Hanunoo-Mangyan Social World

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One of the most difficult tasks imposed on social anthropologists is to find a theoretical framework of validity within which to explain bilateral, or cognatic, social organizations.

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

In the present paper, an attempt is made to outline the social world of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, swidden agriculturists in southeastern Mindoro, applying the "Axial Family-line Theory" posed by Muratake and Y. Kikuchi.

The first part of this paper is devoted to the general description of the social view (Chapter II), kinship terminology (Chapter III) and social groups (Chapter IV) of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. In the latter part, the analysis is focused on the socio-political and magico-religious leaderships (Chapter V), and the composition and orientation of their society is discussed (Chapter VI). The Hanunoo-Mangyan society is, in general, characterized by bilateral features of kinship, as summarized by Conklin [1957]. Parallel to this, however, a different aspect is extracted in the succession to the position of *panudlákan*, ritual performer of the first rice-seeds planting. A case study of Hawili, a Hanunoo-Mangyan local community, illustrates the presence of the ambilineal family-line of *panudlákan*. Furthermore, a figure who may be called an "informal (or concealed) socio-political leader" is discovered through the Hawili case. The hypothesis postulated here is that the informal socio-political leader emerged under a situation where the political impact of Christian lowlanders could not be avoided and that the family-line (of the *panudlákan*) in the magico-religious context forms a basis which could lead to the emergence of a formal socio-political leader, as seen among the Manihala Buhid, the Alangan and the Batangan in Mindoro Island.

I. INTRODUCTION

This is a preliminary report on the social world of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, a Malayo-Polynesian ethnolinguistic group commonly known as "Hanunóo" in the fields of linguistics and anthropology[1]. They are swidden argiculturists dwelling in the mountainous areas of southeastern Mindoro, Philippines.

Since the latter half of the 1950's a great deal of attention has been paid to the Philippines, reflecting a new tendency in social anthropology. Although the nonunilineal (ambilineal) aspect of descent was pointed out in the 1920's by Firth [1929], most concerns in the study of social organizations were directed to unilineal societies. In the 1950's, however, the impotrance of "nonunilinear descent groups" in Malayo-Polynesian society was pointed out by Goodenough [1955], and the need for further studies of bilateral or nonunilineal societies was also emphasized by Firth [1957] and Davenport [1959]. With this tendency, the Philippines has been considered to be one of the areas which could provide an ideal setting for the investigation of bilateral, or cognatic, social organization.

The predominant opinion denies the presence of unilineal descent groups and their formation in the Philippines. Murdock [1960] classified the "families" or bilateral descent groups of the Sagada Igorots studied by Eggan [1960] into the category of "bilateral (Eskimo)" subtype, and the bilateral kindred reported by Barton [1919] into "ambilineal ramage". It appeared that this viewpoint was most persuasive to explain the kinship systems in the Philippines.

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

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

He shows that inheritance and succession are not made along a specific family-line among the Palawan living in the mountainous region of southern Palawan, and he presents an assumption that "an ambilineal family-line, steady and axial, is formed

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1)   This paper is based on my former one in Japanese (「ハヌヌー・マンギャン社会の構成について」『国立民族学博物館研究報告』 II (1), 1977, pp. 84–122).   Some parts are corrected and additional data are presented here.

on the basis of a cognatic structures as seen in Palawan" [MURATAKE 1967: 5]. Basically, his main concern seems common to Eggan's, as noted by K. Kikuchi [1975: 241]. Eggan presented his viewpoint in the same year, writing:

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

After conducting fieldwork in a local group of the Batangan in Occidental Mindoro, Muratake & Y. Kikuchi [1968] analyzed their kinship system and considered the structure and function of the "head" (political leader). The authors pointed out the co-presence of personal kindred and an axial family-line (of the head) in this local group. And they made it clear that the Batangan society is organized on the basis of both an ego-centered kin concept and an ancestor-centered kin concept, suggesting the germination of the characteristics of corporate groupings.

In the present paper an attempt is made to consider the social world of the Hanunoo-Mangyan, applying the theory posed by Muratake and Y. Kikuchi. In the former part, a general description will be given of the social view and kinship relations of this ethnolinguistic group, and later the focus will be shifted gradually to the problem of the "axial family-line" so as to clarify the composition and orientation of their society.

Mindoro is the seventh largest island in the Philippines, lying at the northern end of the Sulu Sea, west of the Bikol region and south of Manila. This island is divided by a north-south zigzag line into two provinces, Oriental Mindoro and Occidental Mindoro, under the present political organization of the Philippines. The coastal plain area is inhabited by Christian lowlanders such as the Tagalog, Bisaya and Ilokano. They are engaged in sedentary agriculture, fishing, forestry, commercial activities, office work, and so on. Although Mindoro Island is located only some 1,600 kilometers from Manila, transportation conditions are very poor. There are several airports on this island, but at the time of my fieldwork only two of them were used for regular daily service: one at San Jose and the other in Mamburao. Ports for regular shipping lines which connect Mindoro to Luzon Island are also few: one at San Jose and the other at Calapan. In the Province of Oriental Mindoro, there is only one office for long distance telephone calls. It is possible to call someone in Manila through the telephone at this office, but not vice versa. Mail takes a week, more or less, to arrive from Manila. Accordingly, urgent communication between this island and Manila must be made by telegram. Thus, Mindoro Island is geographically near to Manila, but it is still distant in terms of transportation and communication.

Most parts of Mindoro are mountainous.   There are at least seven ethnolinguistic groups collectively referred to as "Mangyan" and engaged in swidden agriculture in the highland regions [TWEDDELL 1970].   They are the Iraya, Alangan and Tadyawan in the northern half, and the Batangan, Buhid, Hanunoo-Mangyan and Ratagnon in the southern half.   The study of mountain peoples in Mindoro is one of the fileds still unexplored, and there is no social anthropological research report on the Iraya, Tadyawan and Ratagnon.

The Hanunoo-Mangyan occupy a mountainous region in the southeastern part of Mindoro Island.   The territory is within the municipalities of Mansalay, Bulalakao and a part of San Jose.   This area is surrounded by Christian lowlanders to the east, the Buhid to the north and the Ratagnon to the southwest.

My fieldwork activities were limited to the northern part of the Hanunoo-Mangyan area.   On my way to the headwaters of the Kaguray River and the Inungdungan-Kiyanaw River, I visited the Sinugbuhan and Tagaskan regions, where I found many Hanunoo-Mangyan/Buhid mestizos.   In these regions, *minaŋyán* (the language of the Hanunoo-Mangyan) is used in their daily life, but most of the inhabitants understand the Buhid language.

It is impossible to get detailed data on the population of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. It was estimated at approximately 6,000 by Conklin [1957: 10] and at 7,000 to 8,000 by Postma [1965: 360].   Their territory is about 800 square kilometers [CONKLIN 1957: 10], but not a few parts of it have been used as pasture lands by certain Christian lowlanders.   Land grabs, legal or illegal, and exploitation of labor have frequently been made by Christian lowlanders.   This fact will be of significance in pursuing the topic of this paper.

The data on which this study is based were obtained during my one-year of fieldwork (June 1973–September 1974) in the Mansalay region of Oriental Mindoro[2]. I stayed at Barrio Panaytayan, a Hanunoo-Mangyan settlement, the site of a development project by an SVD (Societas Verbi Divini) missionary from Holland, and I expanded my fieldwork activities to other settlements from this place.

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

This ethnolinguistic group was introduced to the anthropological world as "Hanunóo" by Gardner & Maliwanag [1939] and Conklin [1949].   Even though this

designation has been commonly used in anthropology and linguistics, I hesitate to adopt it. For the word *hanunô?o* is never used independently by the people of this ethnolinguistic group to refer to themselves. It is only an adjective that means 'genuine', 'real', or 'true'. Since they ordinarily refer to themselves as "*maŋyán*", they can be referred to with this word. But trouble arises if it is adopted as the designation of this ethnolinguistic group in a scientific study, for the word *maŋyán* has two meanings. In a broad sense it denotes the mountain peoples in general of Mindoro Island, and in a narrow sense it indicates the people whose first language is *minaŋyán* or *bágaw maŋyán* ('language of *maŋyán*'). Therefore, if an alternative designation can be found, we should adopt it so as to avoid confusion.

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

They sometimes refer to themselves as "*hanunô?o maŋyán*" or "*maŋyán hanunô?o*" so as to distinguish themselves from other mountain peoples of Mindoro. I think that it is most acceptable to employ this designation and call them Hanunoo-Mangyan: for it coincides with the designation employed by themselves, it implies the name of their language (*in* of *minaŋyán* is the infix), and it does not contradict the designation commonly used among anthropologists and linguists. In this paper, the *maŋyán* in the narrow sense are consistently called "Hanunoo-Mangyan", while the *maŋyán* in the broad sense are indicated by the term "Mangyan".

II. SOCIAL VIEW

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

The stratum of the earth is designated as *?usá ka dagá?* ('one land'). In the Hanunoo-Mangyan image, the oval surface of the earth is concentrically composed of three parts, as illustrated by the drawing of Figure 1. The area inside the smallest oval is the *dagá?* (land) and the broad area around it is the *dágat* (sea). Most informants have an image that the land itself is floating on the sea: they maintain that one would reach the water of the sea if he should go straight down through the land. They believe that the outer border of the sea (and also of the earth) is all covered with thick woods and rocks with nothing beyond it, and that all other arching strata of the universe converge at this border area. This area is said to be the *katapúsan* (edge,
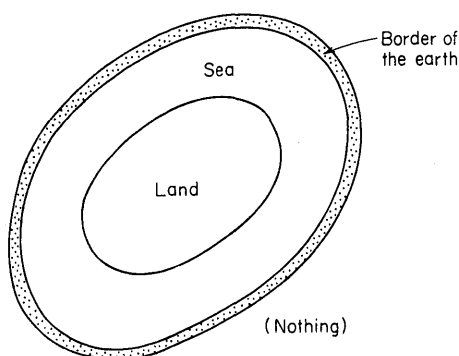
Figure 1. Hanunoo-Mangyan image of the earth

'finished area') of the universe and believed to be inhabited by horrible beings. Most informants remark that these beings must be *labáŋ táwu* (evil spirits in the form of persons) that kill people and eat their flesh.

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

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

On this spatial setting is developing the social world of the Hanunoo-Mangyan. In their taxonomy, people (*táwu*) are classified into the *damúʔoŋ* and the *maŋyán* (in the broad sense). The term *damúʔoŋ*, which originally means 'those who have come by boat' [POSTMA 1974: 22], is employed as a word to collectively refer to non-Mangyans or lowlanders. The term *kiristyáno* (<Sp. cristiano, 'Christian') is often used as a synonym of *damúʔoŋ*.

The main criteria for differentiating the *damú?oŋ* and the *maŋyán* seems to be costume, residential conditions, religion, and language.   The Hanunoo-Mangyan generally define the *damú?oŋ* as those who wear pants or a skirt and shoes, live in plenty on plain lowland areas, and believe in Christianity.   And this mountain people define the *maŋyán*, including themselves, as those who wear a *ba?ág* (loin-cloth, in case of male) or a *ramít* (skirt-like clothing, in case of female), live in the mountains, engage in swidden activities, and have a traditional religion different from that of the *damú?oŋ*. To the Hanunoo-Mangyan, the category of *damú?oŋ* includes not only Filipino lowlanders such as the Tagalog, Bisaya, Ilokano etc. but also the Chinese (*?insik*), Americans (*merikáno*<Sp. americano), Spaniards (*kastíla?*<Sp. Catilla), Dutch (*?ulandés* <Sp. holandés), Japanese (*hapón*<Sp. Japón) and so on.   All these peoples, who speak languages different from the Mangyans', are considered to be Christianized.

When we go to the town of Mansalay, we often find Hanunoo-Mangyans buying things (salt, matches, kerosene, etc.) at the market, or taking a ride on a motorcycle (tricycle) or a jeepny with lowlanders.   These scenes give us an impression that ethnic symbiosis is present between Christian lowlanders and Mangyans.   Nevertheless, the impression is effaced once we come to know, for example, that a Hanunoo-Mangyan is hired by a Christian lowlander for work in the latter's farm usually at the daily wage of 1–2 pesos (about US$ 0.15–0.30 in 1974, when the minimum wage was stipulated to be 4.75 pesos per day by the Labor Law of the Philippines), and that land grabs, legal or illegal, by Christians are still prevalent.   In reality, the Hanunoo-Mangyan, as well as other mountain peoples in Mindoro Island [Y. Kikuchi 1974: 36], are afraid of Christian lowlanders.

