Table 7. Identification of 'litigation'

Scenes Criteria	'Conversation'		
	Mere 'conversation'	Special 'conversation'	
Topic	Not definite	Disagreement	Dispute
Purpose	Talking	Agreement, adjustment of different opinion	Ruling (legal decision)
Participants	Not definite	Opposing sides Observers	Opposing sides (Plaintiff and defendant) Observers Judge (or judges)
Integrity	Low	High	High

4.2. Description of litigation

In Hanunoo-Mangyan society a litigation takes place when there is an offense—either mental, economic or physical—against Mangyan Law, and the victim makes a complaint to a figure who is regarded as a legal authority by the people. Should the offender be unknown, the complaint of the victim cannot be taken up as a *kāso* (fr. sp. *caso*, 'case'). When and where litigation takes place is decided by the judge or the legal authority who is expected to settle the dispute.

So far examination has been made of the distribution and identification of Hanunoo-Mangyan litigation. Next, I will define the scene of their litigation in terms of time (occasion of performance), setting (stage), paraphernalia (stage properties), participants (actors and their roles) and procedure (routine).

4.2.1. Time

There is no rule regarding time for litigation. When a swift solution is required the judge can summon the participants immediately. It is possible, although very rare, that a litigation starts at an unusual time, such as midnight. If the problem is not serious a litigation might take place a few days or up to one week after a complaint is made to the judge.

Litigation is often postponed when people are too busy to participate in it, especially during the planting and harvesting seasons. On Sundays, when many people go to town or visit their relatives or friends in other communities, litigation is seldom held.

4.2.2. Setting

There is no site, such as a courtroom, which is specially reserved for litigation. Ideally, the house of the judge is used for oral argument and trial.

The houses of legal authorities or judges are, in general, similar to those of others, with one or two rooms and an elevated floor. Only a few of the legal authorities have somewhat larger houses. At a litigation the residence of the judge becomes a "courthouse", where many participants meet together. It is not rare for a litigation to take place at the house of a person who is not a legal authority, especially in a case when the house of the judge is not large enough to admit all the expected participants, or it is too far from the houses of most participants.

There are no specific rules regarding the spatial arrangement of the participants in a litigation. In general, the judge sits with his legs crossed, at the inner part of the house, facing the front door. Seated before the judge are the litigants, facing each other at a distance of 1-2 m. Other participants are seated around the three. If the house is filled with observers, others sit outside but near the front door. The space between the judge and the houseyard (through the entrance) must be cleared to provide a path for a witness who might be called by the judge to testify. A spatial arrangement of this sort is usually made only on the occasion of a litigation. An ethnographer who has never seen a Hanunoo-Mangyan litigation would find it diffi-

cult to identify who the judge, plaintiff and defendant are. When an ordeal is performed a specific spatial arrangement of participants can be observed, as well as the arrangement of special paraphernalia.

4.2.3. Paraphernalia

There are no symbols associated with litigation, such as a gavel, a chair, a witness stand, etc., which are found in the courts of some other societies. Moreover, the participants seldom wear formal clothes.

Paraphernalia are employed only at the time of a fine payment, a meal and/or an ordeal during the course of a litigation. As explained in detail later, a circular winnowing wicker tray is placed between the disputants. Any winnowing tray can be used for this purpose. However, nothing else can be substituted for a winnowing tray. It is not known why this item must be used in paying a fine. The party required by the judge to pay a fine puts beads or cash on this tray. Recently, there was a case in which an offender placed a fine directly on the floor. People commented, saying that it was not the traditional Hanunoo-Mangyan way.

The disputant ordered by the judge to offer a special meal to all the participants places unhusked rice (in a sack or sacks) and a pig (or pigs) or a chicken (or chickens) near the winnowing tray.

In performing an ordeal (e.g., a *tigi?an* or a trial by boiling water), various kinds of paraphernalia are required. Since this is a rather exceptional method and brief explanation of it is impossible, detailed description will be made later in this section.

4.2.4. Participants

There are four categories of participants in a litigation:

1. The judge,
2. The 'plaintiff' (or complainant),
3. The 'defendant' (or accused), and
4. The 'people' (or observers).

As mentioned above, various examples of litigation are remembered, the information on which is obtained through observation and news. Quantity and quality of information on cases, of course, vary from one person to another. One who remembers precisely a great number of cases is said to know Mangyan Law well.

Elders are, in general, familiar with Mangyan Law. In many cases, as mentioned earlier, troubles occurring among the people are first referred to elders. A conflict of small consequence can usually be solved by experienced elders. Nevertheless, when a dispute which is difficult to settle arises, the victim lodges a complaint with a legal authority.

A legal authority is a figure who preeminently knows Mangyan Law and is well experienced in settling disputes of various kinds. He is socially admitted to be a 'judge' at a litigation.

The 'judge' is referred to as *huwis* or *talaghūsay*. The term *huwis* comes from a Tagalog word *huwes*, and the latter derives from a Spanish word *juez* (judge). According to older informants, this Minangyan term came into frequent usage after World War II. The term *talaghūsay* (one who is good at adjusting) has been used since early times. Even today it is used by many of the elderly persons. Generally, however, the use of *huwis* has become more common.

A synonym of *talaghūsay* is *para?iñan?an* (one who can be an adviser), but the use of this term is very rare. A legal authority is also referred to as *tanōjan* (adviser), *pajūlo* (headman) and *takinan* (oldest person). According to older informants, the first and second terms are originally not Minangyan but Tagalog. And they maintain that it is not natural to designate a young legal authority as *takinan*. It is true there is a problem in designating the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal authority as a "judge" [ROBERTS 1979: 69-79], but this term is adopted here as the English translation of *huwis*.

In the traditional Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system, one is required to fulfill several conditions to become a prominent judge. It is said that he must be:

1. Knowledgeable in Mangyan Law,
2. A possessor of a remarkable memory,
3. A quick thinker with an oratorical talent,
4. A cool-headed person, and
5. Talented in metaphorical expressions.

A detailed explanation of these conditions is made in the next section, which deals with the characteristics of the judge.

The judge is expected to be consistently neutral, and not to take sides with either of the litigants, even though one of them might be his close kinsman. In reality, needless to say, nepotism, reserve toward affinal kin, and even acceptance of a bribe occur.

The 'plaintiff' (*pa?iñāna?*, or *habla*) and the 'defendant' (*pina?iñāna?*, or *hinabla*) are other categories of participants in a litigation. It is possible that there are more than one plaintiff and one defendant. In general, as mentioned earlier, the complaint of a victim can be adopted as a case for litigation only when the offender is known.

Whether a dispute is smoothly settled or not depends not merely on the characteristics of the problem and the ability of the judge, but also on the relationship between the plaintiff and the defendant. There are four possibilities in their relationship:

1. The victim and the offender are both Hanunoo-Mangyan and related to each other by kinship,
2. The victim and the offender are both Hanunoo-Mangyan, but non-kin,
3. The victim is a lowlander, and the offender is a Hanunoo-Mangyan, or
4. The victim is a Hanunoo-Mangyan, and the offender is a lowlander.

When the victim and the offender are kin the resolution is comparatively easy: the dispute is often settled amicably, being guided toward reconciliation. If the victim and the offender are non-kin, the problem sometimes becomes complicated. In this case the dispute must be managed by a prominent judge for smooth resolution.

If a victim complains to a judge and the complaint is taken up as a litigation case, the news spreads in and around the local community (or communities) of the disputants. When the date of the litigation is fixed, the accused is informed, usually through 'messengers' of the judge. Traditionally, as mentioned before, no means based on a physical force, such as arrest or imprisonment, is employed in Hanunoo-Mangyan society. In spite of this, it is quite rare that a defendant refuses to attend a litigation. The case cited below is one of the rare examples:

The case of Amit vs. Huwan (Case No. W-18)

Amit, Dangao and Bilog are unmarried residents of Kilapnit of the Wasig area. They stayed overnight at the house of Yam-ay in Kilapnit on the 25th of March, 1980. Amit placed 100 pesos in his shoulder bag, and hung it on the wall, but the following morning he found it gone. He went to Umbos, a young legal authority living in Kilapnit, to ask him what to do.

Umbos made a swift decision to handle this problem as a litigation case, and he

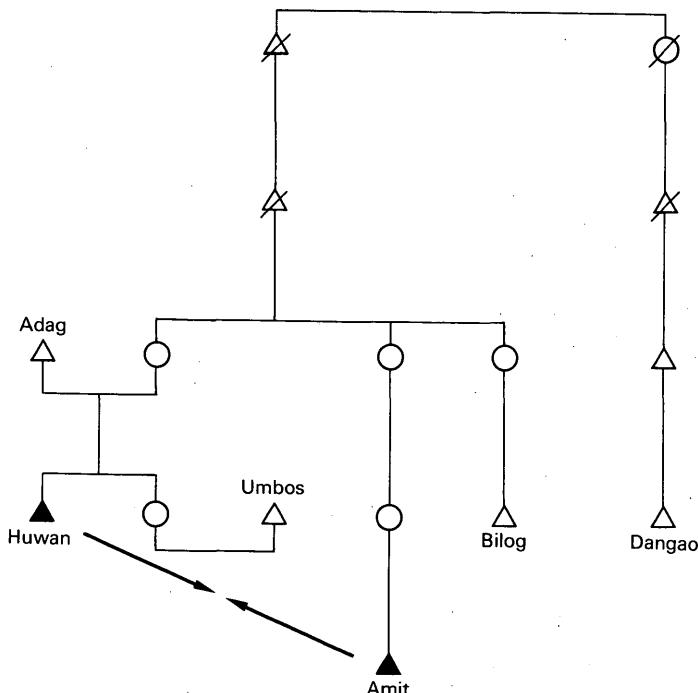


Figure 17. Case of Amit vs. Huwan

summoned the people. A litigation started. Dangao and Bilog said that they had not stolen Amit's money. Umbos asked them if anyone visited them the previous night. They answered that Huwan had visited them. Huwan is one of the sons of Adag, who is widely known as one of the most prominent judges of the Hanunoo-Mangyan region, and he is the younger brother-in-law of Umbos (Figure 17). He has a reputation as a boy with light fingers. He insisted that he had not visited them. Then, Umbos proposed an ordeal. He declared that *tigi'an* (an ordeal with boiling water) would be performed at noon one week later. He thought that the offender would confess soon for fear of the ordeal.

At about 10:00 a.m. of the appointed day many people gathered at the school building. Amit, Bilog and Dangao were present, but Huwan had disappeared. It was learned that he had gone to Bait, a settlement in the Kagangan area.

Umbos decided to suspend the litigation. "Let's begin again when Huwan returns," he said. Adag said he was angry with his son, and the plaintiff Amit was disappointed. Huwan lived in Bait for one year and a half, moving from one place to another. People in Wasig thought that he must have stolen Amit's money.

In October, 1981, *i.e.*, one year and a half after the occurrence of this case, Huwan came back to Kilapnit and paid 100 pesos with an interest of 10 pesos to Amit, asking him to keep it secret. Amit kept his promise. People wondered what would happen when they noticed Huwan's return to Kilapnit, but nothing occurred.

Later I learned of the secret arrangement made by Umbos. He told Huwan to pay the above-mentioned amount to Amit, and he persuaded the victim to forgive the offender. Thus this case ended in obscurity. Later, a rumor arose that Umbos and Adag were lenient toward their kin.

This case illustrates the public pressure imposed on a defendant who refuses to attend a litigation. (This case is of great interest since various factors seem to be involved. A further examination will be made in Section 7 of this chapter.)

If one of the disputants is a lowlander complicated problems often arise. Therefore I will leave this subject untouched for the time being.

The observers (*maya tāwo*, 'the people') are mostly relatives of either the plaintiff or the defendant. If not relatives, they are close friends or neighbors of a litigant. Even small children and non-kinsmen from distant areas can participate in a litigation. Some of the observers might be requested to speak as 'witnesses' (*kasfigo*; fr. Sp. *testigo*, 'witness'). The observers are permitted to state their opinions regarding the decision made by the judge.

During a litigation the participants have to observe several rules. It is prohibited to disturb the argument by chatting, to manifest anger, to employ violence, or to insult the judge. One who exhibits an attitude of insult toward the judge at a litigation would probably be accused of an impolite attitude (*kagalāñjan*) by the judge himself.

In addition to the four categories explained above, various kinds of *kalag* (spirits) and *diyos* (deities) are requested to participate in a litigation. The legal authorities and the litigants secretly keep different kinds of amulets inhabited by

various kinds of spirits. When an ordeal is performed, the judge prays to the supreme deity. Description of this topic will be made later.

4.2.5. Procedure

Although a litigation is not scheduled in accordance with given rules, it generally takes place in the following specific sequence:

- 1) The judge briefly explains the problem.
- 2) He lets the plaintiff explain the problem and how s/he was harmed.
- 3) The judge asks the defendant if the plaintiff's statement is true. If the defendant denies it, as is sometimes the case, the judge begins to query both the litigants from different angles to clarify the facts. If it seems to him that either of the litigants is telling a lie, he uses a specific technique *pajtulak*—a rapid bombardment of questions, to uncover the falsehood. The scene wherein the judge fires a series of running questions to litigants seems to be the climax of a litigation. The intelligence, audacity and speech technique of the judge satisfy the intellectual curiosity of the observers. And his skill in the use of metaphorical expressions is appealing to them. This provides us with evidence of importance in considering the nature of Hanunoo-Mangyan legal activities. In case the truth is not revealed even by means of this interrogation technique, there is a possibility, although very rare, of conducting an ordeal so as to seek the facts. The ordeal requires different constituents, as will be shown later.
- 4) The judge tries to clarify the motivation or background of the offense.
- 5) He deliberates and claims his decision, declaring the content and reason or basis of the fine imposed on the offender. He also declares, if necessary, the contents of the meal that the offender has to prepare for all participants. Before this, the judge asks opinions of the observers.
- 6) The offender prepares the fine and materials for the meal. Hours sometimes pass before preparations are completed. If the judge has doubts about the source of materials prepared by the offender (especially if he has thievish habits), the judge queries the offender in public as to how they were obtained. If necessary, a witness is called to testify, regardless of the time, be it day or night.
- 7) A circular wicker winnowing tray is placed between the litigants. The offender shows the fine, beads or cash, to the other participants. S/he or one of the participants counts it in front of them (Plate 21). When it is verified that the amount of beads or cash is correct, the offender apologizes to the victim, laying down the fine in the tray. Then, the latter receives the fine.
- 8) The offender prepares the food requested by the judge. However, the offender is not always required to offer a meal, and in that case he sometimes volunteers to do so, or both litigants may voluntarily offer and contribute some food materials for the meal. A meal of this kind is called



Plate 21. A participant in a litigation counting the amount of beads given as a fine

tukāwan ('seat'). All the participants eat together.

- 9) The judge issues a 'warning' (*pahuwātig*) to the offender, declaring that the fine will be doubled if the same offense is committed again. He sometimes recites folktales (*sūyot*) or sings traditional poem-songs (*?ambāhan* and/or *?urūkay*) so as to make the warning more impressive and effective. The offender consents, and the litigation ends.

Thus, through litigation the order of Hanunoo-Mangyan society is expected to be restored. In reality, however, situations sometimes veer away from this ideal framework.

So far, the constituent structure of litigations has been considered in terms of time, setting, paraphernalia, participants and procedure. Before examining the attributes of legal authorities further, description must be made of the ordeals referred to several times so far.

4.3. Ordeals

When it seems to the judge that either the plaintiff or the defendant is lying at a

litigation, he can decide to examine them by an ordeal. There are three types of ordeal among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. They are seldom practiced today, and I did not have the opportunity to observe them. The data on the *tigisan* (trial by boiling water) are presented here. They were obtained through interviews.

The ordeal of this type is performed at noon, when the sun is directly overhead. Preparation must be begun at about 10:00 a.m. It is postponed in case of rain. The judge, the litigants and all the observers leave the house, and the ordeal is performed in the houseyard. First, paraphernalia for an ordeal are prepared by the litigants in the following sequence:

- 1) The judge instructs the defendant to prepare a set of *sigay* (tripod) for making a hearth. In daily life, three rocks are used to support a cooking vessel over a fire; but on this occasion, three pieces of wood of *hawili* (*Ficus haui* Blco.) are prepared. The defendant asks the observers if any of them can get three pieces of *hawili* wood. The observer who brings all these necessities is paid one *sabud* of beads by the defendant.
- 2) The judge instructs the plaintiff to prepare pieces of *kamaysa* (*Croton tiglium* L., croton-oil plant) as firewood (*pamagba*). The plaintiff asks the observers to prepare them. The observer who provides them is paid one *sabud* of beads by the plaintiff.
- 3) The judge instructs the defendant to prepare an earthenware pot (*aylit*). The latter asks the observers, and he gives one *sabud* of beads to the person who provides the pot.
- 4) The judge tells the plaintiff to prepare water. The latter asks the observers to bring water. When someone does so in a bamboo water-container (*pasok*) from a stream or a spring, the plaintiff offers him one *sabud* of beads.
- 5) The judge instructs the defendant to prepare a hen's egg. The latter asks the observers to fetch one. He gives one *sabud* of beads to the person who provides the egg.
- 6) The judge instructs the plaintiff and the defendant to prepare beeswax (*taro*). Both of them ask the observers if anyone of them has beeswax at his/her residence. No payment is made for it.

These six items form a set called *palatandāsan sa tigisan*. Each of them is indispensable for the practice of an ordeal. A hearth is made in the center of the houseyard. The person who has carried firewood pours water in the earthenware pot which is placed on the wooden tripod. S/he puts his/her fist on the bottom of the pot and pours water until it covers his/her hand. Then, s/he puts the beeswax in the water. S/he puts the egg in the water, and arranges firewood under the pot. Thus, the paraphernalia are prepared, and all the participants wait for noon.

The second stage starts exactly at noon, which they know by the shadows (*hāmoy*). The person who has set the firewood lights the fire. Each of the litigants puts the fine, 8 *dūpa* or 8 *sabud* of beads, in the same wicker tray. The judge approaches the fire. When the water starts boiling, all the participants must remain

quiet. The judge faces the defendant, and he says a prayer:

saksi, ti paginō?on diyos mahal ?umāko?, saksi, ti lānit, ti daga?, ?inda sab pagtāwo no totō?o may kasalānan, siya sab, no kumawkaw sa ?inīnit danom palatandā?an, siya sab ay mapāli? kay kāmaŋ. dapat no ?unman may kasalānan, siya balaw mapāli?.

It is translated as: "Witness, Lord Mahal Umako, witness, sky and land. If this person is guilty, he will scald himself when he dips his clasped hand in the boiling water in the paraphernalia. But, if he is not guilty, he will not be scalded."

When the judge finishes the prayer, the defendant is the first to put his right hand into the boiling water. If he cannot do so or trembles, it is interpreted that he has told a lie. However, if his courage does not betray him and he is able to dip his right hand in the hot water, he then retrieves the egg from the boiling water in the pot and returns it to the pot. The defendant must repeat this with his left hand.

When the defendant has completed the above process, the judge faces the plaintiff and says a prayer. Assuming that the plaintiff insists he saw the defendant commit the offense, *e.g.*, stealing, the prayer will be the following:

saksi, ti paginō?on diyos mahal ?umāko?, saksi, ti lānit, ti daga?, ?inda sab pagtāwo, no totō?o siya nakakit sa tāwo nagtākaw, siya sab, no kumawkaw sa ?inīnit danom palatanda?an siya sab balaw mapāli? dapat no bintaŋ lāŋ, siya sab ay mapāli?.

It is translated as: "Witness, Lord Mahal Umako, witness, sky and land. If this person truly saw the one who stole, he will not be scalded when he clasps his hand in the boiling water in the paraphernalia. But if he tells a lie, he will be scalded."

The plaintiff does the same as the defendant was required to do. If the plaintiff can also go through this stage the judge tells them that he will see tomorrow which one of the two is a liar.

The third stage starts on the following morning. At *tugod dāgat ti ?init* (the time when the sun appears just above the sea, *i.e.*, at about 7:00 a.m.), some thirty leaves of *lagis* (*Ficus* spp.; leaves which are rough and used as "sandpaper" to polish wooden artifacts) are prepared in the house where the litigation is to continue. In the presence of the participants, the judge scrubs the backs of the litigants' hands with the *lagis* leaves. Then he examines the scrubbed parts. The one whose hand is injured is declared the liar.

If the defendant is the one injured, he has to pay back the amount of beads used by the plaintiff for payment of the paraphernalia. If necessary, he also has to pay a fine and make reimbursement to the plaintiff, and prepare a meal for all the participants. If the defendant is unable to put his hands in boiling water during the second stage of the ordeal, the same punishment is imposed.

If the plaintiff is not able to put his hands in the boiling water or his hands are injured by scrubbing, he has to pay the defendant the amount of beads that the latter spent for the preparation of the paraphernalia. The plaintiff is also required to

pay a fine called *himaydānan* (perjury; 8 or 4 *dūpa?*) to the defendant and prepare a meal for the participants.

In the case that neither of the litigants is injured by the hand scrubbing, the judge cannot fine them. The observers are inclined to think that at least one of the litigants owns an amulet designated as *tagorāmig* (fr. *ramig*, 'state of being cold'), which protects him from being burnt. If the judge is still suspicious of the show of innocence by both litigants, he may require both of them to prepare a meal for the other participants. This meal is called *tuwājan* (fr. *tūwāy*, 'balancing on fulcrum', or *tuwāy*, 'readjustment').

Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan *tigi?an* is the most general form of ordeal. But the other two forms of ordeal should not be overlooked: *paytūsan* and *?ulōban*. The former is employed very rarely. Smoke made by the judge by means of rubbing a piece of wood with a rattan vine is used to decide the truth. It is said that the smoke will drift toward the liar, even though the liar is in a distant place. The second form of ordeal is practiced by having each litigant spit rice grains chewed in his/her mouth onto a small board called *binyaq*—an implement used for removing cotton seeds. The board is laid down with one side tilted upwards. The way in which the grains fall on the board will determine who is telling the truth. If one's spit runs straight, it means that he is not telling a lie. It is said that there are no amulets for *?ulōban*. So, if the judge suspects that a litigant owns an amulet for *tigi?an*, he usually employs *?ulōban*.

5. Attributes of a Judge

5.1. Judges in the Hanunoo-Mangyan region

In the Hanunoo-Mangyan region there were at least 71 figures regarded as judges, as of October, 1984. This number might become larger if information is directly obtained in the Bulalacao and Malang-og areas, where I have not yet conducted fieldwork. The names and local communities of these 71 judges are listed in Table 8. In this table, data on the amulets, or charms, of the judges and on other matters are presented. They are arranged so as to explain requirements, attributes, background, etc. necessary for becoming a judge. The data are mostly based on interviews, with my key informants in Wasig and Panaytayan.

The victim in a conflict ordinarily makes a complaint to a judge in his local community. If there is no judge there the victim visits a judge in a nearby community for consultation. Even though there are judges in his community, the victim might choose one from another community if he is worried that the local judges might not make a favorable decision. He might make a complaint to a prominent judge who lives in a distant place, if the nature of the conflict requires it.

5.2. Requirements for a judge

Several requirements for a prominent judge were enumerated in the foregoing section, but no detailed explanation was given.

