Itbayat Folksongs with Notes

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1. Itbayat
   1.1. Geographical setting

Itbayat is one of the several islands which spread across the Bashi Channel. People in this area are linguistically homogenous and referred to as belonging to the Bashiic. The names of islands as called by the Itbayat are, from north to south, dihami where the Yami live, the only island located north of the channel; dimavolis; misanga; ditarem; a’li; disiyan; dichbayat where the Itbayat live; di’nem; divatan where the Ivatan live; sabtang where the Sabtang people live; ivohos; and dekey. These islands except dihami constitute a group of Batanes islands, the northernmost province of the Philippines.

We are indebted to Asian Center (formerly, Institute of Asian Studies), University of the Philippines, for their economic help for the field works in 1966 and 1971.

These brief notes on the Itbayat folksongs would not have been possible without the help of many people of Itbayat, the list of whom would be too great to include here. We would particularly thank the Castros, the Culuras, and the Gatos (alphabetical order), for their ready help extended to Yamada for gathering the data, and also thank those who sang the songs exhibited in this paper as well as those who kindly sang such songs as uncited here without which the presentation of songs for this paper would not have been made.

We are grateful that Mr. Lu Pingchuan, ethnomusicologist, Tong-hai University, listened to those songs presented here and made comments on them in conjunction with the Yami music (see Lu 1970). Setoguchi is responsible for transcribing the songs from the tapes, and Yamada for the data, organization of the present paper, and all the information on the language.
The Bashiic group faces the Pacific Ocean in the east, and the South China Sea in the west. These islands are stepping stones either to Formosa, or to Luzon via Babuyan islands, and this geographical setting is suggestive of cultural relationships with Formosa and the Philippines.

1. 2. Area, population

Itbayat Island is the largest among them, with the total area\(^1\) of approximately 93 km\(^2\); Divatan 76 km\(^2\); Sabtang 41 km\(^2\); and Dihami 48 km\(^2\). Due to the strong sea currents as well as the steep, precipitous, and rocky cliffs surrounding the island, Itbayat Island is inaccessible to contact with the outside world. Its population is 2,760 according to 1970 Census of Population and Housing (Advance Report No. 8, Batanes).

1. 3. History

The earliest record about Itbayat Island is that by William Dampier who visited "the five Islands" on August 6 and left on October 3, 1687. The Dutch crew called it "the Prince of Orange's Island" which is the biggest of the Batanes islands and "not inhabited".\(^3\)

In 1799, Fr. Francisco de Paula. Spanish missionary, succeeded in landing on Itbayat Island for the first time as a European. It was 113 years after the first Spanish missionary Fr. Mateo Gonzalez was assigned to Batanes in 1686. The waves of Spanish influence from the south did not reach Dihami.\(^3\) which has resulted in socio-economic differences between the Yami and the people of Batanes.

2. Purpose, significance

This paper only presents some of the Itbayat folksongs that have been collected for years in Basco and Itbayat and does not attempt any ethnomusicalogical analysis. They were sung while the linguistic field work was being carried out, or when people were spending pastime mostly drinking parek-wine.

From the linguistic point of view, the Bashiic languages are homogenous and belong as a whole to the Philippine group of languages, while the music of the Yami is clearly different from that of the Itbayat.\(^4\) This fact raises an important question whether or not the fundamental structure of language or music can be affected by foreign elements when two different cultures meet. It is commonly said that the Philippine music is much influenced by the Spanish music and has lost her original taste. If Itbayat folk music is also thus

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3. In 1971, Sitorid in Iratai village told us that he was still keeping baaka 'a kind of armour made of cow's leather' which was brought from Batan in ancient time. In Itbayaten, baaka 'cow' is a loan word from Spanish vaca 'cow, tanned leather'.
influenced by some introduced elements of other cultures, we must then specifically point it out. But this problem is beyond our present scope.

It is hoped that this report on the Itbayat music will be instrumental in the solution of the historical relationship of the Itbayat to other peoples of the Bashiic, and the Bashiic to those in Luzon and Formosa.

3. Previous works

Research in Itbayat music has never been reported. There is a report on the Yami music by Lu, who urged in his article that a comparative study be made on the music of the Yami and the Ivatan. Scheerer wrote an article, in which he explains the Ivatan folksongs but does not present music at all. Yamada was given by Mrs. Acacio some Ivatan songs with musical notes, which were collected by her co-teachers.

4. Types of song

The Itbayat sing various kinds of folksongs and have names for them, but it is not sufficiently clear what types of music these names really refer to. The terms raji and kanta (of Spanish origin) refer to songs in general. The term raji, however, as opposed to kanta, usually refers to songs indigenous to the Itbayat culture, while kanta can refer not only to native songs, but also to foreign modern songs. The term raji, therefore, is more restricted in use than kanta. There are more specific terms: raji (in narrow sense), karosan, ra'wed, daoh, panaxmetan, and others.

Raji, in its narrower sense of the term, is a type of song which is either joyous or sad and its expression is in haliñaawa, in which no direct reference is made and people are apt to designate words and phrases in haliñaawa as archaic. Scheerer makes comments on Ivatan songs characterized by a "veiled significance." This type of oral tradition in Itbayat is significant from the viewpoint of literature.

Karosan is a type of encouraging song sung while working. Fishermen sing when they pray for a good catch and encourage one another in their off-sea hardships. People sing karosan in a wake to relieve the sadness or heavy feelings of the bereaved.

Ra'wed is a type of song with humming alone or with somewhat sad wordings and tone. It is said that this is usually sung by the old when left alone with babies in the house, while the other people are out in the field. They say ra'wed is an older or more primitive

7. We gratefully acknowledge assistance, advice, and encouragement of Mrs. Rucela B. Acacio, Principal of the Batanes National High School. Setoguchi's impression on the songs given by Mrs. Acacio is that they are modern and probably ones which show a great influence of the European music.
form of music than raji.

Daoh is a type of folksong sung especially when planting or harvesting root-crops such as ovi. lookay. and the like.

Panaxmetan is a type of song sung to the dead and also means the place where you have mental load or sadness, maraxmet meaning 'heavy physically', and raxmet 'mental load'. When panaxmetan refers to a place rather than to a type of song, it is the place where karosan is sung to lighten the mental heaviness of the people or to encourage them.

5. Number. themes of songs

We present 15 folksongs chosen out of some 108 pieces taperecorded. We tried to show different types of songs, and the variety of the contents. We present songs in the following order: melody. Itbayaten (or Ivatanen) text. English translation. notes of vocabulary. and some comments. One theme or story often consists of several repetitions of the same melody. namely, one story is composed of several stanzas in a song.