I frequently observed Hanunoo-Mangyan parents saying to their crying babies, "*damú?oŋ, damú?oŋ*!"   This is in order to terrify them and make them quiet.   The Hanunoo-Mangyan inhabitants believe in various kinds of evil spirits, such as *labáŋ kúti?* (evil spirits in the form of cats), *labáŋ báboy* (evil spirits in the form of wild pigs), *labáŋ manók* (evil spirits in the form of forest fowls), *labáŋ ?idu?* (evil spirits in the form of dogs), *labáŋ lumalákaw* (evil spirits in the form of small naked Mangyans, which walk swiftly), *labáŋ táwu* (evil spirits in the form of persons) and so on [Miyamoto 1976: 224–227].   Of these, inhabitants are especially afraid of *labáŋ táwu*. According to them, there are two kinds of *labáŋ táwu*: those that look like Hanunoo-Mangyans and those that look like Christians; and they say that the latter are the most terrible ones.   Hanunoo-Mangyan children, who are very lively in their mountains, look nervous and follow their parents or adult companions closely once they walk down to the town.   It is banned for a Hanunoo-Mangyan to have sex relations with Christians.   There is a belief that one who violates this rule will suffer from pains due to the swelling of his (or her) sexual organ and that any child born from such a union will die.   Marriage with a Christian is axiomatically prohibited.   According to Hanunoo-Mangyan religious beliefs, their world of the dead is completely isolated from that of dead Christians.   It is said that Christians have no influence on the Hanunoo-Mangyan world of the dead.

Thus, in the Hanunoo-Mangyan social world a definite line of demarcation is

drawn between Christian lowlanders and Mangyans, and the former are placed at the remotest social distance from any Hanunoo-Mangyan.

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

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

It is generally said that the *katawúhan* extends to the *baliwsáŋa* (fourth cousin). The term *katawúhan* indicates the whole circle of kinsmen within fourth-cousin range, embracing both consanguineal and affinal kin. The term *káway* is employed to show a maximal circle of consanguines, but there is no term which includes all affinal kin. Generally, affinal kin are considered socially remoter than consanguineal kin, for the relationship of the former ceases by divorce while that of the latter is permanent. But some informants maintain that affinal kin are important as well as consanguineal kin since the former are also *katawúhan*. Marriage with a person within the range of *katawúhan* is prohibited or avoided, as will be mentioned in detail later.

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

The kinsmen who maintain frequent reciprocal relations to one another in their socio-economic and ritual life are collectively referred to as *magtalʔ anákan* (<*ʔanák*, 'child'). It is rather hard for a researcher conducting fieldwork among the Hanunoo-Mangyan to grasp this term, for it is used in two different senses by the informants, and they often become confused when asked to explain it.

In the narrow sense, the *magtal⌐ anâkan* is said to be "up to the first cousin", consisting of the spouse, grandchildren, siblings and their children, parents, parents' siblings and their children, grandparents, and the spouses of these consanguines. The consanguineal kin within this circle are strictly prohibited from having sex and marriage relations. One is expected to maintain face-to-face relations and cooperate with the other members of this circle. It can be stated that the *magtal⌐ anâkan* in the narrow sense is a restricted kindred, the members of which are closely bounded by interdependent relationships.

The *magtal⌐ anâkan* in the broad sense can be regarded as an extended kindred (or selected kinsmen) which functions as an occasional kin group [MURDOCK 1960: 5] at specific times, such as rice planting and harvesting, big feasts and other life crises. Genealogical distance constitutes a criterion in selecting certain kinsmen as *magtal-⌐anâkan* in the broad sense. But it is not definite. Other criteria must be considered such as the distance of residence, location of swiddens, sex, age, personality and
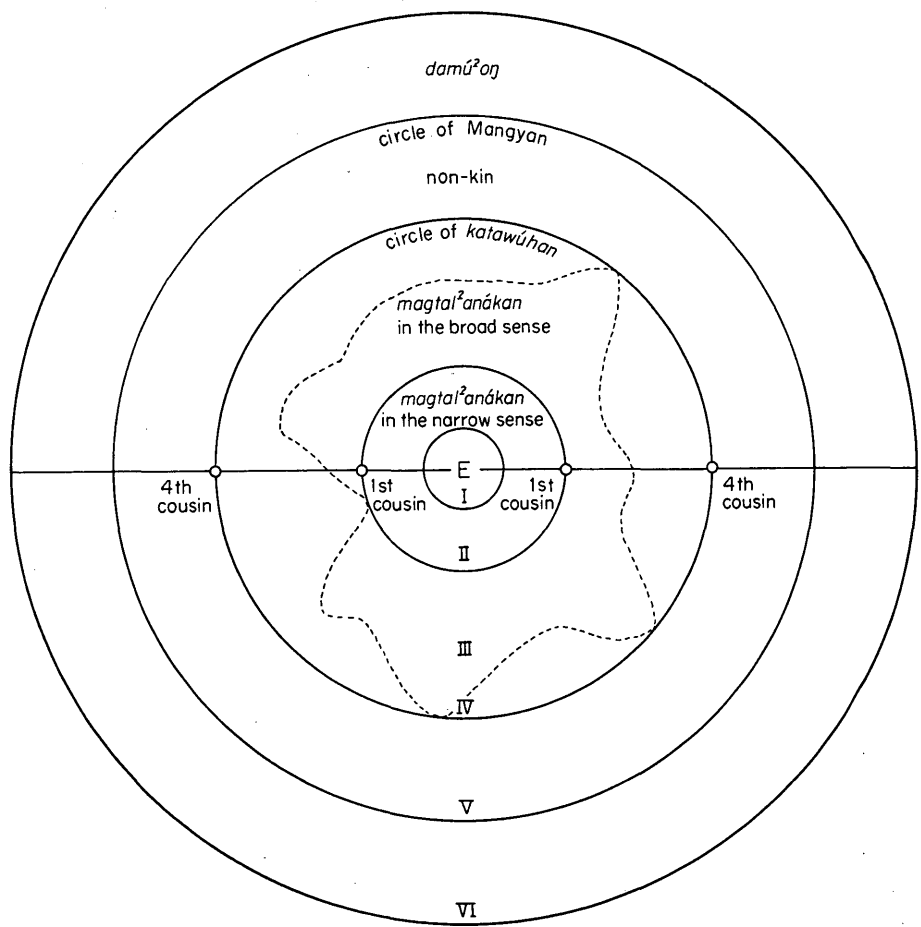

Figure 2. Classification of people and social distance

so on. For instance, it often occurs that some second cousins are included in this range and other second cousins are excluded. And the range is not permanent, but changeable.

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

To summarize: when a focus is placed on the frequency of social intercourse or degree of social intimacy as the scale of distance from Ego, people of his (or her) social world fall into six categories (I–VI) as shown in Figure 2.

III. KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

1. TERMS FOR CONSANGUINEAL KIN

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

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

A half-sibling is referred to as *patar ⁊ári ⁊* or *⁊ulóŋ patar ⁊ári ⁊* (or *patar ⁊ári ⁊ ⁊ulóŋ*). When half-siblings have a common father, they refer to each other as *patar ⁊ári ⁊*, i.e. with the term used for full siblings. When they have a common mother and different fathers, they refer to each other as *⁊ulóŋ patar ⁊ári ⁊* (*⁊ulóŋ*, 'untrue, false'). The informants explain this method, saying that the children are considered to be of the same blood if they have a common father, and that the children of the same mother and different fathers have different blood. One of the informants in Panaytayan added: "It is just like a swidden. If there is no person who plants seeds, there grows no rice. And if somebody else plants in my farm, rice plants which grow there do not belong to me but to him. A female is just like a swidden. That is what old persons told me." The vocative terms used for full siblings are also used to address half-siblings and step-siblings. But the word *⁊alága* ('to take care of') is added to *patar ⁊ári ⁊* in referring to a step-sibling, as *⁊alága patar ⁊ári ⁊* or *patar ⁊ári ⁊ ⁊alága*.

The cousin relationship of two individuals is usually traced through the know-

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

[Cousins]	[Reference]	[Address]
1st cousin	ʔinsan, or pinsan	ʔinsan, or pinsan
2nd cousin	ʔaruwá, sayiwa, or pinsan sa ʔaruwá	ʔaruwá
3rd cousin	ʔatló, or pinsan sa ʔatló	ʔatló
4th cousin	baliwsáŋa, or pinsan sa baliwsáŋa	baliwsáŋa, or saŋá

If the word pinsan is pronounced independently, it means the first cousin.   But it is used as a term which refers to cousins in general (within 4th-cousin range), as shown in this usage applied to referential terms for the second, third and fourth cousins.[3] The fifth cousin and cousins beyond this degree are considered to be out of the con-sanguineal category, although some informants in Hawili give terms tarʔáriʔ and ʔinsan to designate the fifth and sixth cousins respectively.

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

> Long ago, an old man named Mahal Ma-ako (mahál maʔáko)[4] went to a river, where he saw a small wooden box floating down the stream.   He took it up and opened it.   Inside the box was a small male baby covered with cloth.   He brought the baby to his house and took care of it.
>
> It took eight days for the baby to become a young man.   On the eighth day Mahal Ma-ako gave a name to the boy.   It was Adan (ʔadán).   He looked like Mahal Ma-ako.   This old man took one of his ribs from his left chest, and placed it down on the left arm of Adan.   Then, the old man said to the boy, "Adan, wake up!   Here is your ʔiba (companion)."   When Adan woke up, he found a young girl sleeping with her head on his elbow.   "You are lucky, Adan," said Mahal Ma-ako, "You have your own ʔiba."   The name of the girl was Iba.   Adan and Iba were not a married couple yet.

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3)   The word ʔaruwá comes from duwá ('two'), ʔatló from tuló ('three') and baliwsáŋa from báliw ('toward') and saŋá ('branch').

4)   Mahal Ma-ako is the name of the Supreme God of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.   He is also designated as mahál ʔumáko or mahál makakaʔáko.

Mahal Ma-ako said to the two before going out, "Take care of this plant. It will have fruit, but don't eat it." Adan and Iba took care of the plant. Iba said to Adan, "Why can't we eat the fruit?" She took one, ate a bite and said, "Adan, how delicious this fruit is!" Adan also ate it. Then they came to have sexual organs. Both of them became lonely.

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

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

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

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

Two cases concerning the violation of sex and marriage rules are remembered by some inhabitants of Panaytayan and Hawili. One case happened about 30–35 years ago in Kagankan. According to an informant:

"The man and the woman were first cousins. They were young and single at that time. One morning, the girl's father was wandering why his daughter did not appear out of her *baláy darága?* (house of an unmarried girl). It was high time for them to go out for swidden work. The father called to her from in front of her house, for the door was still closed. The girl answered but she did not come out. Then he opened the door and looked in. The father found,

to his great surprise, his daughter with her first cousin: both of them were trying to separate their sexual organs and suffering from pain.

The father rushed to call a *pandaniwan*. After his invocation, the young boy and girl could separate from each other at last, but both of them got sick. They did not get well, and the disease became more and more serious.

So, the girl's father prepared a sack of rice and a pig. He called three skilled *pandaniwan* (including the one who had been called first) and invited his kinsmen to his house in the evening. The three *pandaniwan* performed an invocation together for the two patients in front of the visitors. Cooked rice and pork were served to everybody there. After this, the two recovered their health. Later the boy married a non-kin, and so did the girl. No other illnesses have happened to either of them since."

According to the informant, this was a shameful occurrence; so those who know the facts have kept them secret from other persons. Another case is said to have occurred also in Kagankan. According to some informants in Panaytayan and Hawili:

"It happened 20 to 30 years ago. The man and the woman are second cousins. They became a married couple without asking a *pandaniwan* to perform a prayer. A baby was born to them but died soon after delivery. Strong lightning and thunder started one week later and continued for several days. The couple called one *pandaniwan*, but his prayer could not stop the lightning and thunder. So they called four *pandaniwan* who were known for their long-term experience as *pandaniwan*. Four of them prayed together at the house of the couple. The lightning and thunder stopped. Later the couple had three children and all of them have been healthy."

