

ISNEG BUILDINGS

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FOUR PLATES

In the following pages I shall try to describe as accurately as possible both a typical Isneg¹ house or *baláy*² and a typical Isneg granary or *álán*. To either of these descriptions I shall append a few notes on buildings that serve the same general purpose either of habitation and shelter or of storage, but are more or less different in construction. I shall conclude this paper with a relation of the Isneg customs that refer to the above topics.

THE ISNEG HOUSE

Here follows a detailed description of the house or *baláy* of a native of Abbil (Figs. 1 and 2). It is a fair representative of the ordinary Isneg dwellings that are found all over Apayaw.

The house is raised on posts, and consequently there is an open space underneath, where the only obstructions are the aforementioned posts: this open space is called *linón* or *siduñ*, and it is not high enough to allow a person to stand erect under the floor of the house.

The lower part of a post, which is buried in the ground, is usually left untouched; the rest is slightly whittled from below upwards (*magtarát*), and, in the case of the six principal posts of the house (the *adíxi*), the surface is made as smooth as possible, so that the part of the post that is visible above ground, more especially what is inside the house, is round or almost so.

The posts are fifteen in number (Fig. 3), and all of them, except one, the *atobtóbo*, are mortised at the top (Fig. 4) for the reception of a beam: such mortises are called *sindy*.

Eight of these posts, the *síñit*, do not reach higher than the floor, and usually very little time is spent in trimming them,

¹ The Isneg inhabit Apayaw, a subprovince of the Mountain Province, Luzon.

² Key to pronunciation: *a* as in *bAr*; *ā* the same, but long; *ā* as in *cAt*; *e* as in *bEt*; *ē* as *AI* in *lAIr*; *i* as in *fIsh*; *ī* as *EA* in *dEAR*; *o* as in *cOt*; *ō* as in *Old*; *ó* as in *hOrse*; *ō* the same, but long; *u* as in *fUll*; *ū* as *OO* in *gOOd*; *x* as *H* in *Horse*.

as nothing of them is visible in the *sidág* or *unág* (inside of the house; outside: *lasf*).

Six of these *síit*, three by three, are mortised into two girders or summers (*anadíxiyán*), which support the floor joists. The other two *síit* are mortised into the *agnádan* (or beams which support the walling) at the end of the annex (*tarákip*), as an ordinary Isneg house consists of two parts, without any intervening wall: the house proper and a small addition or annex at the left end (*kasixidán* or *sixidán*) of the house (Fig. 5).

The other seven posts are called *adíxi*. Six of them, three by three, are mortised into the two *ampákán* (or tiebeams that run lengthwise). Two of these *adíxi*, namely the central ones, are called *takiláy* and are a little taller than the four corner posts (a corner, not the post, is called *siyú-* or, sometimes, *síko*), so that their mortises or *sínáy* are correspondingly deeper.

The seventh *adíxi*, which also bears a special name (*atobtóbo*, *tohtóbo* or *anobtóbo*), is usually much more slender than the others and is situated outside (Figs. 2, 3, and 5), at the right end of the house. It supports one end of the ridgepole, but is not mortised at the top.

All bulky pieces of timber, whether posts or beams, are called by the general name of *dinampig*. The edge at both ends of a piece of timber (whether a *dinampig* or not) or bamboo is called *boiráu* (Figs. 6 and 7).

If a beam is somewhat longer than necessary, the Isneg rarely cut off the superfluous part; they usually leave it projecting into space. These odd parts, called *paloñsawáy*, detract considerably from the elegance of the building.

In an Isneg house the floor is entirely independent from the *adíxi* or tall posts and from the upper part of the frame.

The two girders or summers (*anadíxiyán*) into which are mortised the six *síit*, or short posts, three *síit* to one girder, are about one inch thick, and they run all under the floor lengthwise, supporting eleven floor joists or *toldóg* (Fig. 8). These *toldóg* (Fig. 9) vary in thickness between one and two inches; they are more or less boat-shaped and run crosswise over the two girders (*anadíxiyán*), into which they are mortised.

Girders, floor joists, and, in general, all horizontal pieces of timber whose breadth is greater than their thickness, almost always stand on end in Isneg constructions.

Each of the eleven *toldóg* or floor joists is mortised at both ends: such a mortise (in this case: $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches) is called *ammád* (Fig. 9).

Over these eleven floor joists run two beams (parallel to the *añadíxiyán* or girders) that fit in their mortises or *ammád* at both ends. These two beams, which are called *tápi*, project above the flooring inside the house and run lengthwise inside the *adíxi* or tall posts (Figs. 8 and 11).

These two *tápi* (Fig. 10) are mortised thrice. In the mortise of the end next to the annex, and in the mortise next to the post at the other end, are inserted two beams, also called *tápi*, that run breadthwise (Fig. 11): these latter *tápi* form the counterpart of the two *tápi* just mentioned, and they also project above the flooring, but, instead of running inside the *adíxi* or tall posts, they remain at the outside.

In the second of the two mortises at one end of the first-mentioned *tápi*, namely in the outer one, is fixed the first of the *agnádan* (sometimes called *agansadán*), a beam, $1' \times 2''$, that supports the walling of the house at the end next to the *atobtóbo*-post (Figs. 10-11). This beam is $16' 4''$ long, which corresponds to the breadth (*sóba* or, sometimes, *pabbág*) of the house, at the outside.

This *agnádan* is mortised twice at both ends (Fig. 12) in order to receive the two tenons or *bóto* (Fig. 13) of the two corresponding beams, $1' \times 2''$, which run lengthwise and support the walling at both sides of the house, in front and behind. These two beams, also called *agnádan*, are $24' 2''$ long, which corresponds to the length or *padírot* (sometimes called *pásit*) of the house, at the outside, including the annex, which measures $3' 11''$ at the inside.

As they pass near the *adíxi* or tall posts, at the outside, these two last-mentioned *agnádan* are supported by thick wooden pegs or *párvat* (sometimes called *páláy*, the same as in Iloko), stuck, one each, into the posts (Fig. 11). At the left end these same *agnádan* rest in the mortises of the *sínit* or short posts of the annex. Here they are mortised twice (Fig. 14) in order to receive the fourth *agnádan* (Figs. 11 and 15), which supports the walling of the annex.

This fourth *agnádan* (Fig. 15) rests upon the boat-shaped lower tenons of the two *agnádan* that run lengthwise, and is provided with two mortises, one at each end, in which are thrust the upper tenons or *bóto* of the same two *agnádan*.

As may be inferred from the above, the floor proper, 15' 6" x 10' 6", is surrounded on three sides (Fig. 11) by a narrow platform or *tamáyón*, 1' 1" broad, that is projecting above the level of the floor. When the Isneg is sleeping or lying down, he rests on the floor with his head toward the wall, using the raised platform for a pillow, and his feet toward the center of the house.

The *tápi*-beam that runs breadthwise next to the annex, is usually much broader than the corresponding one at the other end, and, consequently, the floor of the annex is often considerably higher than that of the *tamáyón*, or narrow platform that projects above the floor proper.

These are what we have at the height of the floor:

- 6 short posts (*síít*) for the floor.
 - 2 girders running lengthwise (*asáðixiyán*).
 - 11 boat-shaped floor joists (*toldég*).
 - 2 beams running lengthwise (*tápi*).
 - 2 beams (the one between the annex and the floor proper being higher or broader than the other) running breadthwise (*tápi*).
These 4 *tápi* surround the floor proper on all sides and separate it from the raised platform (*tamáyón*) and from the annex (*tarákíp*).
 - 1 beam running breadthwise at the right (*agnáðan*).
 - 2 short posts (*síít*) for the annex.
 - 2 beams running lengthwise (*agnáðan*) and resting, at one end, on the two (*síít*) of the annex.
 - 1 beam running breadthwise at the left (*agnáðan*).
- These 4 *agnáðan* support the walling all around the house, including the annex.

