Kulligóng: Ethnopop Artists in Kalinga at the Interstices and Margins of Tradition[1]

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ABSTRACT

Kulligóng 'encircle', under the *vojóng* 'peace pact system' of the Kalinga of northern Philippines, is a principle which deems the domicile of a tribal member located outside the *vúgis* '[original] tribal territory' a part of the tribe's jurisdiction. I propose to deploy kulligong metaphorically by applying the concept to the creative work of contemporary Kalinga ethnopop music artists. I seek to examine sample songs written in the vernacular composed and sung by five recording artists from Southern and Western Kalinga, and highlight the thematic and prosodical aspects of these songs. In so doing, I present these music artists as culture bearers and innovators whose works both affirm and challenge the borders of tradition by taking us to the interstitial and marginal spaces of our languages and cultures.

Keywords: *kulligong, vojóng, vúgis*, Kalinga, ethnopop

Introduction

The Province of Kalinga is home to 46 distinct ethnolinguistic groups (Sugguiyao 2021; cf. Garming 2009, 9–11; see Figure 1). These communities are bound together by the *vojóng*[2] 'peace pact' which predates the American colonization of the Philippines. Likened by Kalinga customary law experts to the concept of a state, it comprises the *vúgis* 'territory,' *tatágu* 'people' or *vinodngán* 'those who are covered by the peace pact,' and *pagtá* 'law.' The concept of sovereignty is implied in each group's capacity for self-rule and inter-tribal pact-making.

The vojóng's continuing relevance in contemporary Kalinga societies can be demonstrated in three recent events: a pan-Kalinga assembly, and two bilateral gatherings. On 11 February 2024, over a

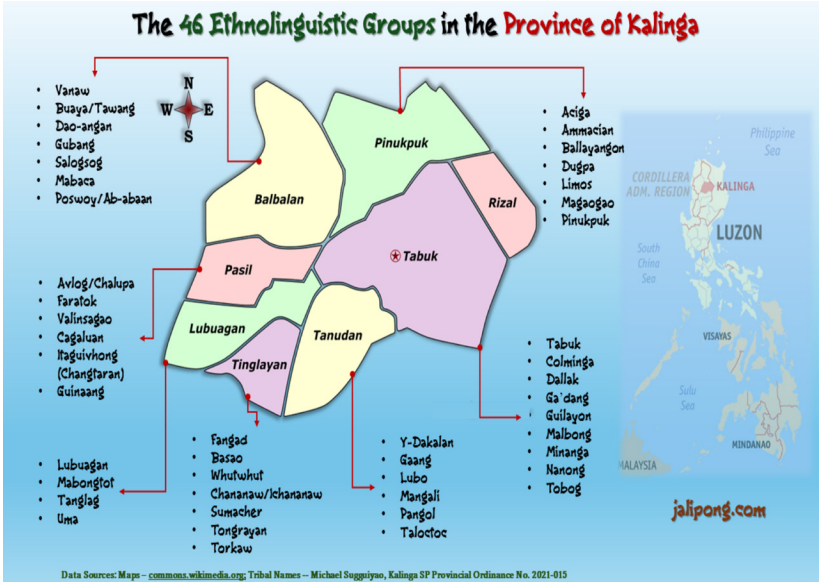

Figure 1. The distribution of the 46 ICCs by municipality in the Province of Kalinga. Source: jalipong.com

a thousand peace pact holders, elders, and local other leaders representing all the Indigenous Cultural Communities (ICCs) in the province participated in a "Bodong Congress" to deliberate on and ratify amendments to the existing *pagtá*. Earlier, representatives of the Betwagan community of Mountain Province and the Butbut of the Province of Kalinga finally exchanged *sipat* 'exchange of peace tokens' on 19 January 2024 as a symbol of the restoration of their vojóng which was broken due to their longstanding boundary dispute (JDP/IOS-PIA Kalinga 2024). Meanwhile, the Vanaw and the Chananaw peoples celebrated their 66-year vojóng in a *jolnát* 'peace pact renewal' alternately hosted by the Vanaw in Balbalasang, Balbalan on 13–14 October 2023 and then by the Chananaw on 12–14 July 2024 in Lacnog, Tabuk (Cyril Saboy and Analiza Lingbawan-Saboy, 14 July 2024, pers. comm.).

Originally aural-oral, the *pagtá* was officially codified and ratified by the Kalinga Bodong Congress (KBC) in 1998 in what is now known as the "protopagta," a general template for use by all Kalinga subtribes. Section 2 of this code states:

> The domicile and real properties of a Binodngan located outside any Bugis shall be deemed included within the Bugis of said Binodngan under the principle of *Kulligóng*. (KBC 1998, 3)

Kulligong ('to encircle'), as explained by the framers of the protopagta,

> …is akin to the provision of international law which considers as the territory of each country the place where their respective embassies are established… Any crime committed within the area of the Kulligong is a crime against the Bugis of the owner of the house or realty. (KBC 1998, 3)

In other words, kulligong is roughly the equivalent of the principle of "diplomatic inviolability," particularly of person and property (Barker 2017, 24–25). Applied widely, the principle technically covers diasporic members of the tribe so that in effect, even if tribal members live far away from the *ili* 'village'/'original tribal territory,' they still carry the *ili* with them.

Among the Vanaw, for instance, at least two areas outside their *vugis* are *na-ikulligong* 'officially included in the tribal territory'—areas in barangays Dilag and Masablang in the provincial capital, the City of Tabuk. Positionally, these areas are both marginal and interstitial: they are distally located, when viewed from the original tribal *vúgis*, just as they are interspersed between or among other tribes.

In this paper, I propose to deploy the principle of kulligong in a metaphorical sense—i.e., an extension of the traditional boundaries of the nonmaterial aspect of Indigenous culture. Specifically, I wish to illustrate this proposition through a close reading and contextual analysis of the compositions of four Kalinga ethnopop artists whose roles as memorialists, critics, humorists, and unifiers place them as frontliners of cultural innovation and enrichment, in whose capacity they position themselves at the margins and insterstices of Indigenous and non-Indigenous traditions.

I shall first introduce four local Kalinga music recording artists before presenting their cultural roles in Kalinga societies as demonstrated in a number of their songs, expound on the cultural references in the texts, and make a summative note on their marginal and interstitial positionality.

Interrogating Kalinga Ethnopop Music

Indigeneity and Hybridity in Ethnopop Music

I define "ethnopop music" as an eclectic contemporary music style characterized by the blending of foreign and indigenous instrumentations, tunes and lyrics as exemplified by the compositions and performances of the Kalinga local artists featured in this paper.

Underlying this whole discussion is the assumption that, following Native scholars writing about contemporary North American Indigenous music, "pop" is not merely "music

masterminded for consumer consumption" but one that creates "new and multiple spaces for the analysis of musical traditions…which are responsive, evolving, and in dialogue with shifting sociopolitical contexts" (Berglund, Johnson and Lee 2023, 4).[3]

Thus, ethnopop artists are agents of cultural development, constructors of spaces for the enunciation of evolving individual and group identities. They enrich the notion of identity as, to borrow from British sociomusicologist Simon Frith, "an experiential process which is most vividly grasped as music [emphasis his]," offering "a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective" (1996, 110). This squares with the cultural theorist Stuart Hall's assertion that identities are best viewed not in an essentialist way but strategically and positionally—i.e., formed "within representation" that uses "the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from,' so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves" (1996, 4). This neatly fits into Homi Bhabha's concept of "Third Space," an enunciative space characterized by liminality and hybridity and in which "meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity" (1994, 55). This work appropriates this concept by applying it to the principle of kulligong, a third space of enunciation where cultural hybridity finds life in ethnopop music.

Four Kalinga Ethnopop Artists

Four local musicians from southern and western Kalinga who may be considered as trailblazers in Kalinga's ethnopop music movement are as follows:

(1) Edison Balansi of Balbalan, the founder of music band, *The Living Anitos*, and proprietor of Kalinga's first music recording studio, *Native Works Music Kalinga*, where the other three musicians mentioned in this paper did some or all of their recordings. To date, TLA has three albums—*Kalinga Tale, Boses ti Kalinga, Back to Our Roots*—with 35 tracks, 32 of which are in Kalinga and Ilocano and the rest in Filipino and English (see Table 1 and Figure 2).

(2) Arnel Banasan of Pasil, the first Kalinga musician to ever record an album and whose *Goomvu* collection was a hit in Japan. His two other albums, *Lin-awa* and *Uggayam*, are a mix of instrumental pieces and songs in Ilocano, Tagalog and Kalinga. He is the brother of filmmaker Jocelyn Kapuno who is credited with the first community-produced Kalinga indie film (see Table 2 and Figure 3).