As for the first ascending generation (GEN.+1), the term *gúraŋ* ('old') is used. In this case, the sex of the parent is not indicated. To show the distinction of sex, the term *ʔámaʔ* is used for father and *ʔinaʔ* for mother. In address, the father is called *ʔamáŋ* or *mámaʔ*, and the mother *ʔináŋ*. The children are expected to show respect to their parents. In the past, it is said, people were not allowed to pronounce the personal names of their parents even though the latter were absent. They always had to designate their parents with kin terms. This custom seems to be maintained today by old persons, especially those from interior areas such as Malang-og, Sinariri, etc. It sometimes occurred during my fieldwork that when I asked the name of the parents of an old person to whom I was talking to, he (or she) said to another person beside him, instead of answering me, "*si ʔúno kayŋáran kaŋ ʔámaʔ, kaŋ ʔinaʔ, kúno* (He says what the names of my father and mother are)."

The referential term for a child is *ʔanák*. Sometimes *laláki* or *babáyi* is added to this term to show sex distinction, as *ʔanák laláki* (son) or *ʔanák babáyi* (daughter). In address, the child is called by his (or her) personal name. The referential term *paŋánay* is used for the first (eldest) child, and for the youngest child the term *kapúsʔan* (*kapús*, 'last in time') is employed. The child between a *paŋánay* and a *kapúsʔan* is

referred to as *ʔanák karáwʔan* (*karáwʔan*, 'middle') or *paŋaráwʔan* (*paŋáraw*, Tagalog for 'dry season').

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

The more detailed relationship between Ego and a collateral in GEN.+1 is sometimes expressed in reference using additional terms concerned with the relationship between Ego's parents and the collateral. For instance, Ego's parents' brothers are referred to as *bápaʔ súʔod* (*súʔod*, 'bond' or 'binding'). Other designations are as follows:

[Collaterals in GEN.+1]	[Male collaterals]	[Female collaterals]
sibling of Ego's parent	*bápaʔ súʔod* (or *súʔod bápaʔ*)	*báyiʔ súʔod* (or *súʔod báyiʔ*)
1st cousin of parent	*bápaʔ sa ʔinsan*	*báyiʔ sa ʔinsan*
2nd cousin of parent	*bápaʔ sa ʔaruwá*	*báyiʔ sa ʔaruwá*
3rd cousin of parent	*bápaʔ sa ʔatló*	*báyiʔ sa ʔatló*
4th cousin or parent	*bápaʔ sa baliwsáŋa*	*báyiʔ sa baliwsáŋa*

These referential terms are reciprocally used between Ego and the above-listed collaterals. Hence, the child of Ego's sibling is referred to as *bápaʔ súʔod* if Ego is male or *báyiʔ súʔod* if Ego is female; the child of Ego's first cousin is referred to as *bápaʔ sa ʔinsan* if Ego is male and *báyiʔ sa ʔinsan* if Ego is female, and so forth. The respect for parents is expected to be extended to the siblings and cousins of them.

Similar usage to that of *bápaʔ* and *báyiʔ* in GENS.±1 is applied to the consanguineal kin in the second ascending and descending generations (GENS.±2). There is no distinction in designation between lineals and collaterals in these generations. In reference and address, the parent's father (grandfather) and his male siblings and cousins (within 4th-cousin range) are called *laki*. And the parent's mother (grandmother) and her female siblings and cousins are called *ʔidú*. If Ego is male, all his grandchildren, male or female, and their cousins (within 4th-cousin range) are called *laki* in reference and address. If Ego is female, all her grandchildren and their cousins are designated as *ʔidú*. Thus, each of the terms *laki* and *ʔidú* is

reciprocally used between two consanguineal kin with two degrees of generational distance, and the usage of these terms is, as with *bápaʔ* and *báyiʔ*, determined by the sex of one of the two in the upper generation.

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

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

When it comes to the fourth ascending and descending generations (GENS.±4), the kin term employed is rather theoretical, since the inhabitants do not have opportunities in reality to use this term to a living person.   For the consanguineal kin in GENS.±4, the term *púpuʔ* is employed.

The term *ʔápu* is employed for the consanguineal kin in the fifth ascending and descending generations (GENS.±5).   This term has a meaning of 'owner', and it is sometimes used as a word which means 'spirit', as *ʔápu danúm* (spirit of water), *ʔápu dániw* (spirit of *dániw*), etc.   The term *kanunuʔnunúʔan* or *saginúraŋ* is used to refer to all ancestors.   The genealogical line which obscurely ties an ancestor and Ego is sometimes called *linâhiʔ*.   It seems that this term is related linguistically to the Tagalog word *láhiʔ* which means 'race', 'family line', etc.: i.e. *linâhiʔ* seems to be composed of *láhiʔ* and the infix *in*.   But this assumption can not be made with certainty since it is impossible to deny the possibility that *linâhiʔ* came from the Spanish *linaje* (lineage, race).   At any rate, in approaching the "axial family-line argument" we must not fail to notice that in a bilateral society like that of the Hanunoo-Mangyan there is a concept which indicates a vertical line between an ancestor and Ego, as *tayarian* among the Alangan, *fufuama* and *fufuina* among the Batangan and *turoinopo* among the Palawan [Y. KIKUCHI 1975: 231].

2.   TERMS FOR AFFINAL KIN

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

The referential term for spouse is *ʔasáwaʔ*, without distinction of sex.   The husband and the wife usually call each other by their personal names.   The term *bayáw* is used to address and refer to the spouse of Ego's sibling or the spouse of Ego's cousin

(within 4th-cousin range).   This term is reciprocally used between these affinal kin and Ego.   The parent of the spouse is called *manúgaŋ* both in reference and address. This term is also applied to the sibling and parent of the spouse's parent (i.e. spouse's uncle, aunt and grandparent).   However, unlike the above-mentioned affinal terms, the term *manúgaŋ* is, in principle, not used reciprocally between these affinal kin and Ego.   The spouse of the child or grandchild is referred to as *ʔumágad* and addressed by his (or her) personal name.   Today, however, the term *manúgaŋ* is sometimes employed to refer to the spouses of child and grandchild.   But the term *ʔumágad* is never used to address and refer to the spouse's parents and their siblings and grand-parents.

As for the term *baláyi*, the usage is complicated.   It is used for the siblings and cousins of Ego's sibling's spouse in reference and address.   The parents and grand-parents of these affines are also *baláyi*.   And the siblings, cousins, and parents of the spouse of Ego's child or grandchild are called by the same term.

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

Some consanguineal terms are, as already mentioned, widely used as referential and vocative terms for affinal kin.   The usage of these terms is the same as that applied to consanguineal kin.   First, the spouses of Ego's collaterals in GEN.+1 (i.e. *bápaʔ, báyiʔ*) are called *bápaʔ* if male or *báyiʔ* if female.   Similarly, the spouses of Ego's consanguineal kin in GEN.+2 (i.e. *lakí, ʔidú*) are called *lakí* if male or *ʔidú* if female.   Second, the spouses of Ego's collaterals in GEN.−1 are designated as *bápaʔ* if Ego is male, or *báyiʔ* if Ego is female.   The spouses of Ego's consanguines in GEN.−2 are called *lakí* if Ego is male, or *ʔidú* if Ego is female.   In principle, as mentioned earlier, the spouse of Ego's child or grandchild is to be called *ʔumágad*, but these affines are also designated as *bápaʔ, báyiʔ, lakí, ʔidú* in accordance with the usage already mentioned.   In theory, these terms are applied also to Ego's sibling's (and cousin's) spouse's sibling's (and cousin's) children and grandchildren, to the children and grandchildren of the sibling and cousin of Ego's *bilás*, and to the children of the sibling and cousin of Ego's *ʔumágad* (in this case, *lakí* or *ʔidú*).   Thus, the range of the usage of these terms is also quite wide.

3.   TERMINOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF KINSHIP

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

1)   Each generation is distinguished up to the fifth degree.
2)   Paternal kin and maternal kin are not distinguished.

3) Lineals and collaterals are distinguished in three generations (GENS.0 & ±1), while terms for lineals are applied to collaterals beyond these three generations, i.e. the range of the nuclear families of Ego are carved out.

4) In Ego's generation, the genealogical relation is limited to the fourth-cousin range.

5) The terms for collaterals in GENS.±1 and the terms for consanguines in GENS.±2 are reciprocally used, but the usage of them between two individuals is determined by the sex of one of them in the upper generation.

6) The difference of age is shown in the vocative (sometimes referential) terms for sibling and referential terms for children, while other terms do not show any age difference.

As clarified by Figure 3, the Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology separates each generation (to a certain extent) and at the same time it carves out the nuclear family (lineals in GENS.0 & ±1) for special emphasis.   The former is one of the features of Hawaiian terminological system, and the latter is the important characteristic of the Eskimo type.   In this manner, the Hanunoo-Mangyan kinship terminology indicates the bilateral symmetry of their kinship system.   As for other features of their terminology (e.g. superiority of upper generations and distinction of age among siblings), they may be understandable in the context of their social behaviors.

GEN.	COLLATERALS	LINEALS			COLLATERALS
+n ∫ +5	ʔápu	ʔápu			ʔápu
+4	púpuʔ	púpuʔ			púpuʔ
+3	ʔumpút	ʔumpút			ʔumpút
+2	lakí/ʔidú	lakí/ʔidú			lakí/ʔidú
+1	bápaʔ/báyiʔ	ʔámaʔ/ʔínaʔ			bápaʔ/báyiʔ
0	pínsan	patarʔáriʔ	EGO	patarʔáriʔ	pínsan
−1	bápaʔ (báyiʔ)		ʔanák	bápaʔ (báyiʔ)	
−2	lakí/(ʔidú)	laki (ʔidú)			lakí (ʔidú)
−3	ʔumpút	ʔumpút			ʔumpút
−4	púpuʔ	púpuʔ			púpuʔ
−5 ∫ −n	ʔápu	ʔápu			ʔápu

Figure 3.   Diagram of Hanunoo-Mangyan terms for consanguines

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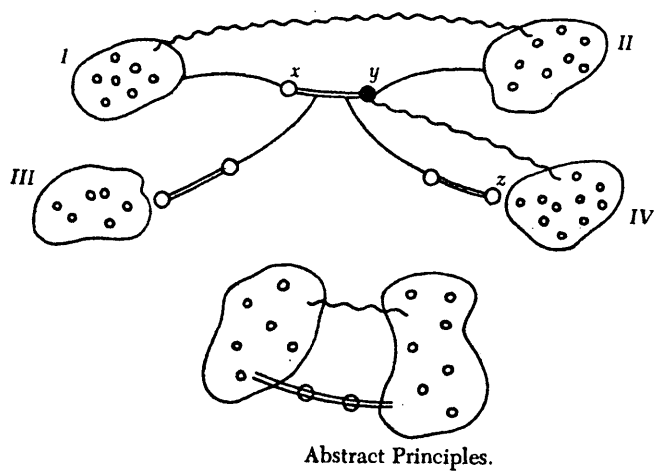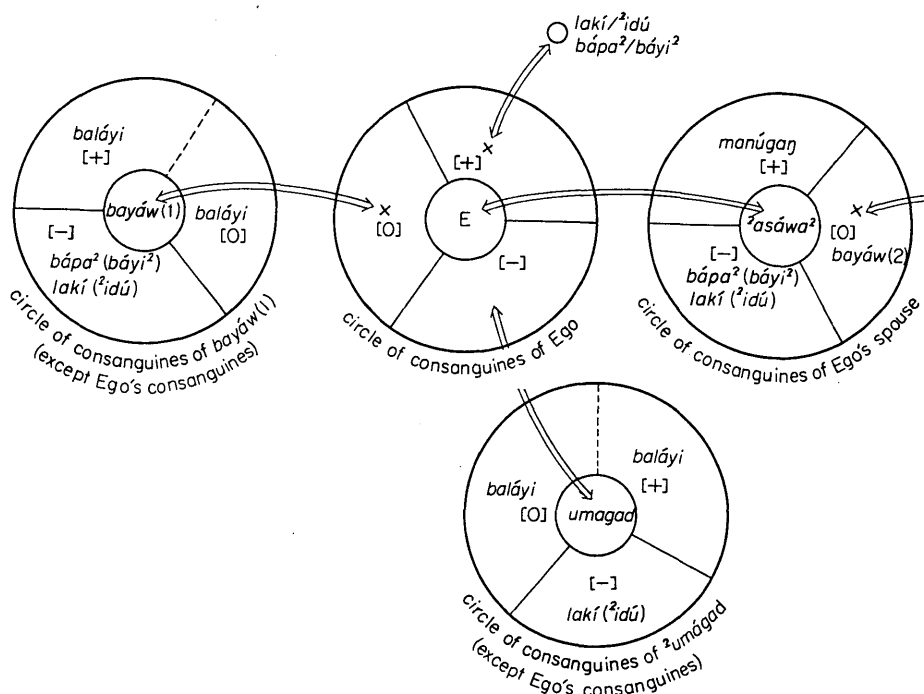
Abstract Principles.