When asked to recite what the singer just sang. she utters usually something completely different. This does not mean that the Itbayat folksongs are mostly impromptu. but it is rather the fact that she unconsciously recites another stanza of the same song. That the songs are not impromptu is known because the same words are sung on other occasions.

Most of the songs were sung and recorded when we requested people to sing them. Wine is usually an incentive to natural singing among the Itbayat. The Yami who do not know of alcohol. however. seemingly start singing certain songs unconsciously when visitors come or something new happens: the situational change seems to arouse their lyrical emotion.10)

The Ivatan and the Itbayat say that the Itbayat are more romantic. Whether it is true or not is not the question here. but it must be noted that the number of love songs is far above that of other songs. Most of the Itbayat love songs are sung in haliiliabaawa which is treated in the following.

We have not seen any native musical instruments. nor any chorus. nor songs with dancing. But it is most probable that raji do kayon. since kayon is the marriage arrangement between the boy's and the girl's groups. was once sung in chorus by turns. Karosan was certainly sung in chorus by boatmen or a group of people. Almost all persons who sang for us were women. and they sing usually better than men.

The following list shows the kind and the number of songs collected up to the present time.

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10. Mme. de Beauclair and Yamada experienced this when they visited Sitorid and others who were enjoying the afternoon breeze in their tagakal (cooling hut) in Iratai village in April. 1971. An old woman among them unnoticingly started humming a song.
love and marriage 26  boneless husband 1
lullaby 14  induction (naming) 1
broken love 10  boat-dragging 1
unachieved wishes 8  counting song 1
place names 6  property-distribution 1
funeral 6  war 1
drifting, disaster at sea 4  fishermen's song 1
poverty, unluckiness 3  first dress in Itbayat 1
scolding drunken husband 2  sugar-cane mill 1
yam-planting 2  travel news 1
love for parents 1  others 16

6. Language
6. 1. Itbayaten language
6. 1. 1. Dialects of the Bashiiic

In the Bashiiic group, four major dialects11) are distinguished: Yami (Lanyü or Botel Tobago Is.) where there seem to be some subdialects,12) Itbayaten (Itbayat Is.), Divasay Ivatanen (Basco on Batan Is.), and Saamorong Ivatanen (area south of Basco and Sabtang Is.). They form one of the key points which should receive further linguistic investigation in order to clarify the relationship between the Formosan languages and the Philippine languages, and consequently to state more clearly the position of the Bashiiic languages in the Austronesian family of languages.

6. 1. 2. Spelling
The letters used to represent Itbayaten sounds in the present paper are: p b t d k g, ' v s r x h ch j m n ñ ng l w f and i a o e. of which ' is the glottal stop. x the voiced velar-uvular fricative. ch and j the voiceless and voiced alveolo-palatal affricates respectively. ñ the palatal nasal. ng the velar nasal. and e the mid-high central vowel. Frequent phonological alternations are d to r intervocally, and k to ch when contiguous to i. The vowel and consonant length is phonemic.13)

6. 1. 3. Dialect comparison
The following are some examples of phonological correspondences among the three

11. For linguistic literature on the dialects, see Yamada, Y. 1972a. "Consonantism in Itbayaten." Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan. No. 61, fn. 3, in which Lawrence A. Reid's An Ivatan Syntax, Oceanic Linguistics, Special Publication No. 2, 1966, should have been included as a literature on Divasay Ivatanen.
dialects: 1) Yami, 2) Itbayaten, and 3) Divasay Ivatanen. Saamorong Ivatanen is excluded from the comparison due to insufficient data.

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6. 2. Language in music

6. 2. 1. Relation markers

It is worthy to note a few interesting linguistic phenomena that occur when the Itbayat

14. For the Yami example, we used, with some spelling modifications, data from Ferrell (1969), and Asai, Erin. 1936. A Study of the Yami Language, An Indonesian Language Spoken on Batel Tobago Island. Leiden, together with Yamada’s “field notes of a limited survey”.
people sing rajì. Relation markers such as di, ni, si occur where we usually expect do, no, so in ordinary speech. as seen in di ri’yang aya (Song 7.06), ni deekey a valongot (Song 7.10), and si minaypos a tomid (Song 7.03). The i often appears where nothing is needed in the ordinary speech and it may be used to supply a syllable for proper rhythm (see Song 7.10, etc.). Ordinary relation markers di, ni, si as contrasted with do, no, so represent the grammatical function: singular, proper noun, living. This phenomenon is also true of the pair kano and kani (Song 7.10).

It may be true that the preference of i-vowel in those relation markers facilitates easier singing, but it is more likely that the singer expresses by the use of i-vowel that the person, thing, or matter in question is or at least is considered to be familiar with and closely related to the singer. This phenomenon occurs also in the narration of stories in order to show the narrator’s deep and serious concern about the topic.

6.2. Nonsensical syllables

To probably facilitate a better form of singing, a nonsensical syllable is sometimes inserted in a word or repeated especially when the singer ends a musical phrase and starts another within a word, as in mayarahmet < marahmet, ñoy < ñoy (Song 7.10), ayakma < akma 'like’. Elaborations such as alliteration and rhyme are not present.

6.2.3. Haliñbaawa

The Itbayat people say that it is difficult to understand the meaning which rajì implies because of the use of haliñbaawa. What we call proverbs are referred to as haliñbaawa. Here are two examples of proverbs: mitilwan o voxovo xong do sirih no raraxan 'Leaves along the road have ears', and aran isovo mo na am maslay pa 'Even when food is in your mouth, it can still fall'. These are of an instructive nature, and are usually said in one or two clauses.

Another kind of haliñbaawa, which is of our present concern, is characterized by a type of expression which is employed mostly in rajì. The outward wording of rajì has usually nothing to do with the truly intended meaning behind it and becomes enigmatic. It seems that this type of haliñbaawa in rajì is not only enigmatic but also effective in producing poetic imagery. It is not necessarily instructive. As seen particularly in rajì sung during michchayon (exchange of opinions between the two groups concerning the marriage arrangement), haliñbaawa is rather a means with which people put a social significance or value on their expression. It is a kind of socially accepted authoritative pattern of expression that has been handed down as such from generation to generation and it is the Itbayat tradition of oral literature to which we must give due attention.

The following are examples of haliñbaawa which are sung by the male group (except one in Example 3) in the michchayon.