Table 8. Judges in the Hanunoo-Mangyan region

[OT: others (non-kin), E: eldest child,
Y: youngest child, Blank: no data]

No.	Name	Local community	Possession of amulets								Succession (from ...)		
			<i>tagalukam</i>	<i>daliupi?</i>	<i>tampayak</i>	<i>panhir?</i> (sorcery)	<i>padaya?</i> (sorcery)	<i>sangga? sa panhir?</i>	<i>sangga? sa padaya?</i>	<i>daniw</i>	Knowledge of Mangyan Law	Magico-religious power	Birth order
1.	Abon	Sipako											
2.	Adag	Wasig	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	Y
3.	Akdag	Panaytayan	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	Fa	Fa	Y
4.	Alpog	Panaytayan	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	Fa	Fa	2
5.	Alyo	Banligan											
6.	Anaw	Agong	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
7.	Anday	Wasig	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	Fa	Fa	E
8.	Anghel	Manaol	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	Fa	Fa	2
9.	Anom	Yunot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fa	Fa	E
10.	Awsan	Dangkalan	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	Y
11.	Ayupad	Sipatag	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
12.	Bado	Yagaw	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	Y
13.	Balik	Bantud Lubong	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
14.	Balik	Panaytayan	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	MoBr	Fa+OT	E
15.	Balik	Wasig	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	Fa	Fa	E
16.	Baloy	Bait	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	OT	Fa	E
17.	Ban-aw	Agong	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
18.	Ban-aw	Amaga	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+			
19.	Bangdayan	Sinariri	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
20.	Banya	Sipako											
21.	Berto	Wasig	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	Fa	Fa	E
22.	Bigaw	Tignuan	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
23.	Bilog	Malang-og											
24.	Binsoy	Yunot	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	OT	Fa	E
25.	Dagon	Manaol	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	Fa	Fa	Y
26.	Daniw	Kagangan	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
27.	Dunior	Waigan	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	OT	Fa	E
28.	Enero	Malantay	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
29.	Gawid	Banligan	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
30.	Gihitan	Hawili	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	MoFa	MoFa	Y
31.	Giliwan	Tagaskan	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	OT	Fa	2
32.	Giwan	Yagaw											
33.	Hogom	Wasig	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	Fa	Fa	E
34.	Ikol	Sinariri	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	OT	Fa	E
35.	Ingay	Tagaskan											
36.	Irmo	Agong	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			

No.	Name	Local community	Possession of amulets							Succession (from ...)		Birth order	
			<i>tagahukamy</i>	<i>daiüpi?</i>	<i>tampayak</i>	<i>panhiri?</i> (sorcery)	<i>padaya?</i> (sorcery)	<i>sangga? sa panhiri?</i>	<i>sangga? sa padaya?</i>	<i>dāniw</i>	Knowledge of Mangyan Law	Magico-religious power	
37.	Kison	Dangkalan	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa+OT	E
38.	Kudong	Tignuan	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	MoSiHu	WiFa	2
39.	Kuri	Hawili (lower)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	—	FaBr	Fa+FaBr	E
40.	Lada	Sipako	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	Fa	Fa+Mo	E
41.	Lapay	Banligan	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	OT	Fa+OT	E
42.	Lig-om	Yagaw	—	+	+	+	—	—	—	+	Fa	Fa	Y
43.	Lingkod	Sinariri	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	+	Fa	Fa	
44.	Linong	Banligan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	OT	Fa+OT	E
45.	Lunes	Banligan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fa	Fa	E
46.	Lungani	Tagaskan	+	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	OT	Fa	E
47.	Maning	Kabuyaw	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
48.	Marso	Gatol	+	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
49.	Martes	Malantay	—	+	+	+	—	+	—	—	OT	Fa	E
50.	Momo	Sipako	+	—	—	+	+	—	—	+	WiFa	WiFa	E
51.	Nato	Dangkalan	+	+	+	+	—	+	—	+	Fa	Fa+OT	Y
52.	Oka	Tignuan	—	—	+	+	—	+	—	+	Fa	Fa	E
53.	Ongay	Wasig	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fa	Fa	3
54.	Sabong	Wasig	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	OT	Fa+OT	E
55.	Simon	Malang-og	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
56.	Simyon	Bantud Lubong	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	OT	Fa+OT	E
57.	Sindong	Banligan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fa	Fa	E
58.	Soklob	Panaytayan	—	—	—	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	3
59.	Tag-uli	Malantay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
60.	Taytay	Wasig	—	—	—	+	—	—	—	—	Fa	Fa	2
61.	Tipon	Malantay	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	OT	Fa+OT	E
62.	Tipon	Tagaskan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fa	Fa	E
63.	Tiriw	Bantud Lubong	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	FaBr	Fa	E
64.	Tuboan	Sipatag	+	—	+	+	+	+	+	+	FaBr	Fa	E
65.	Uliw	Dangkalan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Fa	Fa	E
66.	Umbos	Wasig	+	+	—	—	—	+	+	+	WiFa	WiFa	E
67.	Widwid	Banligan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	OT	Fa	E
68.	Wili*	Panaytayan	+	+	—	—	+	—	+	—	OT	Fa	E
69.	Yakong	Banligan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	FaBr	FaBr	E
70.	Yaot	Bait	—	+	+	—	+	+	+	—	FaBr	FaBr	E
71.	Yawi	Wasig	—	+	+	—	—	—	—	—	Fa	Fa	Y

* Female

Economic state, sex and age are not considered qualifications for a judge. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan who are engaged in swidden cultivation under equally difficult natural conditions in the mountainous region, disparity in wealth is slight. Division of work is not developed. This means that even judges must work at their swiddens, just like other people. Judges sometimes receive gifts, such as rice, bananas, sweet potatoes, chickens, cash, labor services, etc., from the litigants, usually after the settlement of a dispute. Nevertheless, it is impossible for the judge to live solely on such gifts.

In reality, most judges are male and aged, yet there are also instances in which women, *e.g.*, Wili of Panaytayan (No.68 in Table 8), and young persons, *e.g.*, Umbos (No.66 in Table 8), become judges. These examples show that one does not have to be an elderly male to become a judge.

The first condition for becoming a prominent judge is to know about Mangyan Law. A prominent judge must know how dispute cases occurred in the past, by what process and how each of them was dealt with, and so on.

A ruling or decision made by a judge at a litigation must be based on precedents. The judge has to be always prepared to explain the grounds on which his ruling is based, referring to precedents. For this purpose he has to remember a great number of past dispute cases. This means that a judge must have a remarkably retentative memory. This is the second requirement.

Third, a judge must be a quick thinker with an oratorical talent so that he can articulate skillfully in public. He should be talented in *pajtūlak*, a rapid bombarding of questions to a litigant whose statement may sound false.

Fourth, a judge must be cool-headed. He has to control his emotion even when the argument during a litigation becomes heated or even when he is slighted by a litigant or by an observer. He has to be cool enough also to be consistently neutral and must not take sides with either of the litigants, even though one of them is a relative. The Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system differs from that of the Tagbanuwa of Palawan Island, wherein the legal authorities are considered to be "jural-guardians" of their relatives [Fox 1982: 134]. The Hanunoo-Mangyan legal authority is always required to pass a cool and fair judgement on the basis of Mangyan Law.

Fifth, the judge is expected to be talented in metaphorical expressions (*palimbay*). The Hanunoo-Mangyan prefer, probably similar to most ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines, indirect expression. It is more effective for a judge to use metaphorical expressions on some occasions during litigation, as when refuting an opponent in an oral argument or when admonishing the offender. In his oratory, as mentioned earlier, he sometimes recites folktales or sings traditional poem-songs. Therefore, a judge must be versed in the traditional oral literature of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

These five are conditions that one is required to fulfill in order to become a judge. However, an examination of the background of the prominent judges illustrates that these five conditions are not sufficient.

5.3. Religious background

Sixteen names were obtained through investigation of the judges who were active before the War. None of them are alive today, but they are still remembered and appreciated as prominent judges by the Hanunoo-Mangyan elders. Those sixteen judges are listed in Table 9, where data on their background are presented.

Most of the older informants affirm that the most prominent judge was Ulyong of Dangkalan. They maintain that such a cool, brave and clear-headed judge as Ulyong is very rare. His decision and explanation were, according to them, always lucid and exactly to the point. According to an older informant:

Ulyong's *gali* (amulets or magical paraphernalia) were complete. Since he had a strong *tagalukmay*, he was always calm and wore a smiling face. Even an angry person would become tranquil in front of him. But, since he possessed a *tampayak*, everyone trembled when he became angry. Since he owned a *daiupi?*, even an exceedingly eloquent person could not keep up with his rapid flow of speech. He was not afraid of an opponent with an ability in black magic. Nothing is better evidence that he had a powerful *sangga? sa panhiri?* and *sangga? sa padaya?*. He was a prominent *pandaniwan* (medium). If he

Table 9. Prominent former Hanunoo-Mangyan judges

No.	Name	Local community	Possession of amulets							
			<i>tagalukmay</i>	<i>daiupi?</i>	<i>tampayak</i>	<i>panhiri?</i>	<i>padaya?</i>	<i>sangga? sa panhiri?</i>	<i>sangga? sa padaya?</i>	<i>daniw</i>
1.	Anggin	Sipako	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2.	Balik	Sinugbuhan	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
3.	Bandayan	Kagangan	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
4.	Bingay	Waigan	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
5.	Bino	Bagakay	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
6.	Ingay	Idda	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
7.	Inok	Budburan	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
8.	Marara	Kulitob	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
9.	Lawaan	Kagangan	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
10.	Sikadan	Budburan	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
11.	Suay	Kagangan	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-
12.	Tagalog	Budburan	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
13.	Ulyong	Dangkalan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
14.	Yag-iw	Malawi	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
15.	Yayag	Amaga	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
16.	Yawid	Kiasa	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+

prayed, he could find the hiding place of a culprit who had run away. Everyone respected Ulyong, and at the same time everyone was afraid of him. It's partly because he owned a *tampāyak*. But the true reason was that he was an expert in black magic, using his *panhīri?* and *padāya?*. What a clear-headed judge he was! When a litigation took place and Ulyong became a judge, more than two hundred people attended it. His ruling was severe: he required the defeated party to pay a heavy fine to the winner and offer a meal as punishment to all the participants. Even though a defeated party entreated him for mercy so that the punishment would be exempted or reduced, Ulyong never accepted the solicitation. On the other hand, the other participants were greatly pleased with the special meal. His explanation was certainly lucid. He clarified obscure parts of Hanunoo-Mangyan customs, often using metaphorical expressions, and he explained with very easy words why he imposed a certain punishment on the defeated party. It seems that he often received bribes from the litigants. Nevertheless, his rulings always sounded plausible and satisfied us. Of course, some were, I think, very angry with him. But they couldn't resist him. The reason was clear. Even if they tried to damage him by means of black magic, it was useless with this judge. Rather, they were afraid that Ulyong might work black magic on them.

It was quite difficult to acquire this sort of information during the course of fieldwork among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. Any person must have abundant information on this topic. But no one wanted to discuss it openly for fear of black magic.

The above story concerning Ulyong requires comment. First, explanation must be made on the Hanunoo-Mangyan *galiŋ* (amulets). As this topic was discussed in Chapter V, only some parts of the description will be repeated here. The amulets or charms considered to be advantageous to a judge are the following eight:

1. *tagalukmay*: It is also referred to also as *?amigos* (fr. Sp. *amigos*, 'friends'). This amulet makes its possessor always cool-headed. Even though a person is angry, he becomes quiet when facing the possessor of a *tagalukmay*. It is composed of several items which are kept in a bottle about the size of a big toe. Detailed data on this kind of amulet were presented in the last chapter. The spirit of this charm is also effective against the spirit of *dalūpi?*.
2. *dalūpi?*: It is composed of several items. They are kept in a small bottle, similar to the *tagalukmay*, with coconut oil. The possessor of this amulet drinks a little oil in order to become eloquent. His opponent becomes afraid of his words and tells the truth honestly. The possessor practices a special rite privately and adds coconut oil to it every Holy Friday. It is not known why this rite is practiced on a festival day of Catholicism. This amulet is said to be neutralized by *tagalukmay* and is therefore useless with a possessor of *tagalukmay*.
3. *tampāyak*: With this amulet, one becomes brave and aggressive. It is made of reddish brown clay and is shaped like a water container used by the lowlanders.¹²⁾ It is said that a *tampāyak* becomes effective when it is used in

conjunction with a small stone designated as *santoninyo* (fr. Sp. *Sto. Niño*, 'Christ child'). There are other kinds of *tampāyak*. A judge hiding a *tampāyak* in his shoulder bag will make a severe legal decision even if the defendant asks him for mercy. It is said that it was his *tampāyak* which made Ulyong make severe rulings.

4. *panhīri?*: This special small stone is inhabited by *?āpo panhīri?* (the spirit named *panhīri?*). With the power of this spirit, it is possible to practice black magic. If one becomes ill due to this magic, he will have to be treated by a medicineman or medium. If no treatment is made, he will die. It is rare that a sorcerer makes it public that he has an ability in black magic. If a medicineman sees a patient who was attacked by black magic, he can identify the source of it. The news spreads in the form of rumors. People learn through this kind of rumor who are sorcerers.
5. *padāya?*: This amulet has the same effect as *panhīri?*. It is made of different kinds of plants. People were afraid of Ulyong's *panhīri?* and *padāya?*. If one tries to fight a possessor of these amulets, his life will be in danger unless he possesses special amulets to counteract them.
6. *sangga? sa panhīri?*: An amulet which counteracts the *panhīri?*. It protects its possessor from a *panhīri?*. It is composed of items, mostly plants, which are put in a small bottle, similar to a *dalūpi?*. The possessor drinks a little of the oil therein. He adds coconut oil every Holy Friday.
7. *sangga? sa padāya?*: An amulet which counteracts the *padāya?*. Its usages and maintenance are the same as for *sangga? sa panhīri?*. If one has both, he puts them together in the same bottle and pours coconut oil in it. Ulyong's greatest strength was due to possession of both kinds of *sangga?*. It is true that his *tampāyak* caused him to make severe rulings, but what made it possible to do so was possession of these two *sangga?*. A judge without this kind of amulet cannot be free from the fear that someone whom he punished might work black magic on him.
8. *dāniw*: Detailed explanation was made of this amulet in the preceding chapter. The possessor of a small stone inhabited by *?āpo dāniw* (a spirit called *dāniw*) becomes a *pandaniwan* (a type of medium) after undergoing a given course of training. A *pandaniwan* can make a diagnosis of disease and cure patients through his prayer. He can also see the soul of a defendant who hides himself.

A judge can be free from fear of *panhīri?* and *padāya?* as long as he owns amulets which counteract them. However, there are other kinds of amulets which have similar effects against black magic. For instance, *panjīwa?* is one of them. In the foregoing chapter, description was made of a young judge of Wasig who fell ill

12) I was personally advised by Dr. Harold Conklin, in 1983, to investigate this and pursue the topic on amulets to further understand the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view and social control.

due to black magic. He said that his actions as a judge were very careful after this experience. The other amulet for black magic, *suŋayān*, was also explained in Chapter V.

The religious background of judges often influences the course of action after the occurrence of a conflict. A victim might suffer greater damage unless he chooses his course after fully taking into consideration the religious background of the offender. For instance, a victim without amulets against black magic will probably have to give up an idea of complaining to a judge if he is advised by an elder to be careful about the amulets for black magic that the offender might own. The victim has to choose the course of being patient. If he cannot be patient, he must seek unshakable evidence and a prominent judge who has much stronger amulets than those of the offender. The judge to whom a victim makes a complaint investigates the religious background of the offender and his close kinsmen. If the judge finds himself in a weaker position, he refuses to accept the complaint or possibly takes the victim to another judge, usually a judge who is his master. In the latter case, two of them will manage the dispute.

The party accused also investigates the backgrounds of the accuser and the judge. Even though he is truly the offender, he might deny the statement of the victim at the litigation if he has had a hostile relationship with the victim for a long time or if he is confident that he can defeat the plaintiff and the judge (*i.e.*, he believes that he has much stronger amulets, he is sure that the evidence is insufficient, or he has succeeded in bribing the witnesses). An offender who realizes that he will not win a litigation might negotiate beforehand with the judge and bribe him.

In fact, judges are skilled in stating a justifiable view as a moralist with self-confidence, but at the same time they are shrewd enough to pursue their own interests. It seems that many judges show a strong interest in *pakā'on lihim* ('secret gifts', bribes; domestic animals, rice, cash, etc.). Information based on rumors illustrates that at least 37 (52%) of the 71 judges of today take bribes, and that 12 (75%) of the 16 judges of the past received them. Data on this topic are not presented in Tables 8 and 9, for they lack accuracy. Many judges, although not all, give an unfavorable ruling to defendants if they consider it possible to receive a bribe from the plaintiffs. When a judge receives a bribe from a defendant, the former attempts to reduce the burden of the latter.

As mentioned above, Ulyong used to be the most prominent judge. It is said that the second most prominent judge was Yayag. These two were followed by Lawaan and Tagalog.

As shown in Table 9, Yayag possessed all the important amulets except for a *dāniw*. When he faced a condition which required a *dāniw*, he asked his uncle Taghan for help. Although Lawaan lacked *tampāyak*, *panhīri?* and *padāya?*, which people are afraid of, he was skilled in amicably settling disputes. On the contrary, Tagalog, who did not have amulets for black magic, either, gave severe rulings. This was due to his *tampāyak*. He was widely known as a judge with a marvelous memory. He was skilled in smoothly leading a dispute case to a conclusion in which

the defeated party had to offer a meal. Therefore, a great number of people participated in litigations managed by him. The fifth most prominent judge was Sikadan. The older informants state that he was an ideal judge in the sense that he never accepted a bribe. However, he lacked important amulets, such as *tampāyak*, *pahīri?*, *padāya?* and even *dāniw*. He asked Tagalog for help when he needed a *dāniw*.

Today the most prominent judges are Ban-aw of Agong, Bangdayan of Sinariri, Tag-uli of Malantay and Adag of Wasig. It is said that all of them possess all the eight kinds of amulets (Table 8).

Now a question arises: how did the judges obtain their position (fundamentally the knowledge of Mangyan Law) and the various kinds of amulets (*i.e.*, magical powers)? This does not bear direct relation to the problem of conflict management; but it is one of the most important subjects in social anthropology and examination is indispensable in inquiring into the attributes of the Hanunoo-Mangyan judges.

5.4. Succession to the position of a judge

5.4.1. Adag: a judge from Wasig

Examination of the sociological background of the prominent judges suggests an interesting feature. In the Wasig area, for instance, there are nine judges, of whom only two are regarded as judges of superior ability. They are Adag, and his son-in-law, Umbos.

According to Adag, Sabong, a legal authority during the Spanish regime who is said to have written a book on Mangyan Law, had a brother (name unknown). His brother's son, Sikadan, read his uncle's book and learned their traditional law. He was appointed to the position of "Husgado ng mga Mangyan" (Tagalog, meaning 'judge of the Mangyan'; *husgādo*, fr. Sp. *juzgado*, 'judge') by the Spanish officers (Figure 18). Yantiw and her son, Alihid, were also prominent judges. Alihid was Adag's father. Today, Adag seldom deals with disputes, due to his old age. Instead, Umbos, his son-in-law, assumes the role of a judge, and his ability as a judge is highly appreciated, not only in Wasig but in other adjacent areas.

In an interview with Adag, he stated that he was born in Tagbulwan of Manaol, in 1910. He had studied at a Christian lowlanders' elementary school in the town. At that time he was the only Hanunoo-Mangyan who received a formal education at school. After finishing the fourth grade he stopped studying, at the age of fifteen, due to financial problems. He left Mindoro and worked from one place to another; Marinduque, Coron (Calamian), Capiz (Panay), etc. When he was eighteen years of age his father became ill, and he decided to return to his birthplace in Manaol. He married Oping at the age of twenty, but she later lived with another man. Adag remarried in 1953.

In 1932, Adag was appointed to the office of Konsehal (fr. Sp. *concejal*, 'councilman') by Paulino Villarosa, a Tagalog judge at that time in the town of Mansalay. It was at this time that Adag became interested in Mangyan Law. Another

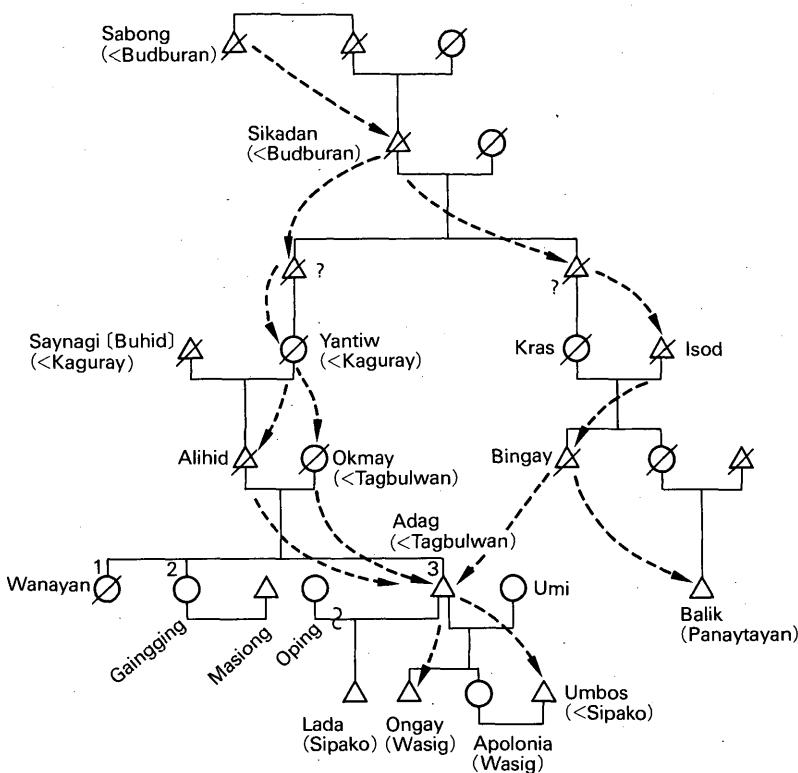


Figure 18. Genealogy of prominent judges

Hanunoo-Mangyan, named Idyuman, was also appointed to the same office. Adag was appointed as Konsehal on the grounds that he was good at Tagalog, the lowlanders' language, which he learned while he was in the town school. Idyuman, too, was good at this language, although he was not educated at school. Thus, these two bright Hanunoo-Mangyans became reporters of their legal situations to the Christian judge in the town.

Adag and Idyuman examined their traditional law, attempting to clarify the legal procedure, fines, etc., in the traditional system. For this purpose Adag learned a great deal from his relatives, especially from Bingay, the second cousin of Adag's father Alihid. Bingay once played an active role as a judge, and was appointed as "Mayor ng mga Mangyan" ('Mayor of the Mangyans') by the Christian legal authority. All through his tenure Adag visited old persons to collect information on past cases. He reorganized Mangyan Law in cooperation with Idyuman. Nevertheless, they did not write it down. When Idyuman acted as a judge at a litigation, Adag was his adviser, and *vice versa*. Idyuman died of old age in 1974.

During World War II, Adag was appointed to the office of "Kabo ng Polisiya" ('Chief of Police') of the Mangyan, by the Christian political authority. Then, in

1965, he was appointed to the office of "Judge of the Mangyan", by the Governor of Oriental Mindoro. Such is the story of Adag as told by himself.

Balik, who is Adag's third cousin, held the position of Kapitan (Barrio Captain; actually referred to as Barangay Chairman under the new political system of the Philippines) after the election of 1969. He is the nephew (sister's son) of Bingay, through whom he learned Mangyan Law, and he was accepted as a judge in Panaytayan.

Umbos was born in Sipako in 1953. He became interested in Mangyan Law when he was more or less fifteen years of age. Whenever a litigation took place in his area, he attended it. He also visited elders who knew Mangyan Law well. He married Apolonia, Adag's daughter, some fifteen years ago, and then transferred his residence to Wasig—his wife's place. Afterwards he followed his father-in-law whenever the latter went out to settle a dispute. Thus, Umbos received his training in the legal field from his father-in-law, who was an experienced judge.

The legal authorities mentioned were socially accepted as judges because of their intellectual adeptness. However, their genealogical relations suggest the presence of particular family-lines (ambilineal with an emphasis on the agnatic line) of legal authorities. This is an interesting topic for the "axial family-line" problems in cognatic societies, as discussed in Chapter IV.

5.4.2. Data for analysis

Data which can be used for analysis of succession forms are only on 54 (about 76%) out of 71 judges living in the Hanunoo-Mangyan region. Since data on the other 17 judges are insufficient, they are excluded from the class of data for examination.

Analysis is confined here to two generations. Although it is true, in general, that the generation depth in the memory of people is shallow in a society with a bilateral kinship system, as in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society, I wanted to obtain data on succession for at least three succeeding generations. But only a portion of my data covers three generations. This is why I confine myself here to only two generations.

Knowledge of Mangyan Law and the magical powers (possession of amulets) are passed on from one judge to another. The judge's extraordinary memory, clear-headedness, eloquence and calmness fundamentally depend on his makings or temperament, but also on his training and amulets.

There is no rule that the position of a judge is to be passed on along a specific decent line. However, it is generally said that:

The knowledge of Mangyan Law and the amulets are usually passed on from the parent to his/her child. The best way is to give them to the *pajānay* (eldest child) or *kapus'an* (youngest child). If they are not interested in becoming a judge, the knowledge and amulets are to be given to the *'anak karaw'an* (child who is neither eldest nor youngest). If there is no child who wants them, they are given to a kin. And if not to a kin, then to a non-kin.

Since there are several cases wherein the succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law does not coincide with that of magical power, both are examined separately.

5.4.3. Succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law

Table 10 shows from whom the 54 judges received their knowledge of Mangyan Law, including the technique of dispute settlement at a litigation. In Hanunoo-Mangyan society, as discussed in Chapter IV, those who are in the fourth cousin range and their spouses are regarded as *katawūhan* (kin), and all people who are out of this range are considered to be *Tİba tāwo* (others, non-kin).

Knowledge of Mangyan Law was passed on to kin in 44 cases (81.5%). On the other hand, succession was made to non-kin in 10 cases, accounting for 18.5% of the total number. This rather high rate illustrates that the form of succession of this kind is determined by the ability of an individual. It is also true, however, that the succession line from father to son (especially to eldest son) tends to be emphasized. Tables 8 and 10 suggest this.

The ratio of succession within affinal kin is low (5.5% of the total number), and that within consanguineal kin is high (76%). The number of succession cases from the father to his child is 35, making up 65% of the total. There are no cases in which succession was made from the mother to her child. As for the birth order of the successors to their fathers, succession by the eldest child (E) occurred in 22 cases (out of 35). The number of successions by the youngest child (Y) is only 8 cases. Succession was made by a child who is neither the eldest nor the youngest in the 5 cases. In the data presented here all these successors are male.

