

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*; *disiayan*; *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 Culturats, 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 area¹⁾ of approximately 93 km²; Divatan 76 km²; Sabtang 41 km²; and Dihami 48 km². 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".²⁾

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 ethnomusicological 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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1. *Census of the Philippines 1960* (Agriculture, Batanes). 1963. Department of Commerce and Industry, Bureau of the Census and Statistics. Manila. Kokubu, Naoichi. 1963. "Bashi-kaikyō no Kotō—Kōtōshō" [Botel Tobago—an Island in the Bashi Channel]. *The Sun* 4:5. Tokyo: Hēbonsha.
 2. Dampier, William. 1688. *A New Voyage round the World* (first appearance in 1697). New York: Dover Publishers, pp. 285-86. Blair, E. H., and J. A. Robertson, eds. 1903-1909. *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898*. 39: 93-115. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co.
 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'.
 4. Lu, Pingchuan. 1970. "Yami-zoku no Ongaku" [Music of the Yami] in *Yami-zoku no Genshi Gējutsu* [Primitive Art of the Yami] by Usaburō Toyama, pp. 299-346. Tokyo: Zōkēbijutsukyōkai.

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,⁵⁾ who urged in his article that a comparative study be made on the music of the Yami and the Ivatan. Scheerer⁶⁾ wrote an article, in which he explains the Ivatan folksongs but does not present music at all. Yamada was given by Mrs. Acacio⁷⁾ 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 *halinbaawa*, in which no direct reference is made and people are apt to designate words and phrases in *halinbaawa* as archaic. Scheerer makes comments on Ivatan songs characterized by a "veiled significance".⁸⁾ 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.⁹⁾ 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

5. Lu (1970).

6. Scheerer, Otto. 1926. "Batán Texts with Notes." *Philippine Journal of Science* 31:301-41. National Institute of Science and Technology. Manila.

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.

8. Scheerer (1926), p. 304.

9. Among the Yami, *raud* is known. See de Beauclair, Inez. 1971. *Studies on Botel Tobago and Yap*. Asian Folklore and Social Life Monographs, Vol. 19. Taipei: Orient Cultural Service, p. 82, fn. 1.

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 *halinbaarwa* 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.

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
			total 108

6. Language

6. 1. Itbayaten language

6. 1. 1. Dialects of the Bashiic

In the Bashiic 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 Bashiic 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.

12. Ferrell, Raleigh. 1969. *Taiwan Aboriginal Groups: Problems in Cultural and Linguistic Classification*. Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, Monograph No. 17. Taipei, p. 72.

13. For further information, see Yamada. 1965. "Phonology of Itbayaten." *Philippine Journal of Science* 94:373-93. Manila, and Yamada (1972a).

dialects: 1) Yami, 2) Itbayaten, and 3) Divasay Ivatanen.¹⁴⁾ Saamorong Ivatanen is excluded from the comparison due to insufficient data.

	1	2	3	
l-l-d	likod	lichod	dichod	back
	chilat	chilat	chidat	lightning
r-r-l	ragaw	ragaw	lagaw	neck
	ta'er	tawor	taol	heart
x-x-h	waxo	waxo	waho	eight
	chipoxo	atipoxo	tipoho	breadfruit
i-i-ay	mikali	michali	maychadi	dig
	michipchip	mittiptip	maytiptip	cut
ch-t-t	chinai	tinayi	tinai	guts
	chimoi	timoy	timoy	rain
k-ch-ch	siko	sichoh	sicho	elbow
	likod	lichod	dichod	back
r-l-l	riyar	rial	rial	ray
	korad	kolad	kolad	scar
l-y-y	vaxalang	vaxa'yang	vahayang	iron
	omalam	homayam	omayam	walk
ng-ñ-ñ	talinga	taliña	tadiña	ear
	mingen	mahiñen	mayñen	pain
e-o-o	velek	volek	vodek	belly
	eted	tohod	tood	knee
o-φ-φ	makopad	makpahad	makpaad	bitter
	mabosoy	mabsoy	mabsoy	full
φ-h-φ	viay	vihay	viay	life
	doa ~ dwa	doha	doa ~ dwa	two
n-ñ-n	chinedkelan	chñedkeran	chinedkeran	boat
	chilin	chiriñ	chirin	speech
φ-'-φ	anay	a'nay	anay	sand
	apat	a'pat	apat	four
i-φ-i	pisagatan	psagatan	pisagatan	back (1), shoulder
	chinedkelan	chñedkeran	chinedkeran	boat