E.g. 1. i’axes ko ri ama kono i’axes ko ri chaka a matoneng
    o kamahimahilakan am di da vaavahyan jaken
    ah vatahan sia jaken ni’apo o kapitataya ko
so tohor no viyos ah hano'dan ko ri apo a mittataya
so abrahak no viyos

I asked my father and asked my oldest brother
where I could find mahilak-fish. but they didn't tell me
and my grandparent told me to make a boat (tataya)
out of the shoot of viyos-tree and I obeyed him to make it
out of the shoot of viyos-tree.

The term mahilakan refers to the offering where the sea surface is white (mahilak) because
a school of fish is swimming, and at the same time mahilak in this context is a pivot word
referring to a particular fish this person would like to catch. The girl whom he wants to
marray is represented by the fish. The boy in the song above experienced hardships caused
by his father. by his eldest brother. and then by his grandparent. The grandfather urged
the boy to make a boat out of such a thin tree as viyos (usually 2 ~ 3 cm in diameter)
and he finally succeeded in building a boat, and it is understood that he could catch the
fish.

E. g. 2. mian o a' sa kakayoh nivakvakan ko
a nichavokavoya ko do kahonged na pa
ah do aschangoriawi am ihay cho
a rawrawngan an ara dana mapariñ a tongxen

There is one tree which I marked
and which I planned while it was young.
Now at this time I am going
to see if it could be cut now.

In this halinbaawa, the tree stands for a woman whom he would like to marry as he
had planned to when she was still young.

E. g. 3. homanam ka no kaaxap mo sia
o a' si no a' sa a kakayoh
am omraxan ka do atngex na

no a' sa kakolivaavang
am omraxan sa aalih do atngex na
ta diriicho sa do savong na

Before you get
the fruit of the tree
you have to climb the tree trunk.

The butterflies
never climb the tree trunk
but go directly to the flower.
Example 3 above was not sung but narrated to us. According to the man who gave us these, the first stanza was uttered by the father of the girl who is now his wife, and the second one was his own that was said in reply to the first. The fruit represents the girl, and the butterfly the man.

6. 2. 4. Singing in Ivatanen

It is interesting to note that the Itbayat people sing most raji̱̱s (in its narrower use of the term) in Ivatanen which is not their native tongue. However, there are songs sung in Itbayaten, but they are usually lullabies, counting songs, labor songs, and what not. This code-switching is worth noting and sociolinguistically interesting. It seems that the more popular the raji̱̱s are among the people, the more likely they are sung in Ivatanen. Such raji̱̱s sung in Ivatanen are not those imported from Batan. It seems correct to think, since Ivatanen is the prestige language in Batanes (excepting Yami), that any raji̱̱ is automatically sung in Ivatanen the moment it is accepted as a refined and poetic way of expression (halithbaawaa) and consequently gains its social status. In other words, any linguistic phenomenon that obtains social recognition is normally treated as formal, official and authoritative, and Ivatanization takes place at the same time. Another instance of this social phenomenon is observed when the Itbayat register their real estate and write the names of their fields in the municipal office. Almost all names registered are written in Ivatanen, and the Itbayat themselves later have to take some several seconds until they identify their corresponding Itbayaten names.

7. Folksongs with notes

In the following, fifteen folksongs are presented with notes and comments. The order of presenting them is arbitrary. The theme of Songs from 7.01 to 7.08 is generally sad or tragic and Songs from 7.07 to 7.09 are cradle-songs. As mentioned above, all of them may be called raji̱̱ in a broader sense of the term. Most of the raji̱̱s in a narrower sense of the term are sung in Ivatanen, and other types of songs are more often sung in Itbayaten. It is, however, often difficult to strictly tell whether it is sung in Itbayaten or in Ivatanen, especially when the song is short or composed only of those words shared in both languages. Grammatical words such as relation markers, personal pronouns, demonstratives are explained in the section where they first appear. The nouns and verbs are reqated in the word lists.

15. We have found, however, a few raji̱̱s which are sung in Itbayaten. The reasons for this phenomenon may be: one that there may be in Itbayat some raji̱̱s sung normally in Itbayaten and two that it may be the case in which the unsatisfactory attitude on the part of the field worker brews an atmosphere that presses the singer to switch off from Ivatanen into Itbayaten, that is, making them conscious that the linguist wants to learn Itbayaten.

16. Yami is excluded from the discussion on the prestige language, since the relationship between the Yami and the people of Batanes has been cut off over a few hundred years. Cf. fn. 3.
7.01. Amantomayil

Mrs. Gregoria Balanoba
Mayan, Itbayat, 1971-3-7

maxaw ko sawon o kapangañiaw
na atlo a rodonan a volay do samox

ah ara mo na kanen o soli chapanga
a maraparapang a marakaminaw
a mian do ratay na ro samox

aya mo katayog mo borinika kaviyay
tataha a sapsapan o hawa do di'nem

a sapan ta sia o sima no sayriñ
ñamantomayil wangros ko ria

o nakasajit sia o irang do di'nem
ta makatatakeb sawon so vaxay

I guessed right indeed the premonition
the three mounds of snakes at Samox.

How I wish you will eat twin-
soli
like testicles
which are in the plain of Samox.

Let's go, you sister-in-law, Borinika, resuscitator,
and let us go and scoop out the sea at Di'nem.

in order to look for the barb of the hook
of Amantomayil (?) here.

He hit a turtle at Di'nem
and the house is indeed lonely.
amantomayil: name of person <ama-ni-tomayil 'father of tomayil'. This is an example of teknonymy, custom of naming the parents after the name of their first child whether male or female.17

maxaw: to guess

ko: I, my, cho; postposed non-topic singular personal pronoun

sawon: really, so, right, indeed, sawen

o: topic relation marker preposed which takes the place of particles no. so. do

kapangañiaw: ominousness. omen, symptom, premonition

na: he, she, it, his, her, its; postposed non-topic singular personal pronoun

atlo: three, tlo

a: ligature or connective marker between a modifier and the modified

rodponan: a coil, mound, pile <rodpon

volya: sanke. Snakes are referred to in some folktales: a snake which swallowed a pig, a prince who got married to a snake, and what not.

do: at, in, from, ro; locative relation marker preposed to common noun, while di is preposed to proper noun singular living

samox: a place name. It was probably named after samox-plant. It is a betel leaf or plant. People wrap voowa (areca nut) and a’med (lime) with samox-leaves, and bite and chew in the mouth.

ara: sentence introducer meaning "existence" which requires a negative or interrogative sentence

mo: you, your; postposed non-topic singular personal pronoun

kakan: to eat <kan idea of eating

soli: taro. Araceae Colocasia esculenta. one of the people's important food-stuffs. People eat its tuber, leaves, and petiole.

