

“SONG OF WOMEN”?: A REFLECTION ON SINGING AND GENDER COMPLEMENTARITY IN MODERNIZING INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES IN NORTHERN PHILIPPINE HIGHLANDS

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Abstract

Salidummay, a cohort of modern folk songs observed in different places of northern Philippines, has often been performed by a group of married women since around the 1960s. It has been described in a certain context as “song of women” in both emic narrative and etic accounts. However, in the case of a remote village in western Kalinga of the same region, salidummay is performed by both sexes and both in solo and group quite arbitrarily. Closer observation reveals the ostensible paradox that “song of women” narrative as well as praxis pertaining to it is more prominent in communities where gender division of labor is less visible, while it is almost absent in a community where gender division of labor is more visible. Some sociologists view that Fordist notion of gender division of labour where wives are associated with private sphere is a very product of modernity. In this line, Marxism-inclined discourses have maintained that wives/women are oppressed by both conventional and modern patriarchies. On the contrary, anthropological studies on indigenous communities in today’s Southeast Asian areas have emphasized that gender division of labour in the hunter-gatherer and slash-and-burn agriculture communities where women are associated with domestic spheres is egalitarian and complementary. This paper seeks to bridge the gap between the two discourses in understanding today’s modernizing indigenous communities in Southeast Asia. Reflecting on the meaning of absence of “song of women” in a certain community, this essay argues that the emergence of “song of women” signifies the ongoing modernization process that has relatively weakened the power of women at domestic domain, and that reification of monophonic singing of salidummay by women at communal/ public domain is their collective strategy in order for them to maintain the equilibrium.

Keywords: Song of women, Salidummay, Modernization & Power

Introduction: “Song of Women?”

In my research of a group of modern folk songs generally but ambiguously called “salidummay” in the northern Philippine highlands since the early 1990s, I have

frequently encountered a narrative that *salidummay* is “song of women” (i.e. “*kantan di baket*” in Northern Kankana-ey, one of the languages in the region).¹ In fact, in my participant-observation in western Mountain Province, western Kalinga, upland Abra, and Baguio City (all are in the northern Philippine highlands), quite often, if not always, *salidummay*s, with varieties of tunes and lyrics, are performed by a group of “women” in communal programs (“*pabuya*”, literally “letting someone watch” which can be roughly translated as “show”) for different occasions, like wedding feast, Provincial/ Municipal/ Village fiesta, school-related event, church-related event (i.e. priestly ordination and patron saint’s feast), gatherings of “ethnic movements” (regardless of ideological inclination), and so on – usually more than one elements of these are mixed up in each event, though (Figure 1).

Below is an example of lyrics of such a *salidummay* variation sung by a group of “women” for the newly weds during an open-air wedding reception in a remote village of western Mountain Province in 1995. This was sung by a dozen some married women monophorically as means of giving advise to the newly-weds on marriage life, while congratulating them. This singing of about five minutes took place as a “surprise number” in the mid-afternoon by breaking one-day-long continuous flat-gong (*gangsá*) ensemble - rendered exclusively by men - which accompanies dancing by women or pairs of men and women where all of these performers take turns at their will. The singers clearly identify themselves as “mothers” in the very first line. Rhyming, seven syllables, as well as values conveyed in the lyrics inherit the traditional formulae in chanting, while the tune is characterized by non-traditional, simple quadruple rhythm, and anhemitonic pentatonic pitch system (Figure 2).

Na-ay da’y inin-a

Men lames nan ikkan da
Shangna ay men gasing da
Umali ay men kanta
Ilailalaly, Ilailalay, La-ila-ilalay

Gawis nan enmo inkan
Shadi nan kasapulan
Mi’d baro ya babasang
Umanak ka’s kasayang
Ilailalaly, Ilailalay, La-ila-ilalay

Ngem adi yo kanan-en
En enyo e-e ya-en
Ta’y awnit baw ay matken
Is ugali ya nennem
Ilailalaly, Ilailalay, La-ila-ilalay

No egay yo nagan-arú
In-inkan di sauyan yo
Is liget di ib-a yo
Makikadua dayaw yo
Ilailalaly, Ilailalay, La-ila-ilalay

Here came mothers*

With joy we have come
As always, extremely happily
We came to sing

You achieved marriage
That is what is most necessary
You can’t be a bachelor or maiden for ever
You must find a partner

But do not think
That life is always easy
There will be changes in the future
In what you do and what you think

If you have not tried
The deeds of neighbors
The toils of your peers
Being together is to be honored

Siya di tay mabalin
*Ay entako (xxxxx)***
Masapol maki am-in
Baken apay ya uni
Ilailalaly, Ilailalay, La-ila-ilalay

Because these things are possible
Let's xxxxx
It is necessary that you join
So why not now?

Na-ayet pay di binting
Ta usar yo is gasing

Here's twenty pesos
So that you could use for your happiness

Ta ilako yo's lampin
Tay usal sin u-ubbing
Ilailalaly, Ilailalay, La-ila-ilalay

So that you buy a diaper
So that the baby will wear it

* Bold by the author
**Words not clear due to noise

Figure 1: Northern Luzon, Philippines



* Based on Afable 2004, xvii.

Figure 2: *Salidummay: Na-ay Da'y Inin-a*

The image shows a musical score for a song titled "Salidummay: Na-ay Da'y Inin-a". The score is written on three staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tempo is marked as ♩ = 104. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff contains the lyrics "Na - ay da'y i - nin - a Men - la-mes nan ik - kan da". The second staff contains "5 Shang - na ay men - ga - sing da - U - ma-li ay men-kan - ta I - la -". The third staff contains "9 i - la - lay I - la - i - la - lay La - i - la - i - la - lay". The score ends with a double bar line.

A cohort of literature in the 1960s and 1970s account that “salidummay” (in various spellings then) is sung by men and women for courtship and/or for fun.² Oral accounts inform us that unmarried men and women (*babbaro ya babbalasan*) used to enjoy exchanging words in alternating singing (i.e. called *song-songbat*, *sursurlay* etc. in different languages; meaning “answering to each other”) with salidummay tunes and refrains in the mid-20th century.³ Since it was sung casually by “non-adults” whose personhood was considered in the community not established yet due to unmarried status, and since it was done at extra-ritualistic contexts, salidummay singing of this type was associated with secularity and vulgarity. Meanwhile, some of the available anthropological and ethnological accounts of northern Luzon highlands of the succeeding decades (1970s and 1980s) refer to salidummay in association with women.