There are apparent reasons for the 5 cases in which middle children became successors. Alpog of Panaytayan (No. 4 in Table 8) became a successor although he is the second son, because his elder brother, Badbadan, died (Figure 19). His younger

Table 10. Succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law

Form of succession (succession from...)		Birth order (successor)			Total		Ratio (approx.)			
		Eldest child [E]	Youngest child [Y]	Other children						
Kin	Consan- guineal kin	Fa	22	8	5	35	65%	76%		
		FaBr	4			4	11%			
		MoBr	1			1				
		MoFa		1		1				
	Affinal kin	WiFa	2			2	5.5%	81.5%		
		MoSiHu			1	1				
Non-kin (others)		9(1)*		1	10(1)		18.5%			
Total		38(1)	9	7	54(1)					
Ratio (approx.)		70%	17%	13%			100%			

* The number in parentheses indicates female.

half-brother, Akdag (No. 3 in Table 8), also became a successor, for he was greatly interested in Mangyan Law. For these reasons Tagbong made them his successors.

Anghel of Manaol (No. 8 in Table 8) is the second child, too. Since his elder brother was always against his father, the father decided to teach Mangyan Law not to his eldest son, but to Angel.

In the case of Ongay of Wasig (No. 53), who was the third child, his two elder brothers were drunkards with loose conduct and low intelligence, so his father, Adag, taught him Mangyan Law.

Soklob of Panaytayan (No. 58) is the third child (second son). His father Ilig taught Mangyan Law first to his eldest son, Daniw (No. 26). Since Soklob was also interested in it, Ilig taught it to him, too.

The case of Taytay of Wasig (No. 60) is similar (Figure 20). Aybad is his father. Aybad taught Mangyan Law not only to his eldest son, Anday, but also to Yawi and Taytay, because all the three sons showed a strong interest in law.

In 19 cases (35% of the total number), the knowledge of Mangyan Law was passed on from persons who were not parents (fathers): kin in 9 cases and non-kin in 10 cases. As for the former, succession was made by consanguineal kin in 6 cases, and by affinal kin in 3 cases, forming a ratio of 2:1. Although it is difficult to extract a tendency due to the small number of data, the father's side seems to be emphasized more than the mother's in the succession cases by consanguineal kin. Examination of these 9 cases shows that there are certain reasons why succession was made to kin who are not children. In the case of Tuboan of Sipatag (No. 64), he learned Mangyan Law from his father's elder brother, Sanhiw. Since Sanhiw had no children, he taught it to Tuboan, who was interested in it.

Tiriw of Bantud Lubong (No. 63) succeeded Tagalog, the elder brother of his father, Usting. Tagalog had several children, but he found none of them intelligent. So he taught Mangyan Law to Tiriw, who was a quick thinker and a cool-headed

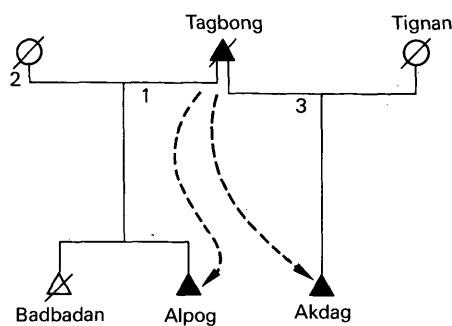


Figure 19. Succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law: cases of Alpog and Akdag

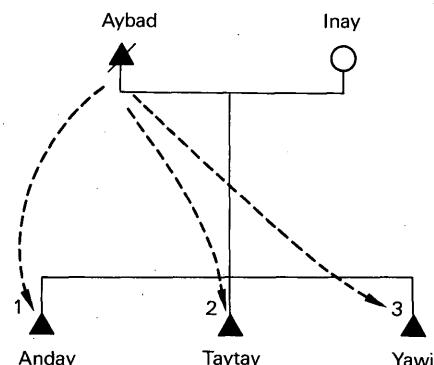


Figure 20. Succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law: cases of Anday, Taytay and Yawi

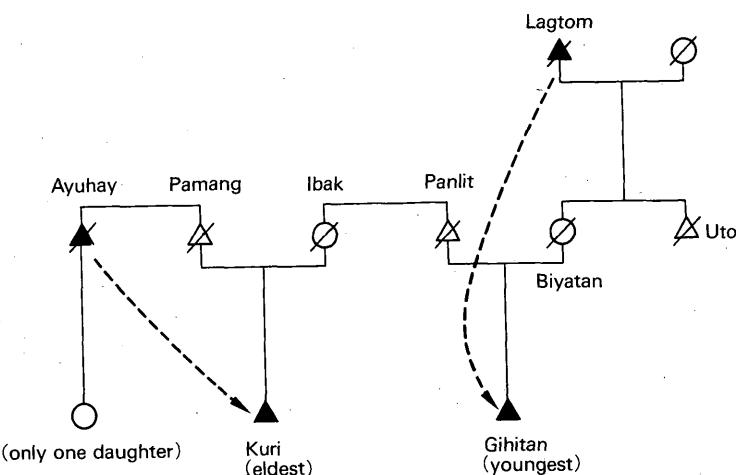


Figure 21. Succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law: cases of Kuri and Gihitan

person. Balik of Panaytayan (No. 14) became a judge due to the same reason. Bingay, the younger brother of his mother, had no children who were interested in Mangyan Law. So he taught it to Balik, who was a quick thinker. Kudong of Tignuan (No. 38) succeeded Yandugi, the husband of his mother's sister. None of Yandugi's children were interested in Mangyan Law. He could not find a suitable person among his consanguineal kin, either. So, he decided to teach it to Kudong.

Yaot of Bait (No. 70) succeeded Dahan, the elder brother of his father. Dahan had only one daughter, and she was not at all interested in Mangyan Law. Therefore he made his intelligent nephew, Yaot, his successor. Kuri of Hawili (No. 39) became a judge for the same reason: his father's elder brother, Ayuhay, too, had only one daughter (Figure 21). Gihitan (No. 30), who is the informal leader of Hawili discussed in Chapter IV, succeeded his mother's father, Lagtom. Since Lagtom's two children were not interested in Mangyan Law, he taught it to his intelligent grandson.

Umbos of Wasig (No. 66), as already explained, learned Mangyan Law from Adag, his father-in-law. Adag made one of his sons his successor, as described above. He made Umbos his successor, too, because the latter was so intelligent. Momo of Sipako (No. 50) became a judge for the same reason.

In the other 10 cases the knowledge of Mangyan Law was passed on from non-kin. Since the successors in these cases were all interested in Mangyan Law, but lacked relatives who were prominent judges, they learned it from non-kin.

5.4.4. Succession to magical power

A notable tendency is found in the succession to the magical power of the judges (Table 11). All the 54 judges obtained their amulets from their kin. It is possible for one to receive amulets from more than one person. There are 5 cases in

Table 11. Succession to the magical power of judges

Form of succession (succession from...)		Birth order (successor)			Total			Ratio (approx.)	
		Eldest child [E]	Youngest child [Y]	Other children					
Consan- guineal kin	Fa	29	7	6	42	49	51	90.7%	94.4%
	FaBr	1			1				
	Fa+	Mo	1		1				
	Others	4(1)*	1		5(1)				
	FaBr	1			1	2	5(1)	3.7%	
	MoFa		1		1				
Affinal kin	WiFa	2		1		3		5.6%	
Total		38(1)	9	7		54(1)			
Ratio (approx.)		70%	17%	13%					100%

* The number in parentheses indicates female.

which a magical power was passed on also from "non-kin". However, there is a good possibility that those "non-kin" are, although not all, the *?āma sa kalyag* ('illegal fathers', *i.e.*, men with whom the mother had sexual relations before her marriage) of the successors. Information on this is difficult to acquire, but it must be noted that four out of five judges who partially received their magical power from the non-kin are the eldest in birth order, which suggests the possibility mentioned above.

Magical power was passed on by the consanguineal kin in 51 cases, making up 94.4% of the total number. On the other hand, cases of succession from affinal kin are only 3 (5.6%). Namely, the ratio of consanguineal succession is much higher than that of affinal succession.

Succession was made from the father to his son in 49 cases (90.7% of the total number). There are, as mentioned before, 35 judges who learned Mangyan Law from their fathers. All of them also succeeded to the magical power of their fathers: *i.e.*, they were given amulets by their fathers. As for the birth order of the 49 successors whose magico-religious ability came from their fathers, the youngest children were only 8 (15%), and the eldest children were 35 (65%), including one eldest daughter.

There are 6 judges who became successors to magical power of their fathers, although they are neither the eldest sons nor the youngest. Five of them also learned Mangyan Law from their fathers, of which description has been given already. The other judge, Giliwan of Tagaskan (No. 31 in Table 8), learned Mangyan Law from a non-kin.

The analysis made so far clarifies that the general view of the Hanunoo-Mangyan on the succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law and magical power, more or less coincides with reality, except that the ratio of succession by the

youngest child is comparatively low. It must be noted that the agnatic line from the father to his son (especially the eldest) tends to be emphasized in the succession to the knowledge of Mangyan Law. When it comes to the succession to the magical power of the judge the tendency is much stronger. There are cases of succession from kin who are not fathers. If data on the succession for at least three to four generations are obtained, it will probably be possible to point out the presence of particular family-lines of the judges, based on ambilineal succession with an emphasis on the agnatic line. It will be an important part of the axial family-line argument.

5.5. Relations among judges

One who is interested in Mangyan Law undergoes special training for becoming a legal authority. He is trained by a judge in his immediate social circle, mostly by his father or close kin, as described above. Between a master and his pupil in Mangyan Law is established a vertical relationship which requires the latter to always respect the former. Whenever the master is requested to settle a dispute, his pupil accompanies him to undergo practical training. When the pupil achieves recognition as a qualified judge, experienced in settling various kinds of disputes, he comes to have his own pupil(s). But he must not lose respect to his own master(s). He consults his master as often as opportunity allows. Such speech and conduct as might cause the loss of face of his master would become the focus of bitter criticism.

The conflict case of Ulyong vs. Dagon (Case No. M-01)

In November, 1967, it was known that Lati, a single girl of about thirty years of age, was pregnant. She lived with Yadnes and his wives, Landaway and Iba, in Manaol. Yadnes was a sort of 'uncle' (father's second cousin). A litigation was held, and Ulyong was the judge. Ulyong of Dangkalan (No. 13 in Table 9) was the most prominent elderly judge. (His religious ability was described earlier in this section). He is the elder brother of the two wives of Yadnes. Lati refused to say who had made her pregnant. So, he transferred this case to Dagon, also a prominent judge of Manaol (No. 25 in Table 8). Dagon had been Ulyong's pupil before.

Another litigation was held with Dagon as a judge, in the absence of Ulyong. Dagon learned that Yadnes, the 'uncle' of Lati, was the one who had made her pregnant. After a prolonged questioning, Dagon at last made Yadnes confess. This judge ruled that Yadnes should pay a fine to Lati and offer a meal to the other participants. When the fine and the material for the meal were prepared by Yadnes, Dagon called Ulyong.

This old judge arrived but he looked angry. The reason was clear. In the first litigation, Ulyong guessed that Lati did not want to tell the truth because of a certain reason, and he transferred the case to his follower, Dagon. It became clear now, as Ulyong had thought, that Lati had been afraid of this old judge for he is the brother of one of the wives of Yadnes, who had made her pregnant. When Dagon learned the truth, he should have swiftly reported it to Ulyong, and he should have

returned the case to his master. But Dagon continued the litigation. This means that he failed to show respect to his master. Instead of consulting his master, Dagon made a decision by himself. This conduct caused a great loss of face of the master. Moreover, Dagon's ruling was incorrect. Since this case was concerned with the problem of incest, the requirement of a fine and a meal was not enough. It is not difficult to guess that Yadnes negotiated with Dagon. It must be that Ulyong became angry with Dagon not only because he had lost face but also because he thought that Dagon wanted to enjoy a monopoly of the secret gift from Yadnes.

Ulyong soon left the site where the litigation took place. So the meal was cancelled. Afterwards, the conflict between the judges continued.

Even though one becomes a judge of ability, he must do his best to maintain his master's face. There is a possibility that a judge might hush up a case for this purpose. The case of Amit vs. Huwan, which was presented in Section 4 of this chapter, is an example.

Judges who are not in a vertical relation are expected to cooperate with one another. In general, any judge has a pair of *surgō?on* ('messengers'). The pupil of a judge often fulfils the role of a messenger. The pair of messengers go for an accused or a witness at the request of their master. If an accused seems violent, they carry a *baston* (stick). When an accused is hiding in a distant place the judge who is asked to settle the case by the plaintiff will request another judge, who lives in or near the place, to do so. If a litigation is held after this arrangement, both judges manage the case.

Although the judges are expected to exchange information and opinions, some have antagonistic relations. The resolution of a conflict is difficult if another legal authority has an antagonistic relation with the judge involved in the litigation, as shown in the following case which occurred in Wasig.

The case of Bunbon vs. Ferrer (case No. W-23)

Ferrer, the husband of Aya, committed adultery with Hudmay, the wife of Bunbon. In December, 1980, Bunbon found a love letter addressed to Hudmay from Ferrer. Bunbon made a complaint to Umbos, a talented young judge of Wasig. Ordinarily, this kind of case is not difficult to resolve. Nevertheless, people anticipated that this case might become complicated because Simon of Malang-og (No. 55 in Table 8) was involved. He is the father of Fererr, the accused. He was a clear-headed judge, but notorious for his wickedness and proficiency in black magic.

Umbos sought assistance from Adag and Ongay. Adag is his father-in-law, and at the same time his master in Mangyan Law. Ongay is the brother-in-law of Umbos (Figure 22).

Hudmay soon confessed that she had loved Ferrer and committed adultery with him. Nevertheless, Ferrer asserted that he was innocent: he said emphatically that he had never loved her. Needless to say, it was clear that all his words followed his father's direction. Simon manifested his hostile feeling against Umbos from the beginning, saying, "Why does this have to be a litigation case?" After an oral argu-

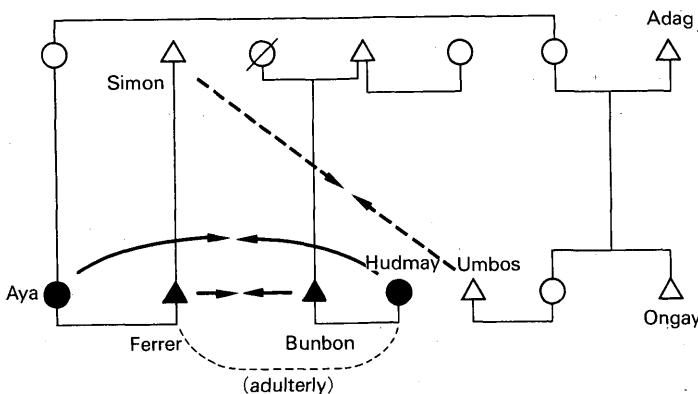


Figure 22. Case of Bunbon vs. Ferrer

ment of several hours, Ferrer was at last defeated by a leading question of Umbos, in spite of the presence of Simon, and he confessed that he had had a secret love affair with Hudmay. He was required by Umbos to pay a fine to Bunbon and offer a special meal to the participants.

Later, Umbos told me that he was, of course, strained during the litigation because of Simon's guile and efficiency in black magic. He did his best not to make even a subtle mistake, because he thought that Simon would surely take advantage of it and accuse Umbos. Therefore, Umbos prepared strong amulets for fear of Simon's black magic.

Simon had borne a grudge against Umbos since 1975, when Aya eloped with Ferrer. Simon sheltered them, and he was completely cornered by Umbos in the argument. After the meal Simon was filled with fury and took his son to Malang-og.

This example illustrates that even a subtle case has the possibility of becoming a more serious and complicated one if legal authorities in an antagonistic relation are involved. This possibility must be taken into consideration in examining dispute cases.

6. Socio-Cultural Significance of the Legal System

6.1. The significance of litigation

Hanunoo-Mangyan litigation is significant in several aspects of their socio-cultural context. First, it has the mechanism of recovering or maintaining the order of their society by means of punishing the offender against Mangyan Law in the form of a fine, reimbursement and a meal offering, which are a major economic burden. In other words, it is one of the means of social controls based on economic sanctions. This kind of sanction, as well as religious sanctions (e.g., black magic) and psychological sanctions (e.g., backbiting), forms a device by which conflicts are avoided.

A conflict is to be avoided or settled; however, as emphasized by Simmel [1955], it has a constructive or creative aspect at the same time. Although such groups as settlements and local communities are formed in Hanunoo-Mangyan society, nuclear families are independent and tend to be isolated. When a conflict occurs and a litigation takes place, people realize that the nuclear families involved are in either a union or a hostile relationship. They are linked, although temporarily, into a social unit through a litigation. And the integrity rises to its extremity. Frake presents an interesting interpretation in his description of litigation which frequently occurs among the the Subanun of Lipay:

Litigation, together with the rights and duties it generates, so pervades Lipay life that one could not consistently refuse to pay fines and remain a functioning member of society. Along with drinking, feasting, and ceremonializing, litigation provides patterned means of interaction linking the independent nuclear families of Lipay into a social unit, even though there are no formal group ties of comparable extent. The importance of litigation as a social activity makes understandable its prevalence among the peaceful and, by our standards, "law-abiding" residents of Lipay. [FRAKE 1963: 221]

It seems possible to state that litigation among the Hanunoo-Mangyan has similar features as that among the Subanun. Litigation extends and strengthens the ties of nuclear families, forming a consolidated social group.

The content of a meal offered as a punishment is interesting. For the Hanunoo-Mangyan, rice and domestic animals are of high value. They are cooked and served only on special occasions, such as *panlūdan*, in which bones of the dead are exhumed, *pajahāwan*, in which food and clothing are offered to the soul of the dead, and so on. On these occasions a number of participants eat a meal of cooked rice and meat soup. While they eat together they are set free from the grayness of everyday life, and they can thus realize the ideal form of life. They can feel in concrete the ideal and harmony-filled atmosphere. The important point is that the meal required at a litigation must have the same content as that served at ceremonies. This fact enables us to state that litigation among the Hanunoo-Mangyan is equipped with a device of social integration: it makes them overcome their closed social relationship and leads them to have a strong sense of wider human bonds.

6.2. Cultural roles of judges

A task is imposed on the judge to plan and execute a litigation with the socio-cultural significances discussed above. Observation of the process of litigation leads us to a notion that it has another aspect: it is possible to state that litigation is a sort of competition or contest. This nature is typically expressed in the practice of an ordeal. The talented judge is not merely a referee of the competition in an oral argument, but he himself also plays the role of a competitor by amusing the observers. Through his narrative skills, especially his use of the technique *pajtūlak* (rapid bombardment with questions), the observers are amused. The metaphorical expressions

taken from their traditional oral literature, which the judge uses, might be harsh to the offender. To most of the observers, in contrast, they are entertainment performed by a popular "actor". And, finally, the observers themselves come to participate in the performance. In other words, the judge plays the role of an entertainer throughout the litigation.

An examination of concrete dispute cases emphasizes, as pointed out before, that envy or jealousy often underlies the conflicts. If a Hanunoo-Mangyan works too hard in a swidden, or if he owns too many domestic animals, it will evoke the envy of others. This is apt to become a veiled cause of conflict as well as disease.

A religious authority or a medium, who is able to deal with a patient who suffers from a disease caused by black magic, treats him with medicine and prayer, and at the same time requires him to kill a domestic animal, cook a large quantity of rice, and serve a special meal to the people. The patient recovers by means of offering a meal to others. That is, the religious authority eliminates or lessens the envy of the others by requiring the patient to distribute his accumulated goods.

The same can be said of a judge. If he finds that the defeated party is envied by the people because of, for instance, a large stock of rice or a large number of domestic animals, he orders the latter to offer a large quantity of food.

Particularly during the rainy season, when food is short, people's dissatisfaction accumulates and various rumors spread. Under such a situation, once news arises that a litigation will be held, people become animated. Even though the problem is of no consequence, the judge is apt to expand it into a serious dispute case if he finds that the accused party has accumulated goods. Whether his decision sounds plausible or not depends on his ability. In short, the judge, who is an operator of a litigation equipped with a device for order maintenance and socio-cultural integration, plays the role of a manipulator of social psychology (eliminator of envy) by means of playing a role in the distribution of accumulated goods. A monotonous life, which is filled with greed, envy and grudge, is activated by a litigation. The judge is, as it were, a provoker of this activation.

In this section, the traditional legal system of the Hanunoo-Mangyan was considered and its socio-cultural significance discussed. In the following section concrete examples of recent dispute cases will be introduced, and the characteristics of the disputes and resolutions discussed. The Hanunoo-Mangyan have experienced various socio-political changes through contacts with the lowlanders. This problem will also be referred to here.

7. Dispute Cases

7.1. Data on disputes

Data on 86 dispute cases which caused litigation or discussion was collected mainly from Hawili, Panaytayan, Wasig and nearby areas during fieldwork. Although most cases were written down in notebooks from interviews, some litigation procedures were taperecorded while I observed them. Most of the dispute cases

in my collection occurred in the 1970's and 1980's. But some occurred in the 1960's and even in the 1950's. The case materials thus collected form only a part of all the disputes that must have occurred recently in those areas.

As shown in Table 12, the 86 dispute cases can be grouped into nine classes, of which seven (except for disputes regarding farmland and plants, and other disputes) are enumerated, although not exactly, in the order of gravity of *kasalānan* ('guilt'). These disputes will be outlined first. Then, the details of main cases will be presented and considered.

Homicide (2 cases) is rare among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. One case occurred in the Amaga area in 1968. It was handed over to the police in the town of Mansalay. It is still unsolved, for the offender has not been identified. Another homicide occurred in the Tignuan area in 1981. This case was also managed by the police in the town, and a reconciliation was made between the family of the victim and the murderer. I heard a few other rumors of homicide. They were caused, some said, by black magic (*panhīri?* or *padāya?*). These cases are of interest, but the available information lacks accuracy.

Disputes due to insult (5 cases), too, are regarded as *kasalānan mabuyat* ('heavy guilt'). The five listed were dealt with as cases of *kasāba* (litigation); *i.e.*, disputes were publicly announced and managed by judges. They were all caused by backbiting.

Disputes caused by violent action and/or words (7 cases) involve beating (2 cases); threats with a bolo (4 cases); and threat with a bow and arrow (1 case).

The content of disputes due to impolite behavior (9 cases) are various: approach to married women (3 cases); impolite attitudes shown to an affinal kin of the plaintiff (2 cases); utterance that the plaintiff was a sorcerer (2 cases); insulting words while drunk (1 case); and utterance of criticizing words (1 case). It is possible that most disputes might fall into this offense category.

Thefts (16 cases) are not uncommon. They are the third highest in frequency of the nine classes of disputes. There are thefts of cash (5 cases), agricultural crops (4

Table 12. Classes of disputes

Class	Frequency
Homicide	2
Insult	5
Violent action	7
Impolite behavior	9
Theft and robbery	16
Marriage problems	20
Impolite attitude toward an older negative	2
Problems regarding farmlands and plants	18
Others	7
Total	86

cases), tools (2 cases), clothes (2 cases), ornaments (1 case), and robberies accompanied by violence (2 cases).

The most common disputes are related to problems regarding marriage (20 cases). These were caused by adultery (11 cases), requests for or refusals of divorce (4 cases) and pregnancy of unmarried girls (2 cases), refusal of marriage (2 cases), and protection of elopement (1 case). Since any dispute of this class directly affects the kin relations of both sides, the litigation or the *harampagan* (discussion) called for its settlement attracts the attention of a large number of people.

Disputes due to an impolite attitude toward an older relative occurred only once in my data. It seems that disputes of this class seldom become apparent to the public, as they are settled amicably through private means.

The second most common of the cases were disputes regarding farmland and agricultural plants (18 cases). It is said that disputes of this class occurred rarely before World War II, when wider and better forested areas were available. Of 18 cases, none required payment of a fine or offering of a meal as punishment. All the cases, except for two which were not yet settled, led to reconciliation or payment for the plants. The disputes were caused by occupation of swiddens or *posesiyon* (lands where crops are planted; fr. Sp. *posesión*, 'possession') (7 cases), the problem of farmland boundaries (2 cases), destruction of crops in farmland (7 cases) and disagreement on the purchase of crops planted (2 cases). An interesting aspect of the disputes of this class is that some of them include conflicts between lowlanders and Hanunoo-Mangyans. An examination of this aspect is indispensable to the consideration of acculturation or social change among the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

The class of other disputes (7 cases) includes incestuous relations (1 case), neglecting children (2 cases), suspected embezzlement (1 case), demand for payment of a debt (1 case), rearing and sharing of domestic animals (1 case), and quarreling of a married couple (1 case).

After more cases have been added to the present collection, statistical methods can be employed to make a better outline of dispute realities among the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

In this study I deal with only 22 major dispute cases which occurred from 1965 to 1984. There are no strict criteria for choosing them: they were chosen for presentation and examination only because they seem to contain important features for the consideration of the realities of conflicts among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. The cases presented here are from Wasig.