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 Botel Tobago Island*. Leiden, together with Yamada's "field notes of a limited survey".

people sing *raji*. 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. 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*, *ñooy* < *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 *raji* implies because of the use of *haliñbaawa*. What we call proverbs are referred to as *haliñbaawa*. Here are two examples of proverbs: *mitilwan o voxovoxong 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 our present concern, is characterized by a type of expression which is employed mostly in *raji*. The outward wording of *raji* has usually nothing to do with the truly intended meaning behind it and becomes enigmatic. It seems that this type of *haliñbaawa* in *raji* is not only enigmatic but also effective in producing poetic imagery. It is not necessarily instructive. As seen particularly in *raji* 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 kapitahaya 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 offing 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 marry 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 *haliñbaawa*, 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 *rajis* (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.¹⁵⁾ This code-switching is worth noting and sociolinguistically interesting. It seems that the more popular the *rajis* are among the people, the more likely they are sung in Ivatanen. Such *rajis* sung in Ivatanen are not those imported from Batan. It seems correct to think, since Ivatanen is the prestige language in Batanes (excepting Yami),¹⁶⁾ that any *raji* is automatically sung in Ivatanen the moment it is accepted as a refined and poetic way of expression (*halinbaawa*) 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 *raji* in a broader sense of the term. Most of the *rajis* 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 repeated in the word lists.

15. We have found, however, a few *rajis* which are sung in Itbayaten. The reasons for this phenomenon may be: one that there may be in Itbayat some *rajis* 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

ma xaw - ko sa wo n o ka pa - nga ñi aw
naa tloa rod po nan a vo lay do sa mox

maxaw ko sawon o kapangañiaw
na atlo a rodponan 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*

volay: 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 it in the mouth.

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

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

kanen: 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

17. Yamada. 1969. "Itbayat Nicknames." *Nā 'Ōlelo* 1:78-85. Publication of the Doojin, Department of Asian and Pacific Languages, University of Hawaii.

18. Yamada. 1970. "A Semantic Analysis of the Itbayaten Kinship Term *Apo*." *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan* 56:63-78.

version has *bolinika* (probably Ivatanen) instead of *borinika*.

kaviyay: (? Ivt.) resuscitator, life saver. Cf. Itb. *kavihay* to be alive, arise, and *mamihay* person (usually woman) who is in charge of childbirth and treatment of sick persons < *vihay* life.

tataha: reduplication of *taha* (?), clause introducer.

sapsapan: to scoop out, remove < *sapsap*

hawa: sea

di'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, siiya, 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.

ñamantomayil: *ni-amantomayil*; *ni* possessive marker preposed to a personal name: see *amantomayil* above.

wangros: (?)

ria: here, at this place, *dia, diya, diiya, riya, riiya*

nakasajit: hit, shot, *na-ka-sajit* < *sajit* fish hook-like thing

irang: 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.

19. Yamada. 1972b. *Some Itbayaten Folk Narratives* (mimeo). Kochi.

20. For another version, see Yamada, 1967. "Fishing Economy of the Itbayat, Batanes, Philippines, with Special Reference to its Vocabulary." *Asian Studies* 5:137-219, Institute of Asian Studies (Asian Center, at present), University of the Philippines. See pp. 188-99.

7. 02. Naliman

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

kapiya no naymoha
so niyoy di abnengan

Lucky are those who planted
coconuts in Abnengan

ta mangday dana so araw
a mangday dana so vohan

because everyday now
and every month now

a panapanayahen
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 araw
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*, *kapy*, good, lucky < *pia* idea of goodness, luck

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

so: object relation marker preposed to common noun, while *si* is preposed to proper noun singular living

niyoy: *ñoy*, *nioy*, 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 < *abneng* (?). Cf. *mabneng* in Song 7.13.

mangday: *mahday*, every time

dana: already, now

araw: day, the sun

vohan: moon, month, Itb. *voxan*

panapanayahen: 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. *mipaya'danan*
'old' < *a'dan* idea of 'old' in use, worn-out, old in appearance of things.