Women’s group song sung in large festive gatherings like weddings and peace-pact celebrations.⁴

However, in spite of the results of Tinggian interaction with new values, several years of contact with traders, missionaries, and anthropologists the roll and rumble of the “*gangsas*” or the plaintive “*salidomay*” singing of the Tinggian women have not been silenced.⁵

In the bodies of men, flows the rhythm of *gangsas*. Perhaps, it is attributed to their heartbeat when they are absorbed in hunting or tribal wars. That makes a contrast with women who are engaged with farming or housekeeping and sing *sharidonmai* resonantly. The system of gender division of labor is directly reflected in music, and the music has cemented such a system in each individual and community. When living in a society of Kalinga where extreme male-chauvinism is observed, I seem to understand well how music is deeply related to the discrimination of human beings.⁶

Correspondingly, some *salidummay* examples in available recording are rendered by women, for example, *Dangdang-ay* in an LP record album *Ang Musika ng mga Kalinga* ([1978?]), and *Elalay* in a cassette tape album *Boltan* ([2002?]).

The narrative "song of women" is interchangeably phrased "song of mothers" (i.e. "*kantan di inin-a*" in Northern Kankana-ey) too. The word "woman/women" (*baket*, *vabva-i*, etc.) actually signifies the female population who are married and having growing children.⁷ Such usage of the terms reveals the close association of womanhood, motherhood and wife-hood in the region. A phrase below uttered by a male emcee over microphone - in the mixture of lingua franca Ilokano and a local dialect of Kalinga - during a village fiesta in 2004 epitomizes such notion of woman. Encouraging "women" to come out voluntarily to sing *salidummay* in front of the participants cum audience, he said:

"Djakayo, babbalasan nga idi kalman, man-djang-djang-ay kayo." (You, yesterday's maidens, sing *salidummay*!)⁸

Since "song of women" is assumed to be rendered by women of reproductive age, that is to say "properly" (to be illustrated below) married and being mother (of growing and unmarried children), unmarried women (i.e. "*babbalasan*", or literally maiden in Ilokano and a number of local languages) are unlikely to join the singing of *salidummay* at *pabuya* occasions. Likewise, old women whose children have "grown up" (usually interpreted so when they are "properly" married) are not included in the category of "women" cum "mothers" as they are considered "graduated" from that stage and regarded as "elder" with nuance of high respect.

However, in my observation during my intermittent fieldwork in Balbalasang – namely a western-most village in Kalinga and approximately 100 km north of Sagada, Mountain Province (2000-2008) -, I hardly encountered the "song of women" narrative nor a praxis pertaining to it in referring to *salidummay*. That was thought provoking. In Balbalasang, communal gender division of labor is readily visible in both every-day-life and non-every-day-life contexts: for example, symbolically, at the village's primary church (Anglican), there is a tendency that male and female sit separately and that male go first in making a queue for Holy Communion. When a seminar on nutrition of mothers and children was held in the village, it was only women who attended, unlike other neighboring villages where men also attended. This indicates a rather unique praxis of clearer gender division of labor of the village than its neighbors.

During a seminar on mothers' and children's nutrition held in the village by health department of Municipal Office in 2004, a female health worker from the office lamented that no male participated in the seminar in Balbalasang Village, unlike other villages within the municipality. After lecturing on the importance of liver for pregnant and breastfeeding women, she asked the audience; "Here in this village, who eats liver? Men, as side dish while drinking?" Big nods of female participants. She continued; "That's why it's important that men also participate (to this seminar), so that they would understand the importance of internal organs to mothers, and they would set aside some for their wives, especially when they are pregnant or breastfeeding.

*Here, no men came (to this seminar.) Please ask your husbands to set aside
livers for you when they butcher (a chicken, dog, deer, pig, cow, ox, carabao
etc.) next time."*

It is in this community that the narrative of "song of women" is scarce and performance pertaining to it is rare. Meanwhile, in the communities where gender division of labor is not very visible in the conduct of every-day-life today (like in Sagada), the narrative "song of women" is articulated more frequently and singing of *salidummay* songs by women is executed more prominently in the non-every-day-life context (i.e. "rituals" in a broad sense of the term).

Some sociologists have linked the Fordism mode of production with the gender division of labor where husband receives family-supporting wage while wife is considered as a "reserve army of labour" whose "primary role is in the sphere of the privatized consumption at the home".⁹ Such a discourse assumes the gender division of labor where men are associated with public sphere and women private one as a very product of modernization.¹⁰ In this line, Marxism-inclined discourses have maintained that wives/women are victim of patriarchy (i.e. McDowell 1991), and in its application to the studies of Asia, it was linked to both conventional and modern patriarchies.¹¹ On the contrary, anthropological studies on indigenous communities in today's Southeast Asian areas have emphasized the gender egalitarianism and complementarity in the hunter-gatherer and slash-and-burn agriculture communities, where male are committed to communal affairs while female domestic ones.

This paper asks the meaning of emergence of "song of women" as unusual cultural category where songs are usually identified in terms of "occasion" (context of performance), tune (musical text) and/or the first word or refrain word. It also asks the meaning of the absence of a "song of women" narrative and praxis in a community where gender division of labor is salient. It then asks the historical implication/s of the transformation of *salidummay* from a form of leader-chorus and genderly-alternating-singing to the "song of women" of monophonic singing in some communities in the contemporary northern Philippine highlands. In so doing, this essay seeks to bridge the gap between the two contradicting discourses in understanding gender relation in modernizing indigenous communities in Southeast Asia.

The data was gathered mostly through participant-observation (including semi-structured and non-structured interviews and casual conversations, as well as audio-visual documentation) predominantly from Balbalasang Village of the province of Kalinga through intermittent fieldworks in 2000 - 2008, including seven month residency in 2003-2004. My short to long term visits to approximately 50 other villages in seven provinces of the northern Philippines since 1993 have nurtured comparative perspectives. Archival research has been conducted at Filipiniana Collection of University of the Philippines Main Library, St. Andrew's Theological Seminary Library, and Cordillera Studies Center of University of the Philippines College Baguio, among others.

My arguments have been inspired by the development of practice theory of anthropology and ethnomusicology where agency, action, and history are considered interwoven.¹² Particularly its application to gender studies in Southeast Asia that

considers gender-making as performative and negotiated activity organically supports my findings. Similarly relevant is the growing awareness on multiplicities of modernity in anthropology and ethnomusicology in the non-Western worlds in relation to the growth of postcolonial critique.¹³

In what follows, I demonstrate the epistemological centrality of marriage in life passage in northern Philippine highlands as continuing social value. This exercise is to clarify the notion of womanhood as basis of understanding the narrative and praxis "song of women". That is followed by the presentation of socio-economic background of Balbalasang Village in relation to gender division of labor in a self-sufficient community, where the "songs of women" hardly exists. That leads to the reflection on the music-making in relation to "song of women". In conclusion, this essay argues that the emergence of "song of women" in the northern Philippine highlands signifies the ongoing modernization process that has relatively weakened the power of women at domestic domain, and that reification of monophonic singing of *salidummay* by women is their collective strategy in order for them to execute their power in the form of public/ communal presentation to maintain gender equilibrium.