Album 1 (Kalinga Tale)	Album 2 (Boses ti Ikalinga)	Album 3 (Back to the Roots)
1. *Amami*	1. The Prayer	1. *Uggayam* Overture
2. *Kantan Cha Aanak*	2. *Boses ti iKalinga*	2. *Amami*
3. Earth Song	3. *Chagsiyan*	3. Cor-Dance
4. *Kulilipan*	4. Balbalan	4. Nostalgia
5. Secretly	5. *Ayuwong Ina*	5. *Kulilipan*
6. Kalinga Tale	6. *Piyok*	6. *Idjew*
7. Friend	7. *Manchachauli*	7. *Pita Tako, Biag Tako*
8. *Liwanag sa Mapay-apang Langit*	8. *Ina, Ama*	8. *Matagoan* Song
9. *Patog Chi Ayat*	9. Narrow Bridge	9. Kalinga Trek
10. Flame of Love	10. Paradise	10. *Kiwijom Siya'd Langit*
11. *Vitowon*	11. Angel in My Dream	11. Kalinga Tale (English version)
	12. I Cannot Live a Day	12. *Chagsiyan* (English version)

Table 1. The first three TLA albums with a total of 35 tracks

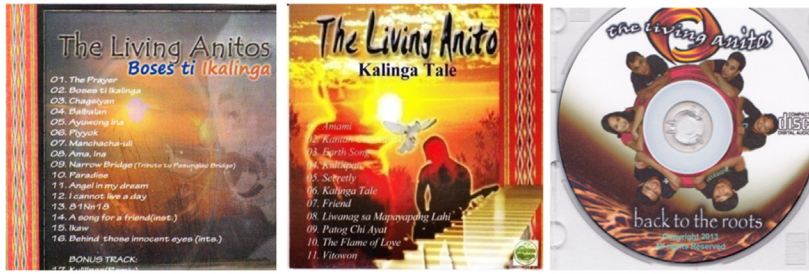

Figure 2. Cover photos of the first three TLA albums

(3) Ceasar Banganan of Balbalan who is the first iVanaw (Kalinga area) to produce an album. His album, *Mankapiyaan*, contains 13 songs in Vinanaw or Vanaw language, Ilocano and English (see Table 3 and Figure 4). Almost all of his compositions center on the village life of the Vanaw, his materials are drawn from local folklore, and his tunes unmistakably bear the influence of country music. He is now preparing his second album for recording.

Album 1 (*Goomvu*)	**Album 2 (*Lin-awa*)**	**Album 3 (*Uggayam*)**
1. *Vallogay*	1. Sunrise to Sunset (*Saggaypu*)	1. *Uggayam*
2. *Adivay*	2. Praise Dance (Gongs)	2. *Udan-udan*
3. *Saliw*	3. *Amami*	3. *Tulayan*
4. *Tungatung*	4. *Bagbagtu*	4. *Amami*
5. *Hugis ng Mundo*	5. *Okasyon* (Gongs)	5. *Ginnanayan*
6. *Igorot*	6. Eagle Dance	6. *Manyamanak*
7. *Sakuting*	7. *Manyamanak*	7. *Buliklikan*
8. *Mallaga*	8. Round Dance (Gongs)	8. *Aanak*
9. *Tiliw*	9. *Tulayan*	9. *Vochong*
10. *Pilipina*	10. *Mantawili*	10. *Morabito*
11. *Kahilingan*	11. *Tuliyan*	
12. *Aanak*	12. Kalinga Dance (Gongs)	
13. *Ulimong*	13. Peace Dance (Gongs)	
	14. *Umali Ka*	

Table 2. Arnel Banasan's albums with a total of 37 tracks.

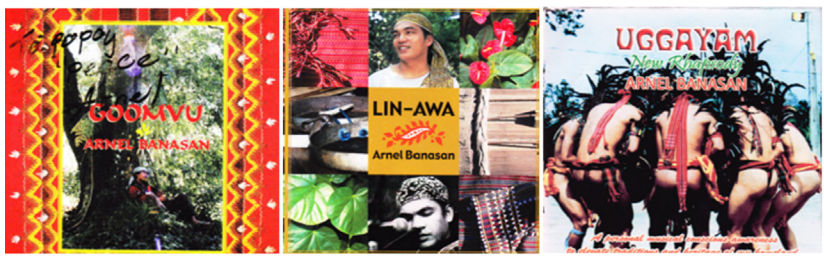

Figure 3. Cover photos of Arnel Banasan's three albums.

Mankapiyaan Tracks	1. *Serbisyon Mankapiyaan*	7. *Si Ina*
	2. *Kabvilan*	8. *Ajina Lumi-o*
	3. *Sakon Ton Nomo*	9. *Gaang*
	4. *iKalinga*	10. *Banao*
	5. *Barangay*	11. Saltan River
	6. *Kaynga Man Jit Kavan-og Ku*	12. Balbalan Hymn

Table 3. The 12-track album of Ceasar Banganan.

Figure 4. Cover photo of Ceasar Banganan's album.

(4) Mauricio Patongao of Pasil, a graduate of the Asian Institute of Liturgical Music (AILM). His album consists of seven songs in Kalinga, six in English, and two in Ilocano (see Table 4 and Fig. 5). Reflecting his sensibility as an Asian Institute of Liturgy and Music (AILM) graduate, Patongao seeks moral or cultural reform in his songs. His carrier song, "Chawak for Peace" embodies the thrust of his music—the healing of the soul of the individual and of the community for a peaceful existence.

Chawak for Peace	1. *Kalimusta*	9. *Silaw*
	2. *Kalinga*	10. Light
	3. *Baron a Milenyo*	11. Sapay Koma
	4. *Bisyo*	12. Treasure and Diary
	5. *Chawak* for Peace	13. I feel I'm Home with You
	6. *Fiyag Chi Istambay*	14. Whispered Words Brought by the Wind
	7. *Sayangsang*	15. *Otyan*
	8. In-ana-ana	

Table 4. The 15 tracks in Mauricio Patongao's album

Figure 5. Cover photo of Mauricio Patongao's album.

The Ethnopop Artists' Roles in the Community

Ethnopop artists take on various interrelated roles in the community, four of which are as follows: memorialists, critics, humorists, and unifiers. The sample songs evince one or a combination of these roles.

The Ethnopop Artist as a Memorialist

As memorialists, ethnopop singers are records and memory keepers. They call back personal and community memories to add more meaning to or address the concerns of the present.

As perceptive members of the local community, music artists naturally articulate their responses to the tug of war between tradition and modernity, past and future, and what is about to be forgotten and what will be inscribed in our collective memory. Among these responses is nostalgia, an intense longing for the past.

Nostalgia's power, as Linda Hutcheon puts it, "may depend precisely on the irrecoverable nature of the past… It is the very pastness of the past, its inaccessibility, that likely accounts for a large part of nostalgia's power" (2000, 190–91). She further notes that

> …nostalgia is less about the past than about the present. [...] The simple, pure, ordered, easy, beautiful, or harmonious past is constructed (and then experienced emotionally) in conjunction with the present—which, in turn, is constructed as complicated, contaminated, anarchic, difficult, ugly, and confrontational. (Hutcheon 2000, 191)

Hutcheon's observations about nostalgia are reflected in several of the songs of the singer-composers in this study. Balansi's song, "Mangaygayú" may be taken as an example:

	Man-gaygayú EDISON BALANSI	Longing[4]
	Man-gaygayu si ina	Mother wistfully
	Man-uuway kan ud ama	awaits father's return.
	Umoy namilak sijin Abra	He has gone to work in Abra
	Tapnu matagu kami un anak na	so we his children could survive.
5	*Nalviyan si ama*	Father arrived at night,
	Iyas jit in-gote na	with a native piglet in a jute sack.
	Gumiyagiya kamin ummavot	We romped as we met him:
	Imis ama namatingga sin inga na	His smile was up to his ears
	Naragsak ton jatong ku	How happy it is to get home!
10	*Napunas ton vannog ku*	My weariness is wiped away
	Nu mailak sanalun-at kayu ya	when I see you in good health
	Mangam-amvag nat amang yu.	and hear your laughters echo."
	Nanvung-on jan umoy nasiput	They were off to the fields at dawn
	Umoy kami pay man-iskwela	and we, to school.
15	*Ujan sin masjom jumatnan ja*	It was raining when they arrived,
	Sin jalipong ud man-aavtan mi	and we huddled around the hearth.

	Ot ikwan ama um-umag na	Then father gets on with his tales
	Uma-aklogak kan ina	as mother holds me close
	Tapnu ajiyak maalinasag	so I could sleep well
20	*Napiyan umag ama*	And so it was that I grew up with
	Siyad umoy ku jumaklan	my father's delightful stories.
	Inalgaw un man-gaygayu	Each day is a day of longing.
	Lummauson jin tawon mi	our years have passed,
	Ngem naragsak kami un mankimit	but we're happy to close our eyes at last
25	*Ta nagun-ud yu jin inop mi*	for you have fulfilled our dreams.