chapanga: ka-panga (preceded by i-sound), panga twins. In other versions, they use panga and vanga as place names (vanga pot).

maraparapang: (?) rapang a place name

marakaminaw: mara-kaminaw. mara- like and kaminaw testicles. Cf. marachawi a species of tree similar to chawi-tree < mara-chawi; maratapah a species of tree: Ficus callicarpa Miq. var. parvifolia < mara-tapah.

mian: there is; sentence introducer meaning "existence"

ratay: plain

ro: intervocalic do

aya: this; demonstrative pronoun as in 'this-X'

katayog: sibling-in-law (SbSp PsbCSp)18

borinika: name of the sister-in-law. Some say that borinika is the brother-in-law. Another

version has bolinika (probably Ivatanen) instead of borinika.
kaviyá: (? Ivt.) resuscitator. life saver. Cf. Itb. kaviháy to be alive, arise, and mamiháy person (usually woman) who is in charge of childbirth and treatment of sick persons < viháy life.
tatahá: reduplication of taha (?). clause introducer.
sapsapán: to scoop out, remove < sap sap
hawa: sea
dí'nem: name of an island. near (southeast of) Itbayat. It is not inhabited. People go fishing and hunting around the island. This island often appears in folktales, songs, and in the topics of their daily life. In the story of Gomaram, 19 and in some of the songs in the following, this island is a favorite topic.
ta: because, for, in order to; clause connective
sia: he, she, it. him, her. siya, siya, sya; non-initial non-emphatic topic singular pronoun
sima: barb of hook. Cf. sayriñ, nakasajit below.
no: of; possessive relation marker preposed
sayriñ: hook (for fishing). Derivatives are kapanayriñ, manayriñ, nasayriñ, sayriñen, etc.
ánántomayil: ni-anántomayil; ni possessive marker preposed to a personal name: see anántomayil above.
wangros: (?)
ria: here, at this place, dia, diya, dïiya, riya, rïiya
nakasajit: hit, shot, na-ka-sajit < sajít fish hook-like thing
iráng: turtle. People often go and dive into the water, and shoot it by pana (spear-gun).
Sometimes they may be pulled down deeper by the turtle they have shot.
makatatakeb: (meaning is not certain) to dwarf, to make lonely < (?) takeb

This raji about the missing person is sung in Itbayaten. The verse of the song above seems to indicate that Amantomayil shot a turtle by means of a shot-gun, but he was unfortunately pulled down deeper and died.20 Another explanation has been recorded. It says that people caught a fish which poisoned her spouse Amantomayil and he died. We have been told numerous stories about disasters at sea and people who lost their dear ones. For example, we met a sad woman who had lost her father, her husband, and her son at sea, and to this day is still suffering. We can see how the life of people of a small island is hard, being surrounded by the waters.

7. 02. **Naliman**

Itbayat Folksongs with Notes (S. Setoguchi, Y. Yamada)

Mrs. Eustacia C. Horlina
Basco, Batan, 1965-6-11

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J = 76</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka pi ya - no nay mo ha -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so - ni - yo y - di ab ne ngan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

kapiya no naymoha
so niyoy di abnengan
Lucky are those who planted
coconuts in Abnengan

ta mangday dana so arow
a mangday dana so vohan
because everyday now
and every month now

a panapanayahlen
a inomen so asoy
waiting
to drink the coconut juice

as yamen a naymoha
so tawo di pahoten
while for us who planted
a person in Pahoten

a mangday dana so arow
a mangday dana so vohan
because everyday now
and every month now

so katod na mapayadanan
it (the dead) merely fades away.

**naliman**: Itb. the dead; past tense of *maliman* to die

**kapiya**: *kapia, kapya*. good. lucky < *pia* idea of goodness. luck

**naymoha**: those who planted < *nay-moha*. Itb. *minnoma* < *moxa* a plant

so: object relation marker preposed to common noun. while *si* is preposed to proper noun

**singular living**

**niyoy**: *niy*, *niyo*, coconut fruit or plant

di: < *do, ro*. See *do* and 6.2.1 above.

**abnengan**: name of a valley where there is a river with no outlet < *abneing* (?). Cf. *mabneng* in Song 7.13.

**mangday**: *mahday*. every time
dana: already, now
araw: day, the sun
vohan: moon, month, Itb. *voxan*

**panapanayahlen**: waiting, have time

**inomen**: to drink, to be drunk < *inom* idea of drinking

**asoy**: soup, juice, probably implying wine
as: sentence or clause connective. Itb. ah

tawo: person, man

pahoten: name of a hill. Other versions have pitokonan instead.

katod: very soon, gradually, being-merely

mapayadanan: become old. Another version has maypayadanan and Itb. nipaya'danan

'old' < a'dan idea of 'old' in use, worn-out, old in appearance of things.

(Another version)

kapia da no mata o dana
o kadaysa

a panapanayahen a
paaypadawaten

so apoy kan danom no
ayakma diyamen

a naymoha so tawo dana i
di pitokonan

a mangday do araw a
mayamengday do vohan

so kach na maypayadanan

It is good for those who can see
who can see

for they are waiting
to be served

fire and water (tobacco and wine?)
but like us

who planted a person
at the top of the hill

everyday and
every month

he (the dead) merely fades away.

This is a very popular raji about the person who has gone to his death, and it is sung in Ivatanen. We have recorded five more songs of almost identical contents.
7.03. Ni’axsahan

Mrs. Eustacia C. Horlina
Basco, Batan, 1965-6-11

do ming go do ming go pito as li cha ya kay
cha damon mo di ya si mi nay po so to mid ni do na
ma ra a chi nabistian so ka ya po na pa
do si gon do ma ni la hi sos ma ria i ho si i na w
ya ya ko an ta yi an ma wa ra ka mo na a ma ya
la ko yid a la ko sa ko yen no bin di ta di gloria
hi sos ma ria i ho si i na w ya ya ko an ta yi an ma wa ra
ka mo na a ma ya la ko yid a chi nabistian
so ka ya po na pa do si gon do ma ni la

dominggo dominggo pitoas lichayakay chadamon mo diya
si minaypos a tomid ni doña maria a chinabistian
so kayapo na pa do sigondo manila
hisos maria i hosi inawyyay ako antayi
an mawara kamo na a mayalakoyid
a laksakoyen no bindita di gloria
hisos maria i hosi inawyyay ako antayi
an mawara kamo na a mayalakoyid
a chinabistian so kayapo na pa do sigondo manila