Centrality of Marriage

In this section, I present the centrality of marriage in one's life in the northern Philippine highlands based on previous studies and my own ethnographic accounts. This information explains the nuances of the notion of "woman" (*baket*, *favfa-i* etc.), and the reason why the narrative "song of women" is interchangeably used with "song of mothers".

Michelle Rosaldo once aptly observed that in a social world of the Ilongots of Nueva Viscaya, another province of the northern Philippine highlands, that:

(A)lmost everything turns on marriage, and in which relationships are organized in terms of salient contrasts between, on the one hand, men and women, and, on the other, married and unmarried men".¹⁴

In my observations, this principle is likewise applicable to other communities of the northern Philippines generally, and seems true to the relationship between unmarried and married women as well. It was observed in both Balbalasang and Sagada that one's social status is considered remaining "child" (i.e. "*ubbing*" in Ilokano, "*onga*" in Kankana-ey of western Mountain Province, "*uvfing*" in Banao of western Kalinga, etc.) until one is communally recognized "properly married".

George (pseudo-name) is in his early fifties and unmarried. It was observed that he often hanged around with other unmarried men – most of whom are much younger than he, like those in their 20s and 30s – during his spare time. He is always teased for not having a girl friend. He is constantly encouraged to look for one. One time during my fieldwork I, a married woman with a child, asked his favor to be my guide for a festive event in another village out of my appreciation of his chanting skill (so that I could document

his public chanting during the event) and for his availability (he is relatively free from family obligations being bachelor). Upon return to the village, younger unmarried men were teasing him saying "we thought you brought home your wife, but you seem to have just accompanied Mrs. Reyes." Personally, from an outsider's view, I appreciate his chanting skill particularly that of his favorite number "kalimusta", for his age. Perhaps he is the only one among his generation in his village who can chant spontaneously. Generally speaking, his contemporaries have become fans of American popular songs particularly those in "country and western" style. They enjoy singing American pop songs with guitar. They are hardly to chant. When they sing, they often refer to published song book where lyrics and chord names are printed, or by memorizing over radio, cassette-tape or CD.¹⁵ Nonetheless, George's reputation is not very good, particularly among the older generation. He is commented by "older" ones (including his contemporaries who are already married thus considered "adult" or "mature") that "his kalimusta is 'corrupted' because he mixes Ilokano (lingua franca) words into the vernacular lyrics", or "his voice is not beautiful", and so on. To me, it is not fair that he is commented for mixing of Ilokano words, because other examples of kalimusta in anthological studies¹⁶ consistently present dominance of Ilokano words in the lyrics. Such comments rather seem to reflect that George's being unable to receive high respect by community members (especially by the married-adults) due to his unmarried status that is associated with immaturity. Supporting this assumption is the fact that George is seldom called to chant in public during festive events and that he, like other unmarried men in their 50s and above, did not (perhaps was not allowed to) say any opinions at all during a serious communal meeting of men held in January 2004 to discuss settlement of a tribal conflict, as well as in peace-pact dialogues between his villagers and representatives of partner village in April 2008. In these meetings, every "man" (namely married man) is free to say opinion in a very egalitarian manner. (This was an occasion where I observed no socio-economic distinctions among the members of the community which may be felt in some other contexts in the village.) George was silent throughout the whole events. After all, only married men, regardless of socio-economic status, are allowed to speak in these occasions.

Although the notion of "proper marriage" is variable in time and areas, the following conditions are deduced from my observation of the conduct of rituals and narratives in western Mountain Province and western Kalinga. That is to say from most significant, a) having at least one child, b) having hosted a communal wedding feast, large scale or small, formally by the couple's parents, c) being registered at municipal hall, and d) having being blessed by the church. Until today, reproduction is considered fatal to a marriage as well as to one's establishing either manhood or womanhood in a community where homosexuality is very rarely observed.¹⁷ Like the example at the beginning of this essay, songs and chants at wedding feasts do not fail to mention the giving birth to (many) children. Therefore it has been a practice until today that parents tend to host their children's wedding (requirement for communal recognition of the marriage) only after the conception or the birth of

at least the first child. The intimate relation by cohabitation or frequent visits would be dissolved, if it did not lead to any successful pregnancy. Or, the couple may decide to adapt one child or more, in order to gain a communal recognition and continue their ties. Once the relation is dissolved, both parties are encouraged to find a new partner respectively.

Marriage is the most important social event in Sagada society and is the focal center for a great variety of ceremonial activities, as well as for the transference of inherited property. Marriage establishes a tentative alliance between two bilateral kindreds – one which is made **permanent by the birth of children. Without children, a marriage is usually dissolved after a few years.** From the standpoint of the couple, the system is an ordeal with a series of prerequisite ceremonies before the Bayas or wedding celebration, when the couple is *bomayas*, "set aside to live together in a house of their own."¹⁸

Paul is a clergy of a Protestant denomination. Paul and Irene (pseudo names) were classmates in high school. They got married with church blessing and communal feast in 1992 when they were 27 years old. Their marriage was one of the rare cases in Sagada where the bride was not pregnant at the time of wedding. (This is perhaps because of Paul's being clergy.) For six years, the couple was not blessed with a child. Traditionally, in such a case the marriage could have been dissolved. But in this case (perhaps because the marriage had been officially and publicly recognized, and due also to the husband's being clergy), the couple decided to adapt two children in four year interval. Now they live as a family of four, with two children.

In the contemporary setting, where the notion of municipal registration of marriage has well penetrated the value of the northern Philippine highlanders, the majority of the couples today register their marriage at both municipal office and church - though the latter not a legal requirement – often only after conceiving or acquiring at least one child.

Today, though, the increasing expense of a communal wedding feast (due to increasing size of the event) tends to make some parents postpone it up to several years of their children's cohabitation (often with parental support in various senses), while acquiring legal status through municipal registration is increasingly gaining its significance side by side the communal recognition of marriage that is to be gained by a communal feast.

Correspondingly, the end of one's manhood and womanhood alike is marked by the end of reproductive stage epitomized by the "proper marriage" of ideally all, or at least one, of one's own children. The end of the reproductive stage usually elevates the status of both a man and a woman to that of the respected elders where gender distinction matters less saliently, albeit not entirely disappears.

