

II. LAW

AS TOLD BY THE NABALOI THEMSELVES

Nabaloi Text

THE TONGTONG OR COUNCIL

1. Sūta kadauiian ni Igodot dinka ni too no bayag. Sūta anumnuman i too i amangikwan ni kosto. Sikara mayingadnan impanamani too, tap chaka ikwan i pasing. Sikara mayngadnan anumnuman, tap sikara manumnum.

2. No sinachūūm i anumnuman i too eraka masinop num guara tongtongancha'n manbakal. Num sinop era, saman ikwan ni tongtong. No sinachūūm say tongtong chi Kabayan, chakala too ja ontongtong ni bakal, num no sinachūūm ootēk era. Masapol ja amput guaray chūa ni olaolay. Amina baknang ja too tomtongtong era, num kastamut i abitug num guara numnumcha tan asisēkun.

3. Sūta impanama mobadin ja sadatanchay kadauiian. No masadatan guaray tapuy ja kanun ni dalakay. Sūta kadauiian ja asadatan, masapol ja sochotan ni chachakal ja too.

4. Sūta angulpug ja sadatan ja kadauiian nūnta kabadolakik. No bayag kamon guaray badolaki onbasol tan marikit, eraka machosa, jut eraka mapidit ja mamūno ni noang, baka ono kuchil, ja kanun ni too. Sūta tongtong pinanoonteha ji amankakotēk i animal, jut sigud num masadan ni kadauiian. Sūta impanama pinanonoteha i sigud amo num sadatan i kadauiian, jut sinop i too'n amin. Saman ikwancha olnong. Sūta karakdan ni too tinongtongeha i sigud num masadatan i kadauiian.

5. No sochotan ni tongtong i kadauiian, agmasapol i olnong, num masapol ja guara olnong num masadatan i kadauiian.

6. No agtongpalan ni too i datug ni tongtong, baganchay i too onchos a nan sikato ni kampol. No sinachūūm sūta tongtong i mangada ni kojunto jut, pansilbi era kanun ni too.

II. LAW

AS TOLD BY THE NABALOI THEMSELVES¹⁸⁴*English Translation*

THE TONGTONG OR COUNCIL

1. The custom law¹⁸⁵ of the Igorot was made by the people long ago. The wisest men said what was right. They were called *impanama*¹⁸⁶ of the people because they said what to do. They were called the *anum-numan* because they were wise.

2. Sometimes the wisest (men) met together when there were quarrels to be decided. If they met, that was called *tongtong*. Sometimes the *tongtong* of Kabayan were many people who decided quarrels, but sometimes they were few. It was necessary to have two always. All the rich (men) belonged to the *tongtong*, but also even the poor (men) if they had wisdom and were old.

3. The *impanama* could change the custom law. When it was changed, there was *tapuy* which was drunk by the old men. The custom law which was changed must be agreed to by the majority of the people.

4. The last change of the custom law was when I was a young man.¹⁸⁷ Long ago if there was a young man (who) had a fault with a young unmarried girl, they were punished and were forced to kill a carabao, cow, or pig which was eaten by the people. The *tongtong* decided that the animals were becoming few, and (that) it was probably well to change the custom law; and all the people gathered together. That they called *olnong*. The majority of the people decided it would be well if the custom law were changed.

5. If the *tongtong* followed the custom law, the *olnong* was unnecessary; but it was necessary to have the *olnong* if the custom law was changed.

6. If a person did not obey the decision of the *tongtong*, they would ask the people to punish him accordingly. Sometimes the *tongtong* would take his property, and use (it) as food for the people.

¹⁸⁴ All the texts on law were obtained in Kabayan, but the law of the various Nabaloi communities differs only in unimportant detail.

¹⁸⁵ Literally, "where you go."

¹⁸⁶ Literally, "made to be the fathers."

¹⁸⁷ Maslagnan, the speaker, was about sixty years of age.