The upper surface of the four *agnáðan* is provided with a rabbet or rebate (*takwáðín*), which receives the walling (*dándá*), namely: the lower ends of the boards (*dabbi* or *dimbí*) which stand upright. These boards are merely juxtaposed, and their upper ends are received by the rabbet (*takwáðín*) of the *axérán* or upper beams, that correspond to the *agnáðan* below, and will be described in due time. In some districts, the upper rabbet is called *ammōrondan*, in others, both rabbets are called by that name.

The outside of the wall is called *silib* or, sometimes, *pa-bít*.

The height of the wall, which almost corresponds to the length of the boards, is 3' 5", and the boards, ½ inch thick, vary in breadth between 8" and 1' 7".

Here and there one of the boards of the walling is missing or, rather, two boards are kept separated by a narrow open space: these openings constitute the windows or *lalamdāwan*.

(sometimes called *sosoktán*), except, in front, at the extreme left of the house proper, next to the annex, where such an opening, generally larger than the others, constitutes the door or *ragiyánán*. This door usually opens partly on the *tamúyo* or raised platform and partly on the floor of the annex. Access to it is gained by the ladder or *agdán*.

The windows are generally three, which correspond to the number of *saldá*—(section of a wall between two of the six *adixi* or tall posts) less two: the *saldá*—with the door and the one next to which the hearth is situated. Occasionally a fourth window is allowed in the wall of the annex.

Exactly in the same way as the *sinít*, or short posts support, the *añadixiyán* or girders (three *sinít* to one *añadixiyán*), the *adixi* or tall posts support the *ampákán* or tiebeams (three *adixi* to one *ampákán*). Each *ampákán*, $1\frac{1}{2}' \times 9''$, is mortised at both ends (as in Fig. 16, except that *a* and *b* are of the same breadth). These mortises receive the *sakkár* or tiebeams that run breadthwise, $1\frac{1}{2}' \times 9''$, whose ends project beyond the *ampákán*. These *sakkár*, one at each end of the house proper, are also mortised at both ends, but here the mortises are much deeper than those of the *ampákán*, so that a simple tenon is left at the lower part (Fig. 16). A fifth tiebeam, also called *sakkár*, runs breadthwise over the center of the house proper, from one central post or *takiláy* to the other, and rests at both ends both on the *ampákán* or tiebeams that run lengthwise and on the top of the *takiláy*-posts. This third *sakkár* has neither mortise nor tenon.

Any place where one piece of timber supports another one without mortise or tenon, for instance, where the third *sakkár* (or fifth tiebeam) rests on the *ampákán*, is called *santáxán*.

Two other beams, $1' \times 2''$, now come to rest into the mortise or rather upon the tenons (Fig. 16) of the two outer *sakkár* (not the central one, which has no mortise). Both these beams run lengthwise from one end of the house to the other, including the annex, and end in a tenon (Fig. 17). These are the *axérán*, and their lower surfaces are provided with a rabbet, in order to receive the upper end of the boards of the wall. Each of these *axérán* obtains a supplementary support from a peg that passes through it and is fixed in the central *adixi* or *takiláy*-post, almost on a level with the central *sakkár*.

The tenons of these *axérán* (Fig. 17) are inserted into the mortises of the other *axérán* (Fig. 18) that run breadthwise and are also provided with a rabbet, in order to receive the

upper ends of the boards of the wall next to the *atobtóbo*-post and of the wall of the annex.

As the four *axérān* are less broad than the *sakkár* or tiebeams that run breadthwise, they remain almost on the same level as the latter.

These are what we have at the height of the tiebeams:

- 6 tall posts (*adixi*): 4 corner posts and 2 *takildy*.
- 2 tiebeams running lengthwise (*ampákān*).
- 3 tiebeams running breadthwise (*sakkár*).
- 2 beams running breadthwise (*axérān*).
- 2 beams running breadthwise (*axérān*).

The walls are limited by the *agnádan*, below, and by the *axérān*, above: their beams and boards get no support from any of the posts, whether *sísit* or *adixi*, except indirectly through other pieces of timber.

The depth of the rabbet in the *axérān* or upper beam of the wall, considerably exceeds what is necessary for the reception of the upper end of the boards that constitute the walling: this is to allow the latter to be lifted up and taken out without difficulty, as they remain completely loose, being neither nailed nor tied to any part of the building. In this way, by taking out one or more boards of one or more of the walls, the house may look like an open balcony or a roofed platform.

Let us now consider the roof or *atáp* (*aza-pán* or *aga-pán*: place of the roof). Fourteen feet and four inches above the floor (*datág* or *zassarán*) proper is to be found the ridgepole or *talabáwan*, which consists in a narrow and comparatively thin beam, that rests with its broadest side (instead of standing on end) on two supports, namely: the *atobtóbo*-post, mentioned before, and the king-post (*pañtúd* or *patúna*). The upper ends of both these supports are slightly whittled and pierce the ridgepole.

The king-post rests on the fifth tiebeam or third *sakkár*, between the two central *adixi*-posts or *takildy*: it resembles a turned bedpost or leg of a table, and is cut out in a fanciful way up to two thirds of its height from beneath.

On either side of the king-post, there is a supplementary post (Fig. 19), a kind of queen-post, also called *pañtúd*, that rests on the same *sakkár* or tiebeam and reaches the central purlin (one out of three). Both these queen-posts consist in a small board which faces the king-post. They are notched very elaborately (Figs. 19 and 20), although not quite regularly, all along the edges on both sides.

A similar queen-post (a single one) rests on the outer *sakkár* or tiebeam that runs breadthwise, next to the *atobtóbo*-post: it is situated between this post and the front of the house, and has no equivalent at the other side (Fig. 22).

Across the king-post run three pieces of timber (*sókar*), a kind of straining pieces, one above the other: their ends reach the three purlins of the roof on either side. They run parallel to the third *sakkár* or central tiebeam that runs breadthwise, but only the two lower ones come in contact with the queen-posts (Fig. 21).

A similar combination of straining pieces or *sókar* runs above and parallel to the outer *sakkár* or tiebeam that runs breadthwise next to the *atobtóbo*-post (Fig. 22).

Both sets of straining pieces or *sókar* consist of small beams, except the upper *sókar* of the outer truss (Fig. 22, *c*), which is simply a round stick.

The upper *sókar* of the central truss (Fig. 21, *c*) merely touches the king-post, while the central one (*d*) is perforated by the king-post and the lower one (*e*) pierces the king-post.

The queen-posts (two in the central truss and one in the outer truss) are pierced by the lower *sókar* (Figs. 21 and 22, *e*).

The central *sókar* of the central truss (Fig. 21, *d*), which is perforated by the king-post, is very peculiar. It consists in a rather bulky piece of timber, whose central part, which corresponds to one-third of its length, is much broader than the rest; the two remaining parts, one at each end, taper off until they reach the purlins, where their breadth is diminished by about one-half. Both lateral surfaces are ornamented with carved lines: one crooked line alternates with three consecutive straight ones, both the line next to the king-post and the last line of the series being crooked ones in either direction (Fig. 23).

The rafters, about 3" broad, are of two kinds: fifteen *tadáwag* or thin pliable boards and seventeen *baddy* or solid rattan stems, at either side of the roof. At one end they rest on the ridgepole, and at the other end they join the *axérân* or upper beam of the wall. The central *tadáwag* or wooden rafter is situated above the central tiebeam or third *sakkár* and is a little broader than the others. Between each *tadáwag* or wooden rafter there is a space of about 11 inches, the center of which is occupied by one of the *baddy* or rattan rafters: consequently the latter alternate with the *tadáwag*. The last rafter at both ends, next to the annex and at the

opposite end, is a rattan one or *baddáy*, and a supplementary rattan rafter (*baddáy*) is situated between the walling of the gable and the edge of the roof, in front of the *atobtóbopost*: this supplementary rafter is not visible inside the house.