In 2008, Aaron (pseudo name), from Besao, Mountain Province, died at the age of 59 in Manila. His corpus was brought to his wife's home town Sagada, Mountain Province for burial. Manuel, one of the community elders who is

responsible in decision making on communal rituals, asked the family if any of his children are already married and if Aaron (together with his wife) has hosted at least one wedding feast (pabuya) elsewhere.¹⁹ Aaron has four children, of whom two were married (with civil registration) then and had total of 3 grandchildren, but he had not hosted any wedding. Aaron was then customarily considered died premature, and “(too) young” (being referred to as onga, literally “child”) to be given the honor of an afternoon burial for respected elders. In accordance with the custom that “young ones” (cum non-senior) have to be buried before the sun reaches the highest, the requiem mass for Aaron was held in the morning and he was buried right after that at the church cemetery a few minutes before the noon.²⁰

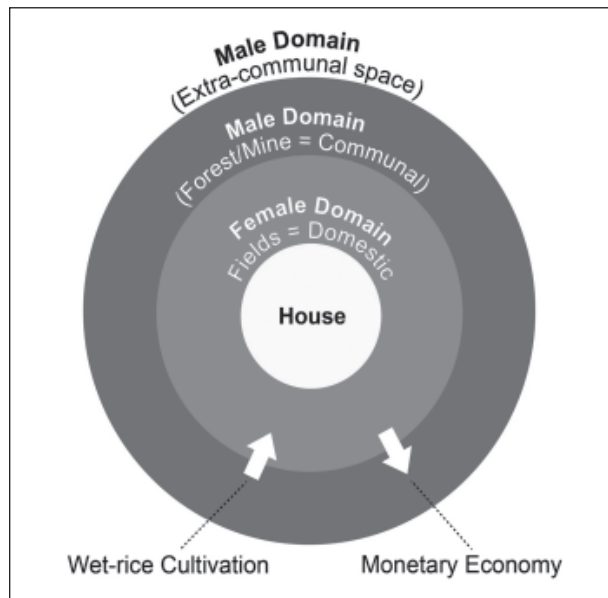
Changing Domains, Shifting Notions

In this section, I present my empirical observation of the socio-economic background of contemporary Balbalasang Village in relation to gender division of labor to represent a remote, small-scale, self-sufficient community in the northern Philippine highlands. In so doing, I incorporated historical perspectives based on my observation, local oral accounts, and archival accounts. I then took liberty in speculating on correspondence between the anthropological notion of communal/ domestic domains and sociological counterpart of public/ private ones.

Balbalasang Village, with relatively stable population of about nine hundred, is located along the upper Saltan River, a tributary of the Chico-Cagayan River of the northern Philippines, and near the mountain ridge that serves as the provincial border between Kalinga and Abra. It is reached after 4-6 hour travel by motor vehicle on the winding trails either from Tabuk (Kalinga’s capital) or Bangued (Abra’s capital), or 14-18 hours from Manila. Members in each household take responsibilities in hunting-gathering, slash-and-burn-agriculture, and wet-rice cultivation at stone-walled terraces, or occasional small-scale mining, all simultaneously. Such mode of production supports almost self-sufficient life, in which irregular cash income from occasional mining serves as safety net. Rice became staple food around the mid-20th century. Taro, which used to be staple, remains primary side dish today, including its roots, stalks and leaves. The Spanish colonial military built a fort at Balbalasang as entry point to “unconquered” Kalinga land eastwards in the mid-19th century. Balbalasang eventually became a Mecca of blacksmithing (of weapons and tools) in the region in the succeeding decades. Since the early 20th century, under the American colonial rule, the village became the center of the Episcopal Church mission in the area. Local oral history confirms that it is through the effort of charismatic chieftain Puyao, who was appointed as *presidente* (mayor) by the American colonial government, that irrigated rice cultivation made progress and spread in the village. The villagers claim themselves as the Banaos, together with the residents of the nearby villages across the provincial border, with which they have intermarriage relation. The definition of the term “Banao” in terms of both ethnicity and territorial coverage is resilient as flux of migration continues and intermarriage is not rare.

In their conduct of every-day life, gender roles are quite clearly defined. Bilateral inheritance practice as well as dominance of uxori-local marriage seems to support genderly egalitarianism and complementarity, as observed in indigenous communities in Southeast Asia at large. In Balbalasang, in harmony with classical studies' findings,²¹ male labor, either of conventional or of recent introduction, is largely associated with physical distance from household, either a forest and mine, or town. Hunting, gathering at a forest or a mining is usually associated with communal domain, and working for public transportation that connects the village to a distant town is public domain. On the other hand, female counterpart is associated with proximity to household as gardens and fields are physically located nearer to houses.²² These are considered domestic domain, but this does not mean that domestic domain is necessarily confined within the house building literally, in the modern sense of the concept of domesticity as private domain.²³

Figure 3: Gender and Domain by Space*



*Communal and Domestic Domains can be rephrased as the public and private domains respectively in the parameter of modernity.

Among the production-related labors in Balbalasang village, tasks considered almost solely for male includes hunting, gathering (of primarily fire wood and construction materials such as wood, bamboo, rattan), cutting of fire wood, carpentry, plowing, rice terrace building, while that for solely female seems limited to breastfeeding. The labor considered for predominantly male but occasionally done by female as well includes gathering of wild edible plants (i.e. herbs, berries and mushrooms) at the forest as well as small-scale gold mining. That for predominantly female, but male also assist when available, includes gardening and farming which

by extension includes sowing, planting, harvesting, threshing, unhulling, and mennowing. Taking care of domestic animals (pigs, chickens, dogs, occasionally ducks and goats, and cows and carabaos by some affluent families) seems to be done by both, without much clear gender distinctions. Most of the house chores that could be considered rather consumption activity, such as cooking, laundry, dish washing, cleaning etc. are done predominantly by female, though assistance of male member of the household is not rare. Attending toddlers is predominantly done by mothers and well-assisted by grandparents of both sexes as well as fathers.

Available wage-earning labor is limited mostly to public service. Driver and conductor for passengers' jeepney to and fro the provincial capital are solely for male. Most of the elected *barangay* (village, smallest local government unit) officials are male, and so are the majority of local politicians (at municipal and provincial level). Less than ten teachers in the village (day care center, elementary school, high school) are today becoming dominated by female, though we find a good number of retired male teachers who are in their 60s to 80s today in the village. Nurses and health workers have been consistently female.²⁴ The clergy (of Episcopal Church) has been predominantly male for decades but in 2003-2005 the village had a female deacon as apprentice to a male priest and since 2008 a female priest who is at the same time wife of the resident rector is assigned.²⁵ Roughly estimated, more than half of these residents or transcend professionals since 2002 are *not* native of the village but from other Banao or non-Banao communities of the region with which the Banaos keep relatively friendly relationship.