Figure 4. "Explicit Hanunoo principles in reckoning kinship" by Conklin
[1964: 42]

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

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

2)   Out of six specific terms (except for consanguineal terms applied for affines), three terms, *balâyi*, *manûgaŋ* and *ʔumâgad*, are applied to different generations, i.e. *balâyi* to every generation, *manûgaŋ* to upper generations and *ʔumâgad* to lower generations.   The other three terms are applied to only one generation each.

3)   There are affines designated with terms used for consanguineal kin.   Namely, the terms applied to Ego's consanguines beyond GEN.0 (except for lineals in GENS.±1) are extended to their spouses, and terms used by Ego's spouse to designate the kin of the spouse (i.e. Ego's affines through the spouse) below GEN.0 are also employed by Ego to address and refer to them.

   It is complicated to find the variables which determine the terminology for affines.   Especially the usage of the term *balâyi* throws us into confusion.   With regard to this problem, Conklin [1964: 42, 46] introduces his "ethno-models", using "potato-like sketches" which were, according to him, made by his informants.   The drawings shown in his paper [CONKLIN 1964: 42] are copied in Figure 4.   In these
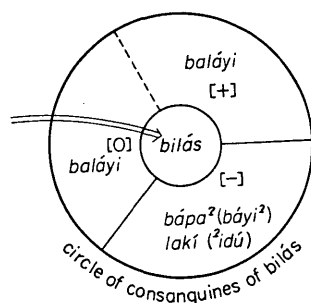
Figure 5.   Diagram of Hanunoo-Mangyan terms for affines

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

drawings, large enclosures indicate maximal consanguineal categories (*káway*), and small circles stand for individual kinsmen. The wavy lines illustrate, assuming x and y, and z and a child of y (also of x) are respectively spouses, that any member of *I* (*x*'s *káway*) is a *baláyi* of any member of *II* (*y*'s *káway*), and vice versa, and that y and x, together with the combined membership of *I* and *II*, are reciprocally *baláyi* of all members of *IV* (*z*'s *káway*). The same features are shown in the other sketch of Figure 4.

The problem here is that the ethnographic data collected in Panaytayan, Hawili and other neighboring settlements are not completely satisfied by the interesting model introduced by Conklin. According to his data, Da Hu Si So [No. 61 of Page 32 in CONKLIN 1964], for example, is *baláyi*. But this affine is designated as *bápa?* or *báyi?* in the settlements where I conducted research. To clarify the usage of affinal terms, I made a diagram (not complete) shown in Figure 5. The diagram illustrates that the category expressed in terms of *baláyi* is determined not only by the sequence of kinship ties (through marriage and consanguineal ties) but also by generation; i.e. consanguineal kin of such affines as *bayáw*, *bilás* and *?umágad* are not called *baláyi* if they are in lower generations than that of each of these affines. In other words, the examination of affinal terms will lead to the assumption that they are determined by the combination of consanguineal and conjugal ties and at the same time by the generational position of object and each of the consanguineal assemblies that link the object to Ego.

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

IV. SOCIAL GROUPS

1. FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD

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

Within a nuclear family, as already noted, a seniority principle is found. It is observed among the Batangan [MURATAKE & Y. KIKUCHI 1968: 33–34] and many other ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippines. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan, children are expected to show respect and to be obedient to their parents. The sibling link is strong and the elders are expected to take care of the youngers, while

the latter are to be obedient to the former.   It is often observed that an elder child of several years old takes care of his (or her) younger brothers and sisters while their parents are out doing swidden work.   The elder is, for example, expected to share food and other things with the younger brothers and sisters.   The strong bond among the siblings gives a basis to the relationship with cousins: the first cousin, especially, is considered similar to the sibling.

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

Inheritance of an individual's goods and property is made after he (or she) dies, but it must be done before *pasáka*, the rite held traditionally on the eighth day, when the members of the dead's nuclear family are released from prohibition: they can work in their swiddens after this rite [MIYAMOTO 1976: 234–235].

Gongs and blacksmithing equipment are each inherited by one of the children. Other goods and property are distributed equally, in principle, to the children regardless of sex, and sometimes to one or more grandchildren.   According to one of the cases of inheritance in Panaytayan:[5]

> On November 1, 1974, Imong of Panaytayan died.   He was a blacksmith (*pandáyan*).   He suffered from sickness for a long time.   Before he died, he told his wife Ulway to divide his goods and property equally among his children except for Noynoy, one of his daughters living in Kagankan with her husband and children.   Tipon, husband of Noynoy, had abused the family of Imong, saying that everybody of his family in Panaytayan was possessed by evil spirits. So, Imong did not like this son-in-law and his family.   Imong also added that a part of his goods must be given to Aloy, his favorite grandson (Dulit's son) who had always been very kind to him.   After the burial rite for Imong's corpse, his wife Ulway called her children (except Noynoy) and grandson. Imong's goods and property were divided among them (see Table 1, Figure 6). As for the blacksmithing set, Imong had said to his wife that it would belong to all the children except Noynoy.   He had also said that the cash obtained out of blacksmithing should be used for the payment of tax for the lands given by him and that the amount left would belong to Sangat who would become a blacksmith.   Sangat had learned the technique of blacksmithing from Imong. Ubid, father of Ulway was a blacksmith when Imong married her, and Imong learned the technique from his father-in-law and the set was given to him after the latter died.

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5)   All the personal names described here are fictious,

Table 1. Imong's goods and property inherited

Goods and property inherited \ Inheritors	Dulit (3rd child)	Sangat (4th child)	Uming (5th child)	Aloy (grandson)
RICE	3 kabán*	1 kabán	1/2 kabán	2 salúp**
BEADS				
reddish	1 balút***	1 balút	1 balút	—
white	1 silúpin****	2 silúpin	3 silúpin	—
COTTON SHIRTS (balúkas)	3	4	3	—
KNIVES				—
bolo	2	2	—	
small knife	—	5	4	—
CASH	30 pesos	30 pesos	—	—
GONG	—	—	1 pair	—
BLACKSMITHING SET	(1)	1 set	(1)	—
LAND	2 hectors	4 hectors	?	—

    * *kabán*: 75 liters
   ** *salúp* (ganta): 3 liters
  *** *balút*: length of a long necklace
 **** *silúpin*: length of a short necklace
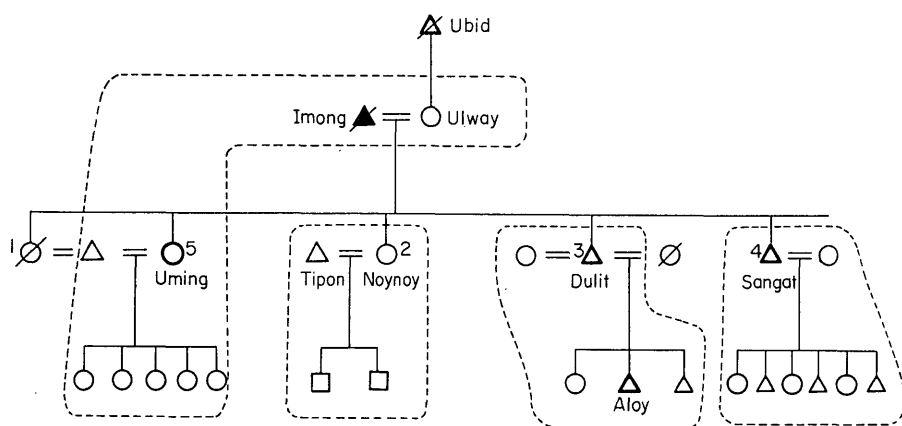
Figure 6. A case of inheritance: Imong and the families of his children

        Dotted line: circle of household
        Thick triangle and circle: inheritors

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

    As for the succession (*ʔilìsʔilìs*, 'replacement'), it is made in other ways. Objects

for succession are knowledge, technique and position for various kinds of folk medi-cinemen and ritual performers, such as *pamulúŋan* (herb doctor), *panhilútan* (healer by massage), *pamará²an* (medicineman possessing one or more sacred stones of *pamará²* spirits), *pandaniwan* (medicineman possessing one or more sacred stones of *dániw* spirits), *panugkutkútan* (ritual performer of exhumation of human bones), *manugbúgkos* (ritual performer of harvesting, binder of rice stalks), *panudlákan* (ritual performer of the first rice-seeds planting), and so on.   Among these, the position of the *panudlákan* alone is succeeded to strictly on the basis of kinship.   Since this is directly connected with the theme of the present paper, it will be examined later in detail.

Though the Hanunoo-Mangyan vocabulary lacks a specific term which corres-ponds to household, those living in one house (*baláy*) form a minimal co-residential and domestic group [BENDER 1967].   The typical Hanunoo-Mangyan house has one or two square rooms with elevated floors and, in many cases, a veranda (*pántaw*) outside.   Roughly speaking, it is made of wood (pillars), bamboo (pillars, frames and walls), *buri* (fan palm; walls) and cogon grass (roof).   Every household has one hearth (*dapóg*) on the floor of its house.   It is strictly prohibited to put plural hearths in one house.   Two hearths in one house are compared to the eyes of evil spirits.

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

In most settlements of the Mansalay region are found simple and small houses which appear different from the others.   They are called *baláy kan²ákan* ('house of unmarried boy') or *baláy darága²*('house of unmarried girl').   This kind of house is built near the parents' house and a boy or a girl at the age of puberty sleeps there at night.   A boy is called *kan²ákan* from the time when his voice changes until he gets married, and an unmarried girl who has experienced menstruation is called *darága²*. When a boy or a girl becomes a *kan²ákan* or a *darága²*, the cusps of his or her front teeth are flattened with a stone.   This custom was practiced before, but it is rare today.   The young boy or girl sleeps alone or together with his or her siblings, cousins or friends of the same sex who have also reached the age of puberty.   It is considered shameful for a boy or a girl to make a hearth in his or her house, though

the inhabitants do not know the reason.   Therefore, he (or she) temporarily makes a simple hearth of three rocks outside of his house and cooks there.   But he usually eats together with his parents and siblings at their house.   And he does not sleep at his house every night, but sometimes at the house of his parents.   In other words, an unmarried youth who has his (or her) own house is still a member of his parents' household, and his house is socially a part of his parents' house although the former is physically independent from the latter.

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

In most cases the courting is repeated many times afterwards.   When the boy and the girl decide to get married, she formally introduces him to her parents.   The boy stays with her, in the presence of her household members, almost all the time and works at their swidden for a certain period called *ʔagûman*.   Then the boy formally introduces her to his parents at their house.   This step is called *tabánun* ('accom-panying').   Some kinsman (usually an old person) of the boy acts as a go-between for both the boy's and girl's sides, settling the date of *harampáŋan* ('conversation').   On the scheduled day, the boy's father prepares rice and a pig for the feast, and goes to the house of the girl's parents with his wife.   The kinsmen of the boy and the girl wait for them to observe the *harampáŋan*.   The boy and the girl ordinarily sit down with their parents in the center of the participants.   If one of the parents is against the marriage, the rice and the pig are brought back by the boy's father: this means that the boy and the girl cannot marry.   If the parents of both sides and all the participants agree to their marriage, the rice and the pig are cooked and served to every body there.