Here, Balansi appeals to traditional family values of marital love, parental care, commitment to duty, and parent-child communication. The persona is a young girl who sings of her memories of childhood and home. It starts off with the image of her mother longing for her father's return from work (lines 1–4; this seems to be not regular work, as the parents' main job is working the fields each day, see line 13). The next stanza (lines 4–8) shows the father's return with a piglet (perhaps a take-home, "in kind" payment in exchange for work) as a gift to his delighted family. The third (lines 9–12) expresses the father's contentment at seeing his family healthy and happy. The fourth (lines 13–16) speaks of the family leaving home early, the parents to the fields and the children to school and gathering by the hearth in the evening (lines 13–16), during which the father regales his children to sleep with folktales (lines 17–21). The song ends with the parents expressing no regrets in departing from this life, having seen to the success of their children (lines 22–25).

The song evokes familiar childhood scenes for an Indigene who grew up in a non-urbanized *ili*. At the heart of the piece is the hearth, the *jalipong* (line 16, see Figure 18). It is not just a place for cooking and for drying meat, firewood, deer and boar jaws, animal bladder (and thus a miniature window from which to view the *umili's* occupations and routines); it is also a place of socialization where immediate family members, distant kin and visitors gather to warm themselves up in the cold mornings and evenings and swap folklore, discuss community issues, make commercial and non-commercial transactions, or engage in random small talks. It is a nook where parents get to be updated about their children's experiences for the day, where children get their early education especially in the area of oral traditions, and where children are lulled to sleep under the watchful eye of the parents (lines 17–19). One could thus say the *jalipong* is a microcosm of a Kalinga village life. Nostalgia pervades the song not only because it is one that looks back to an idyllic childhood life but also because it rues the passing of a village life in an increasingly urbanized Kalinga world where people no longer have any need for the *jalipong* and the old ways of life and the cultural values embedded in them.

Figure 6. ***Jalipong*** 'hearth.' Dao-ayan residence, Balbalasang, Kalinga

Here we see how an "autobiographical memory" is not only an information about but also a (re)construction of one's past (Boyer and Wertsch 2009, 29ff.). The positive quality of the recollection (i.e., both in terms of the content and the manner by which it is related) creates a picture of seemingly uncomplicated family relationships and an idyllic cultural environment. The specificity of a personal recollection thus becomes consciously or unconsciously a strategy for making a statement of collective identity. Further, since the "remembering self"[5] feels a sense of loss (nostalgia), the "remembered self" is summoned to the present as a means of perhaps easing a tension created by inevitable changes in her/his/their community. Childhood memory (or at least a reconstruction thereof) thus becomes both a point of reference and a means of resolution in the face of a personal cognitive crisis. And whether the tension is truly eased or resolved in the speaker's mind or whether this attempt at resolution has practical impact on the changes that will eventually reshape the speaker's world may be less important than the fact that in speaking about her/his/their childhood and

hinting at the attendant Indigenous values and traditions that went along with it, s/he/they has/have created her/his/their own space within which a conversation about individual and collective identity can be started.

Balansi's "Kiwijom Siya'd Langit" also touches on a mother's last memories of her child. The persona is a mother appealing to God on behalf of her seriously ill child. She begs for an extension of her six-year-old child's life (lines 1–12) and intimates not only her willingness to exchange her life for her child's health (lines 13–16), but also her acceptance of a negative response from heaven (lines 17–20).

	Kiwijom Siya'd Langit EDISON BALANSI	Guide Her to Heaven
	Apo jongyom kad tun kantak	Lord, please listen to my song
	Riknaom ton ijawat ku	And feel my plea.
	Agsam yan koma un sapaon	It is too early
	Kiwijon siya'd langit	For you to take her home.
5	*Atjam koma siya namnama*	Give her hope
	Jatngon jan inop na	To fulfill her dreams.
	Ipaay nu anjun biyag ta mailana	Give her long life so she could see
	Lubong kinwam para kan siya	The world you made for her.
	Anom un tawon maid jugana	Six years to live and nothing more?
10	*Ma-id puot na maiyu-ubva*	She peacefully sleeps on my back,
	Vumangon kad na-ayun imis na	And when she's up her smile is as soothing
	Sin goygoy kan apyos jin ina	As the lullabye and touch of a mother.
	Apo isakripisyok ton viyag ku	Lord, I will exchange my life
	Nu salun-at nan iyalim	For her health
15	*Tapnu mariknana nat ayat nu*	So she could feel your love
	Un mangwas jan nakom nu	And do your will.
	Instrumental transition	
	Nu siyad gasat nan inkodjong nu	But if it is your will that she goes now,
	Ipaay mu kan siya jat nangkurangak	I'd still be happy for her to be in your bosom.
	Naragsak, matago siya's nan arpad nu	Give her whatever I failed to give her,
20	*Kiwijom siya'd langit*	Guide her to heaven.

Two western songs are thematically and tonally embedded in this piece. The story in the song is similar to Sherrie Austin's 2003 country hit "Streets of Heaven" which also speaks of a mother in a hospital by her daughter's sick bed negotiating with God on behalf of her child but ultimately leaving everything to God's will, whatever the fate of the child is. The melody follows the tune of the all-time favorite Igorot song, "Nan Layad Nen Sikhafan" whose melody, in turn, was adapted from an American hymn titled, "There is Beauty All Around" or "Love at Home" by John Hugh McNaughton (Saboy [1993] 2004). This

composition illustrates what it means to remix, musically: "To combine or edit existing materials to produce something new" (Ferguson 2023). The singer-composer copied a theme and a tune, combined them using his own language coupled with a Western musical instrumentation, and transformed the whole thing into a music he could claim his own. Further, by choosing the love of a mother toward her child as the subject of his piece, he connects to the theme about love and family in the original McNaughton song (see Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints 2023).

This prayer song involves what psychologists term as a "pleading religious coping," an entreaty for God to help one pull through difficulties, and a "deferring coping," a surrender to God's will (Hood, Hill and Spilka 2018, 489–92). In this sense, the song partakes of universal themes about human existence but localizes these in an ethnic context through its language.

Meanwhile, Patongao's "Kalinga" presents an imagined collective memory.

	Kalinga MAURICIO PATONGAO	Kalinga
	Istoryan chi Kalinga,	This is the story of the Kalinga:
	Naurnos cha nan ummuna	In the beginning they were in one accord;
	Isun awong pakid gangsa,	Its tranquility as a province
	Nan kinatalna na we probinsya	was like the sound of gongs beingplayed
5	*Osan lakay nan nangnangwana,*	Many an old man wishes
	Katura pay che ummuna	to bring back the past:
	Maid pun umogyatanta,	[When] There was nothing to fear about
	Tan isun chi paraisu'd Kalinga	for Kalinga was like paradise.
	No panagaywan si tunggor ili,	When it comes to protecting each community,
10	*Fochong mangkamangan mi*	it is to the bodong we run to
	Tan siya nan lintog mi,	for it is our law
	Fumaruwan chi umili.	and it renews us.
	Nanfaliw pun nan tiempo	[But] the times have changed,
	Namfaliw met chanan tago	and so have the people.
15	*Fa-in, paniyaw we insuron Kafuniyan*	The God-taught values of shame and taboo
	Nasin-akkit napunasan.	have gradually been effaced.
	Mansigab nan nomnom ko,	I am pained
	Kanayon gay mainsulto	and am always insulted
	Tan kanan cha'n iloko	when the Ilocanos say
	Nan fochong picnic laeng kano.	that the bodong is merely feasting and nothing more.

	Nu iillan cha nan kopya na,	[For] when they see how it is done
	Tadtachok kan tuptuppayya	It's just dancing and gong-beating
	Kad importiyan cha's faka	and butchering of cows
	Mafigat kad nantitiliw cha.	and fighting again the next morning.
	Kaykaynga kano nan ischa	It's just a waste of meat.
	Maafektaran losalosan,	Everyone suffers
	San tribal war ay summansan.	because of frequent tribal wars:
	Aanak pay ay makoskosyawan...	The children are traumatized,
	Mataktak chanan istudyante	students' classes get disrupted,
	Nangruna cha'n kiwachi	even day-to-day work.
	Loog tako nataktakan	We're stopped in our tracks
	San progreson nan uchom we tribo.	while other tribes progress
	Ilan tako kad san centro	Look at our capital town:
	Igorot nan umas-asenso	The Igorots are getting more progressive
	Tan maid mataktakan cha	because nothing keeps them back,
	Ya napangog cha ay men-ubla.	and they work very hard.
	Ipangog yo we eskwila	Study well, you students
	Tan chakayo nan namnama	for you are our hope
	Mangpunas san problema,	who shall rid us of our problems
	Kan mangitag-ay san yKalinga	and hold Kalinga up high.
	Modelonto ay probinsya	Kalinga shall become a model province
	San interon chi Cordillera	in the entire Cordillera.
	Iyulin tako nan urnosna	Let us bring back the unity it once had
	We isun awong pakid gangsa.	which is like the harmony of gong sounds

The song follows an archetypal narrative line which may be termed as follows: a period of innocence (Paradise Enjoyed), a period of sin (Paradise Lost), and a period of redemption (Paradise Regained). Thus, it naturally divides itself into three sections: With various soft sounds of fauna and flowing waters as part of the musical background, lines 1–12 tell of what the singer/persona regards as the glory days of Kalinga when its people were peaceful and united, with each *ili* bound by the vojóng; punctuated by sounds of thunder, gunshot, and children's hubbub, lines 13–35 speak of the fall of this paradise of sorts which is now marked by a disregard for traditional institutions and values, perennial tribal conflicts, and economic backwardness; and gradually going back to the sounds of nature in the first section, lines 36–43 enunciate both an admonition for the young to pursue education and a vision of Kalinga as a socio-economic success story.