Each rafter rests on three purlins or *irāt*, that run all along the roof, between the ridgepole and the *axérān* or upper beam of the wall, all these pieces being at about the same distance from one another.

The two outer purlins or *irāt* consist in a thin narrow beam, while the central one, also called *alásip*, is much thicker and irregularly hexagonal: one of its sides, by far the largest, faces the rafters, and the other five are visible inside the house (Fig. 24).

All purlins end in a tenon (Fig. 25), which protrudes outside, after it has passed through a mortise practised in the *pa-gér* or board that runs all along the roof, outside the gable, and that will be described presently.

In some houses, there are four purlins, all of the same size: these are called *pakán*.

Canes of bamboo grass (*bassaw*, *Miscanthus sinensis* Andr.) are tied crosswise over the rafters: they are close together and form the *rárat*, a kind of ceiling that prevents the thatch from being visible inside the house. Over this covering of canes or *rárat* is placed a large amount of layers (*adé*; one layer: *tañadé*) of cogon grass, which form the real roofing and cover everything, the ridge (*boboñ*; ridging; *boboñán* included). Even the two ends of the ridgepole or *talabáwan* are completely hidden under the cogon grass of the ridge. Either end of the ridgepole together with its covering of thatch is called *pāyoñ-ó*, and the upper corner of the gable, namely the opening under the *pāyoñ-ó* through which the smoke escapes, is called *tabáñān*.

The *dubá* or gable (*agduháan*: place of the gable), at the end of the house opposite to the annex, is ogival in form, partly open and partly covered (Figs. 2 and 25). All along the border of the gable we find the *pa-gér*, which consists of thick boards that run from the lower edge of the *axérān* (upper beams of the wall) up to the ridgepole.

This *pa-gér* is provided on each side with four or five mortises, through which project four or five corresponding tenons; besides, it is cut out twice on both sides, in order to give room to corresponding beams. The lowest tenon on either side

belongs to the *axérân* (upper beam of the wall) that runs lengthwise: this tenon (Fig. 17) passes first through the *axérân* that runs breadthwise (Fig. 18) and then through the *pá-ger*; after which the lower end of the outside *baddâ* or rattan rafter is attached to it. The other three or four tenons, on both sides, belong to the corresponding purlins. The parts of the *pá-ger* that are cut out, are filled up with the ends of two beams that keep in place the walling of the gable and correspond in every detail to the *agnádan* (lower beam) and the *axérân* (upper beam) of the house wall: here, however, they are both called *axérân*.

The space between these two beams or *axérân* of the gable is filled up with boards that are arranged in the same way as those of the walling of the house. The space between the upper beam and the top of the gable is left open.

The *atobtóbo*-post, which supports the end of the ridgepole at the gable, remains outside the house from the ground up to the lower edge of the lower *axérân* of the gable (Figs. 2 and 25). At this point it enters the house and remains invisible at the outside, until it reaches the open space between the upper *axérân* of the gable and the apex of the *pá-ger*. Consequently the walling of the gable end of the house is situated inside the *atobtóbo*-post, while the falling of the gable is situated outside.

At the opposite end of the house (Fig. 1), the annex is covered with a lean-to roof, and the only part of the gable that projects above it is the one that corresponds to the open space or *tabúññân* of the complete gable next to the *atobtóbo*-post. Here, however, it is not open, but covered with cogon grass, which is pressed between a close set of canes of bamboo grass, at the inside, and a frame made of the same material, at the outside. This frame (Fig. 26) consists of a certain amount of canes placed in a slanting position and crossing one another, one by one, with plenty of space between, and of two pairs of canes that run horizontally across the former.

The rafters of the lean-to roof rest on three purlins and on the *axérân* (upper beam of the wall) of the annex. These purlins correspond to those of the house proper, and are similar to them, except the central one which is much thicker in the middle than on either side (Fig. 27) and whose free rounded surface is profusely carved (Fig. 28).

On both sides of the annex the principal roof is continued until it reaches the lean-to roof. Two small beams serve for

purlins: they correspond to the two lower purlins of the principal roof.

Single thick boards run in a continuous series, the *baládag*, all around the house, under the eaves (*aribáyan* or *ribáyan*), except of course at the gable end, on the right, next to the *atobtóbo*-post, where we have the *pa-gér*. The inner surface of these boards is applied to the projecting part of the roof, outside the walls, and their upper side touches three of the *azérán* or upper beams of the wall, namely: the two that run lengthwise and the *azérán* of the annex that runs breadthwise. Where the ends of these boards meet, they are merely juxtaposed, not jointed.

Let us now come down to the floor (*datág* or *xassarán*).

All across the eleven boat-shaped floor joists (*toldóg*) are placed thirty-one *talaxátág*, laths of wood or of palma brava (*ballán*), 2" broad by a little over 1" thick, at a distance of about 2 inches from one another. Over these *talaxátág* is spread a kind of mat, which is made either from solid rattan (*uody*) stems or, more commonly, from canes of bamboo grass, tied together by means of strips of rattan (*takád*; ties that are not used for flooring are called *xálut*). This mat, the real *datág* or *xassarán*, remains free throughout and can be lifted up at will, e.g. when the inmates want to expectorate, etc.; most of the dirt, however, falls through the interstices, and there is no necessity of removing the mat. Besides, in the generality of Isneg houses, the *datág* consists of several sections, which are independent from one another and can be removed separately.

The same arrangement of laths and matting is to be found on the *tamúyon* or raised platform that surrounds the floor proper on three sides. Here, however, the *talaxátág*-laths are much more elaborate, their lower surface being raised in the middle into a kind of knob (Fig. 29), and they are about 7 inches distant from one another; at one end they are laid down in little mortises cut into the *tápi*-beams (Fig. 30), and at the other end they are stuck into the *agnádan* or lower beam of the wall.

Next to an *adixi* or tall post, the matting of the *tamúyon* is replaced by a little board, called *baládag* (like the boards under the eaves); each of these boards is cut out circularly on the side that meets the post in question (Fig. 31). A single entire *baládag* is placed over the *tamúyon* in front of the *atobtóbo*-post. This one has not to be cut as no post interferes; but a second small rectangular board connects it with the *atobtóbo*-post: this latter board is situated at a slightly higher level than

the first one, and it is pierced at one end by the *atobtobo*-post itself (Fig. 32).

The *pad-ón* or floor of the annex is similar to that of the main floor. Here the ordinary *talaxátag*-laths rest at one end in mortises cut into the projecting part of the *agnádan*-beam that supports the walling of the annex (Figs. 33 and 34), and at the other end in little mortises cut into the *tápi*-beam (Fig. 30).

Any part of the floor where the matting is lacking and, consequently, where the *talaxátag*-laths are plainly visible, is called *sali-nítát*.

The part of the main floor which is situated next to the post that faces the door, is reserved for the hearth or *dapág*; the latter is square and is surrounded by four small beams (*dali-pán* or *puxáro*). The hearth proper consists of layers of leaves (of the banana or of zinziberaceous plants) covered with sand or clay, in the center of which three stones (*taxán*) are fixed in such a way as to be able to support cooking utensils.

Fuel is stored somewhere on the floor next to the hearth; the place where it is kept is called *agsidilán*.