Table 1: Labor by Gender in a Banao Village

	<i>Pre-wet rice cultivation</i>	<i>After the introduction of wet-rice cultivation/ (Early stage) Modernity</i>
Exclusively male	Hunting, Gathering fire wood, construction materials, Cutting of fire wood, Carpentry Small scale mining	Hunting, Gathering fire wood, construction materials, Cutting of fire wood, Carpentry Plowing, Rice-terrace building Driver/ conductor of passengers' jeep
Dominantly male	Gathering of edible plants	Gathering of edible plants Small scale mining Local politicians/barangay (village) officials Clergy
Dominantly female	Gardening, Farming Household Chores	Gardening, Farming Household chores Rice planting/ transplanting, harvesting, threshing, unhulling, mennowing Teachers
Exclusively female	Domestic rituals Breastfeeding	Breastfeeding Nurses, health workers

Outside the every-day-life context, the conflict settlement with other tribes is solely handled by male (married men) collectively. A few elderly women may be consulted in rare occasions today for the conduct of domestic rituals for healing (*mandjawak*).²⁶

On one hand, it is plausible to assume the considerable extent of continuity of gender division of labor up to today. For instance, the dominance of contemporary local political positions by male is in a sense to inherit the practice since earlier times that the communal affairs, as well as extra-communal negotiations, have been undertaken solely by male. Perhaps, the notion of modern masculinity, which was implanted by colonial America in the area, like in other parts of the Philippines, in the first half of the 20th century, reinforced the conventional notion. For example, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes of American colonial administration first appointed male *presidentes* to represent and govern different municipalities in the 1900s (like Banao chieftain Puyao of Balbalasang for Balbalan Municipality), and later employed educated male as local staff of the colonial government, while female counterpart became often nurses and teachers. By the time the early and informal election system was introduced in the region in the 1920s, it is reasonable to imagine that local notion of candidates and officials were pretty much associated with male.²⁷ It is therefore logical that conflict settling, usually arises at the border area of the communal cum tribal territory or in relation to the individual(s) outside the communal/ kinship membership – epitomizing the distance from household - belongs to male responsibility.

On the other hand, I consider two factors are crucial in understanding the deviation from the conventional norms of gender division of labor in contemporary times: namely, a) a wet-rice cultivation introduced to Balbalasang presumably in the 19th century and expanded in the early decades of the 20th century; and b) elements of early modernity, particularly monetary economy and modern institutions such as nation-state administration, school, hospital and church, to which literacy is a premise.²⁸ The wet-rice cultivation requires extensive labor, in irrigation, stone-walled terrace building, plowing, among others, where male participation is inevitable. Thus to the domain of agriculture, earlier predominantly slush-and-burn and considered feminine, domestic domain, have entered the elements of male labor. Nonetheless, agriculture continues to be female-oriented domain, as manifested by a series of works around rice – from sowing to harvest, and to mellowing, to cooking. These female-oriented tasks well complement the male-oriented tasks of fire wood gathering and cutting. The impact of monetary economy is most directly manifested in the entry of some female into the small scale gold mining in recent years, albeit in the limited extent. The magical attraction of cash, which is constantly and enormously increasing in the contemporary social world of the Banao people, seems to be easily transcending the conventional norms of the gender roles.

Singing at Feast

This section reflects on the above-mentioned gender division of labor and domains in relation to that of music-making in the context of modernization of the northern Philippine highlands.

At communal festivities in the northern Philippine highlands generally, it is the male and female of reproductive age as well as the “elders” (who have already let their children “properly” married), who collectively play a leading role. They form an (often distorted) circle or oval of audience and sit arbitrarily on the ground, or plastic chairs or simple benches prepared by the host. As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, in many communities (except for some areas of the Provinces of Apayao), flat-gong-ensemble (*gangsá*) is rendered solely by a group of male, while dancing to the gong music is either a group of female or male-female pair(s). As for youths, they literally stay behind the adult members of the community. Those who remained unmarried but have grown too old to be called youth may join the audience circle of their “adult” contemporaries, but rarely to make a prominent role in chanting/ singing or gong-ensemble (if male), as is the case of George earlier mentioned.

In the northern highland communities where wet-rice cultivation is fairly established, here represented by Sagada of Mountain Province, inevitably both agricultural (mostly communal) and life-passage (some are communal and some are domestic) rituals are well developed. Elderly men take responsibility in conducting these rituals by leading a community where men of reproductive age are expected to actively participate in assisting the elders. Women (of reproductive age and elderly) are expected to participate in the rituals in assisting male in cooking rice and vegetables at household kitchen, a domestic domain. Resultantly, chanting in these rituals is predominantly rendered by men. As some vestiges of women’s chanting in the communal context are observed today, it is reasonable to assume that women, who used to have a role, have been gradually excluded from communal/ public scenes.

In my two decades of intermittent fieldwork, chanting of *liwliwa* at festive rituals (wedding, harvest, etc.) as well as *baya-o* (dirge) have been almost exclusively rendered by male. But local oral accounts claim that women, if talented, may chant too and sometimes some names of good women chanters are mentioned in recollection.

Therefore, I suggest, *salidummay* singing by a group of women (of reproductive age) has encroached the communal festivities as alternative to women’s chanting. Particularly when idioms of communal festivities have been incorporated to public festive events hosted by modern institutions (i.e. fiestas by local government units, school program, church event, etc.) in the past several decades and ritualistic texts of the two have become very similar, women’s auxiliary role became less visible, and that became consolidated. Thus emerged *salidummay* as “song of women”.

When *salidummay* is performed as “song of women”, it is rendered in essence in monophoric singing. Such *salidummay* is characterized by quadruple meter, simple rhythm, fixed pitches of five to seven tones (anhemitonic pentatonic, hexatonic or diatonic pitch system), with or without simple harmonization, and with pre-composed (that is to say written) lyrics. As I discussed elsewhere, these musical features that facilitate monophoric singing is a very product of modernity, while the lyrics often inherit the conventional formulae and idioms of different chants of

the locale.²⁹ As Benedict Anderson aptly summarizes, monophoric singing gained significance in the modern world in military songs, school hymns, national anthems, and needless to say Protestant hymns, the very product of Reformation, which Anderson, among others, proposes as the historical consequence of the invention of movable print in Gutenberg in the fifteenth century, as impetus for modernity.