All the 22 dispute cases, together with their characteristics, are listed in Table 13. Three major items are provided in this table to clarify the characteristics of each dispute case with respect to the others. The major and minor items in this table are:

1. Attributes of the plaintiff and the defendant
 - 1.1. Ethnic group
 - 1.1.1. HM vs. HM (Hanunoo-Mangyan plaintiff vs. Hanunoo-Mangyan defendant)

Table 13. Characteristics of disputes in Wasig (1976-1984)

Kind of dispute	Items	Case No. W-	Plaintiff and Defendant								Judge	Decision				
			Ethnic group		Sex		Age		Kinship			Reconciliation		Punishment		
			HM	HM	vs.	vs.	Plaintiff	Defendant	Plaintiff	Defendant		Non-kin	Kin	Hanunoo-Mangyan	Lowlander	
			HM	HM	vs.	vs.	Plaintiff	Defendant	Plaintiff	Defendant		Consanguineal	Affinal	Reconciliation	Fine	
Insult	Back-biting	02	+				F	F	C	D				+		
		03	+				M	F	C	A		+	+	+		
		04	+				F	F	B	B		+	+	+		
		05	+				M	F	B	C		+	+	+		
Violence	Threat by action	09	+				M	M	D	C		+	+	+	+	
		10	+				M	M	C	C		+	+	+	+	
		11	+				M	M	C	C	+	+	+	+	+	
		12	+				M	M	B	B		+	+	+	+	
Impoliteness	Abuse	13	+				M	M	C	C/C		+	+	+		
Theft	Stealing	18	+				M	M	B	B		+	+		(+)	
	Robbery	19	+				M	M	C	B		+	+		+	
		20					(F)	(B)	D	C	+				+	
Marriage problem	Adultery	22	+				M	M	C	B		+	+	+	+	
		23	+				M/F	F/M	C/C	C/C	+	+	+	+	+	
Farmland & plants	Farmland	33	+				M	M	D	C	+			+		
		35	+				M	M	C	C	+					
		36	+				M	M	C	C	+		+	+		
	Plants	38		+			M	M	C	C	+				+	
		39	+				M	M	C	C		+	+			
		40	+				M	M	C	C		+	+			
Others	Quarrel	45	+				F	M	C	C	+				+	
	Incest	46	+				M	M	C	D		+	+			

1.1.2. HM vs. LL (Hanunoo-Mangyan plaintiff vs. lowland defendant)

1.2. Sex: M (male) or F (female)

1.2.1. Plaintiff

1.2.2. Defendant

1.3. Age: A (child), B (single, youth), C (married, not so old) or D (very old)

1.3.1. Plaintiff

1.3.2. Defendant

1.4. Kinship (relationship between the plaintiff and the defendant)

1.4.1. Non-kin

1.4.2. Kin: consanguineal or affinal

2. Judge (or arbitrator)

2.1. Hanunoo-Mangyan

2.2. Lowlander

3. Decision made in litigation or discussion
 - 3.1. Reconciliation
 - 3.2. Punishment
 - 3.2.1. Fine
 - 3.2.2. Meal offering
 - 3.2.3. Reimbursement
 - 3.3. Payment in cash

Each class of the 22 disputes will be briefly reviewed first, referring to the data in this table. The cases will then be presented in concrete for analysis and consideration of their backgrounds and related factors.

7.2. Disputes due to insult

There are four dispute cases regarding insult. In Hanunoo-Mangyan morality a deed injuring the honor (*?ūya?*) of others is an offense second only to homicide in gravity. The offender is formally requested to pay the victim a fine, the amount of which is called *terēnta* ('thirty'; from Sp. *treinta*). The amount of glass beads requested can be 30 *bugway*, 30 *sabud* or 1 *mag?isijsiq*. If the judge permits, the offender makes cash payment of 30 pesos.

The four cases were all brought about by backbiting or spreading unpalatable rumors, the contents of which are various. The victims claimed that the offenders allegedly spread the rumors that the former were lazy (Case No. W-02), thieves (Case Nos. W-03 and W-05) and pregnant (Case No. W-04).

It is probable that many more disputes of this class occurred in reality but they were not made public. The victim usually finds it difficult to prove the source of a rumor. If one accuses someone else without concrete evidence, there is a good possibility that the former might be accused by the latter of insult, perjury or impolite behavior.

All the disputants in these dispute cases are Hanunoo-Mangyans. The Hanunoo-Mangyan say that their *?ugāli?* (customs) are different from those of the lowlanders. For the latter, too, the sense of honor or self-esteem is of crucial importance in their social life, as mentioned above. It seems, however, that this value is not always extended to the mountain peoples. I have observed scenes in which a lowlander scolded a Hanunoo-Mangyan in the presence of others, directing insulting words toward him/her; and where a male lowlander made an indecent act toward a Hanunoo-Mangyan lady in front of others. These deeds would inevitably evoke conflicts in the lowlanders' society: A Hanunoo-Mangyan victim endures insults from a lowlander to avoid retaliation from the latter, who is more powerful, persuading himself/herself that the customs of the latter are different.

Since the disputes of this class were only between the Hanunoo-Mangyan and never infringed upon the criminal law of the lowlanders, they were all dealt with by Hanunoo-Mangyan judges.

The aspect of the sex of the disputants is interesting. In other classes of disputes it is clear that most disputants were male. However, the majority were female in the disputes regarding insult. While half of all the plaintiffs were males and the other half were females, there were no male defendants. This indicates that authors of problematic rumors were mostly female.

As for the aspect of age, which cannot be determined in other classes of dispute, one child was accused in a case caused by insult. This indicates that the defense of honor is of primary importance to the social life of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

The plaintiff and the defendant in each of the four cases are related by kinship: by consanguinity in one case and by affinity in the other three cases. This suggests the possible presence of tension, especially among affinal kin.

In the formal and traditional method a certain amount of beads and a meal offering are imposed on the offender as punishment. However, the data show that three out of four cases were amicably settled. Their background factors will be discovered only through examination of each case.

The case of Awnan vs. Talad (Case No. W-02)

Awnan, a female of about 37 years of age at that time, was a resident of Kilapnit. She is the wife of Iboy and the daughter of Bigaw, who was known as a sorcerer. She heard from Daing, a female of about 40, that a disconcerting rumor about herself was spread by Talad, her mother-in-law of about 60. The rumor was that Awnan was very lazy (Figure 23).

Awnan visited Umbos, the young legal authority often referred to so far, and she accused her mother-in-law. Umbos tried to persuade her to lead the conflict to reconciliation, but she persistently asked him to take it up as a litigation case. Umbos was forced to request the councilmen of Kilapnit to inform the residents that a litigation would be held several days later.

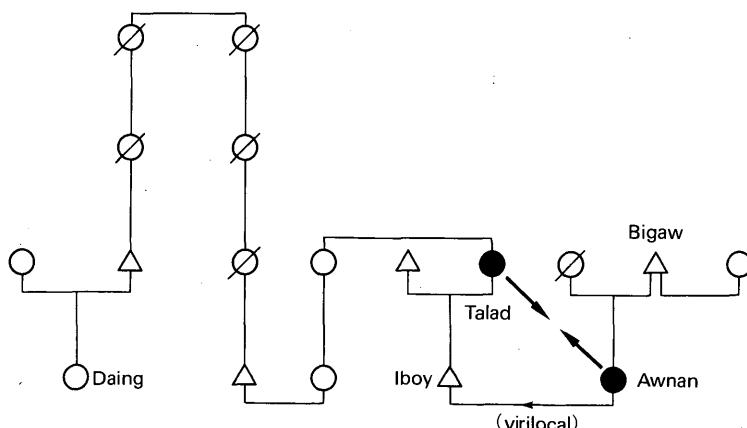


Figure 23. Case of Awnan vs. Talad

On the morning of February 12, 1980, some 50 persons gathered at a hut used as a Catholic chapel at that time. The litigation started at 10:00 a.m., when Umbos stood in front, facing the participants. Bunbon and Berto, councilmen of Kilapnit, also moved to the front. Awnan, Daing and Talad stood near Umbos.

The two councilmen instructed Awnan to explain the problem to the other participants, and then asked Talad if it was true. Talad answered that she had done nothing wrong, and maintained that it was her daughter-in-law who had always spoken ill of her in her absence. Berto asked Daing if Awnan's words were true. Daing gave an affirmative answer. But Talad consistently denied it and insisted that she was not to blame.

Then Umbos proposed to the disputants to reconcile the case, saying that both of them are to blame and that they would have to prepare one pig and one *kaban* (about 75 liters) of unhusked rice for a meal if the litigation should continue. The disputants agreed with Umbos. He declared that if either of them were to commit the same offense in the future, she would have to prepare double the amount of fine for *ka'uyā'an* (insult) and *kagalāyan* (impolite behavior), and two pigs and two *kaban* of rice. He made a *resibo* ('document of consent'; fr. Sp. *recibo*, 'receipt'), requiring the disputants to sign it, with the signatures of himself and the two councilmen as witnesses. Thus this dispute case was ended in reconciliation. The participants looked disappointed, because they thought that there would be a meal for *samāya?* (recovery of harmony among relatives).

Comment on Case No. W-02

Three factors are involved in this dispute case, apart from the Hanunoo-Mangyan value concerning honor or self-esteem.

The first factor is the latent or veiled tension between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. Both of them are expected to cooperate with each other as members of the same *magtal?anākan* (close kin), and at the same time they are elementarily in a tension relationship. It is maintained that an affinal relation is easily broken by divorce.

Tensions of this sort seem reduced in a way if the affinal kin live separately from each other. Alternating residence between the settlements or the local communities of the husband and the wife for an initial few to several years after marriage is practiced by most married couples. Uxorilocal residence after this period is considered ideal. This pattern of residence reduces the tension between the wife and her parents-in-law, and between the wife and her siblings-in-law; but it strengthens the tensions between the husband and his parents-in-law (see *a* of Figure 24). In contrast, these tension relations become reversed when virilocal residence is practiced (*b* in Figure 24).

The married couple in Case No. W-02 adopted virilocal patterns: Awnan is from Tignuan while Iboy (her husband) and his mother, Talad, are from the Wasig area. This case of Awnan vs. Talad can be interpreted as a dispute caused by increased latent tension between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law

in a virilocal setting.

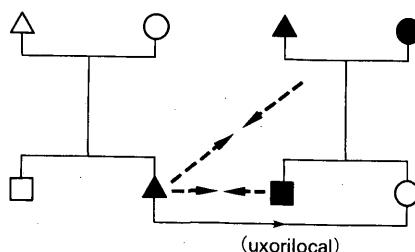
The second factor is related to Hanunoo-Mangyan religion. It is true that Awnan was a lazy woman: she was indifferent to cleanliness and she often overworked her small children. (Her laziness was in a sense understandable, because it was clear that she had suffered from tuberculosis for a long time.) Talad could have accused Awnan of neglecting her children. But she did not do so even though she was very angry with her daughter-in-law. According to the informants, Talad was afraid of possible retaliation of black magic by her daughter-in-law's father, Bigaw, who was known for his proficiency in this field. They said that he kept three kinds of amulets for black magic (*i.e.*, amulets for *panhiri?*, *padaya?*, and *sugayan*). (Analysis of dispute cases among the Hanunoo-Mangyan must never overlook religious factors of this sort.)

A third factor can be found in the method of settling the dispute. It seemed that the judge led the case of Awnan vs. Talad to reconciliation rather forcibly. In an interview with him the judge confessed that he had made the decision, even before the opening of the litigation, to push the case into reconciliation. This is because, he said, he thought that Awnan would leave Kilapnit if she should lose to her mother-in-law during the litigation. To him it would mean a setback in the project to establish a barangay in this settlement.

The case of Bunbon vs. Yaniw (Case No. W-03)

Bunbon, a married man of about 28 years of age, and Yaniw, a girl of about 10, are second cousins and residents of Kilapnit (Figure 25). Yaniw insisted that she had seen Bunbon steal three of her chicken eggs. A small meeting (without a judge) was held on

a. Uxorilocal pattern



b. Virilocal pattern

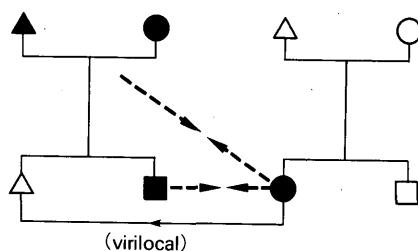


Figure 24. Latent tensions with parents-in-law and siblings-in-law

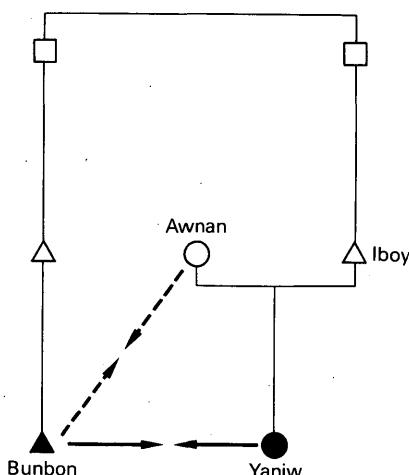


Figure 25. Case of Bunbon vs. Yaniw

April 3, 1981. However, this dispute was not solved, for Bunbon definately denied Yaniw's statement.

Bunbon visited Umbos and made a complaint for insult. The litigation took place in the chapel of Kilapnit at 10:30 a.m. on April 6, 1981. Since no progress was made in the argument Umbos proposed that *tigisan* (ordeal with boiling water) be used to discover who was telling a lie. Bunbon consented, but Yaniw's parents did not. Umbos then proposed that the disputants accept a reconciliation. The disputants accepted his proposal and signed the consent document which was made by Umbos (sometimes written Ambos) in Tagalog (uncorrected).

Sa mga kinauukulan

Kilapnit, Mansalay

Silangang Mindoro

Abri 6, 1981

Ako si Bunbon Embargo kasalukoyan na ninirahan sa Kilapnit, Mansalay, Silangang Mindoro. Ako ay pumayag sa kasundu-an, na kami ni Yaniw Eboy ay nagka diskusyonan sa mga salita na hindi karapat dapat bigkasin sa kapwa, noong ika 3 ng Abril, 1981. Kay ngayon ika 6 ng Abril kami ay hinarap ng mga pamunoan ng Kilapnit, na kami ay kapwa pumayag sa kasundo-an na, ang aming pag diskusyonan, ay hindi ipag patuloy ito ay bali wala. At ako ay hindi na rin uulit na magsalita ng hindi karapat dapat, kay Yaniw o sa ibang tao man. Ito ay Linag daan ko sa ibaba sa ng kusang loob, kasabay dito ang pangako ko na dina uulitin ko kailan man.

Gayon din ako si Yaniw Eboy dito rin sa lugar ng Kilapnit hindi ko na ring uulitin ang hindi karapat dapat na salita sa kay Bunbon at sa ibang tao man. Ako ay lumag-dain dito bilang pag pa patunay na di kuna uulitin ang bagay na ito.

Tistigo

Mga Lumagda

1.

1.

Bunbon Embargo

Hugom Unog

2.

Uldi Traheco

2.

Yaniw Eboy

Gumawa na kasundu-ang ito

Ambos Solina

Pamunoan ng Kilapnit

(Free translation)

To whom it may concern:

Kilapnit, Mansalay

Oriental Mindoro

April 6, 1981

I, Bunbon Embargo, am at present a resident of Kilapnit, Mansalay, Oriental Mindoro. I hereby consent to the agreement that Yaniw and I had a discussion in words

which are not proper of speaking to each other, on the 3rd of April, 1981. Today, on the 6th of April, we are in front of the "Board of Officers" of Kilapnit, and we both agreed that our discussion will not continue and that it was improper. And I will not speak about improper things either to Yaniw or any other person. This is signed below voluntarily, together with my promise here that I will not repeat such an action again.

In a similar manner, I, Yaniw Eboy, also here in Kilapnit, will not repeat either improper words to Bunbon or any other person. I sign here as a proof that I will never repeat this thing.

Witness	Signatories
1. (Signature) Hogom Unog	1. (sig.) Bunbon Embargo
2. Uldi Traheco (sig.)	2. (sig.) Yaniw Eboy

The one who made this consent form

Ambos Solina
Board Member of Kilapnit

After the consent document was made Umbos explained that this case was settled in reconciliation, and hence there was no need for them to prepare a fine and a meal. This litigation was finished at 1:30 p.m.

Comment on Case No. W-03

The main topic of this case involves the Hanunoo-Mangyan value system discussed earlier: the alleged victim had to confront even a small child in order to preserve his honor.

This case was difficult to solve since there were no witnesses. There were two views regarding this case. In one, Yaniw did not see Bunbon steal her eggs, but she was influenced by the words of her parents, especially of her mother, Awnan (the plaintiff in Case No. W-02), when they noticed the loss of the eggs. That is why, according to this opinion, her parents did not permit her to undergo the ordeal. Another view was that Bunbon had stolen the eggs.

Umbos had to settle this case amicably because he was afraid that whichever family lost the case might leave Kilapnit: it meant a loss for his barangay establishment project. This is one of the important hidden factors in the treatment of this case.

The first view that the girl was influenced by her parents was based on the fact that the girl's mother, Awnan, and Bunbon disliked each other: they occupy the relationship of father's cousin-in-law and cousin-in-law's son. This case can be interpreted as a dispute arising from tension between these two affinal kin.

There is a related factor to be noted with regard to the signing of a consent document. This practice came to be used only after the establishment of "Barangay Courts" throughout the Philippines. The signing of this kind of document is

noteworthy for two reasons. Officially, the copy is to be submitted to the Municipal Office of Mansalay, although it was rarely done. However, this regulation gave people the impression that one might receive some sanction from the lowlanders' world if they break the promise. Here the legal system of the lowlanders came to be included partially through the practice of the consent document. The other noteworthy aspect is that a high level of literacy in Tagalog is required to write the consent document, and hence traditional legal authorities without a background of formal education cannot play the role of a judge in the new setting. This situation became one of the areas of conflict between the old judges and the younger ones.

The case of Yahan vs. Miling (Case No. W-04)

Yahan, a girl of about 17 years of age, stayed at the house of Adag, her distant *laki* ("grandfather"), and his wife, in Kilapnit. Adag's granddaughter, Maming, also lived with them. These two girls stayed there to study at an elementary school in this settlement.

Yahan went home in Banligan in the beginning of April, 1983, and she was absent from school for a couple of weeks. When she returned her teacher, Huwana, asked her if it was true that she was pregnant. Yahan answered that it was false and she asked Huwana who had told her such a thing. Huwana answered, "My younger sister, Maria, did. According to her, she heard it from Hudmay, when Yam-ay and Daing were with them." Yahan visited Umbos and made a complaint. Umbos accepted it as a litigation case.

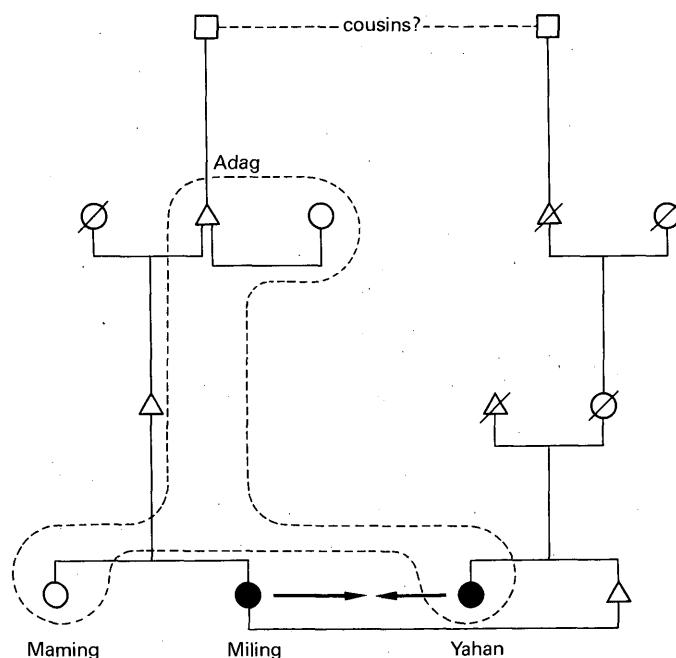


Figure 26. Case of Yahan vs. Miling

On April 19, 1983, a litigation took place at Adag's house. The judge was Umbos. Yahan explained the problem to the participants. Hudmay denied that she had told the story to Maria even though Umbos asked her many times. So, this judge proposed to adopt *tigisan* (an ordeal). Then, Hudmay said that she did not know how to do it, and at last confessed that she had, indeed, told the story to Maria but that she had heard it from Maming. Maming admitted it, but she said that it was Miling, her elder sister, who told it to her. Since Miling was not there, the litigation was suspended (Figure 26).

On April 23, 1983, the litigation started again, at about 2:00 in the afternoon. After an argument that lasted two hours, Miling at last confessed that she was the source of the rumor. Umbos asked her why she did such a thing to her sister-in-law.

Umbos told Miling to pay 30 pesos in cash to Yahan as a fine for insult. Miling was requested also to pay 8 pesos as a fine for *kagalagan* (impolite behavior) to Adag, for she showed impoliteness to him in the sense that she hurt Yahan, one of the members of his household. Adag received only 4 pesos. Umbos gave a warning to those who had involved themselves in this dispute, saying: "Keep silent if the rumor is a dangerous one." The litigation ended at about 4:00 p.m.

Comment on Case No. W-04

It would be difficult to understand this dispute case if we overlook two factors. First, as already discussed, an elementary tension is present between the disputants who are in the relationship of sisters-in-law. The second factor seems to be jealousy (*timon*). Yahan was much loved by Adag despite the fact that her kinship relation to him is remoter than that of Miling. Probably, Miling was jealous of Yahan with regard to Adag's love.

As elegantly argued by Foster [1972], antagonism underlies jealousy and envy, and hence they often cause conflict, although it is not openly noticed. In general, as pointed out in the previous chapter, a Hanunoo-Mangyan is very careful that s/he does not arouse the jealousy or envy of others. In their belief these emotions cause not only dispute but also black magic, which is one of the most horrible things for them.

The case of Bilog vs. Binayaw (Case No.

W-05)

The case occurred during one morning of February, 1982. Bilog, a single boy of about 19, visited Umbos and made a complaint against Binayaw, the wife of his elder brother, saying that she had spread a rumor that he had stolen her rice (Figure 27).

In the afternoon of that day, a small-scale litigation was held. Bilog insisted

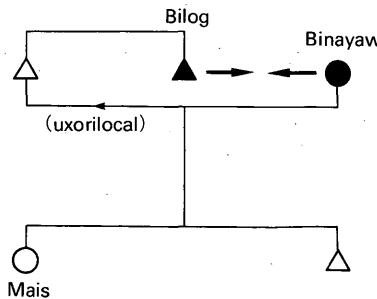


Figure 27. Case of Bilog vs. Binayaw

that he had not stolen his sister-in-law's rice. Nevertheless, Binayaw maintained that her daughter, Mais, had seen him steal one *salop* (about 6 liters) of rice in her house.

Umbos proposed to make the case a reconciliation, saying that it was only one *salop* even if stolen by Bilog, and that she herself did not witness the theft. Binayaw agreed to the proposal. Bilog also agreed to the judge's proposal of reconciliation. Thus the litigation ended.

Comment on Case No. W-05

This case falls into the category of a dispute between the wife and her sibling-in-law due to virilocality (*b* in Figure 24). Binayaw could have accused her brother-in-law of *panakawan* (theft). The judge pushed the case into reconciliation so that neither side would be hurt. His method of judgment can be understood only in the context of his barangay establishment project: he did not want Binayaw to leave Wasig.

7.3. Disputes due to violence

Four dispute cases occurred due to threatening actions (Case Nos. W-09, W-10, W-11 and W-12). The amount of the fine imposed on an offender who terrifies another by a threatening action is called *?upat* ('four'). Traditionally, 4 *dupa?*, 8 *bugway*, or 1 *sabud* of glass beads or 4 pesos in cash must be paid to the victim, and a special meal must be prepared.

In all 4 cases of this class the disputants were all Hanunoo-Mangyan. There is only one case which was settled by a lowlander (Case No. W-11). All the disputants were male. No special characteristics are seen in the age of the disputants. Only in the case settled by the lowlander were the disputants non-kin. The disputants in the other three cases were kin; affinal in one case and consanguineal in the other two cases. Only one case was settled in reconciliation. The offenders in the other cases of this class were requested to prepare either a fine or a meal, or both.

The case of Bago vs. Gabriel (Case No. W-09)

Bago, about 50 years of age, and his nephew (brother's son), Gabriel, about 38 years of age, drank together in the town. Bago was not too drunk, but Gabriel was heavily drunk. The latter for some reason became very angry with the former, and pulled out his bolo to threaten his uncle on their way home. Bago felt bad, for he did not understand why Gabriel was angry with him. One week later, Bago visited Adag, the old and prominent judge, and made a complaint.

A litigation was held on February 28, 1976. Adag asked Gabriel why he had been angry with Bago. Gabriel answered that he did not know, and that he had been drunk. Adag said to Gabriel: "You have to prepare a meal for all the people here, because you did not show respect toward a person who is like your parents. The material of the meal is to be one pig and half a *kaban* of rice. Also you must pay one *sabud sa dalükap* as a fine for *hijilba?* (menace with a threatening action) to Bago."