The first section presents the Kalinga as an idealized Indigene. This romanticized view of Kalinga's past, although it does not square with historical records that show Kalingas both as noble and ignoble "savages" (e.g., Willcox 1912, 223–24; Worcester 1913, 1213–15), satisfies an emotional condition—nostalgia—brought about by a deep dissatisfaction with the present course of things. As it glosses over the darker side of the past, it also overlooks the fact that although

nostalgia fictively brings back the good, old days it also marks their irretrievability. Nevertheless, in the third section the singer expresses hope for the restoration of his land's old glory.

The middle section provides some interesting details that need more discussion. Line 15 mentions two Kalinga concepts, *fa-ín* (shame) and *paníyaw* (taboo), two of the three values which the late Kalinga scholar Maximo Garming (2009, 67) refers to as constitutive of "the formidable moral essence of the Kalinga people's culture." Garming (2009, 67) explains:

> The values of *paniyaw*, *ngilin* and *fa-in*…are presently losing their meaning as integrative variables in promoting social order in Kalinga society. The *paniyaw* has been practiced since time immemorial as a moral obligation to live according to traditionally established social norms and conduct that are acceptable to the community…
>
> …the *fa-in,* which means saving face to escape social ostracism is becoming a fantasy today…

So what Patongao says of the loss of these Kalinga values also expresses what Kalinga elders like Garming have articulated. The reference to Ilocanos (line 19) is perhaps a generalized claim of outsiders misunderstanding this Indigenous political institution, and also refers back to the seeming failure of his kailian folks to carry out the foundational thrust of the vojong: the maintenance of peace.

From the foregoing discussion, it may be said then that Balansi and Patongao attempt to conjure up a contemporary Indigenous identity by remixing past and present personal or individual and public or group memories—be they actual or imagined—as well as foreign and local musical themes or styles. In their capacity as memorialists, they articulate traditional values in a nontraditional musical space.

The Ethnopop Artist as a Critic

All four music artists, invoking their Christian faith and Indigenous values as "'moral expert[s]," borrow from Stock (2017, 437) in his characterization of African popular music. In other words, they are social commentators who remind their listeners about certain traditions or values they deem important, and who point out ills and foibles in society and hope to effect change in the community through their music.

In "Aanak," for example, Banasan has an old man as the persona advising the young, providing ethical guidelines laid out by elders (lines 1–4). These instructions include respect for parents (and by extension for God) to whom the young owe their lives (lines 5–10), diligence in

academic studies (lines 11–14), ample preparation for marriage (lines 15–20), participating in and learning from community affairs (lines 21–24), drinking in moderation (lines 25–32), and learning by heart the laws of the bodong (lines 37–40). The closing section of the song follows the melody of *sorwe-é*.

	Aanak ARNEL BANASAN	To the Youth
	A-anak un nangkapatog	Dear children
	babbaros kan babbalasang	young men and women
	Changron yon inyak iffingay	Listen to what I have to share,
	we fagfagan che lallakay	an advice from old men.
5	*Tago kan napanunutan*	ou are now mature
	achimn koma sungsungfatan	So do not answer back
	Cha amam weno si inam	Your father or your mother
	ta san fiyag we o-ognam	Because the life you now have
	Utang no we chakor	You owe to them greatly,
10	*kan chi cha ya si Kafunyan*	To them, and to God
	No inka man iskuwela	When you pursue education
	Fagyo wenno Manila	In Baguio or Manila,
	Ipapatim we manfasa	Study conscientiously
	ta mangara kas cheploma	And obtain your diploma.
15	*No pi-om mangasawa*	If you wish to get married,
	panunutom si maminlima	Think about it five times.
	Im-imosom sin am-ama	Consult an older person
	no an-anona	[On what a married life looks like],
	Te mansigaf che mangilugi	For it is difficult to start
20	*se faru we pamilya*	A new family
	Nu awad fos okasyon	When you get invited
	wenno amung we iyayag cha	To any occasion or gathering,
	Narnarman we tumutukcho	It is customary to sit awhile
	we manchangor se fagfaga	And listen to advice.
25	*No iparang chas bayas,*	When you're offered ricewine
	basi we mampiyapiya	Or sugarcane wine so good,
	Surdipom ta ugali na	Take a sip
	kopyan che iKalinga	For that is the way of the Kalinga
	Ngem achim lawlaw-anan	But don't drink all the way,
30	*te gatok-e lawengan*	For it would be greatly shameful
	Masuktan che chacharan	Were you to walk strangely,
	mantikitiking kan kama kas angtan	Lurching along like a bad spirit.
	A-anak un nangkapatog,	My dear children
	babbaros kan babbalasang	Young men and women
35	*Changron yon inyak ifingay*	Listen to what I have to share,
	we fagfagan che lallakay	An advice from old men

	Intako losan acharon	Let us all learn
	san pagtan che pachon	The law of the peace pact
	Ta siya nan nanangchon	Because it is the tie that binds
40	*sin kinalinga e lintog*	the Kalinga society's norms
	Ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha-ha	

Here, the authority of elders and the high regard children must give to parents are affirmed. The traditional socialization activities of the Kalinga with the usual sharing of messages and servings of native wine are also upheld, and the bodong is presented as one that binds Kalinga customary laws and therefore Kalinga lifeways (lines 39–40). The use of *sorwe-e* melody[6] is meant as an affirmation both by singer and listeners of the song's admonition. The appending of *sorwe-é* in the context of remix is an example of sampling in the form of a cut-and-paste method (Navas 2012, 4)[7] What is sampled, however, is the tune without the words (i.e. *sorwe-é, tuttuwa pay kamos a in, sorwe-é…*). Even so, it still invokes the whole practice of responsorial singing, and the sense of community it engenders, which is still common among Kalinga villages. Thus, it functions as a traditional referent [8] or as a meme, a mini-template which is reproduced in various singing contexts. As a meme, it also appeals to a "larger meme complex with which it is associated by the process of metonymy" (Drout 2006, 276), that is to say, to this whole culture of orality when performances were truly communal and participatory (Ong [1982] 2012, 45–46).

Meanhile, Patongao goes a bit more didactic in "Bisyo":

	Bisyo R.GUMISA/M.PATONGAO	Vices
	Bisyon chi lallaraki	These are the vices of men:
	Inum, sugal ya fufai	Drinking, gambling and womanizing,
	Disko ya sigarilyo	Going to disco pubs and smoking cigarettes.
	Man-amin san pilakyu	These drain you of your money
5	*We nanrigrigatanyu*	Which you worked hard for.
	Disko we lagpotanyu	You frequent disco pubs
	Isu yu chi sigsiguro	Where you act like kings;
	Pumanakpak nan order yu	You rattle off your orders
	Amod nu sexy nan ka-tebol yu	Especially when you're with sexy girls
10	*Soysoygon chakayo*	Who incessantly wheedle you.
	No lakay nan mangmangwa	When an old man does it,
	Nakasagana nan rason na	He always has a ready excuse.
	Mamati met as misis na	His wife believes him
	Tan nalimpiyo kano's mister na	For she thinks her husband is well-behaved.
15	*Ngem amod nan tuli na*	But he is actually full of lies.
	No fufai nan mangmangwa	When a woman does it,
	Amod no difamilya	Especially if she is married
	Lakay na as under the saya	And has a henpecked husband,

	Sobra kano nan anos na	He thinks she is long-suffering.
20	*Ngata wenno tanga*	Really? Or he's just playing dumb.
	Ma-id met ket perfecto	No one is perfect,
	Tan siya nan tinawidyo	For that is what we inherited
	San ummona we naparsua	From the first creation
	Cha Adan ya as Eva	Adam and Eve,
25	*Tan nasulisog cha*	For they were deceived
	Nan kanan chi biblia	It's said in the Bible,
	We ugod chi namarsua	The word of the Creator,
	Pakawanona nan fasor yo	That he will forgive us our sins
	No i-confesar yo we sipupuso	If we confess them from the heart.
30	*Talikuchan yo nan bisyo*	Leave your vices behind

Patongao talks of men who spend their hard-earned money on wine and women, cigarettes and clubs (lines 1–10). He next jabs at husbands who cheat on their wives and wives who cheat on their husbands (lines 11–20), mentions the sinful nature of humanity, and urges reform as demanded by the Christian Scriptures (lines 21–30).

