

GUINAANG BONTOK TEXTS

The Wedding Ceremonies of Takcheg Cherweg¹ (Text C8)

1. Naay nan inikkanmi ay inkalang. 1. This is what we did in performing the *kalang* ceremony.
2. Wiit, omalis Owakan ad Tongbal, kananen, "Bangonka, ta enta edanan si asawam." 2. In the early morning, Owakan came to the ward house at Tongfar, he said, "Wake up, so we can go to your wife's place."
3. Ngetdana nan apoy, ay silew. 3. He lit a fire, a pitch pine torch.
4. Kedeng ay mangon-ona, omoonodak. 4. So he led the way, I followed.
5. Omeykami, pomatongkamis abong. 5. We went, and sat down inside the house.
6. Kedeng ay domakalkamis Datal, ta siya nan as-asag-en si domakalanmi. 6. Then we went out to the ward house at Chatar, because that is close to the house we came out from.
7. Kedeng ay kasikami omawid as abong nan babai. 7. Then we returned to the house of the young woman.
8. Kedeng ay gegedenmi nan watwat ay naasinan, kanana en, "Maganakka ay inbangingonko, omandoando nan inbadbadoyana." 8. After that we sliced up some salted meat, he said, "Bear many children, you whom I accompanied, may her going around be lengthened many times."
9. Alaena nan tabako, kedeng ay omawidkami ad Tongbal. 9. He got the tobacco, and we returned to Tongfar.
10. Alaen nan deeyda amam-a nan tabako, ay kowan asawak, kedeng ay doglaen nan amam-a. 10. The men (at the ward house) took the tobacco which was my wife's, and smoked it.
11. Kedeng ay adikami mangamangan enggana maisoyaw. 11. We didn't eat at all till early afternoon.
12. Kedeng ay kananen en, "Engka omalas kaew, ta engka pasken as abongda asawam, ta mailoto as nan makan ay sinsangdal." 12. He said, "Go get some wood and split it at the house of your wife, it will be fuel to cook one vat of rice."
13. Masdem, enda ayagan nan kaipoipogaw ay amam-a ta inkalangda. 13. In the evening, they went to call the old men to perform the *kalang* ceremony.
14. Okatenda nan gineged, ya nan begas ay nowang, maloto, tag-ongenda. 14. They brought out the sliced meat and the water buffalo meat, when it was cooked, they served it.
15. I ayagan nan aloyos nan makalang ay babai nan baballo (nan aloyos asawak nan mangayag), eegnanda nan kintong ya nan bin-gew. 15. The helper of the young woman who was having the *kalang*² went to call the young men (it was my wife's helper who was the one who called them), they carried the *kintong* and *bin-gew*