Gabriel prepared the meal and the fine as ordered by the judge. Everyone enjoyed the special meal. After that, Gabriel apologized to Bago, saying that he would never repeat the misdeed. Adag gave a warning that the amount of meal and fine would be doubled if he should do the same thing in the future.

Comment on Case No. W-09

This case is a good example in which a dispute was settled exactly in accordance with the traditional method. The meal is a punishment to recover *samāya?*, a harmonious situation between relatives. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan seniors must be respected by juniors. This principle of seniority is emphasized especially among close kin. One who shows impoliteness toward a kin of a higher generation or older age must be punished. If the offender is too stubborn to admit his fault he might be required to pay an additional fine, such as *kagalāyan* (impolite behavior) or *hinūyo?* (impolite attitude toward an elder relative).

The special meal is a great economic loss to the offender, but it is enjoyed by all the participants.

The case of Umbos vs. Nanoy (Case No. W-10)

On one Sunday of April, 1983, Nanoy came home from the town. Since he was heavily drunk and shouted loudly, his wife ran away. He is usually a quiet person, but he became rough and violent when drunk.

He went to the house of Umbos, and asked him in anger if his wife was there. He was holding an axe. He went home, shouting. He returned to the house of Umbos again. This time he was carrying a bow and arrow. He asked Umbos with very coarse words if he had seen his wife. Umbos answered that he had not seen her.

Umbos and Nanoy are remote affinal kin. Nanoy walked to the house of Badan, yelling. He shot an arrow. It flew toward the house of Umbos, and hit one of the banana trees nearby. Tonio, one of the councilmen, witnessed this. Umbos took the arrow and kept it. Nanoy's wife in fact went to her sister's in Bulalacao.

A few days later a litigation was held with Adag as a judge. Nanoy stated that he remembered nothing, even about shooting the arrow. Umbos showed the arrow that Nanoy had shot, explaining that Tonio was a witness.

Umbos proposed that this case could be reconciled. Nanoy apologized to Umbos. Thus, this dispute was amicably settled.

Comment on Case No. W-10

The offender would have been requested to pay several fines for *panimā?an* (offense by menacing words), *kagalāyan* (impolite behavior) and *higilba?* (offense by a threatening action), and to prepare a meal for the participants if a decision had been made strictly following the traditional manner.

It is apparent, however, why Umbos proposed reconciliation: it must have been a part of his barangay establishment project, as noted in a few cases already examined.

The case of Bido vs. Kalot (Case No. W-11)

Kalot, about 35 years of age, is a man of sturdy build. He is a nice person, but he becomes violent when drunk. Everyone knew that he was a terrible drinker. One day in April, 1983, he was drunk. He pulled out his bolo and tried to attack Bido. Probably, it was said, Kalot was angry with Bido, for the latter had spread a rumor about him. They were not kinsmen. When Bido was attacked by Kalot, he ran away swiftly. Kalot vented his rage on the coconut and banana trees nearby.

Bido consulted Adag. This old legal authority called Kalot and took him to the Municipal Office of Mansalay together with Bido and Huwana, a Hanunoo-Mangyan school teacher. One of the municipal officers became an arbitrator. The officer made a decision, telling Kalot to pay a fine of 500 pesos to Bido.

Bido received the fine, although not the entire amount, from Kalot. After this, Kalot stopped drinking, but he left Kilapnit and moved to his farmland.

Comment on Case No. W-11

The fine of 500 pesos was too great in the Hanunoo-Mangyan sense, even though the deed of the offender could not be forgiven. This case shows the possibility that such a fine would compell the payer to leave the settlement. This dispute occurred while Umbos was absent from Kilapnit for a long time; while he was in Calapan for about one year. This precedent affected a dispute case which occurred in Wasig almost one year later.

The case of Sumbad vs. Lawaan, Baakan and Ulyo (Case No. W-12)

On May 23, 1984, Sumbad (a single boy) ran to Bunbon, one of the councilmen, and made a complaint that Baakan (single) and Ulyo (married) had threatened him with their bolos. Bunbon reported it to Umbos the following morning.

Umbos met Sumbad and the witness Bug-os (a young boy) to ask them about the problem.

The litigation started in the chapel of Kilapnit at 8:00 p.m. on June 12, 1984. Almost 80 persons assembled. The main judge was Bunbon, and the secondary judges were Adag, Umbos and Huwana. First, Bunbon asked the plaintiff, Sumbad, to explain the problem. He explained:

Eleven men met at the house of Lindogon in his absence and they enjoyed gambling there, using cards. After the game the middle aged players went home. The young boys left and played *diyudo* ('wrestling', fr. Jap. *jūdo*). Lawaan made a shoulder lock on Sumbad from behind. The latter attacked the former to loosen the lock. Lawaan did so, when Sumbad suddenly punched Lawaan in the face. Then, Baakan, the brother of Lawaan, and Ulyo pulled out their bolos and threatened Sumbad. Sumbad was scared and ran to see Bunbon.

Lawaan, Baakan and Ulyo forcefully denied the statement of Sumbad with

regard to the threatening with bolos. The argument continued for hours. Lawaan insisted that he was the victim since he had been punched by Sumbad and he had suffered pain. Umbos terrified the young defendants, saying that this case must be handed over to Barrio Panaytayan and then probably to the town. Then, the three boys asked Umbos to settle the case in Kilapnit, and at last confessed that two of them had threatened Sumbad with their bolos.

Adag swiftly announced his decision. Since all the disputants were relatives, Adag said, *samāya*² is needed before the final decision would be made. He maintained that the boys had to prepare one pig and one *kaban* of rice for the meal, and he proposed to postpone the litigation to the following day, since it was 1:00 a.m. Sumbad seemed to be tense, probably due to the unexpected decision, and the other three boys remained silent.

On the following morning a special meal was prepared, and all the participants ate lunch together. The litigation resumed at 2:00 p.m. Each of the boys was requested by Adag to pay a fine of 1 *sabud* of beads for *kagalāyan* to Lindogon, because they fought at his house while he was absent. This is quite impolite. Ulyo and Baakan, who had pulled out their bolos, were told also by Adag to pay 500 pesos (250 each) in cash to Sumbad.

After this, the topic of the argument turned to gambling. All those who gambled at Lindogon's house were ordered to pay a fine (from 5 pesos to 10 pesos each) to the "barrio".

Comment on Case No. W-12

In a Hanunoo-Mangyan litigation the offender is often brazen, strongly denying his guilt or stubbornly telling a lie, as is typically observed in Case No. W-12. This aspect was noticed also in Case Nos. W-02 and W-04. Umbos employed a new method to force the defendants to tell the truth: he suggested the possibility of turning the case over to Panaytayan, and then to the town where Mangyan Law is invalid and State Law is effective. To the young defendants he did not propose the practice of ordeal. If the defendants had been older, this traditional method would have been much more effective.

Adag followed the precedent of one year before (Case No. W-11) in deciding on a large amount of fine in cash for a threatening action. This is partly because he was angered at the stubbornness of the defendants. At the decision-making stage of this litigation, this old legal authority played a leading role. It seems that he did not like the method of Umbos of imposing light fines so as not to jeopardize the project of the barangay establishment.

It seems possible to discover a latent conflict between this old legal authority and the young one in some dispute cases. These legal authorities are in the relationship of father-in-law and son-in-law. The problem related to this will be examined in the comment of the next case.

Gambling is a major social problem today among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. I have heard of many cases in which Hanunoo-Mangyan boys were cheated by

lowland gamblers. Too much commitment to gambling leads one to theft. The "leaders" of Wasig announced previously that gambling was prohibited. It was a new phenomenon for offenders against this regulation to pay a fine to the "barrio" or local community.

7.4. Disputes due to impolite behavior

As mentioned earlier there is a possibility that any case might fall in this class of dispute. In fact, five of the eight cases presented so far were related to the offense category of impolite behavior. Of the five, two cases required the payment of fine for this offense. These cases were grouped in other classes since *kagalangan* (impolite behavior) was not regarded as a main topic in them. There was only one case which fell directly in this offense category. Traditionally, the amount of fine for impolite behavior is *?upat* (four): 4 *dupa*, 2 *bugway* or 1 *sabud* in beads, or 4 pesos in cash.

The case of Umbos vs. Lighom and Berto (Case No. W-13)

Lighom (married) and Berto (married) came back inebriated from the town on Sunday March 19, 1983. They went to the house of Umbos where he was with his wife Apolonia, his children and Tonio. Lighom is Apolonia's elder brother, *i.e.*, the brother-in-law of Umbos. Berto is also an affinal kin of Umbos, although the relationship is remote (Figure 28).

Lighom shouted to Umbos, "*Kāwo, kapitan, kapitan.....!* (You, Captain, Captain.....!)" He was so drunk that his words could not be understood.

Berto uttered something foul to Umbos, saying, "Umbos, you have girl friends here and there. That's why Apolonia and you are always quarreling." Apolonia was afraid of these drunken people, and she went out of the house, when she lost her senses and fell to the ground.

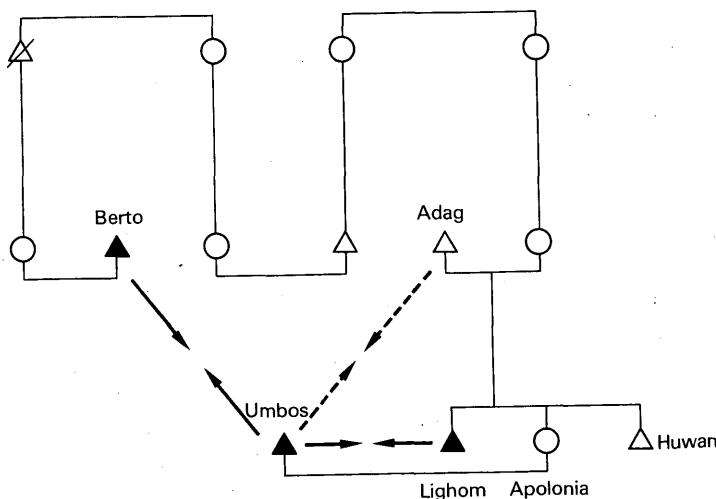


Figure 28. Case of Umbos vs. Lighom and Berto

At about 8:00 a.m. of March 24, people gathered at the house of Yam-ay, secretary of the Kilapnit council office, to observe the litigation. The councilmen became judges.

First, Umbos explained as a plaintiff what Lighom had done at his house. The defendant said that he remembered nothing since he had been so drunk. Umbos said that Lighom did not have to pay him a fine for impolite behavior but that he should not do such a thing again. The councilmen complained, saying, "Isn't there a meal?" Then, Adag, the old and prominent judge, said, "I may be the one to prepare it because I am his father."

Now Umbos explained the words of Berto. This defendant also said that he did not remember anything, and he apologized. One of the councilmen said that Berto had to pay a fine not only for *kagalāyan* but also for *ka?uyā?an* (insult) due to his uncouth statement about the married life of Umbos. Berto said that what he did was really guilty, but that the expenses would be too big if he had to pay the fines. Umbos said: "What Berto said now must be made public. He himself should go around to announce his guilt. Then, this case can be concluded in reconciliation."

The councilmen were still angry with Berto, saying that Berto's words would be wrong even among the lowlanders. They wanted Lighom and Berto to prepare a meal. But the case was, after all, settled in reconciliation.

Comment on Case No. W-13

It may be proper to interpret this dispute as having been caused both by tension between affinal kin and by envy. As discussed earlier, tension is present between the parent-in-law and the son-in-law. To marry Apolonia in 1972, Umbos was required by Adag to practice *pagkitā?an* (a meal offering for marriage) and to build a house "with big pillars" for his parents-in-law in the near future. It is true that Umbos learned a great deal about Mangyan Law from Adag after he moved to Wasig for married life. But Umbos later became a rival of Adag and a few of his sons.

Since Umbos was a man of ability, despite his young age, he was highly appreciated by the municipal officers and the Catholic missionaries. He played an active role as a new-type legal authority and a political leader in the Wasig area. He was trusted by most people. However, his affinal kin, especially a few of his brothers-in-law, seemingly did not want him to be too prominent.

7.5. Disputes due to theft

There were three cases of theft, two of which were robbery cases. Traditionally, the amount of fine for theft (*panakāwan*) is designated as *walo* ('eight'): i.e., 8 *dūpa?*, 8 *bugway*, or 2 *sabud* of glass beads, or 12 pesos in cash. Reimbursement is also required. Today, however, it is rare that a fine is imposed on the offender. If the case is serious (e.g., the theft of a large amount of cash or valuable items, or robbery), it is turned over to the police in the town, as shown in Case No. W-19.

The case of Amit vs. Huwan (Case No. W-18)

This case was introduced earlier in this chapter to show that an offender who refuses to attend a litigation will receive public pressure. The story is that Huwan, the son of the old legal authority Adag, stole money from Amit and ran away, and that Umbos, Adag's son-in-law, managed the problem without opening litigation.

Comment on Case No. W-18

The offender would have been required to pay fines for theft, perjury, impoliteness, etc., with a meal offering, if the legal decision were to follow the traditional system. Then, the people would have been satisfied.

But the young judge was very careful so as to avoid a possible discord with his kin circle at Wasig: Huwan is his brother-in-law. The interesting phenomenon is that Umbos addressed all his brothers-in-law, even younger ones, with the kin term *bayaw*, while the latter all called Umbos by his name. Umbos, who came from another local community (*i.e.*, he practiced an uxorilocal pattern of residence), always showed deference to his brothers-in-law through a linguistic measure.

It can easily be inferred that he did not adopt a traditional method to solve this theft case for fear of possible retaliation by his brothers-in-law and parents-in-law. It must be that Umbos considered it indispensable to choose an exceptional method for the project of establishing a barangay in Kilapnit: he needed support from his affinal kin for that purpose.

The Case of Manay vs. Naning (Case No. W-19)

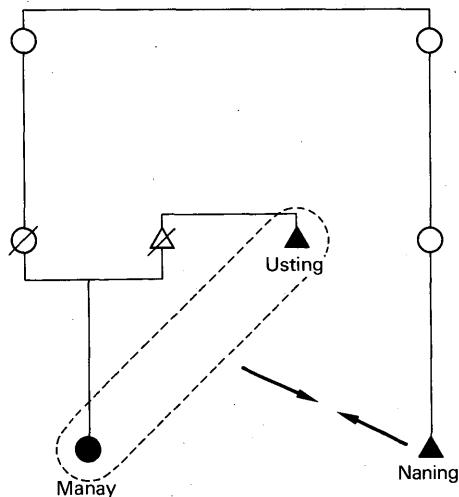
This case occurred at Usting's house in Palihon, one of the settlements of the Wasig local community, in the afternoon of June 20, 1976. Manay (single), the niece and adopted daughter of Usting,

was sleeping while Usting was out. Her second cousin, Naning, visited her and hit her on her face with a wooden stick. He robbed her of 100 pesos and ran away (Figure 29).

When Usting came home, he found her adopted daughter critically wounded. He ran to Umbos and explained what had occurred. Umbos went to Palihon and saw that she was seriously wounded. He took her to the hospital in the town with Usting, Adag and a few others.

Umbos requested the councilmen to find Naning. Hogom, one of the councilmen, took Naning to Kilapnit at about 7:00 a.m. on the following

Figure 29. Case of Usting (Manay) vs. Naning



day. Umbos interrogated Naning in front of many people who gathered there. Naning confessed that he had known that she had some cash from the sale of a pig.

Umbos made a consent document in which Naning promised to return the 100 pesos and to give two chickens as a fine to Manay, and Naning signed it. Then, Umbos made a decision to take Naning to the police in the town.

Naning was imprisoned by the police of Mansalay, and later taken to Pinamalayan, another town of Oriental Mindoro, to be jailed there for three months. All the expenses for the medical treatment of Manay were covered by Usting. He was afraid of retaliation from Amok, the father of Naning, and hence he did not request them to pay the expenses. Amok became angry at Umbos, because this young legal authority had taken Naning to the police.

The case of Oka vs. Marcelo Dipasupil (Case No. W-20)

This is a case between a Hanunoo-Mangyan and a lowlander. At about 11:00 p.m. on February 1, 1979, there was a robbery in the house of Oka, an old male Hanunoo-Mangyan who sold a cow to a lowlander and received 1,000 pesos on the previous day. With two companions watching outside, the burglar broke into Oka's house to get the money. The burglar cut Oka on his face, arms and fingers with a bolo. Oka also inflicted bolo cuts on the burglar's face and belly. His mask fell down and Oka found that the burglar was a lowlander. Oka rushed out of his house. It was located away from others, but he shouted in such a loud voice that several men ran to aid him. The burglar and his companions ran away. Oka went to Banya, a medicineman, to be treated: he bled profusely.

The following morning, his bleeding stopped, but he was unconscious. Umbos left at about 5:30 a.m. for the town to inform the police chief of the event. Oka was carried to a hospital in Roxas by the Catholic missionary from Panaytayan. The police chief did not believe Umbos until he saw the victim, then he promised that he would make arrangements for the arrest of the culprit. He sent a cable to each of the police offices in Mindoro to inform all the hospitals about the culprit, who had been severely wounded on his face and belly by a bolo.

It was found by the end of February that a man with a deep gash in his face had been treated in a hospital of San José, Occidental Mindoro. The patient, named Marcelo Dipasupil, was sent to Mansalay. The police chief examined the suspect and found that he was the burglar. Marcelo confessed that he had known of Oka's income from the sale of his cow and that he had wanted the money. This was the motive for the robbery. Nevertheless, Marcelo refused to mention the names of his companions. Marcelo and Oka talked to each other many times with the police chief as an arbitrator. Whenever they had a meeting, Umbos and the Catholic missionary attended it. Oka demanded the amount of 3,000 pesos, but Marcelo insisted that it was too much. Both of them later agreed on the amount of 2,500 pesos. On April 2, they signed the consent document and Marcelo paid Oka 2,500 pesos as expenses for medical treatment (₱1,500.00) and the reimbursement of the stolen amount (₱1,000.00). Thus this case was settled.

Comment on Cases No. W-19 and No. W-20

Both are robbery cases. In Case No. W-19, the judge sent the offender to the police in the town instead of requiring him to pay fines for several offenses, such as theft, *hidugo?* (violence which brings about bleeding), *kagalangan* (impoliteness), etc., to the victim and prepare a meal (for *samaya?*; recovery of harmony among relatives) in the traditional manner. This is partly because the Hanunoo-Mangyan judges had been advised by the municipal officers to turn over such criminal cases as robbery, theft, etc., to the police office in the town. Since the offender in Case No. W-19 was known to be rough and violent, the legal authority thought it necessary to make severe sanctions against him.

Case No. W-20 is an extreme example which shows the difficulty of a conflict between a Hanunoo-Mangyan and a lowlander. If the case is serious, solution is almost impossible without arbitration by a figure of influence from the town. The arbitrator may be a policeman, a municipal officer or other local government officer, a Catholic missionary, or the like.

In the Hanunoo-Mangyan traditional legal system one is required to fulfill several conditions to become a prominent legal authority or judge, as discussed above. These conditions are not effective when it comes to a conflict with a lowlander. For instance, the magico-religious condition is of crucial importance to most Hanunoo-Mangyan disputants; but it is meaningless to the lowlanders, who have a different cosmological system.

This situation requires the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal authorities to fulfill additional requirements so that they can deal with cases which involve lowlanders. The legal authority of these new-type cases must be literate in Tagalog with a knowledge of socio-political situations in the outside world, and he should be well acquainted with the figures of influence in the town.

7.6. Disputes due to problems regarding marriage

Disputes regarding problems of married life are the largest in number in my collection of 86 cases. In Wasig, however, disputes of this class occur very rarely: there remain only two adultery cases. The number is small, but these cases are remembered as serious matters of the past.

The case of Buyayaw vs. Linaw (Case No. W-22)

It occurred in Mararadanom settlement on November 8, 1977. Buyayaw (married to Emay and about 46 years old) went home from the town, when he saw his younger brother (single, about 21 years of age) together with his wife Emay. His wife was searching for lice in the hair of his brother (Figure 30).

Buyayaw visited Adag to explain the problem to him and to ask his advice. Adag requested some residents of Mararadanom to call Linaw, Emay, Butngol (father of Emay) and Yansing (mother of Buyayaw and Linaw).

The litigation started when people gathered. Linaw and Emay honestly confessed that they had been sweethearts. Adag made a decision, requesting Linaw to

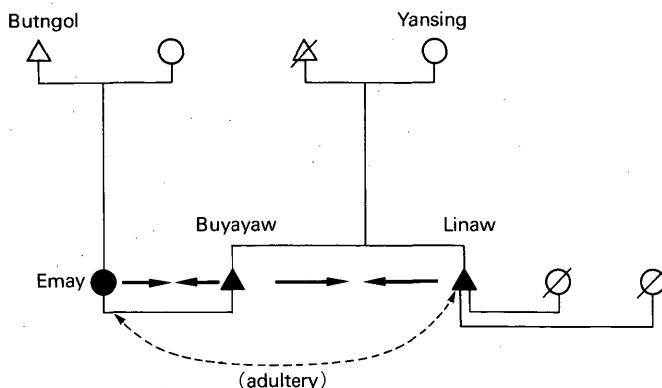


Figure 30. Case of Buyayaw vs. Linaw

prepare a meal (one pig and one *kaban* of rice) so that the bond between the two brothers would be stronger. Adag also said that Linaw had to pay a fine of 1 *sabud* of beads to his brother. After the meal, Buyayaw was no longer angry with his brother and wife. His wife was not asked to pay a fine for refusal of divorce (*hināwid*). This married couple became happy again after this litigation.

Comment on Cases No. W-22

Usually the solution of a dispute due to adultery is not difficult, as seen in Case No. W-22. However, this can become complicated when other factors are involved. The case of Bunbon vs. Ferrer (Case No. W-23), which was introduced in the discussion of relations among the judges, is an example in which the solution became difficult due to the hostile relationship between legal authorities involved in the case.

7.7. Disputes regarding farmland and plants

Of the seven classes of disputes in Wasig, this has the largest number of cases. There are 6 cases: 3 concerning farmland and 3 concerning plants. Half of the 6 cases involved offenders from the lowland region. There is no involvement of females, and the disputants were mostly married and of middle age, *i.e.*, the central figures in agricultural activities. The disputants are kin only in two cases. Out of 3 cases involving lowlanders, one case was dealt with by a lowland arbitrator.

In the Wasig area there are no Hanunoo-Mangyans who possess a land-title in the sense of the State Law. In traditional Hanunoo-Mangyan culture land is not to be possessed by an individual or by a social group. Instead, only plants are owned privately by an individual and his household. A swidden belongs to an individual and his household only while the field is planted and crops are grown there. The site in which an individual has his own plants is regarded as his *posesiyon*, which means that he has the right of use.

The case of Oka vs. Mango (Case No. W-33)

It occurred in April, 1983. Between the *posesiyon* of Oka and Mango is a long and narrow space without any plants. Each of them insisted that the space belonged to him. Oka complained to Umbos.

After several occasions of argument, Umbos made a decision, saying that the two of them should divide the space and that this is possible since there were no plants in the area. This case was thus amicably settled.

The case of Kaye vs. Rodrigo Pajanel (Case No. W-35)

Anday, a resident of the Kinumay settlement, is a good friend of Rodrigo Pajanel (married), a farmer from the town of Mansalay, since both of them were *sabadista* (members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church). Rodrigo wanted to obtain the *posesiyon* of Kaye, a resident of Kinanakan. Without the consent of Kaye, Anday promised Rodrigo that he would give it to him.

Kaye visited Umbos in August, 1981, to ask what he should do. They went to Anday to talk to him about the problem. Anday said, "There is no problem to give a *posesiyon* to Rodrigo, because he is a *sabadista*. No one is treated unequally under God." Umbos said, "But, how come Kaye's *posesiyon* must be given to that lowlander? Kaye is sad, isn't he?" Anday said that Kaye and Rodrigo had to talk to each other about the problem. Umbos agreed.

On August 16, 1981, Umbos asked me to type a manuscript which he had made, indicating the price of each kind of plant in the field (the total amount was 200 pesos). He asked me at the same time to make three copies to be given to the other three. He mentioned that the typewritten consent document would be effective to a lowland farmer since he will surely realize that it is formal. Umbos made them sign the document.

Comment on Cases No. W-33 and No. W-35

Neither case resulted in litigation, but in discussion. Case No. W-33 was easily settled because no lowlander was involved, and neither party suffered a loss.

In Case No. W-35, what Anday did is difficult to understand: it is beyond the common sense of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. In the early 1970's he was considered to be a leader of this area, and Umbos assisted him as a secretary. But he changed after he became a member of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Umbos must have realized that Anday was to blame in this dispute case. But he did not reproach Anday, because the latter was still important for the barangay establishment project.

As observed previously, a consent document handwritten in Tagalog came to be effective recently in Hanunoo-Mangyan disputes. It is interesting that the young Hanunoo-Mangyan judge showed the typewritten document to the lowlander to legalize the contract of agreement: the judge knew that a lowland farmer without a higher educational background would be cowed in front of such a formal document.