7. Guaray sakay ja tongtong chi Kabayan, sakay chi Gūsaran, sakay chi Lūtab, sakay chi Pakso, tan sian amin chi achūma ilt. No sūta too'n amanbakal num nan sinabadi i ilieha, sūta matongtong notda chūa'n ilt, sikara ontongtong. No sūta tongtong ni chūa'n ilt ji agonkosto, no sinachūm sūta too'd sakay ilt bakalanchay too'd sabadi'n ilt.

8. Amasinop i mantongtong num guaray manbakakal ja tongtong-ancha, num masapol ni olaolay ja masinop era ni pinsak ni maka tauan anchi manbakakal. Sūta mangitongtong agera madagbūan. Sūta tongtong eraka masinop chi kampola dūgad.

9. No agtongpalon ni too i kadauiian, tap agtoamta, machosa ngorūchian.

10. Sūta impanama eraka masinop niman ni sinachūm ja matongtong num guara bakal; num sūta sakay ja amaabak agtotompalan ni olaolay, tap niman agchosaan ni tongtong. Niman guara dintug ni Amerikano, no chosaan ni impanama ondau ja annanchiklamo chi Baguio.

MARRIAGE

Who can not marry.—11. Say daki agmabodin asauwanto's inato, agito, panginaanto, anak ni asauwato ji sakay ja daki, tan inasiguchanto bīl.

12. Say bīl agmobadina asauwanto's amato, agito, pangamaanto, tan anak ni asauwato ji sakay ja bīl, tan inasiguchantoi daki.

13. Nūntanda agmobadin asauwanto's anakto'n bīl ni agi ni amato ono agi ni inato. Niman mabodin, num kwanmi aligua'n mabtung. Nūntanda masapola aping manasauwa i apin; apin agmabodina manasauwa sabadi'n too. Niman mabodin, num kwanmi aligua'n mabtung.

14. I daki ono bīl mabodina manasauwa sabadi'n too, num agnak chung i manasauwacha.

Engagement ceremonies.—15. Say ama tan ina mabodina mamispis ni asauwa ni anakeha, num ootēk i anak. Sinachūm eraka mankaysing. Sinachūm num baknang i amacha, eraka mankaysing ni pinchūa: jut pinsak i ama ni daki, pinsak i ama ni bīl. No abitug i

7. There was one *tongtong* in Kabayan, one in Gusaran, one in Lutab, one in Pakso; and just so in all other settlements. When the people quarrelled, if they lived in different settlements, the *tongtong* of the two settlements decided. If the *tongtong* of the two settlements could not agree, sometimes the people of one settlement would fight the people of the other settlement.

8. The *tongtong* met to find out if there were quarrels to be decided; but it was necessary always to meet once each year, although there was no quarrelling. The *tongtong* were not paid. The *tongtong* met at various places.

9. If the people did not obey the custom law because they did not know it, they were punished just the same.

10. The *impanama* meet now sometimes when there is a quarrel to decide; but the one who loses does not always obey, because now the *tongtong* can not punish. Now there is the law of the Americans,¹⁸⁸ if the *impanama* punishes (them), they go to Baguio to complain.

MARRIAGE

Who can not marry.—11. A man can not marry his mother, his sister, his aunt, the child of his wife by another man, or his adopted daughter.

12. A woman can not marry her father, her brother, her uncle, the child of her husband by another woman, or her adopted son.

13. Formerly (a person) could not marry the daughter of the sister or brother of his father or of his mother. Now he may, but we think it is not good. Formerly it was necessary for a twin to marry a twin; a twin could not marry another person. Now he may, but we think it is not good.

14. A man or woman may marry other people if their marriages are not completed.¹⁸⁹

Engagement ceremonies.—15. The father and mother can select the spouse of their child when the child is small. Sometimes they make *kaysing*.¹⁹⁰ Sometimes if the fathers are rich, they make *kaysing* twice; once the father of the man and once the father of the woman.