In this song, the musician takes the role not only of a moral expert but also of a preacher. What he says in lines 1–20 is a frequent subject among Cordilleran pop music artists. His theological point in lines 21–30, however, is rare as it is the stuff of hymnodists.[9] As an AILM-trained musician, Patongao fits "*Bisyo*" into a liturgical context. He draws from Hamartiology, particularly the doctrine of "Original Sin," and Soteriology, particularly the doctrine of repentance. The Kalinga singer thus "upgrades" the traditional belief of his people in a Great Spirit (*Kabunyan*) who watches over the affairs of men to a more sophisticated Judaeo-Christian Creator/Redeemer-God.

The two songs fall under what musicologists call as "topical" or commentaries on the various everyday concerns of the community. Merriam (1964, 196–97) explains that this type of songs

> [reflect] the concerns of the culture of which they are a part. While they may contribute to the correction of those aspects of behavior to which they call attention, simply through the means of putting them in the public eye, their major function seems to be one of 'comment on various aspects of everyday life…songs arc sometimes used, through admonition, ridicule, and in some cases even more direct action, to effect actual change in the behavior of erring members of society.

"*Aanak*" works on the level of admonition and is openly prescriptive, while "*In-ana-ana*" and "*Bisyo*" work on the level of ridicule and is a mix of description and direct condemnation of what is considered as immoral acts by adults.

Banasan goes political in "Tuliyan":

	Tuliyan ARNEL BANASAN	Liar
	Sin timpon ji kampanya	During political campaigns
	Ay maimi-imis ka	You are all smiles,
	Mangitod ka sigarilyo	You hand out cigarettes
	Ya mampainum ka	And alcoholic drinks.
5	*Inka kad mampalawag*	In your speeches
	Sin sangwanan jan kakailyan	Before our people
	Kanayon nun igunamgunam	You repeatedly pledge
	Nu sikan mapagasatan	That when you're elected
	Samintuwom amin un dalan	You'll have all roads concreted
10	*Langtayam amin un wangwang*	And build bridges over every river.
	Ngem sin sana ta sika	But now that you
	Nantugaw si opisina	Are in office,
	Isum met gay ji buwaya	You've turned out to be a croc
	Kan da boklat, agum ka	And a snake, you glutton.
15	*Tuliyan, tuliyan ka gayam*	Liar, you're a liar after all…
	Tuliyan, tuliyan ka gayam	
	Tuliyan, tuliyan ka gayam	
	Losan mi im-imoson	We all ask about
	Inkalim un bituwon	the stars you promised.
20	*Ugud nu nalumamay*	With your smooth speech,
	Itjom init kan bulan	You also promised the sun and moon.
	Ngem losan tan kanan	But now everyone knows
	Sikan tagun tuliyan	You are one seasoned liar:
	Losan mi naduktalan	We've found out
25	*Napno amin un bulsam*	that all your pockets are as packed
	Napno pati pitakam	As your billfold.
	Boloy nun kinawayan	Your bamboo hut
	Nambalin si bungalow	Has become a concrete house;
	Kuliglig un lugan nu	Your ride that was once a hand tractor
30	*Nambalin si Terrano*	Has become a (Nissan) Terrano.
	Sika un pulitiko	You politician,
	Usto nat si kupit nu	It is time you stopped being a cheat.
	***	
	Nu sika un nasaktan	If this upsets you,
	Ugalim inka suktan	Then it's time you changed your ways.
	Ta inka kaabakan	If you don't, you'll lose
	Nu iggam si mamingsan	When you try your luck once more
40	*Nu mantaray kas barangay councilman*	to run as a village councilor.
	Nu sika un nasaktan	If this upsets you,
	Ugalim inka suktan	Then it's time you changed your ways
	Ta inka kaabakan	Because you will surely lose
	Nu iggam si mamingsan	When you try your luck once more
45	*Nu mantaray kas congressman*	For a congressional seat.

The song speaks of the archetypal politician who, during the campaign season, puts on a show of amiability, generosity and earnestness, dealing out goods and promising infrastructural development when he wins (lines 1–10). All these turn into disillusionment for his constituents when he finally sits in power and proves himself to be just another liar and a crook (lines 11–35). The song ends with an admonition for Mr. Tuliyan to mend his ways lest he lose in the next election (lines 36–40).

Lines 1–10 remind one of "*Wáras*!" (to distribute), a byword yelled along the electoral campaign trail in Kalinga. It encapsulates a system of bribery common in most parts of the country that should be perfected if one were to win an electoral post: people vote for the most cheerful giver. Gifts come in various shapes and sizes—from alcohol, cash, candies, cigars, or sacks of rice, to pledges for pavements, micro hydro power, flood control projects. As is usually the case, however, almost every electoral winner begins to amass wealth the moment he sits in a public office and eventually forgets his earlier commitments to his people. The politician is likened to a crocodile and a boa constrictor (lines 13–14), common metaphors for unmitigated greed. He is branded as an inveterate liar (note the emphatic repetition of the statement, "*Tuliyan ka gayam*" in lines 15–17; 33–36) for reneging on the promise he once made glibly to give the people the sun, moon and stars (lines 18–21). That he took undue advantage of his position to enrich himself is proven by the bulking up of his pockets (lines 25–26), the transformation of his abode from a lowly bamboo hut to a more dignified concrete house, and the shifting of his mode of transportation from a hand tractor to a mid-size SUV (lines 27–30). A bamboo hut and a hand tractor whip up images of an agricultural life, while bungalow and *Terrano* connote a lifestyle change comparable to a change of environment from rural to urban. Aside from its prosodical use (i.e. end rhyme), *Terrano* fits the image of a vehicle designed not only for urban cruising but for rugged terrain as well. This hints at the fact that when this song was written, a great portion of Kalinga's road system was not concreted—a glaring evidence of the decades-long misuse of funds by local officials. The mention of both barangay councilman and congressman in the last two stanzas of this satirical piece stresses the sweeping extent of corrupt practices across all levels of public office. It also hints at the possibility of the wayward politician regaining the trust of his constituents if he mends his ways which may, in turn, say something about the value placed by society on remorse, repentance and forgiveness or about a perennial social illness—the shortness of our collective memory and the ease by which we forgive embezzlers of public funds without their need for restitution.

By using his mother tongue, Banasan situates his subject in his own locality and immediately makes clear who the recipients of his message are—specifically, the Pasil people and generally, the Kalingas. He thus

sustains Merriam's point about the communicative value of music as the song "communicates direct information to those who understand the language in which it is couched" and "conveys emotion, or something similar to emotion, to those who understand its idiom" (1964, 223). Also immediately evident in the song are the following functions of music: entertainment (all Kalingas I know who heard this song were visibly enthused by its humor and the accompanying light music), emotional expression (frustration over the covetousness of political leaders is aired and shared with those with similar sentiments), and enforcing conformity to social norms (the core value of *fa-ín* or shame is implied in the excoriation of habitual lying and unrestrained stealing).

Banasan's song can exemplify Connell and Gibson's observation about the dynamics of music and politics in a community:

> Music functions as a form of entertainment and aesthetic satisfaction, a sphere of communication and symbolic representation, and both a means of validating social institutions and ritual practices, and a challenge to them. Music may comment upon and reinforce, invert, negate or diffuse social relations of power. (2002, 53)

This social function of music can also be observed in Banasan's "*Mantawili*" 'to look back' in which he criticizes the bodong and the traditions that go with it.

	Mantawili ARNEL BANASAN	Reminiscing Peace trans. ARNEL BANASAN
	Vochong, sino ka? *Un nanangchon* *sin lintog chi iKalinga* *Sino, sino ka?*	*Vochong*, who are you? Who dictates and directs the lives of our Kalinga people? Who, who are you?
5	*Uhh-uh-uhh...* *Ahh-ah-ahh…*	
	Pagta un tulagan *Chi lallakay nalukalukay* *Apay, ay apay?* *Uhh-uh-uhh...*	*Pagta*, the customary agreements of our ancestors are being ignored, Why, oh why?
10	*Ahh-ah-ahh…*	
	Dongdong-ay si dong-ilay *Salidummay* *Insinalidummaay, ilallay* *Mantawili, mantawili, mantawili ka*	
15	*Ud na-oy, ay ay*	
	Paliwat ji mingor *Inusente un inja ud pinatoy*	*Paliwat*, the heroic exploits of the warriors -- killing innocent victims --

	Agay ji patoy	without justice and honor
	Uhh-uh-uhh...	Stop the killings!
20	*Ahh-ah-ahh…*	
	Pangat jumman ka	Tribal chieftains, and political leaders,
	Paman magulo nan ilik Kalinga	Where are you?
	Paman, paman 'tuwa	What is your stand?
	Uhh-uh-uhh...	Why are our people fighting each other?
25	*Ahh-ah-ahh…*	
	Dongdong-ay si dong-ilay	
	Salidummay	
	Insinalidummaay, ilallay	
	Mantawili, mantawili, mantawili ka	
30	*Ud na-oy, ay ay*	
	Uggayam ji lakay	*Uggayam*, the indigenous rhapsody of the elders
	Losan tako pataytayan si salidummay	We come to listen, and join us in a *Salidummay*
	Ay, ay ilallay	
35	*Ay, ay ilallay*	
	Pattongok nan gangsa	I beat the gongs,
	Sulutonak losan taku manachok	Let's dance together.
	Sinyal chi kaykaysa	Follow the graceful movements
	Siyana't nan iKalinga	Building a strong spirit for our Kalinga Unity
40	*Uhh-uh-uhh...*	
	Ahh-ah-ahh…	
	Dongdong-ay si dong-ilay	
	Salidummay	
	Insinalidummaay, ilallay	
45	*Mantawili, mantawili, mantawili ka*	
	Ud na-oy, ay ay	

He questions the bodong for holding hostage the customary laws of the Kalinga (lines 1–3), charges the pagtá to be toothless and subject to the whims and manipulation of the unscrupulous (lines 5–7), associates the *paliwat* with senseless killings (lines 14–16), and demands the *pangat* to take responsibility for the chaos in Kalinga (lines 18–20). He proposes a return to a sense of community with Kalinga music (lines 27–28), and unity with gongs and the native dance (lines 31–34).