The case of Biro vs. Adreliatico Febres (Case No. W-36)

The swidden of Biro, a resident of Kilapnit, is near the Hunglo River. Adreliatico Febres, a lowlander who is a sort of squatter, constructed a house on Biro's farmland with the hope of obtaining the land and eleven coconut trees in the neighboring farmland of Dangaw, who is from a settlement near the Malaton River. Biro visited Umbos, his brother-in-law, to get his advice.

Umbos took Biro to the town of Roxas to meet an officer of the Philippine Constabulary (PC) there. This was in 1978. The PC officer ordered Adreliatico to leave Biro's farmland. Adreliatico signed the consent document made by the officer. Nevertheless, Adreliatico planted 100 banana trees on Biro's land in May, 1979.

About 18 Hanunoo-Mangyan residents gathered near Adreliatico's house which was located in Biro's *posesiyon*. Adreliatico was in the town at that time. The 18 Hanunoo-Mangyans planted banana trees, and then they pulled up the pillars of Adreliatico's house. They carried it to the Wasig River. They were all angry with the lowlander, and they planted banana trees even in his house site.

Two weeks later, Adreliatico became angry when he learned what had happened to his house site. There was a rumor that he made a complaint against Biro to a PC office.

Biro and Umbos visited the police chief in the town of Mansalay in March, 1980. One week later the police chief went to Biro's *posesiyon* to hold a meeting. He made a consent document, saying that Adreliatico would leave. When Adreliatico signed the document, he asked, "What happened to my house? Probably Biro carried it to some other place." The police chief said, "Don't talk about that. Everything is settled." Then, Adreliatico asked about the banana trees he had planted on Biro's farmland. The police chief answered that the law required Biro to return them to Adreliatico. Biro promised that he would carry 100 banana trees to Adreliatico's *posesiyon* in another area near the Wasig River. The police chief advised Biro and Adreliatico to shake hands, and the case was settled.

Comment on Case No. W-36

It is said, as discussed below, that the problem of landgrabbing by lowland squatters has become serious since the early-1960's, when many Bisayans moved to Mindoro Island and sought farmlands in the highland areas.

Case No. W-36 may be regarded as an outcome of these circumstances. This case is also a good example of how arbitration by an influential figure from the town can make a solution possible.

In this case may be observed the courageous resistance of Hanunoo-Mangyan residents against the thoughtless lowlander.

The case of Buyayaw vs. Belly Galiga (Case No. W-38)

Buyayaw, a resident of Kilapnit, had a swidden in Kinumay. Belly Galiga, a lowlander living in the town, had his swidden near Buyayaw's. In the beginning of

March, 1981, a fire spread to Buyayaw's farmland from Belly's swidden. It burned the crops in Buyayaw's place. He complained to Umbos.

A discussion was held at Ongay's house in Kilapnit. Buyayaw maintained that Belly had to pay him 500 pesos for the loss of the crops. Belly agreed with Buyayaw.

Comment on Case No. W-38

This is an example of a dispute brought about by a lowlander and amicably settled without arbitration by an influential figure from the town. Of course the lowland defendant knew that Umbos was acquainted with the police officers and other figures of influence.

The case of Maming vs. Yagyag (Case No. W-39)

On September 20, 1981, three pigs belonging to Yagyag entered Maming's swidden and ate some rice plants there. Maming saw this and complained to Umbos, who asked Banhing, one of the councilmen, to call Yagyag. Maming is a resident of Malaton, and Yagyag from just near Kilapnit. The former is the son-in-law of the latter.

At about 6:00 p.m. of the same day the litigation started at the house of Umbos. Maming requested Yagyag to pay for the rice eaten by his pigs. Yagyag answered that he did not want to pay for what the pigs had eaten.

Yagyag always kept himself distant from the community activities of Kilapnit in spite of the nearness of his residence. He did not attend any meeting there. Like Umbos, Maming also wanted his father-in-law to participate in the community gatherings. Umbos asked Maming if he could reconcile the case. Maming said, "It's okay, if he apologizes. I hope my father-in-law will participate in meetings of Kilapnit." Yagyag apologized to Maming. There was a community meeting on October 24, and Yagyag attended, as he promised.

Comment on Case No. W-39

It can be presumed that there was previous latent tension between the disputants who are in the relationship of father-in-law and son-in-law. According to the traditional system, Yagyag would have been ordered to pay Maming a fine for *kagalāyan* (impoliteness) and to pay for the loss of plants. This is another example in which the decision made by the judge was to promote the barangay establishment project.

The case of Berto vs. Anggin (Case No. W-40)

Berto and his brother-in-law, Anggin, disagreed with each other regarding their agricultural plants. Berto visited Umbos and made a complaint. On May 1, 1984, Umbos went to Marawing, the settlement of Berto, with Gabriel, Taban and Adag, Umbos' father-in-law.

Umbos did not take up this problem as a litigation case, but as a case for *harampanan*. The background of this case was:

The *montero* (officers of the Bureau of Forestry; fr. Sp. *montero*, 'hunter') surveyed the *posesiyon* of Berto. Before the survey was made, however, Anggin had planted several kinds of trees there, *i.e.*, 1 mango, 1 cacao, 2 coffee, and 1 rose-apple (*yambu*?, *Syzygium malaccense* [L.] Merr. and Perr.). Berto wanted to buy these from Anggin. But Anggin refused.

Berto asked Anggin: "How come won't you sell me the plants? They are in my *posesiyon*, aren't they? I am the one who weeds and guards in the *posesiyon*. It is true that those plants couldn't have been purchased long ago. But the story is different now that there has been a survey made by the Government. Today the land is more important, not the plants. It is possible for me to sell my plants in your *posesiyon*." Berto had one mango tree in the *posesiyon* of Anggin. But Anggin said: "I don't want payment in money. That's not a Mangyan custom. I have never heard from the elders that one has to pay for plants."

Umbos felt bad about Anggin, because the latter did not try to understand the actual socio-political circumstances of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. He thought that Anggin was *pilosopo* ('stubborn'; fr. Sp. *filósofo*, 'philosopher'), and said: "We have made a petition to our Government so that 250 hectares of land will belong to Kilapnit under the law of our Government. I hope all of you will cooperate with this project. But Anggin doesn't want to accept the new system. It means he doesn't want to go along with the others!"

At last Anggin agreed that they would meet again on May 5 to sign the consent document with regard to the selling of the plants. In the end, however, Anggin did not appear on the appointed date. This case remained unsettled.

Comment on Case No. W-40

It is not impossible to plant crops in the *posesiyon* of another person, but a certain agreement must be prepared beforehand. The fact that Anggin neglected this procedure became one of the elements of the problem. That the disputants are brothers-in-law is another factor.

This is interesting in the sense that a clash of two contradictory ideologies, old and new, can be extracted in concrete. Emphasis is placed on the plants in the old or traditional ideology, whereas the focus is on the land in the new ideology, which is supported by the logic of the State Law.

7.8. Other dispute cases

Two cases are introduced here. They do not fall into any of the classes of disputes examined so far. One dispute case (Case No. W-45) arose from the quarrelling of a married couple, and another (Case No. W-46) from an incestuous relationship.

The case of Paray vs. Mayanggat (Case No. W-45)

On May 14, 1984, some 20 people helped the married couple, Mayanggat and Hun-ay, with planting rice seeds in their swidden. After the planting a meal was

offered to the helpers. While they were eating the married couple quarreled. Hun-ay took out one *sabud* of white beads in front of her husband, and said that she wanted to divorce him because she hated him. Her mother, Para, and brother, Biro, were present, and they said that Hun-ay could not do so. Hun-ay apologized to the helpers.

On May 18, Paray, Berto's wife, visited Umbos to make a complaint against Mayanggat. According to her, Mayanggat said at the meal after planting, "You love me, don't you?" His words hurt his wife and quarreling started. Para said that she could not understand how come Mayanggat had uttered such words to her. Umbos said that a litigation must be held the next Saturday.

At about 10:00 a.m. on May 26, the litigation started at the chapel of Kilapnit. There were some 70 participants. The councilmen of Kilapnit played the role of officers for solution of the problem. There was no main judge. Mayanggat explained the reason of the quarrel, saying that he had been drunk at that time and that his wife had been too talkative, making a private problem too open to others.

People remembered that the married couple had done the same thing before, when Adag required them to prepare two chickens and four *ganta* of rice for a meal. This time also, Adag told them to prepare the material promised. The married couple refused for several hours, and at last consented to the requirement of Adag, at 7:00 p.m. The participants cooked the meal at midnight, and ate together at 4:00 a.m. the following morning. After the meal Adag said to the couple: "Don't repeat this offense. If you break the promise, you will have to prepare one large pig and one *kaban* of rice." Umbos and the councilmen warned Mayanggat, "Don't get drunk again" and advised him to build a house in the barrio.

Comment on Case No. W-45

What is interesting in this case is that the complaint of Paray, the first accuser, was ignored and the concern turned to the quarreling of the married couple. Paray's complaint would have required from Mayanggat the payment of a fine for impolite behavior. However, the councilmen were more concerned with the couple's quarreling. The meal expected from the couple was more important to the old legal authority (and probably to most of the participants, too), whereas the project of barangay establishment—making the couple live in Kilapnit is a part of it—was more important to the young leaders. In other words, the festive factor of litigation was emphasized by the old leader; and the political factor by the young leaders.

The case of Usting vs. Tipon (Case No. W-46)

Manay (about 14 years of age) is the niece and adopted daughter of Usting (about 52 years of age). They were introduced in Case No. W-19 (a robbery case). Manay's mother, Ambay, died in 1965, and her father, Lagak, in 1970, after which Manay moved to Usting's house together with her brother, Lun-ay. Usting's wife, Banay, died in 1978. Later Usting fell in love with his niece, and had sexual relations with her.

Usting took Manay to his nephew, Tipon, and said, "The two of us love each other." Tipon said, "It's impossible, because you are not *ribatāwo* (non-kin)." Then, Usting insisted that they were already married. Tipon advised them to visit Awi, one of the religious authorities referred to as *pandaniwan sa kararanyan* who knows a prayer regarding incest, and requested him to inform the *apo danom* ('spirit of water') that the two *magtal?anākan* (close kin) loved each other. Usting consented to his advice. In reality, however, Usting told Manay that it was useless.

In December, 1979, Tipon became angry when he learned that the two had not followed his advice. He told them to separate, but they did not do so. Then, Tipon took Manay away by force.

Usting got mad and visited Umbos to make a complaint against Tipon. Umbos became a judge. Tipon and Manay were called, and many other people gathered. Umbos said that Usting had to realize his guilt; that the two of them had to prepare two pigs and 2 *kaban* of rice for a meal; and that they had to submit 16 *bugway* of glass beads (8 from Usting and 8 from Manay) and 1 *sabud* of beads which contain two bigger beads of golden color to the *pandaniwan sa kararanyan*, who would give them to the spirit of water. He continued to maintain that they could not marry if they would not follow his advice. Usting did not prepare the required things. Manay stated that she did not like Usting anymore because he would not prepare them.

Umbos declared that the two did not have any relation now. Usting looked disappointed but he could do nothing.

In May 1980, there was a thunderstorm with a little rain, and the lightning storm continued for a long time. People thought that it must be due to the deed of Usting and Manay. Manay asked Kabal, another religious authority, to pray for her. Manay married Yayaw of Kinumay in September of the same year, and she became happy. As for Usting, he died from cholera, but the people thought that he died from the anger of the spirit of water.

Comment on Case No. W-46

Sexual relations within the fourth cousin range are considered incestuous among the Hanunoo-Mangyan. The rule of incest axiomatically restricts marriage. To the Hanunoo-Mangyan, violation of the rule of incest causes not only social conflict, as seen in the above case, but also unusual phenomena, such as strong lightning and thunder, drought, and/or disease or death of the violator, due to the anger of the spirit of water. In other words, the problem of incest lies across two domains, social and religious.

Case No. W-46 shows in concrete that Mangyan Law cannot wholly deal with the problem of incest, but only with the social sphere thereof. With regard to this problem the role of the legal authority is to restore the distorted part of the social system to the normal state, and to be a bridge to the religious authority whose role is to restore the distorted part of the spirit world.

7.9. Summary

In this study, only 22 cases were considered out of a collection of 86 dispute cases. Of these 22 cases, 14 were adopted by legal authorities as litigation cases, while the other 8 were dealt with as cases for discussion.

The purpose of this section was to extract the factors which explicitly or implicitly underlie the causes and characteristics of disputes, and/or the decisions made during the dispute settlement procedures. Of the 22, there were only two in which no factors other than the main topic to be resolved were discovered: *i.e.*, one litigation case caused by adultery (Case No. W-22) and another, a *haramparan* case brought about by the problem of farmland borders (Case No. W-33). Examination of the other 20 cases revealed that various factors were involved. To summarize, they are:

1. Latent but elementary tension between affinal kin; *i.e.*, between sisters-in-law (No. W-04), between brothers-in-law (No. W-40), brother-in-law vs. sister-in-law (Nos. W-05 and W-10), father-in-law vs. son-in-law (Nos. W-13 and W-39), mother-in-law vs. daughter-in-law (No. W-02), and between remote affinal kin (Nos. W-03, W-10 and W-13),
2. Religious factors; black magic (Nos. W-02 and W-23) and belief in the spirit world regarding incest (No. W-46),
3. Jealousy (No. W-04) and envy (No. W-10, and probably Nos. W-04, W-10 and W-18),
4. Conflict between legal authorities at the level of the traditional legal system (No. W-23), and
5. A set of factors related to socio-political changes; legal decision into reconciliation as tactics to support the barangay establishment project (Nos. W-02, W-03, W-05, W-10, W-18, W-35, W-39 and W-45), new form and/or content of punishment (Nos. W-11 and W-12), conflict with the lowlanders and arbitration by lowland figures of influence (Nos. W-20 and W-36), resistance of the Hanunoo-Mangyan against the lowlanders (Nos. W-35 and W-36), separation between the old-type leaders (emphasis on the festive aspect of litigation) and the new-type leaders (emphasis on the socio-political aspect of litigation) (No. W-45), and contradiction of old and new ideologies regarding farmland (No. W-45).

In this study the discussion has been confined to just a limited number of dispute cases from one community. Examination of other materials from different communities will enable us to penetrate more deeply the social realities of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

8. Recent Changes

Some trends toward socio-political change are observed throughout the

Hanunoo-Mangyan region. The events which have recently effected changes in society are: 1) rapid destruction of forests, 2) establishment of a barrio, and 3) introduction of the barangay system.

8.1. Destruction of forests

Destruction of forests did not start recently since, needless to say, an inappropriate system of slash-and-burn agriculture is itself destructive to the forests. The Hanunoo-Mangyan open forested areas and make swiddens with a schedule that burned sites will become forests again in the future. On the other hand, the lowlanders slash-and-burn wide forested areas in the mountainous region without regard for the future.

Although accurate information is lacking, it is said that a number of Bisayan lowlanders moved to Mindoro Island in the early-1960's. For those immigrants who were not accepted by the Tagalog social world, the only way to survive was to become squatters in the zone between the Tagalog region and the highlands occupied by the Mangyans. They sought farmland in these highland areas. Since they did not have such a slash-and-burn method as employed by the highlanders, vast areas of the Hanunoo-Mangyan region became cogon grasslands. The making of pasture lands by lowland businessmen also caused the rapid destruction of forests.

The destruction of forests necessarily brings about a reduction of the area on which the Hanunoo-Mangyan life is based. They have come to be obliged to cultivate the secondary forests before their complete recovery. Overcultivation has caused a vicious cycle in which the grassland covered by cogon has been rapidly increasing [WATARI 1983b: 88].

The Hanunoo-Mangyan elders maintain that they could enjoy more food in the past. While I was doing fieldwork in 1980 and 1981 people complained that their plants—not only rice but bananas and even sweet potatoes—were destroyed by rats. They insisted: "The rats infest our farms, since they cannot get enough food in the forests anymore."

Litigation was rather rare in the past, but it is said that it was always followed by a special meal. Frequently, they say, two large pigs and four *pasoy* (about 600 liters) of unhusked rice were prepared for the meal. Today, however, a special meal is not so often required due to the food shortage caused by the destruction of the forests. The number of participants has become smaller, and the festive nature of litigation has gradually declined.

The reduction of forested areas has affected also the characteristics of disputes and the way of settling them. In the Hanunoo-Mangyan traditional cognition land is not to be possessed by an individual nor by a social group: it belongs to the 'spirit of land'. Instead, only plants are owned privately by an individual and his household members only while the farm is made and crops are grown there.

A site in which an individual has his own plants is, as mentioned before, regarded as his *posesiyon*, the land to which he has the usufruct. However, most of those areas are within the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Forestry, in the sense of the State

Law of the Philippines. An exceptional case is seen only in Barrio Panaytayan, where private ownership of farmland within a certain portion was approved legally and the owners pay tax for their titled lands to the Municipal Office of Mansalay.

It is said that conflicts regarding farmlands and agricultural crops occurred very rarely before, when people could enjoy vast forested areas. Recently, however, conflicts of this sort have become rather frequent.

If a dispute occurs among the Hanunoo-Mangyan it is settled usually without much difficulty by a traditional legal authority. But if one of the disputants is a lowlander, as is often the case, solution of the problem becomes more difficult. There are but a few cases in which the offender is a Hanunoo-Mangyan: the reality is mostly the reverse. We can find not a few case-examples in which a lowlander built a house on the farmland of a Hanunoo-Mangyan without permission, or where the fire coming from the swidden of a lowlander transferred to the farmland of a Hanunoo-Mangyan and destroyed the agricultural plants, and so on. Even though the victim complains through a Hanunoo-Mangyan judge, the lowland offender seldom admits fault.

If the offender is a Hanunoo-Mangyan he will be afraid of the magical power of the judge, who might be able to practice black magic. Nevertheless, a lowland offender, who has a different cosmological system, can neglect it; and, above all, he might react with a superior air from the beginning. Consequently, the Hanunoo-Mangyan victim visits a legal authority who is well acquainted with the figures of influence in the town, such as a policeman or a military man, a municipal officer, etc., who is powerful enough to arbitrate the dispute case. This course of action is clearly backed by the physical sanction based in the police force. This aspect is never observed in the traditional system of Mangyan Law.

The situation requires the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal authorities to fulfill additional conditions so that they can deal with cases which involve lowlanders. The new-type Hanunoo-Mangyan legal authority must be literate in Tagalog with a knowledge of socio-political situations in the outside world, as well as be well-acquainted with the figures of influence in the town.

8.2. A new system: the *barrio* and the *barangay*

There are no communities in the Hanunoo-Mangyan region which have been free from socio-political pressure by the lowlanders. Labor exploitation and land-grabbing, legal or illegal, have been prevalent throughout the region.

Under this situation, the Hanunoo-Mangyan seem to have only three alternatives. First, they can choose to stick to their traditional way of life, as typically seen in a community near the headwaters of the Hawili River, where they have refused all proposals for community development offered by missionaries and administrative officers from the town. I had the impression that this choice is mainly due to the guidance of prominent yet informal leaders.

The second choice is to accept the proposals from the lowlanders, paving the way toward integration into Philippine politics. An instance of this can be found in

Panaytayan. It gained legal status as one of the barrios of Mansalay in 1967. Later, in 1975, Barrio Panaytayan came to be referred to as "Barangay Panaytayan", when the so-called barangay system was adopted throughout the Philippines. Today, as in other Christian communities, a Barangay Council exists officially in Panaytayan. A Hanunoo-Mangyan community, which lacks an able leader and refuses the second possible choice, would be obliged to become a subject of businessmen from the lowland region. The residents of a community located in a lower region near the Hawili River provide an example of this. They worked in pasture lands located near their place, under a Christian "boss", at low wages.

The introduction of the barrio system in Panaytayan had various impacts. Litigation was held following the traditional system in other local communities. In Panaytayan, however, disputes came to be managed by the Barrio Captain and his councilmen. Rumors spread that a large amount of money was given to them as a bribe, that there were negotiations between the barrio staff and the politicians in the town (especially at the time of governmental elections), etc.

On September 21, 1972, former President Marcos proclaimed Martial Law throughout the Philippines. The Hanunoo-Mangyan said that they had been frightened at the news. It was possible for those who lived in the mountains to ignore the curfew hour order. However, they realized that something very important was occurring in the world of the lowlanders when a warning spread throughout the highland region that one would be arrested by the police if he carried his bolo in the town.

The Barrio Captain became a formal carrier of information or messages from the town to the highland residents. This nature was emphasized after 1975, when the barrio system was abolished and the barangay system, which aimed at centralization of power with the President on the top [GABOT 1976], was newly established in the Philippines.

Various projects were launched under the name of Marcos. The most remarkable of them was the establishment of a so-called "Barangay Court" on the level of each barangay. Marcos promulgated Presidential Decree No. 1508 on June 11, 1978, instituting a body designated as "Lupong Tagapayapa" (Committee for Amicable Settlement of Disputes), headed by the Barangay Captain and consisting of local residents, for the purpose of amicable settlement of disputes on the barangay level. Orendain explains:

The amicable settlement of disputes is virtually mandatory for, as a general rule, no person may go directly to court or any government office for the adjudication of his dispute with another on any matter falling within the authority of the Lupon unless all efforts to conciliate them have failed or the arbitration settlement has been validly repudiated. A complainant, however, may file his case directly with the court or with the proper government office where speedy legal action is urgent to prevent an injustice from being committed to anyone.

The settlement of cases, whether by conciliation or arbitration, has the force

and effect of a court decision, and may be enforced through judicial execution. Either of the parties, however, who may be dissatisfied with the settlement or agreement, may repudiate it on the ground that his consent was secured by fraud, violence or intimidation. The services of the Barangay Captain and the members of the Lupon are free of charge, and no cost or service fee may be charged for said proceedings. [ORENDAIN 1978: 4-5]

The Committee for Amicable Settlement of Disputes was formally established in Barangay Panaytayan, with the Barangay Captain as the Chairman. However, the Barangay Captain lost public confidence later partly because he and his wife were from another local community and they had no relatives in the Panaytayan area, and partly because many people disliked his compulsory and corruptive attitudes. One person complained to me about their problem, saying: "The leaves of a tree fall if its trunk rots off." (In 1982, this Barrio Captain resigned and left Panaytayan.)

In the Wasig area, on the other hand, a young leader, who satisfies all the conditions required to be a new-type judge, commenced to found a new settlement near one of the tributary waters of the Wasig River, with the assistance of Catholic missionaries. In 1973, one of the settlements of Wasig, which is locally referred to as "Kinumay", was approved as a *sitio* (subdivided district of a barrio) of Panaytayan by the Municipal Office of Mansalay. Anday, one of the most intelligent people in this area, was appointed to the position of leader of this sitio. They called him *kapitan* (captain). The Catholic missionary in Panaytayan gave assistance to them. Since Kapitan Anday could not read or write Tagalog, he asked Umbos, the young but prominent legal authority, to assist him as his secretary. In his capacity as Secretary of the sitio, and under Anday's name, Umbos submitted a petition to the Municipal Office (and even to the Office of the President) so that Kinumay could be given official status as an independent barrio. Later, the members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church stayed in the sitio for mission work, and Anday and his immediate relatives became members of this religious sect, refusing to follow the Catholic missionaries. With the guidance of Adag and with the cooperation of the Catholic missionaries, Umbos tried to establish a new settlement near one of the tributaries of the Wasig River. The new settlement has been named "Kilapnit". Umbos tried to persuade the residents of Wasig and the nearby area to transfer to this new settlement, or at least build their houses so that it could qualify as a barangay. He appealed to them that the choice of isolation would result in greater problems in the future and that their community would be given budget allotment if it was admitted as a barangay. A simple chapel was built by the residents and the construction of an elementary school building started.

The people of Wasig reacted to this project in three different ways. Some took the stand that nothing can be trusted as long as a lowlander is involved. A few of them moved to the interior region so as to avoid the possible danger they felt. Those who agreed to the barangay establishment project moved to this new settlement. Those who showed a neutral reaction stayed neither too close nor too far away.

They avoided joining positively in the activities related to the project: for instance, they did not send their children to school nor did they attend mass at the chapel.

In 1979 Kilapnit was approved as a sitio (formally, a *purok* under the barangay system) of Panaytayan. Then an election for the leader of the sitio was held in Kilapnit. Some 100 people voted and Umbos was elected to this position. He organized an informal administrative body, following the structure of the Barangay Council of Panaytayan. He designated this administrative body as "Mga Manununo" ('the Seniors' or 'the Leaders'). Under the Kapitan (Captain) are the Sekretariya (Secretary) and the Tresorero (Treasurer). To both the latter 2 positions were appointed young ladies who had studied at the elementary school in Panaytayan and at the Catholic high school in the town. There are six Konsehal (Councilmen) who are considered to be *gorāgon* ('elders'; generally married although not so old).

Since this young leader is literate in Tagalog he became a liaison figure between the Municipal Office and this new sitio. His talent as a legal authority was widely known, and most dispute cases came to him. Communal sites, such as the chapel or the school building, were often used as sites for litigation. Umbos asked his councilmen to attend litigations and give advice to him. Although he usually acted as judge, any one of the councilmen was sometimes requested by him to act in his place.