A three-storied platform is suspended over the hearth. Its lower story is called *agsapandán* or *palasán*, and consists of two (sometimes four, forming a square) horizontal sticks, which are suspended from the second story by strips of rattan: it is used for storing fuel that is not yet completely dry and, occasionally, meat of the wild boar. The second story is the *páxa*, and consists of laths of wood, slivers of bamboo or canes of bamboo grass, usually woven into a compact whole by means of strips of rattan: it is used for storing *assáp* (bundles of rice that have to be dried before they are pounded; fuel, rice, etc. which have been dried over the fire, are called *insupán*). The third and upper story is the *paratág*: it is the strongest of the three, is made of wood, and is used for storing calabashes of rice, baskets, etc.

The part of the ceiling that is situated immediately over the hearth is the *sisilixán* (from *sílug*, soot).

A couple of shelves are most generally attached to the wall, somewhere near the place of the hearth, at a certain height above the floor:

The *agamotowdn*: usually a board, sometimes open-worked woven bamboo, on which are placed the *amotó*-jars used for keeping drinking water, and an occasional *báka*-jar used for cooking rice.

The *aradít* a shelf of open-worked woven bamboo slivers, on which are placed bowls, plates, etc.

Besides these, there may be found an *áyúd*, a square piece of woven bamboo or rattan, which dangles from four rattan strips that meet above and are attached somewhere to the ceiling: it is used chiefly for storing *báña*-jars.

The Isneg ladder is generally very narrow and consists of two side pieces of bamboo, with short sections of bamboo for rungs (*pákađ*): the latter are stuck in holes (*agabbó*; a general term for holes or mortises cut into wood or bamboo) cut into the side pieces, and are usually rather far apart.

The door (*xitáp* or *xisáđ*) mostly consists of two valves (rarely one): two single boards turning upon pivots on the opposite side of the opening, the pivots revolving in mortises cut into the corresponding house beams. But there are many varieties of Isneg doors, all of which agree in one characteristic: clumsiness.

PECULIARITIES

In a few Isneg houses the annex is superseded by a separate building, which contains the hearth and serves for a kitchen. In this case the doors of both house and kitchen face one another and a board connects the two, while the ladder is placed against this board.

At Bayag, a good many houses are provided with a separate kitchen, and the ladder sometimes rests against a platform (*bańsál*) which connects both buildings.

There also the windows are often square and cut out of the walling, in which case there is a *pasańgír* or upright that reaches the upper beam of the wall, on either side of the window, and the shutters or *xitáp* slide over a beam (*baxákat*) that runs all around the walling, at the outside. These *pasańgír* and *baxákat* are often carved very elaborately (Figs. 35-37).

In some rare cases the house is divided into separate rooms by one or more *baát* or partitions.

Occasionally a little shed or a lean-to, where the Isneg pound their rice, is attached to some part of the house. This floorless annex is called *baláwa* (sometimes *batalán*), and the place itself *agaalótón* (*alótón*: mortar) or *agbabáyowán* (*magbáyo*: to pound rice). Next to the mortar one usually sees a large stone (*babatáyán*; this is also the name of the stone that is sometimes placed at the foot of the ladder to keep the latter from sliding) on which the smaller girls stand (*magbatáy*) in order to reach the former. Sometimes the *baláwa* is a separate shed that has no connection with the house.

In some houses a small lean-to projects from the gable side of the house: it is called *taláb* and is used by the Isneg for storing their belongings.

A lean-to that is erected to prevent a ruinous house from breaking down is called *galiad*.

When the *agnádan*-beam sags down under the weight of the walling which it supports, a supplementary post (*pakébdy*) is placed under it, in order to keep it up.

All over Apayaw much use is made of props in order to keep ruinous buildings from leaning sideways: these props, which consist in heavy bamboos or pieces of timber, are called *túgáy*, *tu-gáy* or *tugkál*.

In a few houses the foot of the ladder, instead of touching the ground, rests upon a small platform or *balanság*, which can be stepped upon directly from the ground.

When the pieces of lumber that are available, are not large enough for a definite purpose, two pieces may be jointed into a post, etc.; such a joint is called *agsulpitán*, and the finished piece *sinulpit*.

Dove-tail joints are called *ormá*.

At Bayag, a very few houses have a flooring of wooden boards.

If the flooring consists of slivers of bamboo, instead of a matting of rattan (or canes of bamboo grass), it is called *dala-dát*.

The *pisó* or *taddó* is a matting that consists of close-woven slivers of light bamboo, whether twilled or checker: it may be used for walling and for flooring. A good many Isneg houses, however, have thick strips of heavy bamboo for the walling: these strips are tied horizontally one above the other and the space between them is amply sufficient to supply the need of windows.

In Musimut I have seen houses whose windows were mere holes cut out of one or more of the boards of the walling: they were mostly heart-shaped or nearly so.

In some rare cases, the walls of the house are painted blue at the outside, by crushing fruits of the *atiyóti* against them. The *atiyóti* is a forest tree with large leaves and red flowers.

Instead of cogon grass, the roofing may consist of palm leaves (*lañpá*), of leafed canes of *síal* or bamboo grass (*bassáw*; such materials, when ready for use, are called *añpát*), of nipa leaves or *tatá* (*Nipa fruticans* Wurm.; rarely), or of stems of light bamboo (*bólo*, *Schizostachyum mucronatum* Mack.) cut

into halves and kept together by means of canes of bamboo grass, which are called *radát* in this case. Three or more rows of entire bamboos are usually tied over these kinds of roofing, at about equal distance from one another, between the ridge and the eaves. These bamboos, called *arsit*, prevent the roofing from disintegrating and from being blown away by the wind. In any case the ridging consists of cogon grass, and at least three rows of slivers of bamboo (*darpit* or *arpit*) are tied over the ridging, on either side.

The frame of the house, as yet devoid of roofing and walling, is called *nasíassár*.

The ordinary type of house, in which everything is made of timber, except the flooring and the roofing, is called *binátron*. But there is another type of house, that is very often met with in plantations, where it serves for a temporary residence, when the family has left the village to look after fields and gardens.

The frame of this kind of house consists mostly of rough pieces of timber and bamboo. Its posts, its tiebeams, its girders and joists, its floor, its rafters, and its purlins are disposed in the same way as those of the generality of Philippine houses.

The walling usually consists of thick strips of bamboo: it is identical with the occasional walling in the village type of house, which has been mentioned before.

The roofing also is the same, except that in the village type of house it is usually much thicker.

In short, the whole appearance of this lighter type of house shows very clearly that comparatively little care has been bestowed on its erection and that it is destined only for a temporary residence. It is almost superfluous to add that, every year, such houses are in need of a good amount of repairs, and that, in many cases, one year is the limit of their usefulness.

The roof (of the gable type) and the floor, however, deserve special mention, mostly on account of the terms that are used to designate their component parts.

The flooring often consists of entire bamboos tied together by means of strips of rattan: such a floor is called *básag*. Besides the beams that run all around the house and on which rest the floor joists, there is usually a grinder (*tólug*) that supports the same joists at their center. It is also very common to find supplementary short posts scattered here and there under the floor, where they support the weakest parts of the building. Such posts, which generally consist in sections of heavy bamboo, are called *túkid*.

The rafters consist either of pieces of timber or of entire light bamboos; the latter are perforated at the upper end where they are strung on a stick (*ásip*) that is situated very near the ridgepole. These rafters, called *parbó*, rest on the ridgepole, on three or more purlins (the large ones: *babákan* or *ambabákan*; the small ones: *agaptán*) and on the tiebeam. The roofing is placed immediately over the rafters and it is plainly visible inside the house, which is not the case with the ordinary type of house in the village.

The *siráy* or hut of the rice field has been described in my paper on Isneg farming. (Cf. Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference, Vol. III, No. 4, The Isneg Farmer, Washington, D.C., 1941.)

The *báwi* is a floorless hut made of sticks, canes and leaves or grass: travellers, etc. erect it as a temporary shelter for passing the night.