The last step (i.e. the conversation and the feast) is not strictly required.   Even

if this step is omitted, the boy and the girl are socially admitted as a married couple. In the Mansalay region, in fact, they rarely have a conversation and a feast as a procedure for marriage. Once an unmarried boy settles in the house of the girl or in a newly made house and they come to have a hearth inside, people say that the two are "*ʔasáwa yi* (already a married couple)". The new couple then loses membership in the households to which they have belonged, and they form a new and independent household.

In traditional Hanunoo-Mangyan thought, as mentioned earlier, land is not to be possessed by an individual or by a social group. Instead, only agricultural plants and trees with fruits are owned privately by an individual or his (her) household. A swidden belongs to an individual and his household temporarily—only while the field is made and crops are planted there. In their society, it is an exception that the inhabitants of Panaytayan and some other neighboring settlements own lands and pay taxes for them.

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

2. AGGREGATES OF HOUSEHOLDS: SETTLEMENT AND LOCAL COMMUNITY

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

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

The settlement is a sort of hamlet designated as *kabaláyan* (<*baláy,* house). It is composed of one or a few clusters of houses. Each house cluster, which is sometimes called *kabaláyan,* too, consists of two or several adjacent houses. Generally, a settlement does not have a proper name. In order to indicate a settlement concretely, the personal name of an old inhabitant there is often used, as *kánda ni ʔúto ʔ* (Uto and the people), *kánda ni ʔúmhum* (Umhum and the people), *kánda ni gáwid* (Gawid and the people), etc. Most households in the same settlement are usually related to one another by close kinship ties. For any individual, in general, the inhabitants dwelling in his (or her) settlement are within the range of his *magtal ʔanákan* in the narrow sense (i.e. restricted kindred) or *magatal ʔanákan* in the broad sense (i.e. extended kindred). The households in the same settlement are considered to be *kamálay* (neighbors) to one another. Frequent visits, exchanges of food, labor and other gifts, lending and borrowing, and other reciprocal activities are practiced among them. Since there is no specific rule with regard to transference in and from a settlement, there are rather

frequent changes in its population. The settlement is nonetheless a discrete social group, possessing one or more springs for drinking water and functioning as an action group [BLEHR 1963] in swidden cultivation.

The settlement is, as mentioned earlier, generally surrounded by the forest. The inhabitants vaguely think that they can make swiddens in any forested area around their settlement if the sites are outside of tabooed areas. In late December or early January, they start finding places for making new swiddens in the forest. They ordinarily discuss beforehand where to make their farms so that the sites will not overlap. In case an inhabitant from a settlement of another local community wants to make a farm near their settlement, this discussion becomes more important. At the time of rice planting (early May to late June) and harvesting (early October to late November), the inhabitants of the settlement cooperate with one another, and enjoy feasts related to these agricultural activities. Before discussing the other level of aggregate of households, I will give a brief description of rice planting and harvesting.

Hanunoo-Mangyan farmers wait for the start of frequent rains and news arrives that the rite of first rice-seeds planting is finished and the tabooed term of the *panudlákan* (performer of this rite) ends. It is usually in early May that they start planting in their new swiddens. A number of workers, who are informed directly or indirectly by the owner of a swidden, go to his house early in the morning (about six o'clock) on the scheduled day. Most of them are, as mentioned above, inhabitants of his settlement and adjacent ones. Rice seeds and ritual paraphernalia are prepared by the owner. He kills a domestic and matured hen of *maragáŋ* (reddish color) and pours some drops of its blood on the rice seeds for ritual use. He does so early in the morning when it is still dark. Today this custom is no longer practiced in Hawili, Panaytayan and other neighboring local communities.

While the helpers are at the house or in the houseyard of the owner, he gets a stick of special wood called *ʔaliwas* (40–50 centimeters long), two sticks of special bamboo called *bagákay* (one is 100–120 centimeters long and the other about 20 centimeters long), a few branches of *daránaw* leaves (usually used as medicine for stomach-ache) and *táŋlad* leaves (usually used when bitten by a snake). He peels the *ʔaliwas* stick and makes a cross (*kudús*<Sp. cruz) with the two *bagákay* sticks.

When the working group arrives at the farm, the owner goes to one spot near one corner of it or near the center of it to perform a rite. He first puts the cross on the ground in front of him, and then he stabs the *ʔaliwas* stick into the ground. He does so five or seven times around the cross. He grasps a handful ritual rice seeds and pours them in the small holes made on the ground. After seeding, he puts up the *ʔaliwas* stick, the *daránaw* branches and the *táŋlad* leaves near the cross, and sets other ritual paraphernalia, such as a *búŋaʔ* (areca nut; so that rice would be abundant like areca nuts), a *liʔa* (ginger; so that rice would be protected by this plant, which is used as medicine for various kinds of diseases), *sambaribaʔ* (so that rice would become strong like this plant of American origin), a *súdlay* (comb; so that rice stalks would become beautiful like hair combed), etc. It is said that this rite of planting is a gift

to the *ʔápu páray* (owners or spirits of rice) or *kalág páray* (rice spirits), and that it calls these spirits inside the farm.

After this, the working group starts planting.   Some ten men make holes, jabbing into the ground with long wooden sticks obtained from the forest.   Other workers sow seeds in these holes.   When the planting is finished, all the wooden sticks used for making holes are put up in a circle around the cross and other ritual paraphernalia. According to the informants, they do so lest rice spirits invited inside the farm should leave it before harvesting.   The workers go back to the owner's house and are served cooked rice and side dishes.

When all the households of a settlement and those living in other places but having swiddens near this settlement finish rice harvesting, a special feast called *pamagʔúhan* takes place.   They go to one of the houses in the settlement where the feast is held, carrying a part of the newly harvested rice.

It is usually late at night that rice carried by the participants is winnowed completely.   First, a clay pot (*ʔáŋlit*) is placed on the hearth in the house.   A miniature bow and arrow (*salókob*) are laid at the bottom of the pot and covered with a piece of banana leaf, and then new rice and water are poured inside.   After cooking new rice in this manner, other rice to be served to the participants is cooked in other hearths instantly made of three rocks in the houseyard.   Before they eat cooked new rice, an offering of rice cooked in the clay pot is made to the rice spirits at one corner of the house.   Other cooked rice is placed in flat basketry trays and served to all the participants.

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

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

During the wet season, when rice plants and grains grow, a specific rite is carried out if a drought continues for many days.   This rite is called *panagdáhan* (<*sagdá*, 'propitiation').   To cite one case:

> In September, 1974, no rain fell for almost one month.   Since this month is important for the last growth of rice plants, people were afraid that all the rice

plants might be spoiled.   A few weeks after the drought started, there occurred several rumours concerning violations of the incest taboo by some Hanunoo-Mangyan youths in distant settlements.   Some inhabitants suspected that the drought might have been caused by those violations.

At the end of September, the old persons and other inhabitants of the Kagankan local community went down their mountains with rice and pigs to carry out a rite and a feast at a seacoast in the town of Mansalay.   A few days after this rite it started raining, and many inhabitants said that it was due to the rite carried out by the inhabitants of Kagankan: it propitiated the *ʔápu danúm*.

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

3.   CASE OF HAWILI

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

Hawili had a population of 67 persons in June and July, 1974, when I stayed there at intervals for an intensive survey.   The inhabitants regard this *ʔusá ka púʔok* (local community) as being composed of three settlements.   They may be called Settlements A, B and C respectively, as shown in the schematic map of Hawili (Figure 7).
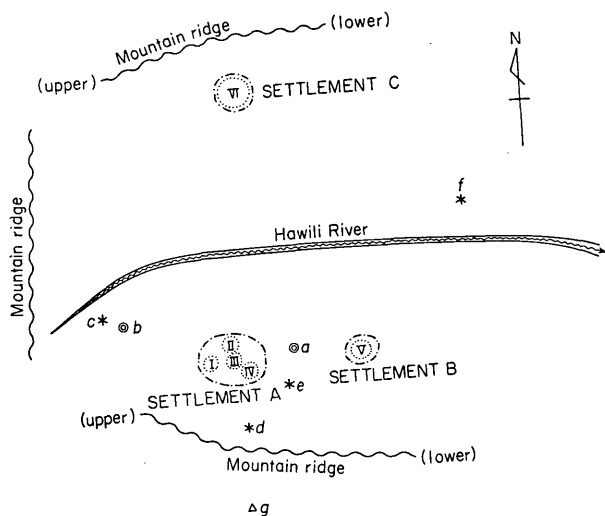

Figure 7.   Geographical setting of Hawili

Settlements A and B are located on rather flat sites to the north of a mountain whose ridge runs eastward. To the north of Settlement A is located Settlement C. It is on the southern side of another mountain whose ridge runs eastward. Between and at the bottom of these two mountains is a river called *sápa*ʔ*hawíli*ʔ (Hawili River). It flows eastward, starting from the mountain ridge which is to the west of Settlement A. In short, the Hawili local community is surrounded by mountain ridges to the north, west and south, commanding a distant view of the sea to the east.
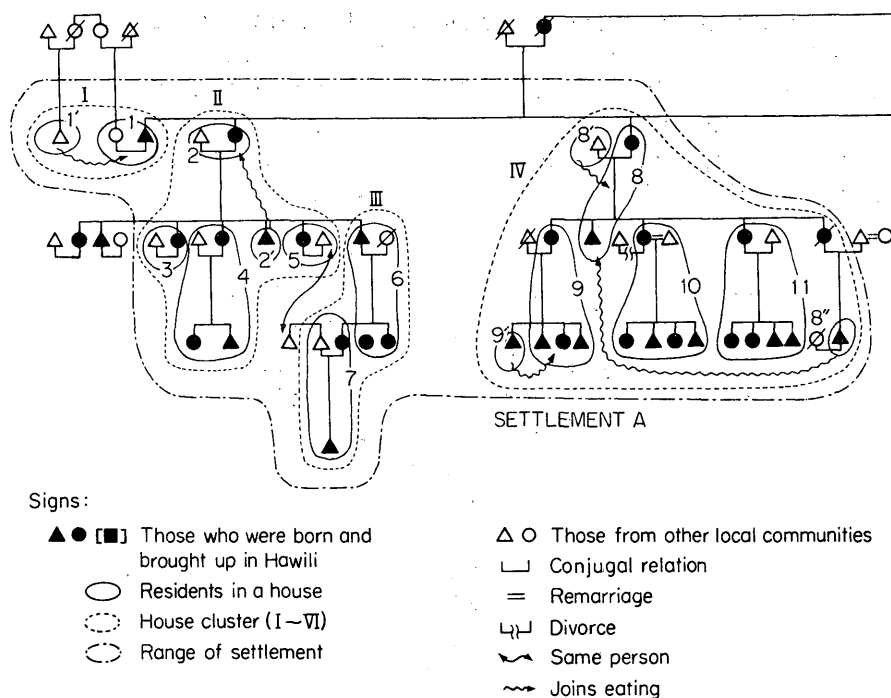
Although there is by no means a rigid line of territory, the inhabitants of Hawili think that they can make swiddens at any place in the forest which surrounds their settlement, with the exceptions of several sites. There are seven areas (*a* to *g* in Figure 7) where it is strictly prohibited to make a swidden, as in the following:

  a. *lubóŋan* (graveyard): Near and to the east of Settlement A. The corpses are buried inside. The bones are exhumed later.

  b. *púro*ʔ *mapákol* (thick woods named Mapakol): The graveyard where unexhumed corpses are buried. It is located to the northwest of Settlement A.

  c. *púro*ʔ *hawíli*ʔ (thick woods named Hawili): Near the headwaters of the Hawili River. It is believed to be a residence of evil spirits.

  d. *púro*ʔ *naba*ʔ*úŋan* (thick woods named Naba-ungan): To the south of Settlement A. It is believed to be a residence of evil spirits.

  e. *púro*ʔ *líday* (thick woods named Liday): To the southwest of Settlement A.

  f. *púro*ʔ *ma*ʔ*áyhay* (thick woods named Ma-ayhay): To the east, near the Hawili River.

  g. *púŋso daldálo* (termite mound): To the south of Settlement A.