Here the bodong, pagtá, and *paliwat* are presented as tools of division while *uggayam* and *salidummay*, *pattong* and *tachok*/*tajok* are regarded as symbols of unity. It is as if to say that the resource for healing social and political wounds created by Kalinga traditions comes from other traditions within Kalinga culture itself, especially its "music-culture."[10] Thus *Mantawili* tells of a conflicted society or culture. *Pataytay* (line 28) is a term that refers to the many responsorial musical lines used by the Kalingas mainly for approbation. For the uggayam, one common *pataytay* is "*Dangdang-ay si dong-i-lay, salidummay, diway*" [no meaning].

For the *ullalim* or some other chants, the hearers or audience often respond with "*Sorwe-é*".[11] The *pataytay* signifies that the hearers fully agree with or are pleased by the chanter or singer's message and/or manner of singing, or in general, that they are one with the singer. For the writer or persona to urge the elders' *oggayam*—chant for welcoming and entertaining people and wishing them well, and praying for divine guidance—to be *mapataytayan* with *salidummay*—a song generally for festive occasions and to promote goodwill—is to doubly emphasize the unitive function of music. While gongs in the past were frequently used to kick off or celebrate a headhunting expedition, they are now used among the ICCs of Kalinga as a symbol of goodwill and unity.[12]

As shown in the four songs above, Banasan and Patongao assume the role of community critics who both affirm what they perceive as essential and/or time-honored virtues and denounce what they deem as anachronistic, counterproductive, disruptive or divisive values and habits or practices. Using their respective local languages, they deploy melodies and samples of native chants to voice out contemporary concerns and to express a call for unity. In this capacity, these middle-aged singers take on the role traditionally or generally reserved for older authorities in the community.

The Ethnopop Artist as a Humorist

Ethnopop artists use humor to entertain their listeners. Banganan's "Kabvilan Jummampag" is illustrative of this point:

	Kabvilán Jummampag		Kabvilan the Hitter
	CEASAR BRENT BANGANAN		
	Kabvilan jummampag		Kabvilan the hitter
	Nawakas ya vumakag	*(2x)*	hacks when day breaks.
	Alaman ivukatak		"Please let me in;
	Namitluwak vummakag		Thrice did I hack."
5	*Sapsappiya,*		Sapsappiya
	Himman ummoyan ina		Where has mother gone?
	Umoy nanagsaggaja		Oh, she went fishing
	Kinna nat osan kompa		and caught only one flying fish.
	Ikwa na mansoogan		When she put it on the drying rack,
10	*Man-gangnganglan ji alan*		The spirits swarmed over it.
	Ikwa na man sagikaw		When she put it in the rattan container,
	mangganggganglan ji lingaw		the flies came swarming over.
	Song-ona man si upa		When she offered a hen,
	Maam-amod jumala		it went on bleeding.
15	*Song-ona man kawitan*		When she offered a rooster,
	Siyot mapilatan		its wounds kept healing fast.

	Kabvilan jummampag		Kabvilan the hitter
	Nawakas ya vumakag	*(2x)*	hacks when day breaks.
	Alaman ivukatak		"Please let me in;
20	*Namitluwak vummakag*		Thrice did I hack."
	Yasyassuyas		Like a locust,
	Yassuyas Jalla-ingan		Jallaingan lies like a locust .
	Awniyan man-uya-uyajak yan		"Wait awhile, I'm still relaxing
	Ayasan tun jagsiyan		by the spring."
25	*Kabvilan jummampag*		Kabvilan the hitter
	Nawakas ya vumakag	*(2x)*	hacks when day breaks.
	Alaman ivukatak		"Please let me in;
	Namitluwak vummakag		Thrice did I hack."
	Manvyayo kad si kaag		When monkey pounds rice,
30	*Manvyattuvyattuwaag*		his butt rocks to and fro.
	Sakon kad ji manvyayu		When it's my turn to pound,
	Ijaljalumpiyad ku		I exaggerate my butt's movement.
	Managoy man si ina		When mother spread the fish net,
35	*Song-on na man si upa*		When she offers a hen,
	Maam-amod jumala		It goes on bleeding.
	Song-on Simpit atimmamaya		She got pinched by a water-bug.
	na man kawitan		When she offers a rooster,
	Ajina mapilatan		Its woulds keep on healing.
	Villasoy, Villasoy		Villasoy, Villasoy,
40	*Inlangtay na kuwana*		He used his private parts as a bridge
	Nanlangtay jat anak na		on which his son could cross.
	Simpit atimmamaya		It got bitten by a water-bug:
	Naanod jat anak na		his child was washed away.
	Kabvilan jummampag		Kabvilan the hitter
45	*Nawakas ya vumakag*	*(2x)*	hacks when day breaks.
	Alaman ivukatak		"Please let me in;
	Namitluwak vummakag		Thrice did I hack."

"Kabvilán" remixes and strings together five folk tales which have also been reduced into short rhymes. Both humorous narrative and verse forms are familiar to and recited by both children and adults for entertainment. These are about Kabvilan (lines 1–4,17–20, 24–27, 43–46), a mother fishing (lines 5–16, 31–37), Jallaingan (lines 21–23), and Villasoy (lines 38–42).

Kabvilan is a widely known folkloric character among the Vanaw people. In one folktale, "Lakinta," a village trickster impersonates Kabvilan and, with the use of his magical flute, dupes an unsuspecting lady into a one night stand (Yoneno-Reyes, Saboy & Reid 2022, 56–61). This association of amorousness with Kabvilan squares with how he is characterized by Vanaw storytellers. According to Banganan in my interview with him in Balbalasang, Balbalan, Kalinga on 19 August 2013, his grandmother Ulát told him of the village chief Kabvilan who was a towering man with very large feet and whose heavy steps always

announced his arrival. His notoriety is encapsulated in his moniker *jummampag* which literally means "striking someone with the base of the palm." In a sense, he was Paul Bunyan, Pecos Bill and Leroy Brown rolled into one: He was like Paul Bunyan in physical stature and Pecos Bill in character (as in "the roughest, toughest critter, never known to be a quitter" and who feared neither "man nor beast") or Leroy Brown in reputation ("the baddest man in the whole damn town"). He was dreaded for his predilection to violence (lines 1,2,4). That he brags about hacking people thrice (line 4) affirms his out-and-out villainy. He also had an insatiable desire for women (line 3). The third line is a succinct retelling of one section of the Kabvilan oral tradition which talks of the lecher slamming the walls, windows and door of a shuttered house trying to force himself in, knowing that all the women in the village took refuge in it after having gotten wind of his arrival. For it was his custom to spirit away and ravish any woman who crosses his path. In some ways, he is like another folk character in a children's ditty, "Kuttaran": "*Kuttaran ji attolan/ummalom hi 'asaw'an*…" [Horny Kuttaran /courted a married woman]. The entertainment value of this story is made more significant by its function as a political commentary. Kabvilan is a collective projection, an archetype, of some of the worst human traits heightened to the greatest imaginable level by its being a tall tale. The character might well be a hyperbolic representation of the womanizing and vicious community leader, whether elected into office or traditionally selected. And the fact that the rhyme or song or story can be recited or sung by both adults and children signifies equal opportunity among the villagers to censure their leaders who use their power and authority to bludgeon their own constituents.