Blacksmiths use a *báwi* or shed (*babtalán*, from *battál*: forging) that consists of a roof supported by a few posts.

Young pigs that have been brought in from outside, are sometimes kept in small pens, until they are thoroughly domesticated. Such pigsties (*dóxoán*), which are usually square or almost so, consist of a few entire bamboos, that are used for posts and make up the walls and the floor: they are ordinarily roofless.

Jars of *bási* (an alcoholic beverage obtained from the juice of the sugar cane) are often partly buried in the ground, at some distance from the house, in which case they are usually protected by a shed (*agabolúxán*) that consists of four posts and a rudimentary roof.

THE ISNEG GRANARY

Here follows the detailed description of one of the granaries that are to be found at Musimut. All Isneg granaries (*álan*) are very much alike: when you have seen one of them, you have seen them all (Figs. 38 and 39).

The ground plan of the Isneg granary is a rectangle, with a short post or *síit* at each corner.

Each post (*síit*) is thinned both in the middle and at the top; the latter part is provided with a mortise and immediately surmounts the *uppó* or *lappó*, which juts out very considerably (Fig. 40). The height of a *síit*, excluding the slender mortised part, is 3 feet and 8 inches.

Two beams (*batáñan*; Fig. 41), twice mortised at the upper side and 5 feet and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, rest in the mortises of the posts and connect them, two by two, running lengthwise.

Two similar beams (also called *batáñan*; Fig. 42), twice mortised at the lower side and 4 feet and 8 inches long by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, connect the former two, running breadthwise.

The four *batáñan* are jointed at their mortises and remain on the same level throughout.

A large round board, 2 feet and 4 inches in diameter, provided with a hole in the middle, is slipped over the mortised top of each post and rests on the *uppo* of the latter, immediately under the *batáñan*. The four boards, called *alédin* or *andí-lín*, keep rats and mice from climbing into the granary (Fig. 43).

Four beams (*talákub*), not visible outside, connect the *batáñan*, at the height of the floor, with the tiebeams, at the eaves. These four *talákub*, which are mere prolongations of the posts, slant outward, in front and at the back, so that the granary is broader at the eaves than at the floor (below: about 4 feet; above: about 5 feet; cf. Fig. 47).

Two tiebeams (*agpát*, *adpát*, *agpár* or *adpár*; Fig. 44), twice mortised at the upper side and 5 feet and 9 inches long by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, run lengthwise, each connecting two *talákub* with one another.

A few sticks (*saxudsúd*), not visible outside, are placed upright in slanting position, in front and at the back, between the *talákub* or prolongations of the posts. These *saxudsúd* run from the *batáñan*, at the height of the floor, up to the *adpár* or tiebeams that run lengthwise, and serve as supports for the walling, in front and at the back.

The place of the tiebeams that should run breadthwise, is taken by the *pálut* or *páwín*, which run up all along the edges of the gables, and follow their outline (Fig. 45). There are two *pálut* at either end of the granary, and they do not meet on top, as the end of the ridgepole intervenes between them. At their lower end they are either mortised or provided with two tenons: here they are connected with the two *adpár* or tiebeams that run lengthwise, at the latter's mortises. These four *pálut* or *páwín* are visible outside, but there are also four corresponding pieces of timber, called *togkár*, at the inside, so that the walling of the gable is pressed between the *pálut*, at the outside, and the *togkár*, at the inside.

Braces in the roof are also called *togkár*. These braces connect some part of the ridgepole with the end of a tiebeam,

and run under the rafters. They are usual in granaries, but very rare in houses.

The general outline of an Isneg granary is very peculiar, as may be seen in Figs. 46 and 47. The gable ends are called *tampaniki*; the front and the back, *tambabáy*. The length of a granary, from gable to gable, is called its *patakkáb*.

The walling usually consists of *pisó* (or *taddó*), plaited slivers of bamboo. At the gable ends this walling runs up uninterruptedly from the floor to the ridgepole or apex of the gable. Granaries that have a walling of boards (*dabbi*), are called *dimbi*.

Four boards, some 6 inches broad, cover the lower edges of the walling, at the outside, immediately above the *batánán* beams. These boards, called *baxákat* (literally: belt), run around the whole granary.

In the same way as the *pálut* cover the edges of the walling of the *tampaniki* or gable ends, at both sides, so also four ordinary boards cover the edges of the walling of the *tambabáy*: these boards, which run from the *baxákat* to the *adpár* or tiebeam, are called *talákub* (like the prolongations of the posts, at the inside).

From the upper edge of the *baxákat* to the tiebeam, at the eaves, in front and at the back, the wall measures 2 feet and 8 inches. The distance from the ridgepole to the ground is 11 feet and 10 inches. The ridgepole is 11 inches long.

All Isneg granaries are thatched and the materials are the same as those used in thatched houses. The frame of the roof is similar to the one that covers the less elaborate type of Isneg house, which is erected in plantations and in which the rafters are *parbó*; the purlins of the granary, however, are called *pánal*, not *babákan*.

As in the case of a typical Isneg house, a board runs along the eaves, underneath, next to the *adpár* or tiebeams: here, however, it is absent at both gable ends and it is called *patakkéb*, not *baládag*.

The flooring consists of *básag* (strips of palma brava), which rests on the *toldóg* or floor joists. The *toldóg* of an Isneg granary are nothing else but entire bamboos.

A square opening that serves for door (*zagiyanán* or *lalan-kán*), is cut out of the front wall, in the center. Two pieces of timber (*aga-dálán*), which are curved (convex side outward), run from the *baxákat* up to the *adpár* or tiebeam, on

either side of the opening. Two horizontal pieces of timber complete the square: the lower of the two is called *dadamkân* (literally: place whereon one treads; Figs. 48 and 49). Just below the *dadamkân* or doorsill, a board, 7 inches broad, is fixed between the *batánân* and the *baxákat*; this board, which is called *agansaddn*, projects outwards and serves for a kind of shelf, on which are placed the bundles of rice that are being extracted from the granary, before they are brought down to the ground.

The shutter is a square board with a perforated knob in the middle. To close the granary, a wooden bar is thrust through the holes of the two *aga-dálân* and of the door knob.

The two *aga-dálân* and the four *pálut* (at the gables) are sometimes ornamented with carvings.

Temporary granaries are called *sipí*: they are very light structures and have the shape of a cube raised on posts, with a lean-to roof. Instead of an *alédin* or round board, a section of a palm tree, called *libañ*, is stuck on the top of each post, under the *batánân*, in order to keep out the rats. These *libañ* are very similar in appearance to the *uppó* of the common granary posts.

ISNEG CUSTOMS

When the Isneg wants to build a house or a granary (*mag-pa-dá*: to erect a building; *magbaláy*: to build a house), the first thing he has to do is to go and observe the flight of the *labág*-bird for a favorable omen, after which he starts gathering materials (*magtarikáyo*).

There are a few kinds of timber that are absolutely tabooed, among others:

The *balanâ*, a tree whose leaves resemble those of the Java plum. Should *balanâ*-timber be used in the construction of the house, some kind of sickness will inevitably affect one or more of its inmates; the disease will come on quite suddenly, without any apparent cause, and culminate in death.

The *bátug*, a tree whose timber is not much esteemed. If it were used for a post, it would cause the death of the owner of the house.

Any kind of tree that is *maaleslât*, covered with clustering vines.

The next thing that has to be done is to pull these materials out of the forest (*maxalud-úd*), and to bring them to the place where the building will be erected.

Auguring has again to be resorted to before the erection of the posts.