There is a special kind of contemporaneous community which language alone suggests – above all in the form of poetry and songs. Take national anthems, for example, sung on national holidays. No matter how banal the words and mediocre the tunes, there is in this singing an experience of simultaneity. At precisely such moments, people wholly unknown to each other utter the same verses to the same melody. The image: unisonance. Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide[sic] occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community.³⁰

In Balbalasang, on the contrary, hunting-gathering and slash-and-burn farming has been central in production, and wet-rice cultivation less prominent. Male-female power relation has kept its equilibrium in terms of male's domination of communal/ extra-communal domains versus female's domestic domain. Although male began to enter partially the agricultural domain in plowing and stone-terrace building of wet-rice cultivation on one hand, and as domestic rituals (i.e. healing), which has been primarily handled by female shamans, has gradually disappeared on the other hand, the visible gender division of labor has remained. In music-making in festive occasions, male and female seem to keep equilibrium too. Male elders render a kind of extemporaneous "public speech" (greetings, congratulatory remarks, advices, etc.) through solo chant "*oggayam*" or "*kulilipan*", or sometimes, *salidummay*.³¹ Meanwhile, "women" (of reproductive age) may instead participate in the event with collective chanting of "*pataytay*", an on-the-spot expression of appraisal to an excellent performance of gong-ensemble, dance, or male solo chant. *Pataytay* is monophoric chanting of several patterns of formulaic words adapted to several patterns of tunes. Being extemporaneous, performance of *pataytay* is not well institutionalized. Nor it is exclusively executed by women. Thus it is not particularly associated with women. Therefore no label of "song of women" has been given to it.

In sum, I suggest that the emergence of *salidummay* as "song of women" in some areas of the northern Philippine highlands pertains to modernization of the locales. In other words, the absence of *salidummay* as "song of women" in other communities, like Balbalasang, indicates that the modernity has not penetrated the communities very much. It also implies that the gender division of labor as well as egalitarianism and complementarity has been maintained at least to a certain extent. The co-existence of two types of communities, though the distinction of the two must not be assumed to be lucid, informs us of the internal cultural diversity of the northern Philippine highlands, both synchronically and diachronically.

Conclusion

Clifford Geertz once pointed out the limitation of Durkheim's and Malimowski's functional approach that assumes that "the social structure of a group is strengthened and perpetuated through the ritualistic or mystic symbolization", because it fails to deal with social changes.³² In response, he proposes to "distinguish analytically between the cultural and social aspects of human life"; the former as "the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action", while the latter "the form that action takes, the actually existing network of social relations."³³ Such an approach focusing on action is useful in understanding ostensible contradiction between the social feature of the mode of production and ritualistic representation (as seen through music-making) that give birth to a narrative (on a musical category). As for the "songs of women" narrative as well as two types of performance of *salidummays* - dialogic one and monophoric one -, I propose the following.

In Balbalasang, where the gender roles in labor are clearly distinguished but complementary, the ostensible eminence of male in festivity, as manifested by that of male solo chanting, is considered social but not cultural, in Geertz' sense, despite the practical extinction of domestic rituals of the female. The solo chanting itself, where elements of improvisations are expected and appreciated, is to inherit the elements of pre-modernity associated with dominance of orality (*vis-à-vis* print of modernity). This is cultural. In other words, the male dominance in politics may ostensibly seem to reflect the modern masculinity and individuality (social aspect). However, the conduct of production (and reproduction) in the every-day-life, where female's contribution at female's domain - namely agricultural production as well as reproduction of the offspring- is fatally crucial in the life of Balbalasang, is practiced complementarily (cultural aspect). Therefore, "women" have no reason why they should boast of themselves. Scarce performance by particularly women. No narrative of "songs of women".

On the contrary, in Sagada, like some other communities of the northern Philippine highlands where wet-rice cultivation has been practiced more extensively than Balbalasang, high responsibility of male (particularly of respected elders) in conducting communal rituals has been established. The encroachment of male's power into the female's domain's agriculture, in addition to nearly disappearance of domestic rituals, has affected the equilibrium. In addition, more prominent shift to wet-rice cultivation and more assimilation to the monetary economy reduced male's labor at male's domain (for instance, less necessity of hunting and gathering today, less fire wood cutting due to the optional use of gas stove in cooking, etc.) spurred genderly neutralization in the labor. As the centrality of male in the conduct of communal rituals remains, females with established womanhood as wife and mother, need the channel where they can project their complementarity to retain equilibrium. Therefore it is reasonable that the singing in such a context itself presents the features of singing of modernity, namely monophoric singing. At the same time, the notion of "women" (cum wives and mothers) as an organically-collective social group in a community, has largely remained.

What this finding indicates is the strata of social changes. Whereas Aihwa Ong and Michael Pelez, like a number of other authors, were very much aware of

the multiplicity of experienced modernities in Southeast Asia as of 1990s, its mechanism has not been articulated explicitly.³⁴ In this sense, what Nestor Garcia Canclíni calls "multi-temporal-heterogeneity" is a useful concept in understanding the uneven and non-unidirectional social changes of particularly non-Western societies, which in many cases being complicated by the intervention of colonial experiences and various post-colonial responses. Somehow similarly, Chang Kyung-Sup proposes the notion of "compressed modernity" to address the rapid progress of "full-scale capitalist industrialization, economic growth, urbanization, proletarianization (sic), and democratization within unprecedentedly short periods", while "still manifests distinctly traditional and/or indigenous characteristics in many aspects of personal, social, and political life."³⁵ Chang's notion of "compressed modernity" is interwoven by the notion of "second modernity", where "social institutions of (first) modernity", namely "states, political parties, market economies, welfare systems, schools, industrial enterprises as well as families", have "abruptly become ineffective or dysfunctional for both society and people".³⁶ Both models - Garcia Canclíni's Latin American metropolis and Chang's rapidly-developing, urbanized Korea, however, do not fit the cases of un-urbanized northern Philippine highlands, because both consider urbanity as premise. In northern Philippine highlands, in general, elements of the (first) modernity are only partially, even though quite steadily, established. Literacy as the result of the penetration of elementary education is fairly acquired; state's intervention to an intimate sphere is relatively limited only to the domain of marriage and birth registration (but for example notion and implementation of social welfare far from penetration); the spread of national language (Tagalog-based Filipino) seems to owe largely to electric media, particularly television that became available in many parts of the region only in the last one or two decades and to a lesser extent education (as manifested by lucid generational differences). Whereas monetary economy is permeating, and in some areas, if not all, the socio-economic-cultural impact of remittance by overseas migrant workers is enormous, industrialization hardly occurred in the northern Philippine highlands. The prison and hospital, the institutions Foucault argued as significant barometer of modernity, are merely to provide extra options to the villagers as indigenous system of punishment, conflict settlement, or healing is often perceived more handy and/or reasonable.