- ceremonial loads of wood (as they came).
16. **Eegnan nan babai nan apoy.** 16. The young woman carried the fire.
 17. **Kedeng ay omeйда palpalenda nan manok.** 17. Then they went to kill a chicken.
 18. **Maloto, gedenda.** 18. When it was cooked, it was cut up.
 19. **Kedeng ay inwatwatda.** 19. Then they distributed it.
 20. **Kedeng ay komaan nan lallalaki ay sin-aloyos.** 20. The two young men who were helpers then left.
 21. **Komaanda nan amam-a as nan abong nan babai, inmawidak ay maseyep an asawak.** 21. The old men then left the house of the young woman, and I returned to sleep with my wife.
 22. **Mawakas, alaenmi nan kimot nan manok, ipaeymi as nan giyag, iyoosonmi as nan makan.** 22. The next morning, we got the back section of the chicken, and put it on a rice plate, on top of some rice.
 23. **Kedeng ay inmeykami ay sin-asawa as nan abong nan lalaki.** 23. Then the two of us, husband and wife, went to the young man's house.³
 24. **Kedeng ay kananmi en, "Engkayo ayagan nan saggong ta entako kanen nan dool."** 24. We said, "Go and call the neighbors so we can go feast."
 25. **Mayomyomda nan ipogaw.** 25. The people gathered.
 26. **Kedeng ay gedenda nan watwat ay iwatwatda.** 26. They sliced up the meat and distributed it.
 27. **Kedeng ay manganda, mabokalda.** 27. They ate, and then dispersed.
 28. **Alaenmi nan giyagmi ay sin-asawa, omeykami as abong nan babai.** 28. We, husband and wife, got our rice plate, and went to the young woman's house.
 29. **Kedeng ay in-gayada as abong nan lalaki.** 29. Then they feasted at the young man's house.
 30. **Kedeng ay masdem inkalangda as abong nan lalaki.** 30. In the evening they performed the *kalang* ceremony at the young man's house.
 31. **Enda ayagan nan ipogaw, kananda en, "Entako inkalang as an Delweg."** 31. They went to call the people, saying, "Let's go and perform the *kalang* ceremony at Cherweg's (the narrator's father's) place."
 32. **Kedeng ay omey nan bab-alo ay mangayagan da asawan nan lalaki ya nan aloyosna.** 32. The young man (the groom's helper) went to call the family of the young man's wife and her helpers.
 33. **Kedeng ay aagtowenda nan makan ay sintalaka, ya omeyda as nan abong nan lalaki.** 33. They were carrying a head basket full of cooked rice, and they went to the house of the young man.
 34. **Kedeng ay palpalenda nan manok.** 34. They killed a chicken.
 35. **Naloto, tag-ongenda ay gedenda, ay inwatwatda, ay gowadenda nan makan, ay manganda, ay mabokalda nan amam-a, ay maseyepda ay sin-asawa as nan abong nan** 35. When it was cooked, they dipped it out and sliced it up, distributed it, served the rice, and ate, the old men dispersed, and the husband and wife slept together in the husband's house.

lalaki.

- 36. Mawakas omeйда as abong nan babai, enda iyayag nan dool, manganda.** 36. The next day, they went to the house of the young woman, they called the neighbors to eat the food prepared for them, and ate.
- 37. I in-emes nan lalaki as nan ag-agew ad Datngan, ay payew.** 37. About midmorning the husband went to bathe at Chatngan, in the pond field.
- 38. Kedeng ay somaal, ay isoblin nan babai ay in-emes ad Dakkit.** 38. After he came home, the young woman took her turn to bathe at Chakkit.
- 39. Mawakas, i in-emes nan aman nan babai ad Datngan, somaal, isoblin nan babai ay asawana.** 39. The next day, the father of the young woman went to bathe at Chatngan, and after he came home, the woman who is his wife, took her turn (to take a bath).
- 40. In-emes met laeng nan aman ya inan nan lalaki.** 40. The father and the mother of the young man also bathed.
- 41. Nalpas di.** 41. That's the end of that.
- 42. Kedeng ay malpas nan tolon algew, insangbowak.** 42. After three days, I performed a *sangbo* daytime pig sacrifice.⁴
- 43. Kedeng ay maambatang, enda iyayag nan bab-aleg ay omalida nan anan-ak ya nan inin-a.** 43. In the late afternoon, they went to call the relatives, the older women and children, to come to a *bab-aleg* feast.
- 44. Tag-ongenda nan bab-aleg.** 44. They dipped out (the cooked pig meat) for the *bab-aleg* feast.
- 45. Kedeng ay gegedenda, ay mawakas, inponegda, ay sinopokanda nan poto, paypay-enda nan dala.** 45. Then they sliced it up, and the next day they made blood sausage, they blow open the intestines, and fill them with blood.
- 46. Enda mamagey nan baballos mamaggit.** 46. The young men and women went to get rice (from the granary).
- 47. Eegnan nan inan nan babai nan ongot ay napay-an si tapey.** 47. The young woman's mother carried a coconut shell bowl containing rice beer.
- 48. Geggedenda nan amam-a nan watwat.** 48. The older men sliced up the meat.
- 49. Kedeng ay asinanda.** 49. They salted it.
- 50. Kedeng ay pay-enda as nan dalay.** 50. They placed it into a large jar.
- 51. Kedeng ay inbab-ayoda as nan sin-algew.** 51. They pounded rice all day.
- 52. Mawakas, insangbos Delweg as abongna.** 52. The next day, Cherweg performed a *sangbo* pig sacrifice at his house.
- 53. Kedeng ay ambatang, enda iyayag nan bab-aleg ay inwatwatda.** 53. In the afternoon, they announced the *bab-aleg* feasting and distributed meat.
- 54. Mawakas, eegnan Delweg nan ongot ay napapay-an si tapey.** 54. The next day, Cherweg held the bowl containing rice beer.