On the day that has been set aside for the purpose, after a previous consultation with neighbors and friends of the family,

a group of men come together at the place where the materials have been assembled. Here they select four beams and place them on the ground in the form of a rectangle, with a piece of ginger and some *tazaligdá* (small herbs that grow in the forest), for amulets, in the center: this ceremony is called *magsáhal*. After that they dig the holes, erect the six tall posts or *adíxi* and, if time permits, fix the two *ampákán* or tiebeams that run lengthwise. No more work is performed that day, and the next day absolutely nothing is done; this cessation of labor for an entire day is called *mazalalaw* (*mazallaw* at Bolo).

On the third day, the work is taken up again, and it is not discontinued any more, except, of course, when there is a lack of materials or men, which is far from unusual.

At the construction of the roof, the Isneg make use of a kind of primitive scaffold (*patapáya*), which consists of a few bamboos that rest on the frame of the house: it is taken down as soon as the work is finished.

Should a rainbow (*buñlín*) happen to surround a house under construction, this means death to the owner of the house in the near future: he will be *nabunlínán*.

Should a swarm of bees (*xáwan*) be flying over it, the effect is equally disastrous.

At Bayag, when a new house is being erected, somebody has to throw a few kernels of rice all around, and more especially on the path that leads up to it. At the same time the following prayer is recited (text obtained from *Pokól*, a Bayag man):
Ne ma- bisin ta magadäyyóa. Here, hunger, so that you go away

The gutter for leading off the water that drops from the eaves, is called *alindwan* or *lúwan*. The house yard is called *amuwág*, when it is considered in itself, and *lasí* (outside), when it is considered in relation to the house. The surrounding grounds, usually covered with weeds and bushes, are called *lu-mó*.

The erection of a granary is conducted in the same way, *mutatis mutandis*, as that of the house. The only noteworthy exception is the use of the *báwig*, which consists in a strip of rattan that is attached at one end to the top of one of the *tampaniki* or projecting gables, and, at the other end, somewhere in the ground, at some distance from the granary in question; this is done in order to make sure that the building stands straight.

At Dangla I noted down a couple of Isneg tales that had to do with the building of houses.

In one of them it is told that two brothers, having gone to the forest to gather timber for their new house, started to cut down one of the pine trees (*tálan*), which seemed to suit their purpose very well, when all at once the spirit *Maímaíkit* interrupted them by shouting: "This is my house."

Another story relates the adventures of *Maníram*, who, whenever he built himself a new house, invariably burnt it down again. After he had done this several times in succession, it happened one day that he was caught in the burning house and died in consequence.

When everything is in readiness and the Isneg goes to occupy his new home, he must offer a sacrifice to the spirits (*maxumé*: literally, to enter) as soon as possible, lest one of his children die. He is allowed to choose between the *sáy-ám* (the more solemn sacrifice) and the *pildáp* (called *paglańkán* in this case), except if his new house is a *bináron* (with walling of timber), in which case he is obliged to offer the *sáy-ám*-sacrifice, and, before entering the house, he must promise to do so.

At this particular *sáy-ám*, the owner of the house himself picks out the first dancer, the *maggatalíp*, who must be a brave man, as he is not allowed to begin the performance before he has extolled his former exploits (*maggakkáw*). As a reward for his services, the *maggatalíp* receives from the owner of the house one piece of cloth (any kind) and two bracelets, which consist in a mere string provided with one single bead. Before he dances, he is required to put on the two bracelets, but not the cloth.

The following prayers are of use, while either of these sacrifices is going on:

1. During the *maxanito* (a shaman's communication with the spirits), when *inapúxán* (betel for chewing) is offered at the edge of the yard, which has been cleaned for the purpose. Text furnished by Uwíl from Bolo:

Nénu ma- pe íbańńán ya inapú-
xán ta dínu ma- pe dam-án ya
pandá náya inaxéńńán.

Here for you, inhabitants of
this place, the betel (for chewing),
so that you do not step over the
limit of what has been swept.

2. At the offering of *inapúxān* to the ancestors. My informant, Bāydán from Tawit:

*Iápugko iáw bumagtó na talló
wa ólo ta umādayyóka.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to you, three-headed Bumagto, so that you go away.

*Iápugko iáw éng ta andáyonta
akkán.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to you, Engig, because we are relatives, not?

*Iápugko iáw malindaw ta taxa-
sinánnaami.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to you, Malindaw, so that you look after us.

3. While rice is being thrown away. The same ceremony with the identical prayer, is performed at the agony of a dying person. This and the three following texts were given me by Pokól from Bayag:

*Ne ma- nablái anito ta akkámno
patáyón daami.*

Here, murdering spirit, so that you do not kill us.

4. While rice, a leaf of the betel pepper and a piece of betel nut (no lime) are being thrown away:

*Ne ma- sinakit ta mapánka
adáyýó.*

Here, Sinakit, so that you go far away.

5. While rice, a leaf of the betel pepper and a piece of betel nut (no lime) are being buried in the ground, under the house. This is an offer to *Anká*, a spirit who is supposed to talk under the house at night:

*Ne ma- anká ta maganani-
gádka.*

Here, Angka, so that you go down (enter the earth).

6. While rice is being placed in the corner of the hearth and covered with ashes:

*Ne ma- battág ta maggigánka
i dapág.*

Here, Battug, so that you dwell at the hearth.

Battág (literally: riches) is a benevolent spirit whose help is much appreciated by the Isneg. They possess an amulet, called *addát batbattág* (literally: grass of riches), a small herb with a comparatively bulky root, that brings plenty to the man who plants it in his rice field, in his garden, near his house, etc. Then there is the *abulbulón batbattág* (literally: companion of riches), about whom the following story is related by the Isneg:

One night a man dreamed that he saw somebody carrying a huge bunch of bananas; the next morning his dream came true. Another night he dreamed that he met a man with a large bundle of rice, and again the dream came true. He always met the man (the *abulbulón batbattág*) he had dreamed about, late in the morning, but they never talked. The dreamer became very rich and he recounted his experiences to any willing listener. That is the reason why the Isneg refuse to set out early in the morning and mock at those who do.

An amulet that is very powerful in new houses, is the *asipág*, a small herb with obovate serrate leaves, which grows on rocks and stones.

If a *labág*-bird (augural) passes under (*magsilpát*) a house that was occupied only a short time ago, or if one of its posts is invaded (*mabalaxúbug*) by white ants, this means that one of the inmates will die as the Isneg generally bury their dead under the house. To prevent such a catastrophe, the family must leave that house, and move elsewhere, not, however, before the flight of the *labág*-bird has been observed.

An abandoned house is called *badw*. If many of its former inmates have died there, nobody is allowed to use any of its materials, not even for fuel: it is simply left to rot.

The most important guardians of the house are the *Piláy*-spirits and *Dadamkán*. The former, who reside at the inner corner of the hearth, (next to the post of the house), on the *páxa*-shelf over the hearth and in the granary, have been treated at length in my paper about Isneg farming (cf. op. cit.). No sweets are prepared in the house without the *Piláy* having their share: a saucer containing a part of the sweets, is invariably placed on the *páxa*-shelf. Nobody is allowed to touch another man's granary under penalty of becoming lame (*piláy*): whenever a *Piláy*-spirit touches a man, lameness is the result.

Dadamkán takes the threshold under his special protection. Anybody who steps on the doorsill or threshold, when entering or leaving a house, is punished with sickness and dies a certain death. The following prayers are addressed to that powerful spirit:

While offering sweets, which is compulsory whenever the latter are prepared by the inmates of the house. Text obtained from Umlá, an Abbil man:

*Ne ma- uwámo dadam-án ta
dinaami ad-adanniyán.*

Here, this is yours, Dadamkan,
so that you do not approach us.

While offering *inapúxán* (betel for chewing). The text of the first prayer was given me by Lampá from Dangla. The second prayer, obtained from *Báydán*, a Tawit man, is very old and addresses *Dadamkán* under the name of *Gallál*:

*Iápugko ikáw dadam-án ta uwa-
ámno melab-án kadakami ya isa-
gaddán.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to
you, Dadamkan, so that you guard
us mortals from being killed.