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

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

There are 17 households (1–17) in Hawili, as shown in Figure 8. Out of 17 households, 15 are formed by members of a nuclear family. As for the other 2 households, one of them (household 1) includes one first cousin of the wife, and the other one (household 8) contains a grandson of its head. The head of a household, who takes a leading position in daily activities, is the father (or husband), and his

Signs:

▲ ● [■] Those who were born and brought up in Hawili
◯ Residents in a house
⬭ House cluster (I — Ⅵ)
⬭ Range of settlement

△ ○ Those from other local communities
⨆ Conjugal relation
= Remarriage
⨆⊣ Divorce
⌣ Same person
⌢ Joins eating

wife plays the role of a household head in the event of her husband's death. Households consisting of an extended family or polygamous family, or households including non-kinsmen are not found in this local community.

The genealogy of Hawili inhabitants illustrates the closeness of their kinship relationships: all the residents are closely related to one another by consanguineal or affinal ties (Figure 8). For the inhabitants of Settlement A, Settlement B is closest not only geographically (it takes only a few minutes to walk from Settlement A to Settlement B) but also genealogically, and vice versa for those of Settlement B. There are frequent visits and reciprocal relations between the inhabitants of these two settlements. Since Settlement C and Settlement A are at a relatively greater distance both geographically and genealogically, mutual visits are less frequent than those between Settlement A and Settlement B. The same can be said of the relation between Settlement C and Settlement B. Of the three settlements in Hawili, Settlement A is the largest in scale. It has the biggest population (about 61.2% of the Hawili population) in this local community. Naturally, this settlement provides the inhabitants of Hawili with the most convenient place for social intercourse. They consult old persons (male) when a conflict occurs among some inhabitants, and the number of elders is the biggest in Settlement A. One of the elders in this settlement is, as mentioned later in detail, the main person who tries to avoid troubles with Christian lowlanders. In Hanunoo-Mangyan tradition, the corpse of a dead person is buried in a graveyard located in the forest after certain funeral rites [MIYAMOTO
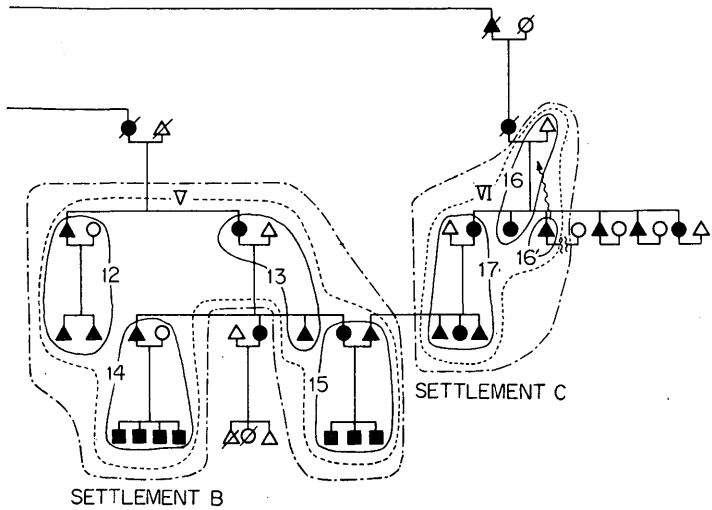
Figure 8. Households, settlements and genealogy in Hawili

1976: 231–33]. When an inhabitant dies, his (or her) corpse is usually buried in one of the two above-mentioned graveyards, both of which are located near Settlement A. Hawili has a ritual planter of the first rice-seeds (*panudlákan*), and all the performers of this rite in the past lived in Settlement A. In other words, Settlement A is the central settlement of Hawili not only in terms of population but also in terms of socio-political and ritual importance. In this paper, I call this type a "pivotal settlement".

It is said that long ago in Hawili there was only Settlement A and that the other two settlements were founded later, though the time is not known. This seems to be an interesting story in reference to the forms of Hanunoo-Mangyan settlements in olden times.

The settlements and local community of Hawili can be diagramed as in Figure 9. However, this diagram cannot be applied to all other local communities, for a person who tries to avoid conflicts with Christians is not found in each local community, and ritual performers of the first rice-seeds planting live only in a limited number of local communities. Thus, Hawili is not a typical local community in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society, but rather one of those that I intentionally chose for intensive research on the problem of bilateral kinship and leadership. But a local community lacking in figures of importance in socio-political and ritual contexts is also composed of plural settlements, and one of them plays a main part in the socio-political and ritual activities of the inhabitants. The settlement of this kind may be designated as a
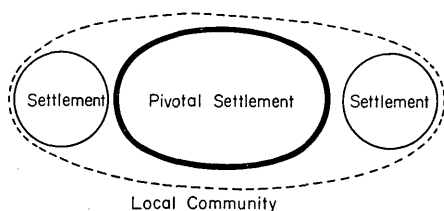
Figure 9. Settlements and
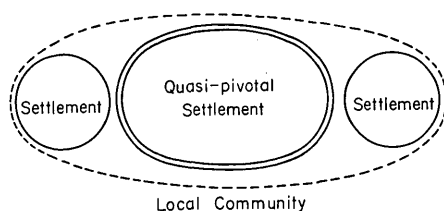local community (1)

Figure 10. Settlements and
local community (2)

"quasi-pivotal settlement". The local community with a quasi-pivotal settlement as its center can be diagramed as shown in Figure 10.

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

V. LEADERSHIP AND FAMILY LINE

1. Leadership in Socio-political Context

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

If some problem or conflict occurs between individuals that cannot be solved by them, it is discussed by their families. They visit the elders in their local community to ask their opinions if the conflict is not settled at the family level. Sometimes a *kasába* (case) is held at the house of one of the elders, where many inhabitants of this local community get together to observe it.

There are five elders in Hawili. Their age is not known, for the Hanunoo-Mangyan people do not customarily count and remember the ages of individuals. Three of these elders live in Settlement A (households 1, 2, 8), one in Settlement B (household 13) and the other one in Settlement C (household 16). Of these five, only one elder of Settlement A was born and brought up in Hawili. He is Gawid (fictious name) of household 1. This man has lived in Settlement A since birth, though he temporarily stayed in his wife's settlement for a short time after marriage. The other four were born in the settlements of other local communities and moved into Hawili long ago, after marriage.

All of these elders are respected by the other inhabitants of Hawili. They are knowledgeable in the Hanunoo-Mangyan customary law, and they are expected to be

the main persons in solving problems and conflicts among the inhabitants. The consultants or arbitrators of this sort are commonly found in each local community in the Mansalay region, and elders gradually perform this function. In case a conflict between the inhabitants of different local communities is not solved for a long time, the elders of both sides become important as arbitrators. However, when it comes to conflicts with Christian lowlanders (such as in land grabs), the situation differs. Most of the elders become passive and incapable in case, for instance, inhabitants complain to them that a Christian lowlander built a house on their farm after harvesting.

Beyond the mountain ridge to the northwest of Hawili, there is a wide area. It has long been used as a pasture by Christians. The inhabitants of a local community located in a lower region near the Hawili River often associated with the residents of Hawili before. But the former have had less contacts with the latter since they began to work under a Christian "boss" at low wages. Thus, the inhabitants of Hawili, like those in other local communities, have faced a situation in which the Christian impact is near at hand.

Under such a situation, the one who has been in a position to solve problems occurring between Hawili inhabitants and Christian lowlanders is Gawid, the old person of household 1. He is by no means a formal socio-political leader. The inhabitants never say that he is their *puno?* (leader). However, careful observation reveals that he is not only one of the consultants or arbitrators but also a figure who plays a leader-like role with regard to the Hawili inhabitants' political attitudes toward the Christian world.

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

It was at this time that I came to doubt the viewpoint that there is no socio-political leader in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society. Later, I knew that this old man was afraid that I might be a school teacher, a Christian missionary, a municipality or tax officer, or a business man who might be engaged in pasture land business. It seems that all possible suspicions ordinarily raised toward non-Mangyan outsiders had occurred to him. And when he knew that I was from Japan, he even suspected that I might be a person affiliated with the Japanese military.[6]

The inhabitants of Hawili sometimes (not often) visit Barrio Panaytayan. This barrio is an exceptional settlement in the Hanunoo-Mangyan region. It is located on a rather flat area about 300 meters above sea level. It takes almost one hour and

a half to walk from the town of Mansalay to this barrio.   This settlement was formerly called Idda (*ida*), and it is said that there were only several houses there before World War II.   It was officially registered as a barrio of Mansalay some ten years ago.   An elementary school was built in this barrio, and a Catholic missionary from Holland assigned there has been engaged in the Mangyan development project as a part of his mission work.   When I first visited this barrio, there were 29 households. In the center of the barrio site is a church simply made of wood, bamboo, and cogon grasses.   Mass is celebrated there every Sunday, and the inhabitants of this barrio and neighboring settlements attend it.   After Mass, they enjoy chatting, or go to the small store near the church or to the clinic made as a part of the development project. Today there is a barrio captain called with the Tagalog word *kapitán* (<Sp. capitán) in Panaytayan.   He was elected to this office by the inhabitants of this barrio and neighboring settlements.   In the context of the lowlanders' political organization, he is administratively the political leader of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.   However, very few Hanunoo-Mangyan view him as their leader.

The inhabitants of Hawili sometimes go to Barrio Panaytayan to visit their friends, to buy salt and matches at the small store, or to undergo medical treatment at the clinic.   But they never attend Mass at the church of this barrio.   No child has, ever been sent to elementary school in Panaytayan in spite of the fact that it takes less than one hour to walk from Hawili to this barrio.   According to Gawid, the inhabitants of Hawili do not like to be baptized, for they want to keep their own religion as handed down by their parents and old persons.   Children themselves seem to have a slight hope to join the Hanunoo-Mangyan pupils at school in the barrio. But, according to a young informant living in Hawili, they have been told by old persons not to go to school.   And the opinion of these persons seems to have been led by Gawid.   The young informant also maintained that Gawid was afraid that if the children are sent to school, they might be forced to be baptized and undergo military service, as Christian highschool students are doing.

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

Thus, Gawid has been influencing the inhabitants to be careful not to become involved in the Christian world, and he has tried to keep smooth interpersonal relations with Christian outsiders.   It seems that this old man is playing a role of avoiding troubles with Christian lowlanders by means of keeping them at a respectful distance. In other words, he is a sort of go-between or "diplomat" for Hawili with respect to

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6)   At the time of World War II, the Japanese soldiers beaten by Filipino guerrillas ran away into mountainous areas where Hanunoo-Mangyan people lived.   According to some old Hanunoo-Mangyans, the inhabitants ran into the forest in great fear to hide themselves when they saw armed Japanese soldiers, and some inhabitants were shot by the soldiers.

Christian outsiders, and he may be regarded as an informal (or concealed) socio-
political leader in this local community.   Although definite data were not obtained,
his grandfather (mother's father) seems to have also been in the position of informal
socio-political leader when he was alive.   No data could be obtained with regard to
the situation before his generation.

The old man, who can be considered a sort of socio-political leader from the
researcher's point of view, is respected by the inhabitants of Hawili.   He is regarded
as a man of intelligence (judging things carefully and correctly) who knows a great
deal about their tradition and takes good care of others.   Among the five old men in
Hawili, Gawid alone can speak the Tagalog and Visayan languages fluently, and he
often serves foods to the vistors in his comparatively big house.   It seems that these
are the factors which make it possible for him to maintain his leadership.   However,
the examination of the genealogy of Hawili residents (Figure 8) indicates another
factor.

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

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

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

The other two cases of virilocal residence in Hawili are explained by the inhabi-
tants in terms of the location of swiddens.   The two couples (households 12 &
14) once stayed at the wife's settlement in Kagankan and had a swidden farm near
there.   It is said, however, that they transferred to the husband's settlement in
Hawili because they can enjoy better swiddens there than in the Kagankan area.
Nevertheless, no explanation was made by the inhabitants with regard to the virilocali-
ty of Gawid and his wife.   The settlement of his wife is located in a place suitable
for swidden cultivation.   The interesting point is that his mother's father, who was

also in the position of informal socio-political leader, also practiced virilocal residence.

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

It was at the final stage of fieldwork that I noticed the importance of this problem, and my research on the social organization was limited; therefore, it is not known whether or not the above-mentioned observation can be applied to other local communities.