Dominggo. Dominggo, get up, wake up, wash
the tailed chin of Doña Maria who is dressed up
who has just (recently) arrived from Manila.
Jesus, Maria, and Joseph, how pitiful I will be
when you arrive hand in hand
sprinkled of holy water.
Jesus, Maria, and Joseph, how pitiful I will be
when you arrive hand in hand
attired of the dress which recently arrived from Manila.

ni’axsahan: (Itb.) jilted, deserted < axsah
dominggo: name of the boy who abandoned the girl, Rosario, and who got married to
    Maria, a beautiful girl returned from Manila,
pitoas: to get up on a sudden < toas
lichayakay: wake up and get free of the state of being half-asleep
chadamon: < kadamon < damon. ramon to wash (one’s face)
diya: here. See ria above.
si: < so. See so and 6.2.1 above.
minaypos: cf. ominaypos < ipos tail
tomid: chin, minaypos a tomid tailed chin, implying that the face is beautiful
ni: of; possessive relation marker preposed to proper noun singular living
doña: < Spanish Doña lady, mistress
maria: name of girl. See dominggo above.
chinabistian: dressed-up, bisti < Sp. veste ornament, decoration
kayapo: arrival (from), yapo yeast, source, origin
sigondo: second, second time, sigonda in another version
hisos maria i hosí: < Sp. Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. This phrase is used as an interjection
to express surprise, joy, sadness, etc.
inawayay: pitiful < in-awayay
ako: I, me, ak; non-initial non-emphatic topic singular personal pronoun
antayi: time adverb expressing future
an: if, when; temporal sentence connective
mawara: to arrive < ma-wara
kamo: you. chamo. kam, cham; non-initial non-emphatic topic plural personal pronoun
mayalakoyid: hand in hand
lakosakoyen: variant dakosakoyen, sprinkle, pour water
bindita: holy water < Sp. bendita sainted, blessed
gloria: glory < Sp. gloria

This is also very popular among the people. Although it is called raji, the way of ex-
pression is not halinhaa'—'. It may be modern or yet short-living in history. The melody and the story do not seem pre-Hispanic. It is sung in Ivatanen.

This is a song of Dominggo who deserted his lover and married Maria. The jilted woman, Rosario, sang the song. On the eve of the wedding, Dominggo visited Rosario and stayed a night. Early on the following morning, Rosario sings it to Dominggo. There is another explanation about the event. Dominggo had a girl friend whom he abandoned and married a different girl Maria. On the night, the day before their marriage, the jilted woman Rosario climbed up a big tapah-tree (Moraceae. Ficus retusa L.) overhanging the house of this man, and spontaneously began singing this song to the man who jilted her. It is said that it was an unhappy marriage and that finally Dominggo married the deserted lover Rosario.

(Another version)

hisos maria i hosí inaway ako antayi
an mawara kamo na a mi' alakoyid a isavat
no mosiko isavat no talivang a
pachirayayan no chiriñ no dios

Jesus, Maria, and Joseph, pity for me
when you arrive joining hands towards
with music; going home with snare drum together
with the word of God.

7.04. Orayen

Mrs. Gregoria Balanoba
Mayan, Itbayat, 1971-3-7

Mind it not now;
Mind it not even more.

Orayen: bother not, mind not < oray-en. The term orayen is also used as the name of a character in some folktales such as 'Podaalan and Orayen', 'Vaknang and Orayen', 'Siayan and Orayen', 'Gomaram. Vaknang, and Orayen'. Orayen, in such stories, is a person to be pitied. Compare with noray in the expression, noray mo na siiya let it go, leave it, don't be bothered.

sii: he, she, it, him, her. siiya. siya. sia, sya; non-initial emphatic topic singular pronoun

21. See fn. 19.
pa: yet, still
man: ever; emphatic adverb

This is sung in Itbayaten. It is a ra'wed song sung when you are lonesome and sad, which you could not resist or do anything for. For instance, when your sweetheart leaves you, you just utter it to yourself with resignation. The following is a longer version.

(another version)
may cha na antayi
am akdot ako pa
so ipaylominggoan ko a
a ananayen
ah orayen dana siya
am ichaddaw as kayhahaw
manakem as kawayid

You go now
but pinch me please.
that makes me for the whole week
feel painful
so bother not now
for you will be loved but scarcely
you will be remembered but seldom.

7.05. Voyit

Mrs. Eustacia C. Horlina
Basco, Batan, 1965-6-8

vo yi ta koa ta do mi va li wa koa vo yi ta ta do

vo yit ako a tado
mivaliw ako a voyit a tado
ta di da yaken a chinahakey
a ipangolit so kanen ko a lookay

I am a dove which cries tado.
I transform into a dove
because they did not want
to remove skin of my food, white yam.

voyit: a kind of dove
tado: dove-cry. When the Itbayat people imitate the cry of the dove, they sing voyit a tado with melody as shown above.
mivaliw: to change, transform < valiw
di: not; negative marker
da: they, their, ra; postposed non-topic plural personal pronoun
yaken: me, for me; non-initial emphatic topic singular personal pronoun
chinahakey: wanted < hakey idea of liking
ipangolit: to peel off for. ipanoxdox < kolit skin
kanen: food < kan
lookay: white yam

This *ra'wed* is sung in Itbayaten. This song represents the severe and hard life in Itbayat; a child of four or five is usually given a certain work and is supposed to be responsible for it. They sometimes take care of babies, carabao, and other works. But yet they often like to feel dependent upon parents and elders as children.

The background story for this song is this. There was once a child who wanted to eat white yam. He asked his father to remove its skin but he refused to do it for the child. And the father sent him to his mother. The same happened. She then sent the boy to his elder sibling. His elder sibling did not do it for him either. Finally the child sang it. He then became a dove and flew away upon finishing that song.

Compare the following song in which an unlucky, hurt-feeling child transforms into a bird called *vakag* (owl?). The *vakag*-bird, they say, flies in the evening, close to the ground and catches rats.

```
an mangsad so rawot
a vatah no anito
a di cho naxami
so aran a’sa kaviyas

an maliman ako
mivaliako a vakag
komonakonanap
do kavochiran
```

If I pound millet
as said by the ghost
of which I don’t taste
even just a grain.

If I die
I become a *vakag*-bird
traversing
the grassland.