The examination of recent dispute cases in Wasig shows that many legal decisions have not been made through the traditional procedure, nor in strict observance of traditional punishment. The young legal authority often avoided severe decisions based on precedent: instead he did his best to lead dispute cases to *payāpa?* (reconciliation), or he tried to reduce the amount of fines, often omitting the punishment of meal offering. His leniency is mainly due to his fear that the party defeated might transfer to another location, amounting to a further setback of the project of establishing a barangay in this area. Obviously, this young leader made use of litigation as a means to support the project. It was highly appreciated and supported by many of the residents of the Wasig area: he was a contrast to the legal authority of Panaytayan, who was reproached for employing litigations as a means of corruption.

This young legal authority sometimes asks the police chief or the other figures of influence in the town to arbitrate a difficult dispute case which involves a lowlander. Now people cannot help admitting that there are dispute cases which can be solved with ease if turned over to such figures. The young judge sometimes terrifies the disputants who stubbornly tell a lie at litigations, saying, for instance: "It cannot be helped. Let's turn this case over to the town. I am sure you will be in jail for at least five years under the law of the lowlanders!" Then, the liar tells the truth.

It is clear that the police force of the lowland world has come to be formally inserted into the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system in response to recent changes. Although traditionally the course of legal action is decided chiefly on the basis of both magico-religious and economic sanctions, recently it has come to be decided on the basis of physical sanction (socially recognized force of arms) of the *batas damū?on* (lowlanders' law).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this study I have attempted to discuss three main aspects of Hanunoo-Mangyan folk culture: social organization, religion and customary law.

In the discussion of their social organization, I attempted to show a monolineal tinge in a cognatic or bilateral setting from the angle of an axial family-line argument posed by Muratake. After analyzing the kinship terminology and the social groups of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, I attempted to clarify their social organization, focusing on the informal socio-political leader and the first rice-seed planter. Through a comparison with other ethnolinguistic groups, I presented the hypothesis that a magico-religious leader oriented grouping forms a basis which would accept the emergence of a formal socio-political leader, and that it will lead the magico-religious leader oriented society to a formal socio-political leader = magico-religious leader oriented society.

The territory of the Hanunoo-Mangyan has gradually been reduced, legally or illegally, by Christian lowlanders. It is not an overstatement to maintain that the history of their contacts with lowlanders is the product of their attempts to escape from the socio-political impact of the latter. The sex and marriage regulations which prohibit the Hanunoo-Mangyan from marrying lowlanders can be interpreted as a passive resistance to the latter: an attempt to prevent their invasion in the social world of this weak ethnolinguistic group through marriage. Only when they realize the threat to the survival of their society posed by the lowlanders, will the informal socio-political leaders of the Hanunoo-Mangyan begin to assume a more important role. Although it is impossible to point out the presence of a discrete corporate group in Hanunoo-Mangyan society, this society does have, as shown in the Hawili case, a tinge or atmosphere of corporate groupings.

My fieldwork was limited to the areas with which lowlanders can make contact rather easily. Since it is not possible to present a complete picture of Hanunoo-Mangyan social composition and orientation on the basis of the data obtained from these limited areas, I have been able to postulate only a rough hypothesis. To pursue further the topic of the present discussion, intensive research is needed in other settlements, such as the following:

1. Settlements which are adjacent to the lowland areas, *e.g.*, those in Bulalacao and Manaol;
2. Settlements which are adjacent to the Buhid areas, *e.g.*, those in Sinariri and

Tagaskan; and

3. Settlements where inhabitants have little contact with either Christian lowlanders or the Buhid people.

Fieldwork in such settlements will make it possible to consider the problem of "cultural drift" [EGGAN 1941] within the Hanunoo-Mangyan region.

In the argument of their religion and world view, their beliefs regarding supernaturals and funeral rites were examined first. An attempt was made there to consider their world view from the standpoint that the human cognition is possible by creating a discontinuum in a continuous phenomenon, which was formulated by Leach. The focus was placed on the dichotomy of the settlement (inner) and the forest (outer) to indicate that their living-space itself is a model of their world view.

The world of the dead is partially transposed to the graveyard, a part of this world. The graveyard is a spot which both separates and bridges the world of the living (this world) and the world of the dead (other world). The same can be said of the cave, in which exhumed bones are placed, and the miniature house, which is made for the offering to the souls of the dead. These spatial domains are, in other words, the borders of this world (inner) and the other world (outer). Living men offer hand-made clothes, cooked crops, cooked meat of domestic animals, etc. (*i.e.*, culturally managed things) to the dead in the other world through these borders. If the living men of this world make gifts to the other world, fortunes (health and good harvest) are yielded in return to this world—this logic of exchange seems to underlie the series of funeral rites in which offerings are often made.

If agricultural rites are considered in this scheme, interpretation becomes possible with regard to several phenomena. The termite mound for the rite of the first rice-seed planting and the corners of the house and houseyard in which offerings are made, too, are borders of this world and the other world. In the ritual for rain, the seacoast or the riverside becomes the border of the two opposing worlds. Living men try to establish communication between this and the other worlds by means of making gifts at these border spots.

Most of this discussion was devoted to the extraction of a rather geometrical framework for the elucidation of the Hanunoo-Mangyan world view or socio-cosmology. However, a considerable number of events which do not fall within such a framework occur in their daily life. The domain of illness is one of them.

The rituals for curing needs another framework for interpretation. In this chapter, three cases of healing rituals were presented. The examination of these cases illustrates that the illness has a mechanism for solving the problem of envy and correcting the distortions created in the traditional social and religious order among the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

In the investigation of their customary law and social change, an attempt was made first to outline their legal system. Second, dispute cases were presented and examined, and then the changing aspects of their legal system were discussed.

Hanunoo-Mangyan litigation is one means of social control based on economic

sanctions. However, observation of its procedure reveals that it has another aspect: woven into litigation are elements of amusement or recreation, and a festive implication. Their legal system is equipped with a device which, in addition to providing them with occasions of cultural recreation, allows them to overcome their normally rather closed social relationships. Litigation is, in other words, one of the "optimal settings for the creation of *communitas*" [SWYNGEDOUW 1973: 21].

Recent socio-political changes have affected their legal system. One is the destruction of the forests, chiefly by the lowlanders. The festive nature of litigation has declined due to the food shortage caused by the rapid deforestation. This problem has also affected the characteristics of disputes. Recently, disputes concerning farmland have increased.

In Wasig, people have recently made preparations for their community to be officially admitted by the Municipal Office as a barangay. Most dispute cases came to be treated by a new-type young legal authority at a communal site, such as a chapel or a school building. This legal authority often led dispute cases to reconciliation in order to promote the project of establishing a barangay.

It is not rare today for lowlanders to be involved in conflicts. This situation has required legal authorities to satisfy such additional conditions as being literate in Tagalog and well-acquainted with the figures of influence in the town, because their arbitration is often needed to solve such a conflict. Thus a new tendency in the Hanunoo-Mangyan legal system is the introduction of physical force from the outside world.

Throughout this study I have been interested in the interaction between the social world of the Hanunoo-Mangyan and that of the lowlanders. While it is true that this mountain people has suffered from socio-political pressure of the lowlanders, it is equally true that they have recently needed the lowland world, especially in the domain of their legal system. I realize that this symbiotic aspect must be further stressed in the future study of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

"...if there were no policemen and prisons, scholars asked, what made people obey the rules? How did disputes ever get settled if there were no judges?" [ROBERTS 1979: 12]. The study of the legal system among the Hanunoo-Mangyan apparently provides us with materials of great interest to approach this problem and also to inquire into the question of how the physical force (national legal system) is accepted in their society.

In this study only one mountain people in Mindoro Island, the Hanunoo-Mangyan, has been considered. But the viewpoint presented here will, I believe, throw light on the study of other ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines.

APPENDIX:

DISPUTE CASES IN HAWILI AND PANAYTAYAN

(H-01) The Case of Gihitam vs. Angdan

Gihibitam, an elderly man, is a resident of Hawili. He is Dawa's husband. While he was in the town, Angdan visited Dawa and gave her some fish as a gift. Angdan is the son of Dawa's brother. After Angdan left, Gihibitam came home. Dawa cooked the fish for supper. After the meal, Gihibitam asked his wife where she had obtained them. She answered that Angdan had given them to her, but Gihibitam did not believe her and suspected that they were from another man.

Dawa called Angdan. He mentioned that he was the one who had given the fish to her. But Gihibitam said that he could not believe Angdan. Then, Dawa called all her brothers.

A small-scale litigation began. Gihibitam himself became a judge. Daliot, one of the younger brothers of Dawa, said to Gihibitam and his wife, "What is the cause of this litigation? Is it only because of the fish? Aren't you ashamed? Both of you have to understand each other, for you are a married couple." Dawa mentioned that she could not understand why Gihibitam did not believe her. Then Gihibitam said, "Why did Angdan give a gift to a woman while her husband was away? He failed to show respect to her husband." Angdan was requested by Gihibitam to pay 4 *bugway* of beads to him as a fine for *kagalāyan* (impolite behavior). Angdan paid the fine to Gihibitam. On the other hand, this elderly man prepared a pig and rice, and he offered a meal to all the participants to show that the conflict with Dawa and Angdan was settled.

(H-02) The Case of Goma vs. Biro

Goma, a middle-aged married man, and Biro, a newly married man, were residents of Hawili. The former was the father-in-law of the latter. In 1982, Goma insisted that Biro had stolen 200 bananas from his swidden. Although he did not observe his son-in-law take them, he knew that the latter had borrowed the same number of bananas from a lowlander and that he had been requested to return them.

A small-scale litigation was held with Litaw as a judge. Biro asserted that those bananas were his own. But Goma said with anger, "They were mine. Your swidden is just a new one here, and how can you obtain bananas?" Litaw said to Biro, "It is clear that you stole them. If you will be honest, we can finish this litigation soon." In the end, Biro confessed that he was the one who stole them. The judge ordered Biro to return the same number of bananas and pay 4 pesos as a fine for *panayākan* (theft) to Goma.

(H-03) The Case of Kuri vs. Hulyo

Kuri, an elderly married man, is a resident of lower Hawili. He was known as a legal authority with ability in black magic. He had a maize field and a hut in the downstream area of the Hawili River. No one lived in the hut, but Kuri kept all his harvested maize there. In October, 1983, he found that a certain portion of his maize had been stolen. He told Aniw, who came back from the town, that someone had stolen his maize and that he was looking for the thief. Aniw said that there was news in the town that Hulyo had sold a half sack of maize for 30 pesos to Pakit, a lowlander. Kuri visited this lowlander and found that Aniw's story was true. The sack which Pakit had was Kuri's.

Hulyo, a young married man, is a resident of Panaytayan. He was known to have light fingers. When Hulyo came to the hut of Kuri, the latter asked the former if he had stolen the maize. Hulyo said that he did not steal it. Kuri said to Hulyo, "Then, why does Pakit have my sack? You used it to carry my maize, didn't you? Don't say that you didn't steal it." Hulyo became quiet.

Kuri visited Baloy, the judge of Bait, and made a complaint. Hulyo went back to Panaytayan to ask Akdag, one of the legal authorities in this barrio, to plead for him. Akdag said to Hulyo, "This case is difficult. If you don't pay me in advance, I cannot accept your request."

Ilia, one of the 'messengers' of Kapitan Baloy, came to Panaytayan to take Hulyo to Bait. Tunay, the mother of Hulyo, and many other residents of Panaytayan accompanied Ilia, Hulyo and Akdag.

A policeman from the town was in Bait. He went there with Adolfo, a lowlander living near the maize field of Kuri. Since Hulyo stubbornly denied the guilt, the policeman and Adolfo went angrily back to the town. Kuri said, "Let's go to my place and talk about the problem." They went to Kuri's place.

Hulyo continued to deny his guilt. Akdag proposed that he should pay 50 pesos to Kuri. Hulyo did it. His mother, Tunay, told Hulyo not to repeat such an act to avoid being imprisoned in the town.

(H-04) The Case of Gihitran vs. Hulyo

This case occurred in October, 1984. It was after the case of Kuri vs. Hulyo. Gihitran is an informal leader of Hawili. After his work in his swidden he found that two of his iron frying pans had been stolen. He visited Kuri to tell him about the problem. Kuri said that he would make an investigation.

Gihitran visited Tunay of Panaytayan, Hulyo's mother, in order to ask her about his frying pans. Tunay said that Hulyo was not there and that she did not know where he was. On the other hand Kuri saw Hulyo near the Hawili River, and said, "Hulyo, I'll give you 200 pesos if you find Gihitran's stolen frying pans." Hulyo refused to take the money, saying, "I don't want it, because I don't know who stole them. But I'll get in touch with you when I find out who the thief is, anyway."

A litigation was held at Kuri's hut in the downstream area of the Hawili River.

Kuri and his friend Adolfo, a lowlander, became judges. Gihitam and Hulyo were called. Gihitam did not want this problem to become a litigation case, because Hulyo was one of his affinal kin.

Adolfo asked Hulyo, "Are you the one who stole Gihitam's frying pans?" Since Hulyo was afraid of this lowlander, he replied that Banhing had stolen them. Banhing, a resident of Hawili, was called. He said that he did not do such a thing. Kuri decided to adopt *?ulōban*, one of the ordeals. Hulyo and Banhing chewed rice grains and spit them on a small board. Hulyo lost. He promised that he would pay Gihitam for the two frying pans on October 27.

Hulyo did not go to see Gihitam on the promised day. Instead, he accompanied his mother to San Antonio to meet Mr. Panong, the PC commander of this town. They approached the commander, because they thought that it would terrify Kuri and Adolfo. Adolfo took two policemen from Mansalay and visited the commander. The commander said to Adolfo that he did not know anything about this case. The two policemen took Hulyo to Kuri's hut, and an argument began. Didong, Hulyo's father-in-law, decided to pay Gihitam.

According to the rumor, Didong handed over 1,200 pesos to Kuri. The latter gave 800 pesos to Gihitam as payment for the two frying pans, and 200 pesos to Adolfo. Kuri kept 200 pesos for himself. Gihitam was not content with this arrangement, but he kept quiet because he did not want a conflict with Adolfo.

No traditional method was employed in managing this case: *i.e.*, the defendant was not requested to prepare a special meal as a punishment.

(H-05) The Case of Wal-an vs. Noykoy

This case occurred in November, 1955. There was a rumor that Noykoy, Maay's husband, committed adultery with Okan, Wal-an's wife. They were residents of Kagangan. Wal-an and Noykoy are first cousins.

When Wal-an went home he saw that Noykoy had had sexual intercourse with his wife, Okan. Wal-an hurried to his father, Palyos. Then, Palyos took his youngest brother Uwang, the father of Noykoy, to their elder brother, Buskad, a resident of Hawili, who was versed in Mangyan Law.

Buskad went to Uwang's house in Gunaygunay of the Kagangan area, and a litigation began there. Many people gathered. The plaintiff was Wal-an, and the defendant Noykoy. Buskad became a judge. Noykoy admitted his guilt, and promised that he would break off his relationship with Okan. Buskad told Noykoy to pay 30 *bugway* of beads as a fine for *ka?uyā?an* (insult) and prepare a pig and 8 *salop* of rice to offer a meal to the participants.

(H-06) The Case of Gumguman vs. Unaw

Gumguman and Unaw are residents of Hawili. Both of them are middle-aged married men. They were first cousins. In May, 1978, Unaw planted many coconut seedlings in Gumguman's *posesiyon*.

Gumguman visited Gihitam to make a complaint. Both of them went to Unaw's

house, where a litigation began. More than fifteen people gathered. After a long discussion, Gihitam advised Unaw to give half of his coconut seedlings to Gumguman, and he told Gumguman to let Unaw use his *posesiyon*. Both of the litigants agreed to Gihitam's proposal, and this case was amicably settled.

(H-07) The Case of Buskad vs. a government officer

In April, 1977, Buskad, an elderly married man and a resident of Hawili, saw someone making a swidden near the graveyard. He hurried to Gihitam to inform him of it. Gihitam told Buskad to find out who the person was. The following morning, Buskad saw a *montero* (officer of the Bureau of Forestry) again, and he took this officer to Gihitam's house.

A litigation was held at Buskad's house. Gihitam became a judge, and asked the officer why he made a swidden near the graveyard, which is prohibited. The officer answered that he had not known that it was a prohibited area. Gihitam explained to the officer that it is banned to make swidden near the graveyard. He also said to the officer, "The evil spirits must have been dispersed from the graveyard. We have to ask a *pandaniwan* (religious medium) to pray, and we request you to prepare 8 *bugway* of beads to pay the medium." The officer prepared the requested amount of beads and a meal of cooked rice and pork. No fine was required from the officer. Thus, this case was amicably settled.

(H-08) The Case of Uli vs. Tipon

Tipon, a middle-aged married man and a resident of Kagankan, made a swidden in the *posesiyon* of Uli, a middle-aged resident of Hawili, in February, 1972. In Uli's *posesiyon*, about 30 coconut trees and 50 *kalamundij* (*Citrus microcapra* Bunge, lime trees) were planted. Uli went to Panaytayan to meet the Barrio Captain and the Catholic priest there and made a complaint.

The Catholic priest met Tipon and told him that what he had done was not good. Tipon promised that he would pay Uli 50 centavos for each coconut tree and 25 centavos for each lime tree. Later Tipon paid Uli the promised amount, and this case was amicably settled.

(H-09) The Case of Uwang vs. Tipon

This case occurred in 1955. Uwang's pig entered Tipon's swidden in Kagankan and ate sweet potatoes and maniocs. Tipon became angry and killed the pig. Uwang visited Islao Pistaño, a policeman in the town, and made a complaint. The policeman called Tipon.

Uwang and Tipon met each other in front of the policeman. The policeman asked Tipon why he killed Uwang's pig. Tipon said that the pig had eaten his plants and that he was angry about it. The policeman declared that both of them were to blame. This case was amicably settled.

(P-01) The Case of Sui

On one Sunday in 1968, Sui, a middle-aged resident of Amaga, was called by Balik, the Barrio Captain of Panaytayan. Many persons gathered at Balik's house. Balik asked Sui if he had seen Tanglad. Sui answered that he had seen him dead in the Amaga River. Balik asked Sui, "When you saw Tanglad, what were you doing?" Sui answered that he had been on his way home from the town and that he had continued walking after he had seen Tanglad. Balik asked Sui if he saw anyone else. Sui answered that he did not see anyone. Balik said, "Then, it's you who killed Tanglad." Sui said that he had not done such a thing. Balik said, "If you did not kill him, why didn't you come here to tell me what you had seen? Don't be foolish, and tell us the truth. If you are not honest, you will be punished." Sui said, "Even if you punish me, I cannot say that I killed Tanglad because I didn't do so." "How stubborn you are!" said Balik to Sui.

Balik told Soklob, one of the councilmen, to get a rope to tie around Sui's neck. Balik asked Sui again, "Are you the one who killed Tanglad?" Sui answered that he was not a murderer. Wili, a married woman and the former Barrio Captain, said to Balik, "Captain, I hope that punishment is not too harsh. Let me manage this case." Sui was released. He ran to Totoy Maka, a lowlander who was his patron. This lowlander came to Panaytayan with two policemen. Balik hid himself for fear of the policemen. This case has not been settled yet.

(P-02) The Case of Ginayman vs. Biro

Biro, a middle-aged resident of Panaytayan, became angry at his wife Ginayman, and hit her. He said that it is because of Ginayman that their children were always crying and noisy. Ginayman took all her things and left the house. All the children followed her. They went to the house of Tawgan, Ginayman's father.

Tawgan asked his daughter what happened to her. Ginayman's story made Tawgan decide to make this problem a litigation case. Biro was called to Tawgan's house, and a small-scale litigation started. The relatives of the married couple gathered.

Tawgan told his daughter to explain the problem. Biro admitted that his wife's story was correct, and proposed that he would pay her a fine for *hinākit* (violence without bleeding). Tawgan said that Biro did not have to pay a fine but that he should prepare a pig and rice to offer a meal to all the participants. Biro did so.

After the meal, Tawgan told Biro in front of all the participants not to hit his wife again. This case was amicably settled.

(P-03) The Case of Kabal vs. Totoy

Kabal is an elderly married man. He is from Tignuan, but he stayed in Panaytayan temporarily due to sickness. He had to be cured at the clinic of this barrio. He lived with his wife and daughter Kunsing. His daughter, Emilya, and her husband, Totoy, also stayed with them. Totoy is the son of Alpog, a resident of Panaytayan. One morning in 1975, Totoy jokingly said to Kunsing, his younger

sister-in-law, "I'll be the first to open you." Emilya did not mind her husband's words, because she knew that it was a joke. Nevertheless, her father Kabal became angry with Totoy, and he said, "Litigation is needed!"

Totoy went to Alpog. They went to see Akdag, Alpog's half-brother, for help. Alpog's wife, Inom, accompanied them to Kabal's house. A litigation started with Kabal as a judge. Kabal asked Totoy why he did not show respect to his sister-in-law. Totoy kept silent, because he was afraid of Kabal: Totoy knew that his father-in-law was a possessor of amulets for black magic. Kabal suggested Totoy to pay a fine for impolite behavior or offer a meal to the participants. Totoy asked Kabal not to request a fine, because it would be a big burden for him. He prepared two chickens and rice, and cooked them for the participants. After the meal, Alpog warned Totoy that he should never repeat the act.

(P-04) The Case of Akdag vs. Soklob

There was a class for adults at the elementary school building of Panaytayan one night in 1969. Upon returning home that evening, Dulod told her husband, Akdag, that Soklob had embraced her after the class. Soklob and Akdag are consanguineal kin: Soklob's father, Ilig, and Akdag are half-brothers. Akdag called Dagon, one of the most prominent judges in the Manaol area.

Dagon came to Panaytayan, and a litigation was held there. Soklob said that he had embraced Dulod only in joke. Then, Dagon told him to pay Akdag 4 *bugway* of beads as a fine for impolite behavior. Soklob asked Dagon, "I didn't do that with evil intent, so why am I guilty?" Dagon answered, "Listen, Soklob. You have a wife, and Dulod a husband. Is Akdag single? Indeed you acted in violation of our law." Soklob still refused to pay the fine. Dagon said, "Okay, Soklob, you can choose, a fine or a meal." After thinking for a while, Soklob said that he preferred the former. He paid 4 *bugway* of beads. Dagon told Soklob not to repeat the act.

(P-05) The Case of Akdag vs. Tibo

Tibo, a single young boy, stayed with Akdag and his wife Dulod in 1965. Tibo is the son of Bawi, a resident of Amaga. While Akdag was out working in his swidden, Tibo borrowed a wristband (*?ogsog*) from Dulod. The following morning, Akdag saw Tibo wearing Dulod's wristband. He said to his wife, "Why didn't you let me know about it? I have to report it to the elders."

A small-scale litigation was held. Akdag and Bawi became judges. Akdag explained the problem, and said to Dulod, "I think you love Tibo. That's why you lent your wristband to him, isn't it?" Dulod answered, "How can you say such a thing? Tibo is just like our son, isn't he?" Akdag said, "If you don't love him, why didn't you tell me that you had lent him your wristband?" Then, Bawi asked Tibo, "Where was Akdag when you borrowed the wristband from Dulod?" Tibo answered, "He was at his swidden, not at home." Bawi said to his son, "Why did you borrow the wristband from Dulod while her husband was out?" Tibo answered, "It's not because I love her that I borrowed it from her. I did so because she is just

like my mother." However, Akdag insisted that Tibo was in love with Dulod, and that this young boy had to pay him 4 *bugway* of beads as a fine for impolite behavior and prepare one pig and 8 *salop* of rice. Bawi told his son to comply with Akdag's request. After the meal, Bawi told Tibo not to repeat the offense.

(P-06) The Case of Inom vs. Ampungan

This case occurred in Panaytayan in 1975. Inom, Alpog's wife, was angry with her daughter Gayonggong, and hit her many times. Ampungan, Alpog's nephew, felt pity for Inom's daughter, and he reproached Inom for her violent manner. Ampungan said, "I am not afraid of your father even if he were to come here." Inom's father, Agosto, was known for his ability in black magic. Inom went to Manaol to see her father, and she told him what Ampungan had said. Agosto and Inom hurried to Panaytayan the following morning. In front of the people, Agosto said to Inom that she should leave Panaytayan if Ampungan meant what she said. Alpog asked Akdag to manage this case.

Akdag told Agosto, "We, elders, should settle this case." The litigation started. Akdag became a judge. He said that Ampungan should prepare 8 *salop* of rice, and that Inom should prepare a pig. However, Inom insisted that she did not want to comply because she had done nothing wrong. Akdag said, "Then, Alpog is the one who should prepare a pig." Alpog replied that he would prepare two chickens because he did not have a pig. Ampungan and Alpog offered a special meal to all the participants.

(P-07) The Case of Inom vs. Ulway

This case occurred in Panaytayan in 1975. Ulway, the daughter of Igoy and Noynoy, stayed at the house of Gayonggong, the daughter of Alpog and Inom. While Inom was out, Ulway asked Gayonggong to open Inom's box to see her blouse with the cross-designed embroidery. Inom came home and saw them touching her blouse.