In the Hanunoo-Mangyan society, we can find informal socio-political leaders, but not a formal leader whose position is passed on through a certain family-line. However, the situation differs in relation to the sociological aspect of the *panudlákan*, ritual performer of the first rice-seeds planting.

2. PANUDLÁKAN: RITUAL PLANTER OF THE FIRST RICE-SEEDS

It is not an exaggeration to state that the daily life of the Hanunoo-Mangyan centers around swidden activities. Their staple foods (*karanʔúnun*) are rice (*páray*, unhusked rice; *binugás*, husked rice; *páʔig*, cooked rice), root crops such as *kamútiʔ* (Sp. camote, sweet potato), *kayukayúʔ* (cassava), *ʔúbi* (great yam), *siŋgapúr* (large taro) *maʔis* (<Sp. maíz, corn), and so forth. Although their production of rice is very poor and they seldom eat it as staple food (rice is important for rites and feasts), their biggest concern in their swidden activities is dedicated to its cultivation.

In Hanunoo-Mangyan belief, all kinds of plants, as well as animals and human beings, have spirits (*kalág*). The cultivation of rice is believed to be impossible without the power of *kalág páray* (rice spirits). It is said that rice plants in a swidden can grow only while the farm is full of rice spirits and that those plants wither as soon as the spirits leave them.

The inhabitants remark that no one can see rice spirits. But in their belief, rice spirits are small and have wings like *daldálo* (termites), and hence they can fly about

in the forest. They are fond of quiet places, and they hate fire, loud noises and voices, and so forth.

Rice spirits are believed to have a home of their own. Some folktales tell about the origin of rice. According to one story: "Long, long ago, there was no rice in Mindoro. A dog barked, but no rice appeared. A cat mewed. Then rice arrived in Mindoro from the south," Another story tells: "Long ago, Mindoro was full of rice plants. One day all of them disappeared. Malway[7] took a dog to the forest to call them back. The dog barked. But no rice came back. Then, he took a cat to the same place in the forest. The cat mewed. Then Malway heard somebody sobbing. It was rice plant. The rice (female) said that all the others had left, but that she could not follow them since the cat mewed at the moment when she was about to do so. The other rice plants went home to Panay (name of an island in the Bisaya region, to the south of Mindoro)." Although most informants maintain that nobody knows where the home of rice spirits is located, it seems that there is a belief among the Hanunoo-Mangyan that it was originally to the south. They only remark that the world of rice spirits is located far in the forest and even beyond the sea. When the ceremony of rice harvesting is over, the rice spirits leave the world of men and go back home. And they come back to the forest near newly made swiddens, following the order of Binaye, a female spirit dwelling in the *púŋso daldálo* (termite mound). It is said that the termite mounds of this kind are found in the forested areas near specific settlements. Settlement A of Hawili is one of them. The inhabitants of Hawili believe that Binaye, the *ʔápu púŋso* (owner of the termite mound), has the power of controlling rice spirits.

The rite of the first rice-seeds planting is performed every year, usually late in April. Nobody can plant rice before this rite is held and a certain period passes. The most important person in this rite is the *panudlákan*, possessor of a ritual stone called *batú tudlák* (stone of the *tudlák* spirit) which is specifically used for this rite. The Hanunoo-Mangyan *panudlákan* are found only in a limited number of settlements. As mentioned earlier, there is an old woman in Hawili who possesses a ritual stone of this kind.

On the day of *láti ʔ* (crescent moon) in April, the *panudlákan* of Hawili makes preparations for the rite held on the following morning. The rite is composed of three steps.[8]

1) *pagpaʔúyaʔ* ...... The pouring of blood on the ritual stone and rice seeds with an invocation by the *panudlákan* inside her house.

2) *panudlák* ...... Ritual planting of rice seeds and other agricultural crops at a termite mound.

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7) Name of a folkloric hero. Among the Hanunoo-Mangyan there are a great number of folktales called *súyot* which tell about the activities of two persons, Malway (slow person) and Daldali (or Dalidali, hasty person).

8) I missed the chance of observing the rite. Therefore, the information presented here was obtained through interviews with the *panudlákan,* her son and grandson and also with some residents of Hawili.

3) *karán²an* ...... Feast.

The ritual paraphernalia for the first step are the ritual stone, the *táya* (coconut-shell bowl), one handful of unhusked rice grains, one hen of *maragáŋ* (reddish color), and a *siyáw* (small knife).   For the second step, the *panudlákan* prepares a *kudús* (cross) made of *bagákay* bamboo, one stick of *²alíwas*, several small branches of *táŋlad* leaves, and agricultural crops such as ginger (one piece), banana (one piece), taro (one piece), yam (one piece), sweet potatoes (three pieces), sugar cane (one short piece), corn (three grains) and pigeon peas (three pieces).   These crops are put inside a basket together with the cross, the *²alíwas* and the *táŋlad* leaves.

At about seven o'clock in the morning, almost all the inhabitants of Hawili go to the houseyard of the *panudlákan* and wait for the commencement of *pagpa²úya²*.

Inside the house is the *panudlákan* alone.   No one else is allowed to enter the house during the *paga²úya²*.   She sits down near the hearth, and places the ritual stone inside the coconut-shell bowl.   Then she also puts the rice seeds in the bowl. It is only at this time that people can see the stone which is a black and round one of some ten centimeters in diameter.   The *panudlákan* has to keep it secretly inside her house at other occasions: therefore, nobody else, except for her successor, knows where it is hidden.   She cuts one part of the hen's neck with her knife and drips several drops of the blood on the stone and the rice seeds inside the bowl.   While doing this, she murmurs an invocation, as in the following:

 pag²uyáhi di² tanán táwu, (May all the people enjoy good harvest.)
and also,

 dáŋa makúri² ti ²ilámnun. (May the weeding not be difficult.)

The blood pouring (*pagdúg²on*) and the invocation (*daráŋin*) are specifically designated as *pagpa²úya²*.   It is strictly prohibited to use a hen of other colors or a rooster for this rite.   The hen of reddish color must be a domestic one, and it is considered *da²ót* (bad, misfortune) to sacrifice any wild animal obtained from the forest.   The meat of the hen killed at this rite is later cooked in soup for the following feast.   During the *pagpa²úya²*, the participants observes the performance of the *panudlákan* from the platform or the houseyard.   When she finishes the invocation, she suddenly leaves her house with the ritual stone and the rice seeds in the bowl and other ritual paraphernalia prepared on the previous day.   She must not talk to anybody when she leaves the place.   She walks alone towards the termite mound that is located in the forest.   It takes about half an hour to go there.   It is strictly prohibited for others to accompany her.

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

When she arrives at the termite mound, she first puts up the *bagákay* cross on the highest and central part of it, directing the horizontal crosspiece along the north-south axis.   It is said that the cross should be placed "*balítaŋ sa ²ínit* (crossing the sun-

way)", similar to the roof ridge of a house. According to some old persons in Hawili, it must be directed towards Panay since that is the home of the rice spirits. She makes seven holes on the ground around the cross and plants the rice seeds in each hole.   Then, the ʔaliwas stick, the táŋlad sprays and the ginger are placed beside the base of the standing cross. After this, all the crops carried are planted around the cross.   Thus, the termite mound itself becomes a yûgmak (miniature swidden). When the panudlákan finishes the ritual planting, she goes home. If someone observes the panudlákan performing this rite, it is said that the planter cannot call Binaye even with the help of tudlák spirit in the sacred stone. It means that the rice seeds to be planted in the inhabitants' farms will not grow because this female spirit never calls the rice spirits from their world. Among the Buhid are also found ritual performers of this kind.   When I conducted short-term fieldwork (April 14–19 and May 17–24, 1974) among the Buhid in the Kiyanaw-Inungdungan area, I got information through interviews that the ritual planter later harvests the rice grains from the miniature farm and keeps them in a bamboo container for the next rite of planting.   However, this custom is absent in the case of Hawili.

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

In addition to a few tabooes concerning this rite, there are still several prohibited matters.   On the day of the rite, all the participants are banned from shaking trees or digging holes in the ground.   These acts are considered daʔôt (misfortune), for they will, according to the belief of the Hawili inhabitants, cause big typhoons that the rice spirits hate, and result in a poor harvest.   A set of prohibitions is also imposed upon the panudlákan for the following seven days.   This period is referred to as kalhiʔan dudlák, and the panudlákan is prohibited from shaking trees, eating foods other than rice and sweet potatoes as a main dish, eating at the house of anyone else and having sexual intercourse.

When this period is over, anyone can start planting rice at his farm.   There is a rule that he must not plant rice before the end of the rite by the panudlákan and the following taboo period.   If he violates this rule, it is believed to arouse the anger of Binaye and hence this spirit never calls rice spirits from their world: i.e. a poor harvest is brought about not only to the violator but also to other inhabitants in Hawili and neighboring local communities.   This rule must be firmly obeyed not only by the inhabitants of Hawili, but also by all those dwelling in Panytayan, Kagan-kan, Amaga, Ambulong, Budburan and other neighboring local communities.   That is, the inhabitants of these local communities can start planting rice at their swiddens only seven days after the rite of the first rice-seeds planting by the panudlákan of Hawili.   And the local communities affiliated commonly with the same panudlákan are collectively referred to as pagkaʔusâhan (one area).

The panudlákan are found also in Yagaw [CONKLIN 1957: 89], Wasig, Malang-og

and some other local communities (the exact number and locations are not known), and each *pagka²usâhan* seems to be formed with one *panudlâkan* as a central figure. Unlike the settlement and the local community, the *pagka²usâhan* lacks in the function of a social group, constituting a grouping only at the occasion of the ritual planting of the first rice-seeds by its *panudlâkan*.   The grouping is formed on the basis of nothing but locality: accordingly, if one transfers to another *pagka²usâhan*, he comes to be affiliated with the *panudlâkan* there in connection with the rite of first rice-seeds planting.

   The ritual stone of *tudlâk* spirit is passed on from the parent to one of the children.   Maymay (fictious name), present *panudlâkan* of Hawili (household 8 in Figure 8, also see Figure 11), inherited the ritual stone from her mother Budbud (fictious name) about a dozen years ago when the latter was still alive.   It was not that May-may wanted to become a *panudlâkan* but that her mother told her to succeed to the position.   Budbud taught her daughter how to perform the rite of rice-seeds planting. Maymay remembers the names of other two *panudlâkan* in the past.   Budbud received the stone from her father Lukmay (fictious name), and Lukmay from his mother Pula (fictious name).   The inhabitants maintain that the ritual stone has been passed on from a parent to a child through many generations, and that the person who first possessed it must have been the founder of Settlement A of Hawili.   In general, the
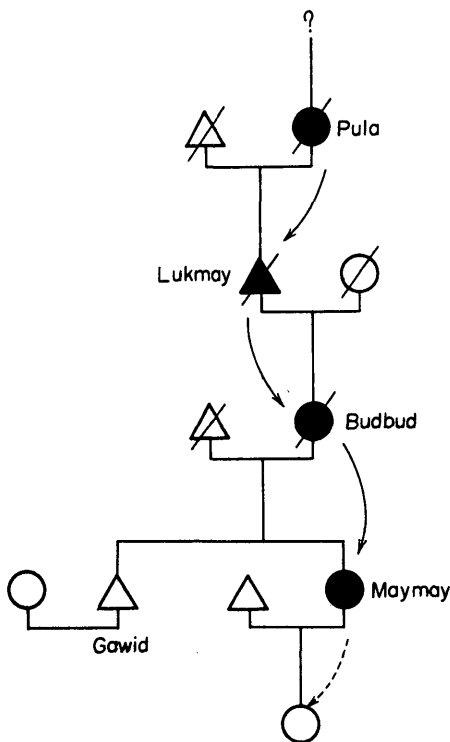

Figure 11.   Succession to the position of *panudlâkan*

panudlákan selects one of his/her children in his/her settlement as a successor. There is no rule with regard to the sex of the successor. Maymay believes that the ritual stone will be handed down to one of her daughters who stays in Settlement A (household 10).

For the Hanunoo-Mangyan, it means the end of agricultural activities if the succession line ceases: the *linâhi?* (genealogical line) of *panudlákan* maintained within the same settlement until today must be continued in the future as well. For this purpose, a child is needed. Therefore, when the *panudlákan* decides to which son or daughter he/she should hand down the ritual stone, he/she excludes his/her son or daughter who has no child and those who live in other settlements.