Thus I propose that spatial heterogeneity, in addition to diachronic time aspect, is another parameter we need to take into consideration in discussing the situation of the peripheral. A number of villages in the northern Philippine highlands have been engaged with layers of layers of negotiations with the "external" forces: not only the colonial Spain, America and Japan nor the state's hegemonies, but also with the Tagalog popular culture, Ilokano lingua-franca dominance, Baguio-led regional culture, as well as "foreign" cultures which the contemporary overseas migrant workers directly or indirectly bring in for further negotiation with. With "multi-temporal-and-spatial heterogeneity", I suggest, we can address better the action and narrative of "songs of women" as channel of strata of negotiations.

Endnotes

¹ This is a largely revised version of the paper that was presented at Global COE Workshop “Family and Intimacy in Asia” held at Kyoto University on November 21-22, 2009. I would like to thank Kyoto University and University of the Philippines for supporting the travel expenses to present this paper. Also, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my mentor Dr. Eufrazio Abaya for intellectual stimuli in conceptualizing this paper; and to my colleagues; Dr. Patricia O. Afable for allowing me to use the modified version of her map of the northern Luzon, Philippines (Patricia Afable ed. *Japanese Pioneers in the Northern Philippine Highlands: A Centennial Tribute 1903-2003* (Baguio City: Filipino-Japanese Foundation of Northern Luzon, Inc., 2004); Dr. Carolyn Sobritchea and Dr. Matthew Santamaria for inspirations in writing this paper; Mr. Giovanni Reyes for improving the translation of the song lyrics; and an anonymous referee who provided valuable comments. I would like to acknowledge that researches for the empirical knowledge in this paper were conducted with Toyota Foundation Research Grant (D01-A-555) and University of the Philippines Local Faculty Grant Fellowship (2003-2005). However, I alone am responsible for the content of this paper.

² Regina C. Terrenal, “A Socio-Economic and Educational Study of the Tinguians of Central Abra” (MA Thesis, University of San Carlos, 1964); Edward P. Dozier, *Mountain Arbiters: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People*, (Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press, 1966); Artemio Alunday Peraren, “Tinguian Folklore and How It Mirrors Tinguian Culture and Folklore” (MA Thesis, University of San Carlos, 1966); Kate Chollipas Botengan, *Bontoc Life-Ways: A Study in Education and Culture*, (Manila: Centro Escolar University Research and Development Center, 1976).

³ For an excellent anthropological study of the alternating song in the Southeast Asia, focusing on the case of Kecamatan Mambi of Sumatra, in relation to gender complementarity and laborroles, as well as egalitarianism, see Kenneth M. George, “Music-Making, Ritual, and Gender in a Southeast Asian Hill Society,” *Ethnomusicology*, 37 (1), (1993), pp.1-27.

⁴ Dozier, *Mountain Arbiters: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People*, p.267, referring to “*dangdang-áy*”, the word is often interchangeably used with “*salidummay*” in the emic usage.

⁵ Esther Samonte-Madrid, “Tinguian Music is a Total Experience,” in *Filipino Heritage: The Making of the Nation*, (Manila: Lahing Pilipino Publishing Inc., 1977), p.440.

⁶ Sumumu Nomura, *Firipin Shinjinmingun Jûgunki* (Reportage Philippine New People’s Army), (Tokyo: Bansei Sha, 1981), p.184.

⁷ The word “*baket*” (woman, wife), both in Ilokano and Kankana-ey, also designates “old woman” with nuances of respect for elder-hood, in other contexts.

⁸ The word “*salidummay*” is an etic label used more universally. The emic label to designate the type of *salidummay* songs performed in a western part of Kalinga Province is “*djang-djang-ay*”. Wide variations of local terminology are used.

⁹ Linda McDowell, “Life without Father and Ford: The New Gender Order of Post-Fordism,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 16 (4), (1991), p.402, in referring to Aglietta, Michel. *A Theory of Capitalist Regulation*, (London: New Left Books, 1979) and “World Capitalism in the Eighties,” *New Left Review* 136, (1982), pp.25-36.

¹⁰ For instance, Ochiai, Emiko. *Kindai Kazoku no Magarikado* (The Japanese Family System in Transition), (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 2000).

¹¹ For Japan, see. Tomiko Yoda, "The Rise and Fall of Maternal Society: Gender, Labor, and Capital in Contemporary Japan," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 99-4,(2000), pp. 865-902; Chizuko Ueno, *Nationalism and Gender*. Translated by Beverly Yamamoto, (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2004).

¹² For instance, Sherry Ortner, *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006).

¹³ For instance, Geertz, *After the Fact: Two Countries, Four Decades, One Anthropologist*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press (1995), Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz, "Introduction". In Ong Aihwa and Michael G. Peletz (eds.), *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). For anthropological arguments on appropriation of the notion of modernity, see, Harri Englund and James Leach "Ethnography and the Meta-Narrative of Modernity," *Current Anthropology*, 41 (2), (2000) and Joel Kahn, "Anthropology and Modernity," *Current Anthropology*, 42 (5), (2001).

¹⁴ Michelle Z. Rosaldo, *Passion and Knowledge: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 30.

¹⁵ Electricity became available in the village for night hours only since 2001, through micro hydro dam.

¹⁶ Rosita C. Brillantes, "An Anthology of the Ethnic Songs of the Tinguians of Abra," (MA Thesis, Don Mariano Marcos Memorial State University, 1987); Anatalia M. Saboy, "The Songs of the Banaos of Western Kalinga," (MA Thesis, Baguio Colleges Foundation, 1990); Sr. Lilia Theressa Tolentino, "A Music Transcription of Selected Songs from Thirty-One Cultural Linguistic Groups of the Philippines," (MA Thesis, University of the Philippines, 1979).

¹⁷ It is notable however that the population growth rate sharply declined in all of the six provinces of the Cordillera Administrative Region in 2007 Census (Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain Province), in harmony with the national trend (i.e. Kalinga from 2.63 in 1995-2000 to 0.63 in 2000-2007, and Mountain Province from 1.54 in 1995-2000 and 0.79 in 2000-2007, available at <http://www.Census.gov.ph?data?census2007?index.html>, (Accessed 24 March 2010).

¹⁸ William Henry Scott, *A Sagada Reader*, (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1988), p.83. Bold by myself.

¹⁹ The term for wedding feast in Sagada is "bayas" (singular), or "babayas" (plural) if more than one wedding takes place in a village on the same day that is not rare. But here Manuel used the word "pabuya", a general term for communal gatherings, indicating the possible wedding receptions that could have been held outside the village context.