7.06. Miharaya

Mrs. Emiliana Cabal
Mayan. Itbayat. 1971-3-5

`So let’s bring it (boat)'
they said yesterday
at Ri’yang
so let’s bring it.
miharaya: to drag along boat. kapilaraya boat-launching < haraya idea of dragging boat toward shore (by land or water). Cf. iraya shore.

isma: Ivt. expression for calling the time. Itb. ismah

yavavay: expression for calling the time. Pull! Cf. maraxmet to pull.

kwan: said
da: they (those who pulled the boat the day before). See Song 7.05.

angkakoyab: yesterday

ri’yang: a name of port at the west of the Itbayat Island

i’yangay: to go, bring, thangay, ihay. Cf. mangay, may to go.

This is sung mostly in Itbayaten. All words seem to be the same as those in Ivatanen except isma, which is definitely an Ivatanen word. It is simply hard to tell whether this song is in Itbayaten or Ivatanen.

This is a karosan song of a child who has hurt-feelings because his parents did not permit him to go to the port where he wanted to see and join the boat-launching (miharaya). On the following day, he got a trunk of pandan and went dragging it along the path where the boat passed the day before. He imitated the launching in his own manner. After singing the song above, he died because he had ill-feelings. The song is very popular among the people and three other versions of almost the same texts are collected in our data.

(Another version)

ismah yavavay
kwan da angkakoyab
di ri’yang aya
o ta iyangay
as a nanawven

'So let’s bring it (boat)'
they said yesterday
at Ri’yang
so let’s bring it
and make complete.

7.07. Abes a tanis

Mrs. Eustacia C. Horlina
Basco, Batan, 1965-6–

Stop crying
because cut at Vio
(and) at Va’song
your mother was.
abies: to stop, stopping
tafis: to cry, crying
tinavaran: was cut. tavar to cut. nivakhak to be cut < tavar, tavad idea of cutting
vio: name of place; name of tree (?)
va'song: name of place; name of tree (?)
siinam: < si ina mo your mother. ina mother

This Itbayaten lullaby is sung in a story about a beautiful woman who came out of a
tree trunk. The story goes as follows.²²)

There were two persons related to each other who were both males. One day, they went
to cut lumber. They stumbled upon a tree with a hole inside. In it was a female person.
As they were still cutting it, the woman cautioned. “Act with care because you might hurt
me.” The tree having been felled down, they saw a very beautiful woman who was inside
the tree.

“My wife, my wife!” said one of them. “No. she is my wife because I felled it down!”
said the other one. “Yes. but this tree is my reserve and, therefore, she’s my wife.”
“No, because you could not have got her if I had not felled it.” At last, the one who
felled down the tree married her.

A child having been born to the woman, she always left him behind with the mother of
the husband. The child did not cry because the moment he started to cry, the child’s
grandmother sang:

“Stop crying.
because cut at Vio
(and) at Va’song
your mother was.”

When the mother of the child came to take him she asked. “Has he cried yet?” “No”,
replied the grandmother of the child. Inasmuch as the grandmother of the child constantly
reported that the baby did not cry under her care. the mother thought to herself. “What
could be the trick of your grandmother in making you not cry?” The mother spied on her.
When the baby started to cry, she sang to him:

“Stop crying.
because cut at Vio
(and) at Va’song
your mother was.”

Upon hearing that, the woman had hurt-feelings. She said to her child:

²². See fn. 19.
“Hurry up feeding on my breasts,
for my feet are now wood.

Hurry up sucking milk,
for my thighs are now wood.

Hurry up feeding on my breasts,
for my arms are now wood.”

And when her arms were already wood, she gave the baby to his father. “If he cries hard, you take off one of my branches. But never take my tips.” The woman became a nato-tree. Every time the child cried, they went to take off its branches. And when its branches, together with its leaves, had gone, they got its tips. The tree died.

7.08. Abe’abes a tañis

Mrs. Emiliana Cabal
Mayan. Itbayat. 1971-3-5
vava ko pa do itod a ipivilivili am nawi o piiyaen em
ori'oris mo pa awi di dina navasavat a gomtal do payohawan

Stop crying: your mother is coming with water at her breast.
Don’t be like this, which is unusual for they’ll name you
by the lost person.
Carry me on your back and go around, if that’s what you like.
You often do not go home playing in other’s house.

abe'abes: reduplication of abes stop
tañis: crying
itoh: itohay. (?) come
ina: mother
nomdanom: mindanom, danom. Itb. ranom water (for drinking)
naabakan: navakan < vak half-way, middle (of the mother). that is, breast, soso
cha: ka, you; non-initial non-emphatic topic singular personal pronoun
siyo: child word that has no full meaning. 23) If it is omitted, the phrase becomes that
of adults.
goan: (?) like this
mapalaretarek: (?) mapataretarek not usual < tarek other
yongaranan: one or something that is named < ngaran name. Itv. yongaran nickname,
to nickname, to ridicule
omo: you < ino you; non-initial emphatic topic singular personal pronoun
naboal: lost person. the dead. anito. Cf. Itb. a'bo nothing, lacking. -al is probably
meaningless.
tawo: person. man
vava: to carry a baby at the side, back, or in front of the body of the carrier
itod: back, ititod child word of lichod. See siyo above.
ipivilivili: to go around, also ipipavilivili < vilivili traversing the area
am: clause connective, emphatic relation marker
nawi: that
piiyaen: what one likes < piiya. piya. pya idea of goodness
em: mo, you; e is often inserted, lexically meaningless. Cf. eka < e-ka as in alisto eka
Hurry up.
ori’oris: often
awi: that; demonstrative pronoun as in ‘that-X’
dina: (?)
navasavat: go home < vasat idea of returning home
gomtal: Itv. to play < agtal play, sport. Itb. omtek

23. There are interesting phenomena in child language in Itbayaten. Some examples are in the
following (ordinary adult words in parentheses): naana (ina) mother, piapis (opis) urine, ima
(lina) hand, five, okay (wakay) sweet potato. iipen (niipen) tooth, pata (mata) eye, maamah
(ominom) drink, etc.
payohawan: Ivt. *yohaw* sound, healthy; others’ place

This lullaby in Itbayaten is also very commonly sung, and is for a girl. The one for a boy is also collected as in the following.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{abeabes a lañis ta itoh dana si ama mo} \\
a nanghap so yaayam mo benalaayan a boyit \\
an di imo a keelahan ta pa pavolwen \\
ta boolayay da sia no maklah nia
\end{align*}
\]

Stop crying for your father is coming
with a toy-bird. (?) *benalaayan* dove.
If you are not contented with it, let’s let it go free
so that those who like it may catch.