*Iápugko ikáw gallál ta dina-
paggallagalalán.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to
you, Gallál, so that you do not
open your mouth over me.

Other household spirits are:

Panaránán, who keeps company with the *Piláy*, at the corner of the hearth.

Xabáwán, a female spirit, and *Sákit*, who stay at the place where the *toítót* (bamboo tubes used ceremonially during *sig-ám*-sacrifices) are kept in store.

Inulný, who stays somewhere in each Isneg house, often at the place of the *toítót*. Whenever the inmates of the house partake of much steamed viands, they have to give *Inulný* his share.

Túbal, who guards the family at night, but repairs to his own abode in the daytime.

Kinoblóá, who stays inside the house, and warns the father or the mother (not the husband or wife) of a sick person, in a dream, to offer dogs or pigs in sacrifice.

Uppris, who guards the foot of the ladder and prevents harmful people from entering the house.

Atugán, a sky spirit, who guards the middle of the ladder. If he happens to desert his post, the ladder breaks down.

Daríunán, the tutelary spirit of old inhabited houses.

Baláwi, who lives outside, but protects all kinds of huts, provided they contain fire. If the inmates of a *báwi* or a *sízáy* (two kinds of huts) allow the fire to go out, the owner gets sick.

Besides these, there are a few doubtful or downright vicious characters:

Rikoddón, who stays in the house and occasionally awakens the sleepers by troublesome noises, whose originator, as a matter of course, can never be traced.

Lillipát, who is always moving about and travels continually from house to house.

Xamrát, who forcibly pulls (*xamrátan*) people out of their houses.

Kópaá, a blind spirit, who roams around at night, either in the bushes or in the village, and occasionally enters one of the houses: he is always intent on making other people blind like himself.

Balanéban (at Bolo) or *Balaníban* (at Bayag), who wanders among the houses, in their immediate neighborhood: his aim is to kill people.

Balaúan, a female spirit, who resides in the granary; if the contents are found to be in disorder, the owners know it to be *Balaúan's* doing.

When people have to stay in a hut on account of the children, they must offer *inapúxán* (betel for chewing) to one or more of the spirits who reside there, and at the same time recite one of the following prayers (texts obtained from *Lampá*, a *Dangla man*):

*Iápugko ikáw siárák ta awánmo
siárátan kadakami.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to you, Singrut, so that you do not swallow any of us.

*Iápugko ikáw ánot ta dinakami
an-ánótan.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to you, Angot, so that you do not smell about us.

*Iápugko ikáw xumugguád ta
dinakami xu-xuudán.*

I offer betel (for chewing) to you, Xumuguad, so that you do not measure us.

Although evil spirits seem to be lurking about everywhere, the *Isneg* are never at a loss to thwart their wicked designs. Besides prayers and offerings, they possess a copious assortment of amulets, some of which are powerful not only against the influence of ill-intentioned spirits, but also against destructive forces of nature.

The most important amulets for the protection of the house and the family, together with their practical use, are the following:

Daguwáy: a herb, some eight inches high, growing almost anywhere. It prevents evil spirits from entering the house.

Dila anito (literally: spirit's tongue): a low sturdy plant with leaves forked at the top, probably a kind of fern.

Sanigmayáw: a small herb with comparatively large leaves, growing all over the district.

Abisiyó: a very small flowerless plant with needlelike leaves, growing on rocks. Any of these three, when placed next to the entrance, denies access to all kinds of evil.

Balinodg: a herb with leaves that are whitish underneath, some eight inches tall, growing in woody thickets. An amulet against agues.

Padi-di: a very low herb, growing in forests. It guards the house in a village contaminated by smallpox, and it drives out the scourge if any of the inmates has been infected.

Tupláy: a very common herbaceous vine with very pubescent leaves. When placed under the hearth, it shields the house from the danger of fire.

Nagbáyágán: a fragrant herb, some 25 inches tall, with very long leaves. When planted in the immediate neighborhood of a dwelling, it protects the latter from landslides.

Palasípán: a very tall fern. Its fronds drive all *kumi* (a kind of small cockroach) out of the house. I am not sure whether this plant is a mere amulet or a real insectifuge.

Saddán: a herb, some twelve inches tall, with comparatively long leaves. A protective amulet.

Da-dapág: a very common small herb with diminutive leaves. When placed on the *páxa*-shelf, over the hearth (*dapág*), it insures the protection of the *Piláy*-spirits.

Indapsón or *imbabsón*: a small herb growing on trees in the forest. It is placed under the eaves as a resting place for passing spirits.

A *tabáyug* (inflorescence of the bamboo grass) is placed over the door of the house, at the outside, lest the spirit *Kapónán*, the owner of all *tabáyug*, cause any of the children to become sick.

Potáran: a very common herb, some 10 inches tall. When placed in other people's houses, it allures any kind of sickness that may be coming around, and keeps it busy there.

The ubiquitous *tokkdg* (*Lygodium* sp.) has been alluded to several times in former papers. This fern is to be found at any place where *Piláy*-spirits rule.

All Isneg have a thorough knowledge of the taboos or prohibitions that refer to the house and the granary, and they strictly observe them.

It is absolutely forbidden to bring *sipán* (young meatless coconuts) into the house, especially when somebody is sick.

Cutting the rattan bands (*takád*) of the flooring is taboo, lest the children get sick.

It is prohibited to cut or notch any part of a house built by a *matáal* (brave), under penalty of being *mabárat* (to become thinner and thinner until death ensues). Nevertheless there are two ways of avoiding this calamity:

Wrap a part of the stem of the *amárut* in a piece of cloth and tie it around the waist. The *amárut* is a herbaceous vine, with rough oblong leaves and a profusion of stems that spread from its base: it grows on high rocks.

Have a *matáal* apply his pouch, in which are concealed some herbs with whose efficacy he is acquainted, to your nose and sniff it thoroughly.

Laughing at certain animals causes the destruction by water (*malbó*) of the mocker's (*maxinalbó*) house. There are two versions of this taboo and of the punishment meted out to those who infringe it:

According to one version, it is forbidden to joke with cats and dogs, for instance by placing them under your coat and laughing, lest a hole or a cave suddenly appear under your house and water well up from it, causing the building to tumble down (*malbó*) and all those who shared in the transgression to die.

According to another version, butterflies may not be laughed at, lest a heavy rain cause a flood, and the latter destroy the house of the culprit.

It is not allowed to keep a dog in the house, when the master is absent, lest the dog howl (*magtól* or *magtañól*), which is taboo.

Except when in the act of extracting rice from a granary, nobody, not even the owner, is permitted to touch any of the *andilís* or round boards that cover the upper part of the posts, lest the person become sick.

If you stumble (*meba-dúl*) on the ladder of the house, in going down, you should not proceed, but turn back and reenter the house; after that you may try it again.

It is forbidden, under penalty of death, to pronounce the name of the man-killing *sawsáw*-bird, whenever its voice is heard in the immediate neighborhood of the house.

There are a few other ill-omened animals known to the Isneg, whose evil influence is not as easily prevented as that of the *sawsáw*, for instance:

The *talamánud*, an invisible bird, whose cry announces the irruption of some infectious disease into the town.

The *kulaxáw*, probably a kind of mole cricket, which causes the death of one of the inmates of the house under which it is heard.

The *dáñaw*, a stinkbug, which brings sickness to one of the inmates of the house it enters.

The *alipatpát*, a firefly, which kills one person for each spark that is produced when it comes into collision with fire, inside the house.

The *alipáp* or common lizard, whose cry announces the death of a member of the family. If this *alipáp* is seen moving about among the jars that contain the drinking water, it means that a visitor may soon be expected.