²⁰ However, interestingly, such rules on marriage and status are resilient. When Sylvester (pseudo-name) died 6 weeks after Aaron, at the age of 62 without ever being married, he was given the honor of the afternoon burial for the eldership, in appreciation of his public service as the head of Provincial office of one of the national government departments. This is one episode that informs us the nuance of the penetration of the power of modernity interwoven into the "traditional" values and conduct of mortuary rites.

²¹ Michelle Z. Rosaldo, *Passion and Knowledge: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

²² In the bilateral inheritance practice of the northern Philippine highlands, often from mothers to daughters and fathers to sons, the ownership is often of personal but managed by household.

²³ Rafael illustrates the entry of the modern domesticity as the bodily experience at house as private domain, as hegemony, to the Philippines through American wives of colonial officials or civilians in the first decades of the 20th century. See Vicente Rafael, *White Love and Other Essays in Filipino History* (Quezon City: Ateneo De Manila University, 2000), pp.52-75.

²⁴ This is not consistent with the Philippine trend at large where a good and increasing number of male nurses are working.

²⁵ But the first American missionary who stayed in the village since 1926 and prepared for the invitation of male priest was female, Deaconess Massey. She was at the same time a licensed nurse and dedicated for the dispensary.

²⁶ Today there is only one shaman (“*mandjadjawak*”) lives in the village. She was born in the early 1920s, in her late eighties now, and one of the oldest persons in the village. She could be the last shaman.

²⁷ See Gerard A Finin, *The Making of the Igorot: Contours of Cordillera Consciousness*, (Quezon City: Ateneo De Manila University Press, 2005), particularly Chapter 5 for details on the incentives, employment and/or election of the highlanders for the administrative positions.

²⁸ It is generally believed in the Philippines that the rice terraces of the northern Philippine highlands are cultural heritage since the “ancient times”, and in fact the rice terraces of Ifugao Province, next to Kalinga, have been declared as UNESCO’s World Heritage as “2,000 years-old heritage” available at <http://whc.unesco.org>. However, at least my research in western Kalinga reveals that the rice terrace cultivation there is of relatively recent introduction. Felix Keesing reveals that “the Ifugaos” were at large root crops growers throughout the 19th century and wet rice terracing is modern practice, citing Ray Barton that wet rice growers as being mostly “‘recent Silipan immigrants’, that is, people from the northeast margins of Ifugao – probably former Christian converts who had been settled in the Magat gorge country during the nineteenth century,” in Felix M. Keesing, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), p.312 quoting, Roy Barton, *Ifugao Economics*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1922). William Henry Scott estimates that “wet rice techniques were in the process of introduction into the northern Kalinga along the Saltan and Mabaca Rivers’ Areas”, which includes Balbalasang, “at the time of the Spanish-American War”, or around the turn of the 20th century. William Henry Scott, *On the Cordillera: A Look at the Peoples and Cultures of the Mountain Province*, (Manila: MCS Enterprises Inc., 1962/1969), p.5. This coincides with the archival and local oral information. Alexander Schadenberg’s diary in 1885 refers to the beautiful rice terraces of Balbalasang. Alexander Schadenberg, [translated by William Henry Scott] “From the Transactions of the Berlin Anthropological Society. Session of 19 February, 1887.” Unpublished typewritten manuscript. St. Andrew’s Theological Seminary, Quezon City, n.y. Similarly, Fay-Cooper Cole’s fieldnote in Balbalasang in 1907 or 1908 (1907-1908), mentions of the wet-rice cultivation. According to Elpidio (b. 1932?), a grandson of a charismatic Banao chieftain Puyao in the first half of the 20th century, narrates that the rice terraces expanded in the area under his grandfather’s leadership. Gabriel (b. 1939?) recalls that the staple food during his childhood was taro and rice mixture. The scarcity of rice-related rituals, poor knowledge of effective and sustainable land use such as organic fertilizer making, unlike in Ifugao and Bontoc areas of southern parts of the northern Luzon, rather relaxed (i.e. arbitrary) attitudes in rice cultivation than rigidly scheduled with seasonal rituals, in addition to the continuing prominence of slash-and-burn farming, all If these

imply the shallow history of the experience. In addition, Patricia Afable's insightful statement based on Spanish documents and local oral accounts that relates the construction of stone-walled terraces in Ifugao with slave labor, against the popular narrative in the Philippines including textbooks and mass media that these were built by the free will of the local peasants, must be appreciated (Patricia O. Afable, "Language, Culture, and Society in a Kallahan Community, Northern Luzon, Philippines," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1989).

²⁹ Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes, "Salidummay's Hybridity," *Humanities Diliman*, 7(1), (2010), pp. 24-57.

Michiyo Yoneno-Reyes, "Singing of Modernity and US Shadow: Bodily Aesthetics and Ideology in Salidummay and Shoka," in Kiichi Fujiwara and Yoshiko Nagano (eds.), *Philippines and Japan under US Shadow*, (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2011), pp. 229-260.

³⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983), p.132.

³¹ Among those from highland areas of Apayao Province, there seem to be more female who render solo salidummay at communal/ public festive occasions. (My own observation at Barangay Fiesta at Balbalasang in 2004, and an ordination of a Roman Catholic priest at Dao-angan at Balbalan Municipality, Kalinga in 2004, among others. Espirita (b.1935), one of my informants from Balbalasang who married and settled in Kabugao, Apayao, informed me that there it is women who play the gangsa. Understanding female's leading role in both gangsa playing and solo-chant rendering in relation to the continuity of female shamanism needs serious study.

³² Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p.142.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

³⁴ Aihwa Ong and Michael G. Peletz, "Introduction," in Ong Aihwa and Michael G. Peletz (eds.), *Bewitching Women, Pious Men: Gender and Body Politics in Southeast Asia*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

³⁵ Kyung-Sup Chang, "Individualization without Individualism: Compressed Modernity and Obfuscated Family Crisis in East Asia." (keynote lecture, Kyoto University Global COE Program "Reconstruction of the Intimate and Public Spheres in 21st Century Asia," Kyoto, Japan, 23 November 2009), p.6.

³⁶ Ulrich Beek and Edgar Grande, "Varieties of Second Modernity: Extra-European and European Experiences and Perspectives," Paper presented at the International Workshop on "Varieties of Second Modernity: Extra-European and European Experiences and Perspectives", organized by the Special Research Programme on "Reflexive Modernization", University of Munich, 16-18 April 2009, cited in Chang, "Individualization without Individualism: Compressed Modernity and Obfuscated Family Crisis in East Asia," p.7.