7.09. Lageelaget  

Mrs. Marcelina Castro  
Mayan. Itbayat, 1971-3-22

\[
\text{lageelaget ni apo} \\
\text{ta pasiirongan} \\
\text{an mattimoy}
\]

lageelaget: reduplication of *laget* loose skin especially of the old. There is a story about a boneless gentleman who got married to a girl and his name is *laget*. Cf. also *garetget* cartilage, -ar- being a fossilized infix.
apo: grandparent. This term refers to any L¹ or L² person of two or more generations above or below ego.²⁴
mattimoy: rainy < *timoy* rain

This lullaby is sung in Itbayaten. An old woman free from heavy work in the field due to her old age usually stays at home and takes care of her grandchild. When the baby cries, the old woman takes him up on her lap or near to her. She pinches her soft skinny part of her knee and moves it back and forth as singing the song above. The baby looks at it and forgets crying.

---
²⁴ See fn. 18.
The southward current is now becoming wavy far in the sea and coming to wash out the coconut groves at Kavangtahan. It again becomes weaker and smooth. I look down at it and see where they are jumping, the child of monamon-fish.

I catch it with my close-net. I place it still in a soup-cup. I place it again in a vakag-basket, I cover it with a small handkerchief, I place it on the lintel of my house to avoid comments about it from my father and mother: some hurting words, for it’s important in my house and so in the drinking place.

kayon: marriage arrangement
tia: (?)
mayapidong: become wavy. Itb. pilong. mapilong of rough sea
si: < so. See 6.2.1 above.
amteng: southward current. Cf. isak northward current
maydawod: far in the sea, off-sea. Itb. ilawod, lawod
mandisadisaw: to wash out; reduplication of disaw
ñooy: nyo, niyoy. coconut (tree)
kavangtahan: a place name < vangtah. Itb. vangtax a name of plant
pioa: second, again < roa, doa, dwa. Itb. doha two
nas: < (?) na as. Itb. na ah
maydanotanía: become weaker (of current). Itb. mitanotanoy < tanyo 'temperate' period of current movement
paydirasirap: also paysirasirap, paypisirasirap. become smooth (of current); reduplication of sirap
i: syllable for smooth singing
dawngan: Itb. rawngan look down (at)
dia: here. ria. diiya. See ria above.
songasongay: where (they) are jumping (with joy); (?) to go with the waves < songay to go at the same time (of many fish)
anak: child
monamon: 1) name of a fish symbolizing the girl whom he wishes to marry. There are other stories in which a fish stands for a girl. It seems that this kind of metaphor is popular among the Itbayat. 2) name of a rich man (?)
sidoan: to catch < sido. Itb. silo a type of fish net
masen: of something closely placed or knit together < asen. Itb. a'sen. It refers here to the net finely knit.
sisidong: sisido. Itb. sisilo net. masen a sisido close net. -ng is for easier singing.
dahora: to place. Itb. pasaxorn
madokong: bowl-like plate for containing soup. also Itb. masaxokong, masalokong, malokong
panay: plate
piyaw: also piyaywen, very finely woven like Itb. bilaw winnow
vakag: 1) a basket. 2) a bird. (?) owl. which flies close to the ground and catches rats
bonbonan: to cover, shelter < bonbon
deekey: small. Itb. alekey
valongot: handkerchief. Itb. varongot
dapata: (?) dapat to place. Itb. pasapata. Cf. sapat to lay a thing in a place.
sichoy: lintel, door-head. Children can not reach it because it is high. In this song he hopes that his parents won't be aware of it on the sichoy.
vahay: house. Itb. taway
cho: I. my. ko when preceded by i-sound. See ko above.
kahawahawa: to avoid; reduplication of hauna. Cf. Itb. kazawa to avoid. zawa yard. solar.
nia: it. that
payavenglayan: to utter. to talk, Itb. pichirichiriñan < chirin
ama: father
kani: and <kano coordinate connective preposed to common noun, while kani is for proper noun living. See 6.2.1 above.

ina: mother

mayarahmet: heavy, rahmet. Itb. maraxmet uncomfortable, hurting (mentally heavy), serious

chirin: Itb. chirin. wordings, words, talking

rahmet: see mayarahmet above

pañinoman: the place of drinking party implying a wedding ceremony <inom idea of drinking

This is sung in Ivatanen. This type of rajji is very popular and exceeds the number of other kinds of collected songs. A series of twelve songs were collected in March, 1971. They were sung alternately by the two parties. This is the way they exchange conversations and draw a conclusion for the marriage. The word michchayon (<kayon) means a meeting that is to be held between the two parties concerned. The two parties talk and decide whether the boy and the girl can get married. They say that it is less practical now than before. The conversation is supposed to be carried on in haliñbaawa (see 6.2.3 above). The conversation in haliñbaawa is often sung among the people and handed down from generation to generation.

7.11. Mi’maapoan

Mrs. Emiliana Cabal
Mayan, Itbayat. 1971-3-6

ay cha mo ta may da na do va xay nian baa tas ya po ka mi-
do va xay ñap chi pa xad o ta i ha ngay do va xay
ñan baa tas a po a po na men ay so may ched o mi nom
o mi nom o ko man o mi nom an baa tas may cha si ri mo
ap chi pa xad ta na ma ngay o mi nom so may ched

ay chamo ta may dana do vaxay Let's go to the house
ni anbaatas yapo kami do vaxay of Anbaatas; we're from the house
"Apchipaxad o ta ihangay do vaxay of Apchipaxad. let's bring to the house
ñanbaatas apo apo namen of Anbaatas. our apo;
ay somayched ominom ominom o Rest. drink. drink.
koman ominom eat, drink;
anbaatas may chami rimo Anbaatas. we're going to you.
apchipaxad ta na mangay Apchipaxad, let's go.
ominom somayched drink. (and) stay.

mi’aspoon: name-giving ceremony. See the comment below.
ay: exclamationary expression for smooth singing
chamo: kamo, you. See kamo above.
ta: we; inclusive
may: to go, mangay
vaxay: house
anbaatas: name of a person (who had his first child in the song)
yapo: from, yeast
kami: we, us. chami: non-initial non-emphatic topic plural exclusive personal pronoun
ñapchipaxad: < ni-apchipaxad. See apchipaxad below.
apchipaxad: name of a person (who had his first grandchild in the song above) < apo-
chipaxad²⁵
o: syllable for smooth singing
ihangay: to bring < hangay. Cf. mangay to go
ñanbaatas: < ni-anbaatas
apo: grandparent, grandchild; old man⁶
somayched: to rest, stay < sayched idea of stopping, temporary stoppage, (?) walking-
stick, staff. Cf. ichedked to bind, to fasten < kedked.
ominom: to drink < inom idea of drinking
koman: to eat < kan idea of eating
chami: we, kami: exclusive. See. kami above.
rimo: to you, dimo: non-initial non-topic locative singular personal pronoun
mangay: to go, may

This is sung in Itbayaten. When the first child (female or male) of the eldest child is
born, the grandparents are given new names by the people near them.²⁷ This name-giving
celebration is called mi’aspoon. In the present song, the name given to the grandmother
at mi’aspoon is Apchipaxad. and Anbaatas is the name of her eldest son, whom the baby
was born to. Near relatives and visitors contribute their share (vonong) with sugar-cane
wine (parek), and sing the song. Every time they rest after singing this song, they drink.