[another version]

kapia da no mata o dana

It is good for those who can see

o kadaysa

who can see

a panapanayahen a

for they are waiting

paaypadawaten

to be served

so apoy kan danom no

fire and water (tobacco and wine?)

ayakma diyamen

but like us

a naymoha so tawo dana i

who planted a person

di pitokonan

at the top of the hill

a mangday do araw a

everyday and

mayamengday do vohan

every month

so kach na maypayadanan

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

$\text{♩} = 66$

do ming go do - mi - ng go pi - - to as li cha - ya kay

cha - da - mon mo - di ya si mi nay po sa - to mid ni do ña

• ma - ri a a chi na - - bi - sti - an 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 glo ria

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 na - bi - sti an

so ka - ya po - na pa do si gon do ma - ni la

domingo domingo 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 inawyay ako antayi
 an mawara kamo na a mayalakoyid
 a lakosakoyen no bindita di gloria
 hisos maria i hosi inawyay ako antayi

an mawara kamo na a mayalakoyid
a chinabistian so kayapo na pa do sigondo manila

Dominggo, Domingo, 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 hosi: < Sp. Jesus, Mary, and Joseph. This phrase is used as an interjection
to express surprise, joy, sadness, etc.

inawyay: pitiful < *in-awwyay*

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 *halinbaarwa*. 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 Domingo who deserted his lover and married Maria. The jilted woman, Rosario, sang the song. On the eve of the wedding, Domingo visited Rosario and stayed a night. Early on the following morning, Rosario sings it to Domingo. There is another explanation about the event. Domingo 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 Domingo married the deserted lover Rosario.

{another version}

hisos maria i hosi inawyay 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

o ra ye - n da - na - si i o ra ye n - - pa - ma n si i ya -

orayen dana sii

Mind it not now;

orayen pa man siiya

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', 'Siayen and Orayen', 'Gomaram, Vaknang, and Orayen'.²¹⁾ 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.

$\text{♩} = 80$

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

ta di da ya ke na chi na ha ke ya i pa ngo lit so ka nen koa loo-kay

voyit 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

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

an maliman ako
mivaliw ako a vakag
komonakonanap
do kavochiran

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

7.06. Miharaya

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

$\text{♩} = 88$

is ma - ya va - vay kwan da ang ka ko - yab

di ri' - ya nga - ya o ta - pa i ya - ngay

isma yavavay
kwan da angkakoyab
di ri'yang aya
o ta pa iyangay

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

miharaya: to drag along boat. *kapharaya* 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

o: expression without meaning for smooth singing

iyangay: to go, bring, *ihangay*, *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 tañis

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

a be sa ta ñis ta ti na va ran do vio

ti na va ran do va' song si i nam

abes a tañis

ta tinavaran do vio

tinavaran do va'song

siinam

Stop crying

because cut at Vio

[and] at Va'song

your mother was.

abes: to stop, stopping

tañis: to cry, crying

tinavaran: was cut, *tavaran* to cut, *nivakbak* 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

♩ = 72

a be a be - sa - ta - ñis i toh da - na - sii - na - mo a

no m da nom do na a - ba kan di cha pa si - yo - ngo - an

a ma pa - la - re - ta - re k yo nga ra na n da - - o mo

no na bo a l no - - ta wo va va ko pa - do - - i tod

a i pi - vi - li - vi - li am na wi o pii - ya - - e nem

o ri o ri - s mo - - paa wi di di - na na - va - sa - vat a

go m tal do pa yo - - ha wan

abe'abes a tañis itoh dana si ina mo a nomdanom do naabakan
di cha pa siyo ngoan a mapalaretarek yongaranan da omo
no naboal no tawo

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.

ngoan: (?) like this

mapalaretarek: (?) *mapataretarek* not usual < *tarek* other

yongaranan: one or something that is named < *ngaran* name. Ivt. *yongaran* nickname, to nickname, to ridicule

omo: you < *imo* 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, *itod* 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: Ivt. 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, *piipis* (*opis*) urine, *ima* (*lima*) hand, five, *akay* (*wakay*) sweet potato, *iipen* (*ñipen*) 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.

abeabes a lañis ta iitoh dana si ama mo
 a nanghap so yaayam mo benalaayan a boyit
 an di imo a keelahan ta pa pavolawen
 ta boolayay da sia no maklah nia

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

la gee la get ni a po ta pa sii ro ngan an mat ti moy

lageelaget ni apo
 ta pasiirongan
 an mattimoy

Apo moves skin at her knee
 because of shelter
 when it is rainy.