In Wasig there lives another *panudlákan*, a sister of the informal socio-political leader in this local commnity. This position is succeeded to in the same manner as in Hawili, i.e. on the basis of the ambilineal principle. As for other *panudlákan*, no data were obtained.

VI. COMPOSITION AND ORIENTATION OF HANUNOO-MANGYAN SOCIETY

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

It seems that Conklin [1957] saw the Hanunoo-Mangyan society as a bilateral and leaderless one. He summarized their social organization as in the following:

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

It sounds as if this description would not elicit any objection. But if limited within this point of view, it is impossible to give an explanation to the facts with regard to the *panudlákan* and the informal leader as found in Hawili.

If focus is placed on its social functions, the settlement as an aggregate of households can be regarded as a local kin group [MURRAY 1973] with a tinge of a corporate group. And the corporateness is extended to the level of the local community. The *pagka?usáhan*, aggregate of local communities, lacks in social corporateness. It is organized only at the ritual level with a *panudlákan* as its center. Each *pagka?usáhan* can be regarded as a "*panudlakán*-centered local cult grouping," and it may be

possible to state that the whole Hanunoo-Mangyan society is composed of plural
pagka?usâhan, as shown in the diagram of Figure 12.

The *panudlâkan* dwelling in the pivotal settlement of each *pagka?usâhan* may be
considered as a sort of institutionalized or formal magico-religious leader. The
position is, together with the ritual stone, passed on monolineally [MABUCHI 1971:
49–50] from a parent to one of the children on the basis of the ambilineal principle
within a particular family. In other words, it is possible to point out the presence of
one "*panudlâkan* family-line" based on an ambilineal (monolineal) succession line in
each *pagka?usâhan.* The family-line of this sort can be referred to as a "pivotal
family-line", since no other kinds of solid succession line are found in the Hanunoo-
Mangyan society. And it must be noticed that the *panudlâkan* family-line structurally
resembles the "axial family-lines" found among the Batangan [MURATAKE & Y.
KIKUCHI 1968] and a few other ethnolinguistic groups in Mindoro.

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

The Buhid are swidden agriculturists dwelling in the south central strip of Mindo-
ro Island. The population of this ethnolinguistic group is estimated at more than

Ⓟ Pivotal settlement with a *panudlâkan*

◎ Quasi–pivotal settlement

O Settlement which is not either pivotal or quasi-pivotal

⁖⁖ Range of a local community
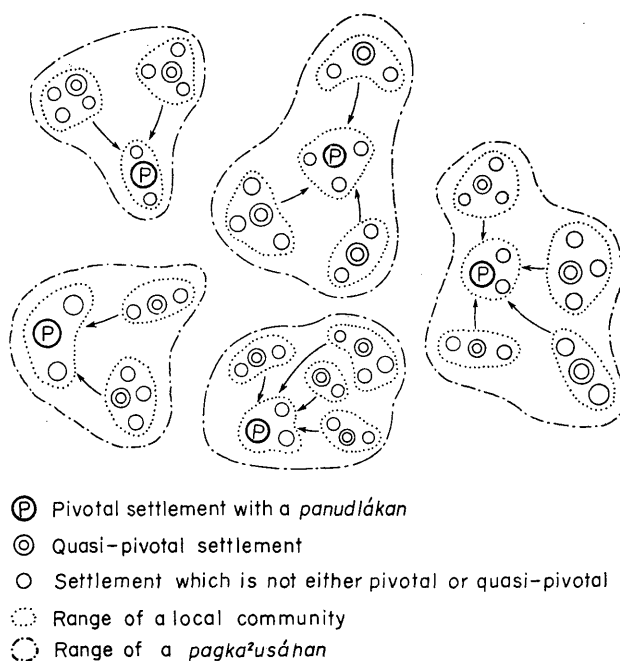
⊙ Range of a *pagka²usâhan*

Figure 12. Composition of Hanunoo-Mangyan society as an aggregate
of local cult groupings

2,000 (perhaps more than 3,000 before the smallpox epidemic in 1950) by Conklin [1953: 1]. They were reported as "Buhil" more than thirty years ago by Gardner [1943: 65–72]. In his report is found an interesting description on their leader:

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

This passage, which suggests the presence of formal socio-political leadership passed through an agnatic line, motivated me to carry out several fieldtrips to the Buhid areas during fieldwork among the Hanunoo-Mangyan [MIYAMOTO 1974]. The data presented here were obtained through short-term fieldwork of May 17–24, 1973, in the Manihala area.

The Buhid settlement called Manihala or "Sitio Palanan" is located in the mountainous area of Bongabong. In this area, settlements are scattered separately without forming a local community like the ʔusá ka púʔok of the Hanunoo-Mangyan.

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

The Manihal settlement has been under the "development project" of protestant missionaries who live in the lowland region of Bongabong. The Buhid inhabitants in this mountainous area have suffered for a long time from the impact of Christians (mainly Ilokanos) who became unable to maintain their livelihood in the lowland Tagalog society, and whose lands were reduced by the invasion of the latter. It is said that many houses stood together in the Manihala settlement long ago when there was no influx of Christian lowlanders, and that a great number of Buhid people lived in abundance under the guidance of a leader called hatiwaláʔan or hatúlan.

In Manihala there lives an old man who has been appointed to the position of konsehál (<Sp. concejal, 'councilman') by the municipal office of Bongabong. Before this settlement was officially registered as one of the sitios of Bongabong, he had been designated as hatiwaláʔan (or hatúlan). Whenever a conflict occurred among the inhabitants, he was asked to solve it with his knowledge of their customary law. He was also a negotiator for the solution of troubles which occurred between Buhid inhabitants of Manihala and Christians.

Although it is regarded as ideal for a man, as noted above, to transfer to his wife's settlement after marriage, this old man has never changed his residence since his birth.   He says that this is because his father and grandfather did the same.   Most of the residents of this settlement are his consanguineal kin, and others are male affines who immigrated there after marriage.   He is respected and regarded as a leader or a representative of this settlement by all other inhabitants even today.   It is only this old person who is a fluent speaker of Tagalog and Ilokano languages and knows completely the traditional bamboo script.   It is said that these were necessary conditions to become a *hatiwalâʔan*.   According to the old man, he learned them from his father when he was a young boy.   Today, the old man keeps a thin rope about eighty centimeters in length, with thirty eight knots.   These knots show the number of Manihala residents and those who left this settlement.   If a baby is born, or a new inhabitant joins this settlement (usually by marriage), a knot is added to the rope. When a resident dies, another knot at one end of this rope is cut off and buried with the corpse in the graveyard.   This rope was handed down to him by his father.   It was considered to be one of the obligations of the *hatiwalâʔan* to keep this rope.

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

In the past, the *hatiwalâʔan* was also a medicineman and a ritual planter of the first rice-seeds, keeping the two ritual stones indispensable for these positions. Among the Buhid, similar to the Hanunoo-Mangyan, there is a belief that a person becomes sick when his soul (*fâlad*) leaves his body for fear of evil spirits (*labâŋ*), and that he dies when the soul does not come back.   One of the ritual stones was used before to repel evil spirits.   Since the missionaries mentioned above started their mission activities in this settlement, they have, according to the old man, continued to tell the inhabitants that they should forget and abandon all their customs for it is bad to practice them.   A radio on which only sermons in Tagalog can be heard was placed in the house of the old person by the missionaries.   He followed their advice and threw away his ritual stones in the forest, so he is not performing the roles of medicineman and ritual planter any more.   Before, however, these two kinds of ritual stones were also necessary conditions to be a *hatiwalâʔan*, and they were passed on together with the above-mentioned rope from father to son.

Thus, the *hatiwalâʔan* of Manihala in the past was institutionally both a socio-political leader and a magico-religious leader.   The roles played separately by an informal socio-political leader and by a *panudlâkan* (and also medicinemen like a *pandaniwan* and a *pamarâʔan*) in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society were fulfilled by the

same figure in this Buhid settlement.   And the socio-political and magico-religious leadership was succeeded to monolineally through an agnatic line from father to son. It can be stated, therefore, that the settlement of Manihala had an atmosphere of a corporate group with one solid "*hatiwalá?an* family-line" based on an agnatic succession line.

It is the leadership of the Alangan that structurally resembles the *hatiwalá?an* of the Manihala Buhid.   According to Y. Kikuchi [1975], the Alangan have traditionally lived in big houses called *paykamalayan*.   Three to twenty nuclear families live in one big house, forming a local group.   And in each local group is a man designated as *kuyay*, who is in a position to keep peace and order among the residents in his local group as a socio-political leader ('caretaker' in Y. Kikuchi's term) and to act as a ritual performer at the planting and harvesting ceremonies.   His title is succeeded to through a male line, ideally by his first son.   According to Muratake & Y. Kikuchi [1968], the head, called *tanuŋan*, of the Batangan, too, is both a socio-political leader and magico-religious leader (possessor of a ritual plate which is used for curing a person of disease by beating it), and the succession to this position is made through a male line.   In other words, the formal socio-political leadership and magico-religious leadership are attributed to the same figure among the Manihala Buhid (in the past), the Alangan and the Batangan.   It may be possible to call this kind of society a "formal socio-political leader＝magico-religious leader centered cognatic society."

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

Later, Y. Kikuchi [1973] reconsidered the Batangan society, and presented his viewpoint:

> From an ego-centered grouping in tradition, the social system of the Batangan
> is developing with corporate political, social and economic features (verband),
> which the writer believes has led to a local grouping within a monolineal atmos-
> phere—a political leader (caretaker)-oriented kin group or *Gaban*-oriented
> kin group. [Y. KIKUCHI 1973: 11]

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

It seems to me that the informal socio-political leader (internal and external), as seen in Hawili, emerged from internal consultants (elders) under a situation where the political impact of Christian lowlanders could not be avoided.   Actually no solid succession line of socio-political leadership is found in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society.   But the fact that the informal socio-political leader and the *panudlâkan* in Hawili (also in Wasig) are siblings and one of the former *panudlâkan* (the grandfather of the present *panudlâkan*) was once an informal socio-political leader suggests the hypothesis that the *panudlâkan* family-line forms a basis which would accept an emergence of a formal socio-political leader.   This possibility can be inferred from the cases of other ethnolinguistic groups (Manihala Buhid, Alangan and Batangan) in Mindoro.   In short, it may be stated that the present Hanunoo-Mangyan society is a "magico-religious leader (and informal socio-political leader) centered society" and that it is in a transitional process towards a "formal socio-political and magico-religious leader centered society."

VII. CONCLUSION

The Hanunoo-Mangyan territory has gradually been reduced, legally or illegally, by Christian lowlanders.   It may not be an overstatement to maintain that the history of their contacts with lowlanders is the product of their attempts to escape from socio-political impacts of the latter.   The sex and marriage regulations which prohibit the Hanunoo-Mangyan from marrying lowlanders can be interpreted as a passive resistance to the latter—an attempt to prevent their invasion of the social world of this weak ethnolinguistic group through marriage.   Only when they realize the threat to the survival of their society posed by the Christian lowlanders, will the informal socio-political leaders of the Hanunoo-Mangyan begin to assume a more important role. Although it is impossible to point out the presence of a discrete corporate group in the Hanunoo-Mangyan society, it can be stated that this society has, as shown in the Hawili case, a tinge or atmosphere of corporate groupings.

My fieldwork was limited to those areas with which lowlanders can make contact rather easily.   Since it is not possible to present a complete picture of the Hanunoo-Mangyan social world on the basis of data obtained from this limited area, I have been able to postulate only a rough hypothesis.   To pursue further the topic of the present paper, intensive research is needed in other settlements, such as the following:

1)   Settlements which are adjacent to the Christian areas; e.g. those in Bulalacao and Mana-ol.
2)   Settlements which are adjacent to the Buhid areas; e.g. those in Sinariri and Tagaskan.
3)   Settlements where inhabitants have little contact with either Christians or Buhid people.

When the occasion to conduct fieldwork in these settlements arises, I will attempt to consider the problem of "cultural drift" [EGGAN 1941] within the Hanunoo-Mangyan region, in relation to their ecological and cosmological settings.

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