55. **Kedeng ay enda mamagey ay baballos mamaggit.** 55. The young men and women went to get rice.
56. **Kedeng ay bayowendas kag-aw.** 56. They pounded it during the day.
57. **Idakalda nan losong.** 57. They took the mortar outside.
58. **Nalpas di, songsongan nan aman nan babai.** 58. After that, the father of the woman performed the *songsong* ritual.
59. **Songsongana nan topil.** 59. He performed it over the ceremonial basket.
60. **Kanana en, "Inkobkobasilda nan i manallatey."** 60. He said, "May those who go to fell a tree for the vat stand be safe."
61. **Kedeng ay mawakas ilaplapon nan amam-a nan deey lalaki, kedeng ay enda manallatey ad Amdel-am.** 61. So the next day the older men led out the young man, they went to Amcher-am to fell a tree for the vat stand.
62. **Wiit nan maligwatanmi ay mamallatey.** 62. It was early morning when we started out to get the tree for the vat stand.
63. **Kedeng ay at-atangayanda ay mangisaal.** 63. They carried it on their shoulders to bring it home.
64. **Isaalda as abong nan lalaki ay igaegaebda.** 64. They brought it home to the house of the man where they constructed it.
65. **Enda alan nan lebkan⁵ ad Malsa as nan alang.** 65. They went to get the ceremonial pounding trough from the granary at Marsa.
66. **Nan ab-abongan nan kanlebkan.** 66. The men's group house is the owner of the pounding trough.
67. **Isaalda.** 67. They brought it home.
68. **Kedeng ay dentanda nan toloy sangdal.** 68. Then they started fires under three vats.
69. **Kedeng ay inleblebekda nan inin-a.** 69. The women were pounding in the trough.
70. **Inwatwatda nan amam-a, ay gowadenda nan makan ay esa ay sangdal.** 70. The men distributed meat, and served out a vat full of rice.
71. **Kedeng ay manganda.** 71. Then they ate.
72. **Enda alan nan esay ammog.** 72. They then went to get a pig.
73. **Kedeng ay geltenda.** 73. They killed it.
74. **Kedeng ay isaalda as nan dakking, ay kapyan nan aman nan lalaki ya aman nan babai.** 74. They brought it to the house, placing it under the eaves in front of the door, and the fathers of the young woman and of the young man said prayers over it.
75. **Ibabangelda nan dinangtal.** 75. They draped a *dinangtal* white loincloth around their necks.

76. **Nalpas di, langnenda nan ammog, isgepda, bekbekenda.** 76. After that, they singed off the pig's hair, took it inside, and butchered it.
77. **Kedeng ay botlenda, kedeng ay asinanda, ay ipaeyda as nan dalay.** 77. They cut it into large pieces, then they salted them, and placed them into a jar.
78. **Kedeng, in-gonotda nan inin-a as dela.** 78. Meanwhile, the older women grabbed for rice outside.
79. **Gonotenda nan doway ay sangdal ay makan.** 79. They scooped out with their hands two vats full of cooked rice.
80. **Mangay-ayyengda nan amam-a.** 80. The older men were singing the *ayyeng* song.
81. **Kedeng ay omalida nan dinkat ay iSamoki, lotowenda nan isdada.** 81. Then the invited guests from Samoki arrived, they cooked meat for them.
82. **Kedeng ay idakalda, gegedenda, manganda nan kaili.** 82. They took it outside, sliced it up, and the visitors ate.
83. **Kedeng ay makiay-ayyengda nan kaili ay engganay masdem.** 83. The visitors joined in singing the *ayyeng* until night.
84. **Alaenda nan esay ammog ay daing.** 84. They got another pig for the *daing* ceremony.
85. **Patayenda.** 85. They killed it.
86. **Indaddaing nan amam-a ya nan toloy inin-a ay mangegnan si nan paol.** 86. The men sang the *daing* song with three old women holding reeds.
87. **Teken nan daing nan amam-a ya nan inin-a.** 87. The *daing* song of the men is different from that of the women.
88. **Kedeng ay naloto nan deey watwat, tag-ongenda.** 88. After that meat was cooked, they dipped it out.
89. **Kedeng ay gegedenda, iwawatda as nan kaipoipogaw.** 89. They sliced it, and distributed it to the people.
90. **Lotowenda nan sinsangdal ay kanen nan manaing.** 90. They cooked one vat of rice for the *daing* singers.
91. **Kedeng ay mawakas, manganda nan mangili as nan nasawal ay makan.** 91. The next day, the visitors ate the left over rice.
92. **Kedeng ay alaenda nan esa ay sikin si botog.** 92. They then got one of the pig's legs.
93. **Kedeng ay ipaeyda as nan talaka, kananda en, "Ta omeykami. Inkekegselka ay dinomno⁶, matatatagokayo, ta way esami omaliyan as omali ay tawen."** 93. They put it in a head basket, and they said, "We're going now. You who are getting married be strong, may you live long, so there will be a reason for us to come again next year."
94. **Nalpas di.** 94. That was the end of that.
95. **Kedeng ay isoblin nan naayda kaipoipogaw ay inponeg.** 95. Now these people took their turn distributing blood sausage.