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 L^1 or L^2 person of two or more generations above or below ego.²⁴⁾

pasiirongan: shelter < *sirong* shield, buckler. Cf. *si'dong* help.

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.

- amteŋg: southward current. Cf. *isak* northward current
- maydawod: far in the sea, off-sea. Itb. *ilawod*, *lawod*
- mandisadisaw: to wash out; reduplication of *disaw*
- ñooŋ: *ñoy*, *niyoy*, coconut (tree)
- kavangtahan: a place name < *vangtah*, Itb. *vangtax* a name of plant
- piroa: second, again < *roa*, *doa*, *dwa*. Itb. *doha* two
- nas: < (?) *na as*, Itb. *na ah*
- maydanotania: become weaker (of current), Itb. *mitanotanoy* < *tanoy* 'temperate' period of current movement
- paydirasirap: also *paysirasirap*, *paypisirasirap*, become smooth (of current); reduplication of *sirap*
- i: syllable for smooth singing
- dawngān: 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. *pasaxoren*
- 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. *vaxay*
- cho: I, my, *ko* when preceded by *i*-sound. See *ko* above.
- kahawahawa: to avoid; reduplication of *hawa*. Cf. Itb. *kaxawa* to avoid, *xawa* yard, solar.
- nia: it, that
- payavenglayan: to utter, to talk, Itb. *pichirichiriñan* < *chiriñ*
- 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. *chiriñ*, 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 *raji* 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''aapooan

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

$\text{♩} = 72$

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 mi ri mo
ap chi pa xad ta na ma ngay o mi nom so may ched

ay chamo ta may dana do vaxay
ni anbaatas yapo kami do vaxay

Let's go to the house
of Anbaatas; we're from the house

ñapchipaxad o ta ihangay do vaxay	of Apchipaxad. let's bring to the house
ñanbaatas apo apo namen	of Anbaatas, our <i>apo</i> ;
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''aapoan: name-giving ceremony. See the comment below.

ay: exclamatory 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-chipaxad*²⁵⁾

o: syllable for smooth singing

ihangay: to bring < *hangay*. Cf. *mangay* to go

ñanbaatas: < *ni-anbaatas*

apo: grandparent, grandchild; old man²⁶⁾

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''aapoan*. In the present song, the name given to the grandmother at *mi''aapoan* 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

am da o - - - h am vo - - to - - vo to a - ken - -
ta - - - - - ke y - - mi - - - yo - am da o h

am daoh

Daoh.

am votovotoaken

Soften (by the stick)

takey miiyo

your field.

am daoh

Daoh.

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

Mrs. Emiliana Cabal

Mayan, Itbayat, 1971-3-5

♩ = 60

i 'i wi hi wi da naa ya am va di chet da na o mo hod o ho
 ma bneng ta ko - - vi - h ma - w - nged pa o mi
 ya - nam pa twa w pa ra na o po - xog'nao di' nem ho ho

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

mohod: to come after, take turn, *vohod*. Cf. Itb. *machvoxod*.

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, *palahañitan* east-north wind, *pangalitan* east wind, *somra* south wind, *itaw* south-west wind, *mahaxarwod* 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

poxog: Itb. small fruit on the stem of yam (*ovi*). See Song 7.12.

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

$\text{♩} = 60$

i pa ka ri law si vog am i pa ka ri
 law si vog ta ma va tang da na am

ipakarilaw sivog am
 ipakarilaw sivog
 ta mavatang dana am

You really love,
 you really love,
 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

$\text{♩} = 88$

i - - - cha' sa o cha - do ha i - - - cha - tlo i - cha' pat
 i - - - cha - li - ma o a' nem i cha a pi to - -
 cha lo wa xo i - - - cha - syam sa a po xo o hoy

icha'sa o chadoha	First, second,
ichatlo icha'pat	third, fourth,
ichalima o a'nem	fifth, six(th),
ichapito chalowaxo	seventh, eighth,
ichasyam saapoxo	ninth, tenth,
ohoy	ohoy!

vilavilang: to count numbers²⁸⁾

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'nem: 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 paxo

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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28. For numerals, see Yamada. 1972c (forthcoming). "Speech Disguise in Itbayaten Numerals."