The following animals are of an auspicious character:

The *bagbagsá*, a kind of invisible insect: when its cry is heard in or around the house, and more especially near the hearth, it predicts the probable arrival of meat (of a deer or of a wild boar).

The *bi-bit*, a kind of insect: when its cry is heard behind the house, not far from the place of the hearth, it gives promise of the *baldt*-trap catching a deer or a wild boar.

The *barikoko*, a kind of large snail, whose entrance into a house has the same meaning as the cry of the *bi-bit*-insect.

If a person steps through the floor of a house, this means that his leg has been pulled down by the spirit *Dékuŕ*, and the result is perpetual lameness.

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE 1

- FIG. 1. Isneg house at Abbil: Front side and annex.
2. Isneg house at Abbil: Gable.

PLATE 2

- FIG. 3. The fifteen posts of an Isneg house:
- a. *Siniit*.
 - b. *Adixi*.
 - c. *Atobtobo*.
 - d. Imaginary line corresponding to the walls of the house.
4. Top of a post:
- a. *Sináy* or mortise.
5. Plan of an Isneg house:
- a. The house proper.
 - b. *Adixi* or tall posts.
 - c. *Atobtobo*-post.
 - d. Walls of the house.
 - e. *Tardkip* or annex.
 - f. *Tamáyon* or platform.
 - g. *Dapug* or hearth.
 - h. Ladder.
 - i. *Kasixidan* or left end of the house.
6. End of a post:
- a. *Boiraw* or edge.
7. End of a beam:
- a. *Bonraw* or edge.
8. Girders and floor joists:
- a. *Añadixian* or girders.
 - b. *Toldog* or floor joists.
 - c. *Siniit* or short posts.
 - d. *Adixi* or tall posts.
 - e. *Atobtobo*-post.
9. A *Toldog* or floor joist:
- a. Mortises for the *tápi*-beams.
 - b. Mortises for the *añadixian* or girders.
10. *Tápi*-beam that runs lengthwise:
- a. Mortises for the *tápi*-beams that run breadthwise.
 - b. Mortise for the *agnadan*.
 - c. *Adixi* or tall posts.
11. *Tápi* and *agnadan*:
- a. Floor proper.
 - b. *Adixi* or tall posts.
 - c. *Atobtobo*-post.

- d. *Agnádan*-beams running lengthwise.
 - d'. First *agnádan* (resting on a *tápi*-beam).
 - d''. Fourth *agnádan*.
 - e. *Tápi*-beams running lengthwise.
 - e'. *Tápi*-beams running breadthwise.
 - f. *Tarákip* or annex.
 - g. *Tamáyon* or platform.
 - h. *Páwat* or pegs.
 - i. *Kasiridán* or left end of the house.
12. Either of both ends of first *agnádan* (d' of Fig. 11).
 13. Tenons of the two *agnádan* (d of Fig. 11) corresponding to the mortises shown in Fig. 12.
 14. One of the two *agnádan* running lengthwise (d of Fig. 11):
a, b, c. Correspond to a, b, c of Fig. 15.
 15. Fourth *agnádan* (d'' of Fig. 11):
a, b, c. Cf. Fig. 14.
 16. End of an outer *sakkár* or tiebeam that runs breadthwise:
a. Mortise for the *axérán* that runs lengthwise.
b. Tenon on which rests the *axérán* that runs lengthwise.
 17. End of an *axérán* that runs lengthwise:
a. Tenon.
 18. End of an *axérán* that runs breadthwise:
a. Mortise for the tenon shown in Fig. 17.
 19. Queen-post: the side that faces the king-post:
a. Where the lower *sókar* or straining piece pierces the queen-post.
 20. Queen-post: One of the edges.
 21. Central truss:
a. King-post.
b. Queen-posts.
c. Upper *sókar* or straining piece.
d. Central *sókar*.
e. Lower *sókar*.
f. Third *sakkár* or central tiebeam that runs breadthwise.
 22. Outer truss:
a. *Atobtóbo*-post.
b. Queen-post.
c. Upper *sókar*.
d. Central *sókar*.
e. Lower *sókar*.
f. Outer *sakkár*.
 23. Carved ornaments on the central *sókar* or straining piece of the central truss:
a. Place of the king-post.
 24. Cross section of an *alásip* or central purlin.
 25. Ogival gable:
a. Lower edge of b.
b. *Axérán* (upper beam of the wall) that runs breadthwise.

- c. *Pa-gér*.
- d. Lower *axérán* of the gable.
- d'. Upper *axérán* of the gable.
- e. *Atóbtóbo*-post.
- f. Tenons of the *axérán* of the house that run lengthwise.
- g. Tenons of the purlins.
- h. Upper *sókar* or straining piece of the outer truss.
(c of Fig. 22).
- i. Open space or *tabánán*.
- j. Walling of the gable.
- 26. Outside frame of canes in the gable over the lean-to roof of the annex.
- 27. Cross section of the central purlin of the lean-to roof.
- 28. Carved ornaments on the rounded surface of the central purlin of the lean-to roof.
- 29. *Talaxátag* lath of the *tamáyón* or raised platform.
- 30. Side of a *tápi*-beam next to the *tamáyón* or raised platform:
 - a. Mortises occupied by the ends of the *talaxátag*-laths.
- 31. Two *baládop*-boards on either side of a post:
 - a. Place of the post.
- 32. Small board that connects the *tamáyón* or raised platform with the *atóbtóbo*-post:
 - a. Place of the *atóbtóbo*-post.
- 33. Cross section of the *agnádan* (lower beam of the wall) of the annex.
- 34. Inner surface of the *agnádan* (lower beam of the wall) of the annex.
- 35. Carved ornaments on the outer surface of a *bazákat* or window sill.
- 36. Cf. 35.
- 37. Carved ornaments on the outer surface of a *Pasaigir* or upright of a window frame:
 - a. Parts cut out entirely.
- 40. Short post or *síait* of a granary:
 - a. Whereon the *alediá* (Fig. 43) rests.
 - b. Mortise for a *batánán* that runs lengthwise.
 - l. *Lappó* or *uppó*.
- 41. *Batánán* that runs lengthwise:
 - a. Mortises for the *batánán* that run breadthwise.
- 42. *Batánán* that runs breadthwise:
 - a. Mortises for the *batánán* that run lengthwise.
- 43. *Alédiá* or *andiliá*:
 - a. Place of the mortised top of the *síait* or short post.
- 44. *Adpár* or tiebeam that runs lengthwise:
 - a. Mortises for the *páht*.

PLATE 3

- FIG. 38. Isneg granary at Letnukan.
39. Isneg granary at Langnaw.

PLATE 4

FIG. 45. Two *pálat* outlining a gable:

- a. Upper tenon which rests in the mortise of the *adpár* (a of Fig. 44).
 - b. Lower tenon which supports the *adpár*.
46. *Tambabáy*-side of a granary (front or back):
- a. *Talabáwan* or ridgepole.
 - b. *Adpár* or tiebeam.
 - c. Roof.
 - d. *Tambabáy* (wall).
 - e. *Batáán*.
 - f. *Aléán* or *andíán*.
 - g. *Síáit* or short posts.
47. *Tampaniki* or gable end of a granary:
- a. End of ridgepole.
 - b. Ends of *adpár* or tiebeams.
 - c. *Tampaniki*.
 - d. *Batáán*.
 - e. *Aléán* or *andíán*.
 - f. *Síáit* or short posts.
48. Door of a granary:
- a. *Aga-dáán*.
 - b. Upper piece of timber.
 - c. *Dadamkán* or doorsill.
 - d. *Adpár* or tiebeam.
 - e. *Bardkat*.
49. One of the *aga-dáán* of an Isneg granary:
- a. Hole for the wooden bar.