The next story has the persona wondering where mother has gone. It can be inferred from the first two lines (lines 5–6) that the speaker could be an older child, most probably a girl, who was left in the house and charged with the care of her younger sibling. She does a *sapsappiya*—amusing the baby by making him stand on one's foot all the while hoisting him up and down. Mother, she says, went fishing with a *sagsaggaja*, a wide basket meant to catch only big fish and manages to trap only one *kompa* (flying fish). When she placed it at the drying area just above the hearth/stove, the spirits came in droves like dogs snarling at each other over a bone or meat. When she placed it in a *sagikaw* (meat container made of rattan), flies came in droves like dogs snarling at each other over a bone or meat. Then as she performed a ritual with chicken as an offering, the hen did not stop bleeding and the rooster's wound kept being healed.

Dundes (in Bronner 2007, 60), in discussing the function of folklore as "a mirror of culture," notes the subversive quality even of riddles which, when posed by children to their parents and the latter give the wrong answer or cannot figure out the answer, overturns "the normal

adult-child relationship in our society…[where] the parent or teacher… knows all the answers and… insists upon proposing difficult if not 'impossible' questions to children." By extension, the story may be interpreted as making fun of a parental authority and competence by placing the parent in awkward situations. Dundes also points out:

> Folklore is one way for both adults and children to deal with the crucial problems in their lives. If our folklore sometimes deals with sexuality and the interrelationships between members of a family, then this is obviously something of a problem area in our daily lives. (Bronner 2007, 64)

The third is about the woman Jallaingan who, like the *yassuyas*, a grasshopper-like insect, takes her time lying on her back by the spring as if sun-bathing. *Awniyan* is a favorite expression among the Vanaw which implies fellowship, time and work. It is used to constrain a visitor from leaving the house so they could join in the dinner being prepared by the host. In many occasions though, it connotes procrastination or killing time in the face of tasks that need to or can be done immediately. Seen in this context, this section of the song can be interpreted as a critique of a woman who prefers an extended relaxation over, say, household work which needs her immediate attention.

The fourth presents a hilarious picture of a monkey pounding rice jumping up and down as he raises and thrusts down the pestle and with his behind awkwardly protruding each time (*manvyattuvyattuwaag*). The persona next uses *ijaljalumpiyad* to describe himself pounding rice. The word means to straighten one's body and look up when raising the pestle and then rocking back the rear when thrusting the wood down. This reflects the practice of making hard work lighter by making fun of it or making it fun. It also reflects a veiled articulation of the sexual connotation of the task. Another popular Vanaw-Tingguian song suggests a more sexual innuendo on the act of pounding rice: *Manvyayu kad si Angtan/Gumassu-gasu-widan, ehem* (When Angtan pounds, her body rhythmically pendulates with the pounding)// *Sakon pay kad mamvyayu/Isal-salung-giyak ku, ehem* (If I am to pound/I would grind my whole body)//*Agsam godsan na't agdjan.Siya godsam gawidan, ehem* (Don't step on the ladder, step on my stomach)//*Agsam ovgan na vansag/Siyad ovgam palagpag, ehem* (Don't lie on the bamboo floor, lie on my chest)//.

The fifth section is a bit more uninhibited. It relates the story of Villasoy who was known for his kilometric penis which came in handy when his son had to cross a swollen river. He straddled his oversized boomstick over the waters and his son used it as a bridge. Unfortunately, a naughty water bug pinched his thing, startling him and his child who was flung into the water and drowned. The water

bug plays a mischievous role in many Vanaw folk tales (cf. line 33), but is also presented as a helpful creature. If I were to follow Dundes' deployment of psychoanalysis in folklore studies, I venture to say that the Villasoy account makes a light poke at the Oedipal rivalry of the boy and his father with the latter ending up victorious. And if the phallus were to represent patriarchy and machismo, this is a commentary on how seemingly insignificant matters or forces can, as it were, pinch and flabbergast the male ego and cause his machismo to drown in the watery vicissitudes of life. And if talks of sex and sexuality are often hushed especially among children, songs and tales like these are a way of releasing the psychological tension created by such repression thus helping normalize individual and collective behavior. With apologies to Bhabha, this creates a "Third [Erogenous] Space" (1994, 37) where the strictures or norms created and laid down by male and female authorities are negotiated and played with by a mixed number of adult and children verbal jousters and gamers. It is from this space that all can voice out potential problems and conflicts and end up in a chorus of self-therapeutic laughter.

The author/persona ties the disparate tales together with the Kabvilan chorus at the beginning, middle and end of the song (lines 1–4, 24–27, 43–46). The appearance of organic unity in the text can be seen as a metaphor for the perpetual attempt of the community to achieve or maintain cooperation and goodwill among its members amidst the intermittent—even persistent—tensions and conflicts arising among them. Seen this way, the song partakes of folklore's function as penned by William Bascom: "Folklore is an important mechanism for maintaining the stability of culture" (William Bascom in Sims and Stephens 2011, 181).

This reminds us of Merriam's point about music's "contribution to the continuity and stability of culture":

> . . . music is in a sense a summatory activity for the expression of values, a means whereby the heart of the psychology of a culture is exposed without many of the protective mechanisms which surround other cultural activities. In this sense, it shares its function with others of the arts. As a vehicle of history, myth, and legend it points up the continuity of the culture; through its transmission of education, control of erring members of the society, and stress upon what is right, it contributes to the stability of culture. And its own existence provides a normal and solid activity which assures the members of society that the world continues in its proper path. (1964, 225)

In this "retouching of oral tales" (Bronner 2007, 56), the songwriter assures the continuation of oral tradition or folklore, expanding its

reach, enriching its content and application. Further, as a humorist, he places himself in a moral boundary where he sings of taboo topics thus melding the private and the public in a musical feast which both young and old can partake in altogether.

The Ethnopop Artist as a Unifier/Peacekeeper

All four ethnopop artists, while sometimes deploring the unpleasant characteristics of their own people, balance their critique with messages of hope and unity as shown in many of their songs. Some examples are Balansi's "Jagsiyan" which deploys Western and Southern Kalinga languages to articulate a message of love and imply the kinship of what are often caricatured as *upa* ('hen'—i.e., peaceful) and *kawitan* ('rooster'—belligerent or warlike) cultures. In "*Idjew*," Balansi also implicitly promotes inter-tribal dialogue by using a tribal language not his own—Lilubuagen, southern Kalinga language).

Patongao, on the other hand, fittingly brings the message of unity with his song, "Awong Chi Gangsa" which he composed and performed for the first time during the 19th Ullalim Festival and continues to be performed in what is now the Bodong Festival.

Awong Chi Gangsa
MAURICIO PATONGAO

Chongron awong chi Gangsa
Awong chi talna ken kappia
Siyan ichawat iKalinga
Kan Kafunyan ad chaya.
[Harp and Flute…]

Hear the call of a thousand gongs
It echoes thru every mountain ridge
It reaches as high as the clouds above
Bringing us God's tune of love

As we play the gongs in harmony
We shall live as one family
Bound with the love of morality
With peace and dignity

Chorus:
i…Kalinga get along
Together we are strong

The sound of the gongs reminds you
and me
That we are all one family

With God's help — his power and might
Kalinga shall shine as crystal bright

Call of a Thousand Gongs
trans. Mauricio Patongao

Listen to the vibrations of our Gongs
The vibrations of serenity and peace
This is our plea as Kalingas
To Kabunyan in the Heavens.

We shall be free from an endless night
And our wounds shall be healed
With love and light

Modelonto nan Kalinga	Kalinga shall become a model
San amin nga probinsiya	For all the provinces
Orton tako nan urnosna	We tighten its organization
We isun awong pakid gangsa	Like the vibrations of beaten gongs

The festival, now in its fifth year, remains as the grandest inter-tribal event in Kalinga. It was formerly known as the "Ullalim Festival" which ran under that name from 2013–2019. The 2014 Ullalim Festival had the theme, "Cultural Integrity—Towards Peace and Progress."

When it was first performed, the song was introduced by a flute sound, the first eight notes of which is a stylized rendition of the first line of "Amazing Grace." The first stanza is sung with a flute accompaniment and vocalized in a Gregorian-chant manner, followed by the beating of gongs. The English text (lines 5–21) is played with guitar and sung country-style. According to him (interview with Mauricio Patongao on 13 February 2014 in Bulanao, Tabuk City, Kalinga), the chorus was intended to imitate that of "We Are the World." The chorus is thus calculated to stir up emotions and get the audience to join the singing, objectives which were met during *Awong*. In the *kayaw* days, gongs were beaten not only for socialization or to signify a sense of community but also to sound off a call for war, justice or revenge. But on this occasion, the sound of 1,049 gongs was meant to call for peace. Also, there is a tradition among the Kalingas for the gongs to be silent when someone has died. [13] So to beat a thousand gongs at one moment in one place is to proclaim or celebrate life a thousand times over.

Judging from the reactions of Kalingas on the ground and on social media, this unprecedented dramatization of the Kalingas' aspirations of unity, peace and development generally created a profound sense of solidarity. And even if that shared sense of belonging was brief, it at least affirmed that what was thought to be impossible could be made possible when this "nation" of 46 "tribes" or "subtribes" got organized.