²⁵. See fn. 17.
²⁶. See fn. 18.
²⁷. See fn. 17.
7.12. Votovotoaken

Mrs. Gregoria Balanoba
Mayan, Itbayat, 1971-3-7

votovotoaken: to dig and soften the field by using a stick (at present, iron crowbar called bariita); reduplication of votoak
am: expression for smooth singing or rhythm
daoh: decorative musical expression; also name of a type of song in labor
takey: field
miiyo: you, your; postposed non-topic plural personal pronoun

(Another version)
daoh am votovotoaken ta pa poxog na pa o di'nem
daoh am maonged pa o mian patowaw pa rana am
daoh am poxog na o di'nem

Daoh, we'll soften the soil and the poxog is like Di'nem.
Daoh, sugar-cane wine is still boiling, (but) bring it out now.
Daoh, the fruit on the stem is like Di'nem.

This daoh is sung in Itbayaten. After softening and planting root crops (especially yam) are over, you wait and expect a good harvest. When fruit (poxog) on the stem of yam is big, the fruit at the root is usually large. You compare it to the island Di'nem. When you have a good harvest, you just ask for sugar-cane wine even when it is not sufficiently fermented for drinking yet (maonged, Itb. mahonged 'young, tender, not ripe'), without being able to wait for the right state of fermentation.
7.13. I'iwihwi

\[ j = 60 \]

i'iwihwi dana aya am vadichet dana o mohod oho
mabneng ta kovih

mawnged pa o miyan am patwaw pa rana o poxog
na o di'nem hoho

Planting now and vadichet-bird will come now. oho!
It is hot, because of kovih-wind.

Wine is young yet, but put it out now: small fruit
will be like Di'nem Island, hoho!

i'iwihwi: planting
vadichet: a kind of migratory bird
oho: decorative musical expression
mabneng: hot. abneng. Cf. abnengan in Song 7.02.
kovih: south-east wind (representing a good weather). Cf. hilawod north wind, hayokayam
north-east wind, palahanitan east-north wind, pangalitan east wind, somra south wind,
itaw south-west wind. mahaxawod a havayat west-south-west wind, havayat or ina no
havayat west wind. ma'saroy a havayat west-north-west wind, monmo north-west wind.
mawnged: Itb. mahonged young. In the song, this refers to sugar-cane wine which is
still boiling and not ready yet for drinking.
miyan: there is. mian, myan. See mian above.
patwaw: to put out
di'nem: island near Itbayat
hoho: decorative musical expression

This daoh for yam-planting is sung in Ivatanen and is partly identical with the additional
version to the previous *daoh* (Song 7.12), which is to be referred to here.

7.14. **Ipakarilaw**

 Mrs. Nicacia Gordo  
 Mayan, Itbayat, 1971-3-20

\[ \text{i p a k a r i l a w s i v o g a m i p a k a r i} \]

\[ \text{l a w s i v o g t a m a v a t a n g d a n a a m} \]

*ipakarilaw sivog am*  
*You really love.*

*ipakarilaw sivog*  
*you really love.*

*ta mavatang dana am*  
*because (she or he) is old now.*

*ipakarilaw*: to love. *addaw*. Itb. *adlaw*

*sivog*: idea of "on purpose, intentionally", nature (created intentionally by god). It seems that here it expresses the naturalness and the due amount of love to be given to the old people.

*am*: expression for a beat. or tapping a time once with a foot after each line of the verse is sung.

*mavatang*: *markem*. old

This is called by the singer *ra'wed* and is sung in Itbayaten. This is a song for dividing all the gold and money that the parents have kept. The children, recipients of divided gold, are supposed to prepare food (dinner) for their parents on that day of dividing. It is said that they sing the song all through the night.

7.15. **Vilavilang**

 Mrs. Emiliana Cabal  
 Mayan, Itbayat, 1971-3-5

\[ \text{i - c h a' s a o c h a - d o h a i - c h a - t l o i - c h a' p a t} \]

\[ \text{i - c h a - l i - m a o a' n e m i c h a a p i t o -} \]

\[ \text{c h a l o w a x o i - c h a - s y a m s a a p o x o o h o y} \]
icha'sa o chadoha
ichatlo icha'pat
ichalima o a'ñem
ichapito chalowaxo
ichasyam saapoxo
ohoy

First, second.
third, fourth,
fifth, sixth(th),
seventh, eighth,
ninth, tenth,
ohoy!

vilavilang: to count numbers
icha'sa: first < a'sa, sah one
chadoha: second, ichadoha < doha, doh two
ichatlo: third < atlo, tlo three
icha'pat: fourth < a'pat, pat four
ichalima: fifth < lima, lim five
a'ñem: six, nem
ichapito: seventh < pito, pit seven
chalowaxo: ichalowaxo, eighth < waxo, wax eight. -lo- seems meaningless.
ichasyam: ichasiam, ninth < siam, sih nine
saapoxo: ten, pox < a'sa a poxo
ohoy: decorative musical expression

This daoh is a counting song sung in Itbayaten.

8. Conclusion
We have presented some of the Itbayat folksongs and made comments on them. We will certainly notice the remarkable difference between the music of the Itbayat and that of the Yami as shown by Lu, although the language difference is not that distant but rather dialectal. both belonging to the Bashiic. The reason why they are distant in music from each other must remain uncertain and will probably be clearer when we learn more about the relationship of the Bashiic to the Luzon area in the south and to the so-called mountain peoples of Formosa in the north. It is worth while to know whether or not the gap in music between the Yami and the Itbayat had existed before they broke off relationships. This is an interesting problem with regard to the genealogical question of the peoples in this area. For the solution to this, it is necessary to undertake interdisciplinary investigations on the Bashiic.

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