96. Kedeng ay manganda. 96. Then they ate.
97. Gonotenda kayet nan sinawal ay makan. 97. They grabbed again for the left over cooked rice.
98. Kedeng ay omaladas pagey, lebkenda engganay masdem. 98. They got more rice, and pounded it in the trough until the evening.
99. I in-ayag nan indono. 99. The workers went inviting.
100. Enda ayagan nan omaatol ay iTongbal. 100. They went to invite the men's group at Tongfar.
101. Kananda en, "Entako inpangabong," ay mayomyomda ad Tongbal as nan masdem. 101. They said, "Let's go do the *pangabong* ceremony," so the men gathered at Tongfar in the evening.
102. Kedeng ay ngetdanda as nan deey dinomno. 102. So they lit (their torches) from the (torch of the) one getting married.
103. Isaadda nan apoyda. 103. They put down their fires (at his house).
104. Kedeng ay mangayyengda. 104. They sang the *ayyeng* song.
105. Kedeng ay okatenda nan isdada ay lotowenda. 105. Then they took out (from the jar) their meat and cooked it.
106. Kedeng ay kananda en, "Segepka ay in-ina, ta engka iwalag nan tapey." 106. They said, "You, woman, go inside, go get rice beer to hand around."
107. Kedeng ay manganda as nan tapey. 107. They ate of the dregs of the rice beer.
108. Nalpas ay nakakananda as nan tapey apedda mangay-ay-ay-ayyengdas di. 108. When they had eaten they just sang and sang the *ayyeng*.
109. Naloto nan isdada, tag-ongenda, gegedenda. 109. When their meat was cooked, they dipped it out, and sliced it up.
110. Kedeng ay idakalda, iwatwatda, gowadenda nan makan. 110. They took it outside, distributed it, and served out the rice.
111. Kedeng ay manganda. 111. Then they ate.
112. Kedeng ay nakakananda, ngetdanda nan silewda, omawidda ad Tongbal. 112. After having eaten, they lit their torches, and returned to Tongfar.
113. Mawakas penpenanda nan tobo, ay lotowenda nan sinpangabong ay tobo, ay masdem manganda nan kaipoipogaw. 113. The next day they filled the woven bags with rice to make *tobo* cakes, then the family cooked the *tobo*, and in the evening all the people ate them.
114. Kedeng ay sisiyanenda nan nasawal ay tobo. 114. The left over *tobo* cakes were distributed among them.
115. Nalpas di. 115. That was the end of that.
116. Mawakas ges lotowenda nan doway sangdal, gonotenda nan esay sangdal. 116. On the next day also they cooked two vats of rice, they (the women) grabbed out the rice from