The song attempts to provide "a solidarity point around which members of society congregate" through repeated calls for unity. In effect, it contributes "to the integration of society" (Merriam 1964, 226). Merriam's quote from the Ghanaian musicologist Kwabena Nketia is most fitting here:

> For the Yoruba in Accra, performances of Yoruba music…bring both the satisfaction of participating in something familiar and the assurance of belonging to a group sharing in similar values, similar ways of life, a group maintaining similar art forms. Music thus brings a renewal of tribal solidarity. (in Merriam 1964, 226)

As seen earlier, in "Mantawili," Banasan also goes back to these positive notions attached to the gong (lines 31–34), mentioning the *tachok*/*tajok* along with the instrument since the beating of the gong always implies the performance of a dance. The *tajok*, like the gong, not only demands synchronicity of movement but also the harmonious employment of different movements and beats; it invites a sense of community (there is no such thing as a solo gong performance). It requires the meeting of minds and produces or reinforces a celebratory state. So here, music plays an essential role both in the critique and affirmation of culture.

As a tribal peacemaker, Patongao here flexes his negotiation skills in a remixed song enriched by an intertribal cultural symbol. While his elders engage in peace pacts along traditional venues and procedures, he does so in his own musical space and style.

Figure 7. "Awong Chi Gangsa" (lit., "sound of gongs") was the highlight of the 19th Ullalim Festival in Kalinga, with over a thousand gongs played at the same time at the Kalinga provincial athletic grounds on 13 February 2014. Photo courtesy of Kenneth Atiwag, used with permission.

At the Interstices and Margins of Tradition

Whether they are aware of being so or intended to be so, these local music artists' have positioned themselves in the interstices and at the margins of tradition. This they have done in at least five ways:

(1) Their melding of modern instrumentation and foreign pop-rock-country tunes with Indigenous music and oral tradition places them at the confluence of modern-foreign and traditional-local music traditions—which at the same time renders them marginal from the perspective of more conservative members of the society who view such remixing as a bastardization of authentic Indigenous culture.

(2) The mixing of languages in their compositions places them between *ili*-centeredness or tribalism and homogenizing political initiatives.

(3) Their wavering positions as "romanticists" (i.e., they present an idealized, non-problematized view of their culture) and "realists" (i.e., they offer a real-time, experiential picture of cultural issues) create an avenue for a discussion of extreme views among Indigenous communities. (see Hollinshead 2007, 287–92)

(4) Their appeal to spiritual values and the featuring of cultural symbols amidst the challenges faced by the Kalinga—material culture (e.g., gong for peace), performing arts (e.g., *tajok* for unity) and indigenous institutions (e.g., bodong)—also localize the concept of the "mestizaje" as

> an embodied and socially lived experience of a third space where tensions…are agentically, spiritually, symbolically, and culturally lived in a space of creative identity play and newness. (Brunsma and Delgado 2008, 335)

(5) Their social and political critique puts them in the space between the political bootlicker and the apathetic constituent. The music artists thus stand at the margins from the perspective of politicians who eschew or suppress criticism; at the same time, they locate themselves at the interstices of constituents who may be regarded as fierce loyalists or perpetual critics of incumbent political leaders. This positionality makes them active participants in the sustenance of a vibrant culture.

(6) Their roles may be seen as the younger generation taking on the roles traditionally assigned to the *man-um-umag* 'storyteller' (they tell or retell personal or community stories and reinforce ethnic identity and the connection of the past to the present); the *mansasakusak* 'arbiter'/'counselor' (they negotiate change and provide counsel or critique);[14] the *mangjon hi vojong* 'peace pact holder' (they promote inter-tribal understanding and amity); and the *manjajawak* 'shaman' or *mansip-ok* 'healer' (they compose and perform songs that can uplift the spirits of their hearers).

Conclusion

Kulligong, as understood in the *pagtá*, refers to the extension of tribal jurisdiction to areas outside the original boundary of the *ili* (community). In this paper, I have deployed the concept metaphorically—i.e., as an encapsulation of the notions of the marginal and the interstitial. In this sense, I have articulated my reading of the works of some Kalinga ethnopop artists whose collective music reflects their various, vital roles in the community as memorialists, critics, humorists, and unifiers. In these capacities, they challenge and expand the boundaries of our

traditions and our notion of Indigenous culture. They are marginal and interstitial in their position at the edge or even beyond our ethnocentric notion of culture and/or cultural authenticity, and at the confluence of ideas marked by the blurring or intermixing of moral strictures, ideological commitments, political preferences, social relations, and competing artistic stances. In this Third Space where they articulate their sense of being and belonging, foreign and local "signs…[are] appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew" (Bhabha 1994, 55). Their "in-betweenness" have allowed them to cross and blur identitarian boundaries, thus contributing to the problematization of essentialist notions of Indigeneity.

Their interstitial and marginal position as a member of a particular *ili* and an aggrupation of *ili* tagged as "Kalinga" has afforded them the unique privilege to, on the one hand, speak for, to or with the younger generation and, on the other hand, engage with the older generation thus pushing further the ongoing discourse on what it means to be a Kalinga, or whether there is indeed such a thing as "pan-Kalinga" identity.

Hopefully, this paper has amply demonstrated that the works of local contemporary ethnopop artists have a rightful spot at the center of academic discourse, and not merely relegated to the margins.

When the community actively engages with these music artists and their works, it pays tribute to the performance of verbal art itself as a history-making process with verbal artists as central figures in that process. For to borrow from Coben (2009, 2):

> Artists of the spoken word, like the indigenous poets of various communities from Apayao to Tawi-tawi in the Philippines, not only document their history in the verbal arts they create and perform; they themselves actively participate in the making of history. Linguistic innovations, creation of new and hybrid genres of performance…, as well as the revitalization of old metaphors to accommodate new meanings, constitute some of the important strategies employed to textualize, as well as mediate, cultural change.

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Notes

1. Originally presented at the "International Virtual Conference on IKSP," Kalinga State University, 26 October 2020.
2. All local terms in the paper, except those that refer to or are used in some local documents cited, follow the orthography of Vinanaw, the language of the Vanaw community.
3. cf. Salawu and Fadipe 2022, 1ff. on contemporary African Indigenous pop.
4. All English translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.
5. For more discussion on this term, see Neisser and Fivush 1994.
6. This is meant to be sung also by listeners during a live performance in response to the song's message, as follows: *Sorwe-é, tuttuwa kamos a-in! Sorwe-é!/ Om-me, om-me om-me-om, peppe-om, paya, laychom?! 'Sorwe-é, that is so true, sorwe-é*…. Do you like it? Do you like it?' Jose Pangsiw, a Madukayang chanter and a recognized cultural master, credits the people of Basao as originators of the said *pataytay* (interview with the author in Tabuk, Kalinga on 14 February 2014).
7. Navas develops a complex theory on sampling (see 2012, 11ff.). He, however, limits sampling to those that are taken partly or wholly from "pre-recorded materials" (14). However, a broader understanding of remix and sampling in particular would include even materials from the real world (cf. Ferguson 2023).
8. John Miles Foley defines traditional referentiality as "the resonance between the singular moment and the traditional context" (1999, xiv). Elsewhere, he further says that it "entails the invoking of a context that is enormously larger and more echoic than the text or work itself, that brings the lifeblood of generations of poems and performances to the individual performance or text" (1991, 10).
9. Lourdes Fangki's widely circulated version of "The Prodigal Son" comes close to "*Bisyo*."
10. I use "music-culture" as defined by Titon (2017, 4): "a group's total involvement with music: ideas, actions, institutions, material objects."
11. See footnote 8.
12. The gong's cultural significance among Kalinga communities is primarily shown in the "Bodong Festival," formerly known as the "Ullalim Festival," which features the *Awong Chi Gangs*a

'sound of gongs' in which over a thousand pairs of male gong players and female dancers perform. First showcased in 2014, this gong playing was said to have become the "rallying advocacy for lasting peace and cultural renewal" (Balocnit 2013). In 2023, Kalinga was awarded two Guinness World Records for having the most number of male gong players (3,440) and most number of female earthen jar dancers (4,681) during the 5th Bodong Festival (Dumlao 2023).

13. This is with the exception of the Vanaw. However, in their case they do not play the gongs during the wake, only after the burial. The pattong is part of the *waksí* (cleansing ritual), intended to drive grief and bad luck away.
14. The *mansasakusak* 'arbiter' has multiple roles chief of which is to mediate between conflicting parties or *ili* with the goal of restoring a broken peace pact. Writing from his experience as a mansasakusak, the lamented former Kalinga Religious Sector Association (KARSA) president and Lutheran Pastor Luis Ao-as (2004) described five roles of a *vojong* arbiter, as follows: analyst (meticulously investigates the situation), communicator (articulates well his thoughts and the grievances or stances of both parties), negotiator (seeks consensus among parties involved), mediator (facilitates avenues for dialogue and face-saving), counselor (advises the aggrieved and offending parties, as well as other stakeholders, and even censures wrongful acts), and implementor (ensures that agreements made are enforced).

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