One week later, a litigation was held at Inom's house. The judge was Akdag, Alpog's half-brother. Ulway was the defendant. She said that it was Gayonggong who had wanted to open Inom's box. But Gayonggong said that Ulway had requested her to open it. Igoy became angry with his daughter, saying, "Why are you so mischievous?" He asked Inom, "What should we do? Do we have to pay a fine?" Akdag told Inom to answer him. "It's okay," said Inom, "You don't have to pay me any fine, because others might say that I am intolerant even of a small matter. It's okay as long as Ulway promises that she will never do such a thing again." Ulway agreed. Thus, this case ended in reconciliation.

(P-08) The Case of Pinggoy vs. Balyan

This case occurred in February, 1972. Pinggoy, a middle-aged married man at that time, lived in Panaytayan. He found that some of his bananas had been stolen. Akoy, a lowlander from the town, told him that he had seen a Mangyan walking

toward the town with bananas on his back. Pinggoy ran toward the town. He caught up with Balyan, a married Hanunoo-Mangyan living in the Panaytayan settlement, who was carrying bananas. Pinggoy asked him whose bananas they were. Balyan answered that they belonged to him. "What route did you take?" asked Pinggoy. I came along the lower path, answered Balyan. Pinggoy took Balyan to Barrio Panaytayan. He visited Soklob, one of the barrio councilmen, and made a complaint.

The litigation started. Due to Soklob's skillful questioning, Balyan soon confessed that he was the thief. Soklob told Balyan to pay Pinggoy 8 pesos in cash as a fine for *panakawan* (theft) and 2.50 pesos in cash for the 100 bananas that he had stolen. Soklob told Balyan not to repeat this offense, and that the fine would be greater if he were a non-kin of Pinggoy.

Regarding this dispute case, a rumor arose that Balyan had given 20 pesos to Soklob before the litigation started so that the fine would be small. It was also said that Soklob did not like Pinggoy because he was indifferent to his wife Ondong, Soklob's sister.

(P-09) The Case of Saling, Bina and Bugtong vs. Tunaw

This case occurred in December, 1962. One skirt and one blouse belonging to Saling, three of Bina's cloth-headbands, and two skirts and one cloth-headband belonging to Bugtong were stolen by someone.

Wili, a middle-aged married woman who was knowledgeable about Mangyan Law, had a meeting with the young boys and girls in Panaytayan. Although Wili asked them many times who had stolen the things, she could not find the thief. She became angry and said that a *tigisan* (an ordeal with boiling water) would be needed. The boys and girls agreed with her. Then Wili noticed that Tunaw, a boy from Bait, suddenly looked sad. She guessed that this boy was afraid of an ordeal. She said, "The thief didn't tell me the truth. But I know who he is." She looked at Tunaw, and said, "It's you who stole them." The boy denied it, saying, "I am not the one. Yes, I saw Bugtong steal them. Then, he ran away." Wili asked Tunaw, "Is it true that Bugtong stole the clothes? If you say it is, will you go through with an ordeal?" The children went to get *hawili* wood to make a hearth. Wili told the two boys to prepare *bagil* (8 *bugway* of beads used as a bet for the ordeal). Bugtong borrowed 8 *bugway* of beads from Budbud, an elderly woman of Panaytayan. But Tunaw could not obtain any beads. Wili proposed to postpone the meeting. Wili told Tunaw, "Let's see your *bayon* (shoulder bag)." Tunaw said that he had no shoulder bag. Talon, a middle-aged inhabitant living in Panaytayan, found Tunaw's shoulder bag near a spring. The missing clothes were hidden in it. Tunaw returned them.

This problem was managed in reconciliation, but Wili told Tunaw that he would have to pay a double amount of fine if he ever does the same thing.

(P-10) The Case of Zaida vs. Uybis

In June, 1974, when a new school term started, the children returned to Barrio Panaytayan. Zaida, a 25-year-old lady, was a lowlander from the town. She worked as an assistant of Fr. Antoon Postma. She discovered that 50 pesos had been stolen from the store of the Panaytayan church.

Paalo, Dunior, Miro, Uybis and Lagtom, who stayed at the dormitory of Fr. Postma, were called by Dodoy, Zaida's brother, who also assisted this Catholic missionary. Dodoy asked them one-by-one who had stolen the money. Miro said that he had seen Uybis enter the store alone when Zaida was not there. Since Uybis was afraid of Dodoy, he confessed that he had stolen the money. Zaida said to him that she would tell Fr. Postma. Uybis left Panaytayan. He did not come back for three years.

(P-11) The Case of Zaida vs. Pablo

In July, 1973, Zaida, a lowland assistant of Fr. Postma, found that 30 pesos were missing from the store of the Panaytayan church. Zaida called all the children in the area, but she could not find the thief.

One week later, Pablo, a boy of about ten years of age, came to the store to shop. He had a ten peso bill. Zaida took the bill, and called his parents, Bangdayan and Tulasi. She asked them if the money belonged to them. They answered that they had not given money to their son. Now Zaida thought that Pablo must have stolen the money. Pablo denied it. But he cried due to Zaida's cross-questioning. She said to Pablo, "Don't cry. If you return the money, I'll give you a T-shirt." Pablo went to the forest to get 20 pesos, and returned it to Zaida. She warned him not to steal again, saying, "If you need money, tell me."

Zaida said that Pablo did not have to pay her any fine, but that he should clean the path toward the lowland area. Pablo did it, and he became a good boy.

(P-12) The Case of Linda vs. Agom

Linda lost her bag at the school of Panaytayan in 1975. There was cash in it, and she had placed it in the desk of her classroom. It was Agom who first entered the classroom.

The school teacher asked Agom if she had stolen the bag. Agom said that she had never done such a thing, and that someone else must have hidden it in a hole in the wall. Later, the bag was secretly returned with the money inside to Linda's desk.

(P-13) The Case of Agustina vs. Pili

This case happened at the Panaytayan school in 1974. Agustina's glass-bead neckband was stolen. Tina and Pasing said that they had seen a neckband in Pili's basket. Pili said that she had not stolen anything from another person, and that she wondered why there was no evidence to prove that she was the thief. Tina said that Pili must have made another neckband using the glass beads from Agustina's neckband.

Agustina said, "Let's hold a *tigī'an* (an ordeal). If I lose, I'll pay a fine to you for *ka'uyā'an* (insult)." Pili said that she did not like the idea. Pili's mother Noynoy maintained, "Agustina, it is only you who say that Pili stole your neck-band. We have lived in this barrio for a long time. But this is the first time that anyone has said such a thing about us. It's all right even if there is no *ka'uyā'an* for us. I'll bear it." This case ended in this form.

(P-14) The Case of Bilog vs. Anggas

Bilog, the son of Insik from Wasig, studied at the Panaytayan school. When he came back to Panaytayan from Wasig, he knew that five of his T-shirts, one pair of short pants, one blanket and one flashlight were stolen from their residence in Panaytayan. It was on October 18, 1980. The following morning, he heard from Tahing of Panaytayan that Anggas, the son of Baklo of Amaga, sold some clothes at Bait, and he thought that Anggas had stolen them from someone else.

On the evening of October 21, Bilog heard that Anggas was in the backyard of the school building. He went there with Miro and Yuto, who had also had their clothes stolen before. They captured Anggas and took him to Balik, the Barrio Captain. Anggas confessed that he had stolen Bilog's clothes and that he had them at his house in Hawili. Bilog went to Hawili with Anggas, Miro and Yuto. Soklob, a councilman of Barrio Panaytayan, accompanied them. A few of Bilog's stolen clothes were found at Anggas' house. On their way to Panaytayan, a *harampanan* (discussion) was held at Soklob's house.

Of Bilog's five T-shirts, Anggas had sold three. The short pants were very dirty. Anggas did not have the flashlight: probably he had sold it. Bilog said that he did not want the short pants any more for they were so dirty. He did not mention anything about his flashlight. In the end, Soklob made a decision that Anggas should pay Bilog a fine of 19 pesos for the three T-shirts.

Bilog was not satisfied with this decision. But he did not make another claim, because Anggas is his kin, although the relationship is remote. At the final stage of this meeting, Soklob ordered Anggas to work for him, carrying 100 coconut saplings. "If you don't do it," Soklob said, "I'll take you to the police in the town!" Later Anggas worked for Soklob.

(P-15) The Case of Baklay vs. Anggas

This case happened in August, 1983, when food was short. Anggas, a resident of Amaga, stole maize from the field of Baklay of Amaga. He carried the maize to the students' dormitory in Panaytayan, where his younger sister lived. Baklay heard of it, and made a complaint to Gihitan, a legal authority in the Amaga area.

A litigation was held at Gihitan's house. Baklay took his son as a witness. The son said that he had seen Anggas steal their maize. Anggas confessed.

Baklay said that Anggas did not have to pay a fine to him. The judge gave a warning to Anggas not to repeat such an act and told him to work hard at his own swidden. Since there was no fine it can be said that this case ended in reconciliation.

(P-16) The Case of Ampungan vs. Hulyo

Ampungan, a middle-aged married man of Panaytayan, had another house near his swidden site. He found that two *kaban* of rice had been stolen in July, 1984. He visited Soklob, the councilman of Panaytayan, to ask what to do to find the thief. Soklob advised him to wait for a couple of weeks, while he gathered information. Within less than two weeks it was learned that Hulyo, a young married man of Panaytayan, had sold rice to a lowlander named Rudy. Ampungan met him. This lowlander said that he had bought two *kaban* of rice from Hulyo for 250 pesos, and that he had not imagined that the rice had not belonged to the seller.

In Panaytayan there was a litigation with Soklob as a judge. Hulyo confessed that he had stolen the rice, and said that he had lost by gambling all of the money he received from Rudy. Soklob told Hulyo to pay 200 pesos to Ampungan for the rice. Hulyo went to Malang-og to see a person known as a sorcerer.

One week later, Ampungan's stomach swelled and he died. People thought that it was because of the black magic which Hulyo had arranged.

(P-17) The Case of Lingin vs. Sanay

Lingin, a middle-aged man from Ambulong, and his wife, Sanay, lived in Panaytayan with their five small children. Lawaan, a young single boy, loved Sanay, and he often visited her at her house when her husband was out. The neighbors noticed this, but they never said anything to her husband. The relationship between Lawaan and Sanay continued for a couple of years.

Lingin left Panaytayan for Ambulong with his youngest son. On his way, he met Alpog, a resident of Panaytayan. Alpog told Lingin about Sanay and Lawaan. Lingin rushed back to Panaytayan and saw his wife together with Lawaan. It was about 8:00 p.m. on August 24, 1974. Lingin, too, had noticed their relationship, but it was the first time for him to see them together.

The following morning, Lingin visited Akdag, Sanay's father. Akdag knew Mangyan Law well. He called Lawaan, Sanay and Lingin's close kin. When everyone arrived, the discussion started. Sanay asserted that she hated Lingin and that she wanted to divorce him and marry Lawaan. But Lingin said that he did not want to divorce her. Since there was no agreement, Akdag decided to hand over the case to Barrio Captain Balik.

A litigation started at Balik's house in the afternoon of the same day. Sanay insisted that she wanted to divorce her husband. Then, Balik ordered Lawaan to pay 12 *bugway* of beads to Lingin as a fine for *panagawan* (marriage with a person who has a spouse). He told Sanay, too, to pay the same amount of beads as a fine for *panayakan* (divorce) to her husband. Balik also mentioned that 12 *bugway* of beads were equal to 200 pesos in cash. The two offenders went out to get beads. They were able to prepare their fines. Since Lawaan had only 7 *bugway* of beads, he paid 110 pesos in cash in addition to the beads.

(P-18) The Case of Biro vs. Malas

Malas, Aynan's husband, had had a secret relationship with Lihay, Biro's wife, for a long time. In 1965, Biro learned of this, and asked his parents for advice. Biro's mother asked Lihay, "Why did you do such a thing?" Lihay answered that she did not like her husband because he was lazy.

A litigation was held with Tagalog as a judge. He asked Lihay if it was true that she loved a man who had a wife. Lihay answered that it was true, and she added that she did not like her husband to be lazy. Malas said that he also loved her and that he wanted to marry her, divorcing Aynan. Tagalog told Malas to pay 12 *bugway* of beads for divorce to Aynan and prepare a pig and rice, and cook them for all the participants. There were almost fifty participants.

(P-19) The Case of Dulod vs. Akdag

Akdag and his wife, Dulod, lived in Bagakay, in 1966. He had secret relations with Mais, a single girl, for a long time. Dulod learned of this in April of the same year. She made a complaint to Balik.

A number of people went to observe the litigation held in Panaytayan. Balik said to Akdag, "You should have two wives, the old one and the new one." Akdag said that he did not like such an arrangement. Akdag paid 8 *bugway* of beads to Dulod and prepared a pig and one *kaban* of rice to offer a special meal to all the participants.

(P-20) The Case of Mariano vs. Bugkos

Mariano and his wife, Bugkos, were residents of Panaytayan. They did not have a child. In February, 1979, the wife became pregnant. She said that her boy friend was Guynay, a single boy. There was a litigation, in which Bugkos and Guynay were requested to pay fines to Mariano. Bugkos paid 100 pesos in cash, and Guynay paid the same amount. Bugkos promised that she would not have relations with men other than her husband.

(P-21) The Case of Daing vs. Tawgan

Tawgan did not like the behavior of his wife, Daing: she was a lazy woman. He went to Soklob to ask for advice in July, 1981. Daing made a complaint to Soklob on the same day, saying that she wanted to divorce Tawgan.

A litigation started on August 1. Daing showed one *sabud* of beads, by which she meant that she wanted a divorce. Her husband did not take the beads. Two hours later Soklob proposed to reconcile the case. The married couple at last agreed. Soklob had them sign an agreement document he had drawn up. The document said that the married couple would never divorce.

(P-22) The Case of Lig-om vs. Rara

Rara studied in the town at a high school supported by the Catholic church. She had borrowed 250 pesos from Lig-om, when she had promised to marry him.

This boy loved Rara. On August 1, 1981, Lig-om went to Panaytayan to make a complaint to Soklob.

Rara explained the problem to the Catholic missionary. The latter asked Lig-om not to force her to marry since she was still studying. He paid 250 pesos to Lig-om. Lig-om was not satisfied with this arrangement, but he accepted the proposal of the missionary.

(P-23) The Case of Baklo vs. Apog and Miya

Miya is Baklo's wife. Her first cousin, Apog (single), loved her. When her father Gihitam learned of this, he was very angry. Baklo at last saw his wife together with Apog.

With the advice of Gihitam, Baklo made a complaint to Tagalog, a judge of Amaga. At the litigation, Baklo said that Apog and Miya loved each other. Tagalog asked Apog and Miya if Baklo was telling the truth. Both of them denied it. Tagalog was angry with them. He asked rapid questions and made them confess that they loved each other.

Tagalog told Gihitam to kill a pig and pound rice, *i.e.*, to offer a special meal to the people, saying that he had spoilt his daughter. This judge also told to Apog to pay 8 *bugway* of beads to Baklo as a fine for *payasala'an*. Baklo said that he did not like Miya, and that he wanted to divorce her. Tagalog mentioned that it was impossible since he had received a fine from Apog. Tagalog told Apog not to love a married lady.

(P-24) The Case of Bunglay vs. Felix Gadon

Bunglay had land near that of Tagalog. Both of them were residents of Amaga. Tagalog sold the plants of his land to Felix, a lowlander.

In April, 1980, Felix asserted that the land that Bunglay used was included in Tagalog's. Bunglay said that it was Felix's misunderstanding. Since Tagalog was already dead, Bunglay took Felix to the police chief of Mansalay who knew the background of the land used by Tagalog. The police chief said that Bunglay's land was not included in Tagalog's. This case was thus settled by reconciliation.

(P-25) The Case of Garoy vs. Felix Gadon

The land of Garoy, a resident of Amaga, was occupied by Felix Gadon. In March, 1979, Garoy visited Antonio to make a complaint, but Antonio could not settle the conflict. When Umbos, the young judge from Wasig, went to Panaytayan, Garoy met him, and made a complaint.

Umbos took Garoy to Roxas to meet the staff members of the Bureau of Forestry and explained the problem to them. In June, 1980, the staff members went to Amaga and told Felix to use Garoy's land. After this, Garoy left the area and no further problems occurred.

(P-26) The Case of Bugkat vs. Saliwnan

This case occurred in 1983. Saliwnan's chicken disappeared. He visited his younger brother, Bugkat, and said to him, "You are the one who killed my chicken." Saliwnan was so angry that he cut the banana and *buri* trees in Bugkat's houseyard with his bolo.

Bugkat asked advice from Soklob of Panaytayan. He was afraid of his elder brother, who was known as a specialist in *padāya?* (black magic). Soklob visited Saliwnan with two other residents of Panaytayan. He wanted to talk about Bugkat's plants destroyed by Saliwnan.

Saliwnan was angry, saying that his chicken had been killed by his younger brother. Soklob asked him if he had observed his brother steal his chicken. Saliwnan said that he had not, and he became silent. Bugkat became seriously sick a couple of weeks later. His stomach swelled. He did not get well despite treatment by a Hanunoo-Mangyan herbal doctor. He used the medicine from the clinic in Panaytayan. But he did not recover. He told his son to get medicine from Saliwnan. After Bugkat took his elder brother's medicine, he vomited and moved his bowels. Then, he got well. He practiced the invocation of *daniw* and certified that his illness was due to Saliwnan's sorcery.

(P-27) The Case of Biro vs. Saliwnan

Biro is the son of Limukon, Saliwnan's brother. They quarreled in 1964, because Saliwnan's chickens entered the swidden and ate the rice there. Biro became angry and threw stones at the chickens. Saliwnan became angry with Biro. Then, Biro visited Gihitian of Hawili and made a complaint. A litigation was held at Gihitian's house. He judged that both were to blame, and told them to apologize to each other. They did so, and this case ended in reconciliation.

(P-28) The Case of Paalo vs. Felix Gadong

Paalo lived in Amaga. Felix Gadon is a lowlander living in Roxas, having a *posesiyon* in Amaga. In 1972, a fire at Felix's *posesiyon* transferred to Paalo's, and destroyed 10 mango trees, 20 banana trees and 10 coconut trees. Paalo complained to the Municipality Office at Mansalay. Felix maintained in the beginning that the fire had not been from his swidden. But he was investigated by the officers and admitted that the source of the fire was his *posesiyon*. He paid Paalo a certain amount (not known) for the trees.

(P-29) The Case of Emilya vs. Inom

Emilya is the wife of Inom's stepson, Totoy. This case occurred in 1975. Emilya's children were completely naked. Inom said to her, "They are your children, aren't they? Why do you keep them naked? They might get sick, for it is cold now." One of Emilya's sons got sick on the night of the following day. Emilya said to the others, "My son got sick, because Inom said such a thing!" She also said, "Inom must have practiced black magic. This must be a litigation case." Emilya's

father was known for his magico-religious power: he was a medicineman and also a sorcerer. Inom, on the other hand, went to Manao to see her father, who was also known as a legal authority and a sorcerer. Litigation did not occur. But Emilya and Inom have never gotten along well since.

(P-30) The Case of Gihitam vs. Bugtong

Bugtong (about 20 years of age at that time) is the son of Uyon. He worked as a laborer at an orchard in Cavite, Luzon Island. In 1972, he took four boys from Amaga to Cavite after a short visit in this area. The boys wanted to work also in Cavite. Bugtong transferred to another company and received 5 pesos a day. One month later, he heard that Ban-aw, one of the barrio councilmen, had been in Cavite and had taken the boys back to Mindoro. In May, 1972, Bugtong went back to Mansalay, and visited his relatives in Amaga with only 50 pesos, but with various gifts. He was very happy to see them.

The following morning, he was called by Balik, the Barrio Captain, to his house. He was surprised, because he knew that a litigation was going to start and that he was to be accused by Gihitam, the father of one of the boys who had been to Cavite. The Barrio Captain said that Bugtong had sold the boys to a businessman in Cavite. The captain asked Bugtong where he had hidden the salary of the boys. Bugtong answered that they could not get salary because they worked there for only a short time, and that he had not received even one peso. Balik did not believe him. The boys kept silent. (According to Bugtong, the boys must have known that Balik was telling a lie.) Soklob, one of the councilmen, became angry with Bugtong and kicked him in the backside. Balik ordered Soklob to take off Bugtong's clothes to investigate whether or not the latter had a gun. Balik told Bugtong to pay 200 pesos to the boys' parents. He said that he would take Bugtong to the town, if he refused, where he would be jailed for six years. Bugtong was frightened, and he borrowed 200 pesos from Bunglay, his close kin, and gave it to the Barrio Captain.

Later a rumor spread that the boys' parents had received only 120 pesos in total.

GLOSSARY

?āma?	father
?amaga?	Amaga; name of a river; communities near the Amaga River
?ambāhan	poem-song, characterized by the use of seven-foot lines
?anak	child, offspring
?āpo	owner, spirit; consanguineal kin in GENS. ± 5 to GENS. ± n
?asāwa?	spouse
ba?ag	loin-cloth
babāyi	female
bagākay	a species of bamboo, <i>Schizostachyum longispiculatum</i> Gamble
balay	house
bāpa?	male siblings and cousins of parents; children of siblings and cousins of male EGO
batas	law
bāyi?	female siblings and cousins of parents; children of siblings and cousins of female EGO
buhi	life
bukid	Buhid, Buid
buri	a species of fan palm, <i>Coryphaelata</i> Roxb.
damū?oj	non-Mangyan, lowlander
dāniw	a kind of spirit which fights against evil spirits
darāngin	prayer
dūpa?	a unit of length equal to a fathom
galin	amulet, charm
hanunō?o	true, genuine, real
harampayan	discussion
hawīl?	Hawili; name of a river; communities near the Hawili River; a species of plant used as medicine for headache, <i>Ficus hauili</i> Blco.
hīrak	envy
huwis	legal authority, judge; fr. Sp. <i>juez</i>
?iba tāwo	non-kin
?imon	jealousy
?ina	mother
?insan	first cousin
kabalāyan	settlement
kagalāyan	offense due to impolite behavior
kagankān	Kagankān; name of a river; communities near the Kagankān River
kalag	soul, spirit
kanunununū?an	ancestors
kapitan	barrio captain; fr. Sp. <i>capitán</i> , 'captain'

- karadwa* soul, spirit
karadwāhan world of the dead, afterworld
karamangādon fine in the form of beads or cash
kararanyan incest, sex relations within the first-cousin range
kasāba litigation, lawsuit
kasundū?an agreement
katawūhan kin, kinsmen, within the fourth-cousin range
ka?uyā?an offense by insulting someone
kaway consanguineal kin
kōgon cogon grass; *Imperata* spp.
labaj evil spirit
lalāki male
lāyis courting
libak rumor, backbiting
lināhi? descent line
lubōjan graveyard
magkay?a shameful
magtal?anākan kindred
mahal?umāko Mahal Umako; supreme deity in the Hanunoo-Mangyan religion
mag?isiŋsiŋ length around the first joint (near the tip) of the little finger
mana?ol Manaol; name of a place; name of a community
manyan Mangyan; mountain peoples on Mindoro; Hanunoo-Mangyan
minatay homicide
nīgo a flat and circular winnowing tray made of twilled bamboo strips
padāya? a kind of black magic, sorcery
pamara?an a kind of religious medium who possesses an amulet inhabited by the *pamāra?* spirit (or spirits)
pamulūjan herbal doctor
panakāwan offense by theft
panayākan offense by divorce
panaytāyan Panaytayan; name of a community; name of a *barrio* (now a *barangay*) formerly called *ʔidda*
pandaniwan a kind of religious medium who possesses an amulet inhabited by the *dāniw* spirit (or spirits)
panhilütan healer by massage
panhīri? a kind of black magic, sorcery
panlūdan feast, same as *ponsiyon*
panudlākan ritual planter of the first rice seeds
panugkutkūtan ritual performer of exhumation of bones
paŋānay eldest child, either son or daughter
pāray rice
patar?āri? sibling
payāpa? reconciliation

<i>posesiyon</i>	land where crops are planted; fr. sp. <i>posesión</i> , 'possession'
<i>ponsiyon</i>	feast, same as <i>panlūdan</i>
<i>puysó</i>	termite mound
<i>ramít</i>	skirt-like clothing for a female
<i>resíbo</i>	document of agreement; fr. Sp. <i>recibo</i> , 'receipt'
<i>sabud</i>	coiled; length of a string or a loop of beads around the bases of four fingers of a hand, precisely <i>sabud sa dalükap</i>
<i>sakit</i>	pain; illness
<i>salop</i>	about 6 liters; 25 <i>salop</i> = 1 <i>pāson</i> = 2 <i>kaban</i>
<i>sūrat</i>	script
<i>sūyot</i>	folktale
<i>talon</i>	forest
<i>tampāyak</i>	amulet with which one becomes brave and aggressive
<i>tāwo</i>	man, human being
<i>tigī?an</i>	a kind of ordeal, using boiled water
<i>?ugāli?</i>	custom, etiquette, moral, habit
<i>?utak</i>	bush knife, <i>bolo</i>
<i>wasig</i>	Wasig; name of a river; communities near the Wasig River

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