- one vat.
117. **Mayomyomda nan inin-as amam-a ya nan ongong-a.** 117. Men, women and children were gathered together.
118. **Kedeng ay manganda.** 118. Then they ate.
119. **Malpas di, sawilenda nan dallatey.** 119. After that, they dismantled the vat stand.
120. **Kedeng ay kananda en, "Mawad-ayka ay manokda ya botogda, ya pageyda."** 120. They said, "May their chickens, pigs and rice multiply."
121. **As nan mangwaniyandas di, isopdogda nan danom as nan deey dallatey.** 121. As they said that, they splashed water on the vat stand.
122. **Mawiit langsenda nan dallatey ya paskenda.** 122. The next morning they chopped the vat stand logs into shorter lengths and split them.
123. **Kedeng ay mayomyomda nan toloy amam-a, inboginneyda.** 123. The three old men then gathered and sang the *boginney* song.
124. **Domakalda as dela ay intabtabingda.** 124. They went outside and performed a *tabing* dance.
125. **Pomatongda, mangayyengda ay inweel ay tolo.** 125. They sat down, and the three of them sang the *ayyeng* and *weel* songs.
126. **Mawakas, eyak mamating as Pap-away.** 126. The next day, I went to cut firewood at Pap-away.
127. **Somaalak.** 127. I returned home.
128. **Kananda en, "Ay maiwed dinad-alanmo."** 128. They said, "Did you pass any bad omen on your way?"
129. **Kanakan, "Maiwed."** 129. I said, "None."
130. **Nalpas.** 130. That's all.
131. **Kasin mawakas, alaek nan solkodko, eyak in-emes ad Datngan, tay adiyak in-in-emes si nan liman algew.** 131. The next day, I got my spear, and I went to take a bath at Chatngan, because I hadn't bathed at all in five days.
132. **Kan-emna, eyak in-emes.** 132. On the sixth day, I went to take a bath.
133. **Somaalak, isoblin asawak ay in-emes ad Dakkit.** 133. When I returned home, my wife took her turn to bathe at Chakkit.
134. **Mawakas, isoblin nan in-ina ay in-emes.** 134. The next day, the old woman had her turn to take a bath.
135. **Somaal, isoblin nan lalaki.** 135. When she came home, the man (her husband) had his turn.
136. **Mo malpas nan doway dominggo, alaenmi nan telwad.** 136. After two weeks, we got the (pig for the) *telwad* ceremony.

137. **Malpas di, intongol si ama as nan masdem.** 137. After that, my father performed a *tongol* sacrifice with it in the evening.
138. **Palpalenmi nan manok ay libon.** 138. We killed a chicken as a *libon* preliminary sacrifice.
139. **Maloto, iwatwatda, manganda ay nalpas ay makakananda, enda alan nan ammog ay telwad.** 139. When it was cooked, they distributed it, they ate, and when they had finished eating, they went to get the pig for the *telwad* ceremony.
140. **Mawakas inponegda, kedeng ay kasi masdem, inpalagpagda.** 140. The next day they made blood sausage, and on the following evening, they ate the pig's ribs.
141. **Kedeng ay mawakas, in-agiboyda, palpalenda nan esay manok, iyib-ada as nan poton nan telwad.** 141. The next day, they performed the *agiboy* ceremony, they killed a chicken, and combined it with the intestines of the *telwad* pig.
142. **Kedeng di.** 142. That is the end.

NOTES

¹ A first person account as told by Takcheg Cherweg following his own wedding. The ceremonies described here combine both the *kalang* and *lopis* rituals. The *lopis* ceremonies are of the type called *binagat* "morning style". See Text C9 for a description of the *inalgew* "day style" *lopis*.

² That is, the woman he is marrying.

³ That is, to the house of his own family.

⁴ This is the beginning of the *lopis* ceremonies.

⁵ The *lebkan* is now used only in wedding ceremonies such as the one described here, for ceremonial rice pounding. Its shape suggests that its original use was for pounding lengths of sugarcane prior to the introduction of other cane crushing techniques.

⁶ The term *dono* is the general term meaning "marriage ritual", and is homophonous with the term meaning "work" (see sentence 99). It is typically used with reference to the *lopis* pig sacrificing rituals (Text C9), or the *bayas* water buffalo sacrificing rituals (Texts C10-C11), which follow the initial wedding ceremonies. The *domno* (or *dinomno* perfective) are the couple for whom the feast is being held.