¹⁸⁸ The general civil and criminal law of the Philippines applies to the Igorot. However, one Nabaloi seldom institutes civil proceedings against another. Practically all disputes which might be made the basis of a civil action are still decided by the influential men.

¹⁸⁹ If neither of the parties are already married at the time.

¹⁹⁰ The word "*kaysing*" is used not only to denote the ceremony, but also to express the relationship between the parents of the betrothed. The ceremony is sometimes celebrated when the children are only a few months old. Its primary purpose generally is to cement friendship between their fathers—especially after they have quarrelled.

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amacha, pinsak i kaysingcha. Chaka panchūa gastos. No baknang i sakay, ji abitug i sakay, sūta baknanga too sikatoi mangikan ni kaysing.

16. Say kaysing eraka mamūno i baka ono noang, tan, makaamta ni tapuy. Anchi mambūnong ja manibūnong.

17. Sinachūūm anchi kaysing para anak num ootēk era. No aginkaysing ni amato num ootēk, sūta daki mabodina pispisatoi asauwato, jut dagantoi kalon.

18. Masapola mamūno i noang ono baka ni kalonto, tan mangada ni tapuy. Anchi mambūnong ja manibūnong.

19. No say baka ono noang num onkaga num chanchani'n būnoancha ni kalon ono kaysing, agmabodin ja manasauwacha nūntana tiēmpo. No onpatok i chakadan num idoto chi bakas ono apag, omanang chi kalon ono kaysing.

20. No agkosto'n daki sūta bī, num nakchung i kaysing ono kalon, baychantoi amato gastos ni kaysing ono kalon num anchi basūl sūta bī. No agkosto ni bī ja asauwatoi daki, sikato ono si amato baychantoi i gastos no kaysing ono kalon.

21. No anchi baka ono noang ni amacha, sakay ja baknang i aknanto, jut sūta daki tan bī ja manasauwa i otongantocha. Era manobdacha son sikato inkud mabachan. Sinachūūm ageha kakchungan i bayadto ni chakal ja tauan.

Marriage ceremony.—22. No nakchung i kaysing ono kalon, sūta bī amangian chi bali amato inkud mangidin era. Sūta daki agtoacholan i bī num agera mangidin.

23. No mangidin era būnoanchay kuchil ja iakan nūpta ama ni daki. No chachani būnoanchay kuchil sūta mambūnong ibūnongto, jut inkwanto:

"Sikama Kabigat ja angipalsūa ni sikami too; iay i tapuy; panooko-bantayo. Mangilin si tan Ilintugmoi sikara,

If the fathers are poor they make *kaysing* once. They divide the expenses into two parts. If one is rich while the other is poor, the rich man therefore gives the *kaysing*.

16. (At) the *kaysing* they kill a cow or carabao, and get *tapuy*. There is no *mambunong*¹²⁰ to pray.

17. Sometimes there is no *kaysing* for children when they are small. If his father did not celebrate the *kaysing* when he was small, the man can choose his wife and celebrate the *kalon*.

18. It is necessary to kill a carabao or cow for *kalon*, and get *tapuy* (rice wine). There is no *mambunong* to pray.

19. If the cow or carabao bellows when being killed for *kalon* or *kaysing*, they can not marry at that time. If the *chakadan*¹²² makes a noise while the rice or meat is cooking, the *kalon* or *kaysing* will be repeated.

20. If the man does not want the woman after the *kaysing* or *kalon* has been completed, he must pay her father (his part of) the expenses of the *kaysing* or *kalon* if the woman has no fault.¹²³ If the woman does not wish to marry the man, she or her father pays the expenses of the *kaysing* or *kalon*.

21. If their fathers do not have a cow or carabao, a rich (man) furnishes it, but the man and woman who marry owe (for it). They work for him until the debt is paid. Sometimes they do not finish paying for many years.¹²⁴

Marriage ceremony.—22. When the *kaysing* or *kalon* has been finished, the woman remains at her father's house until they celebrate the *mangidin*. The man does not lie with the woman before they have celebrated the *mangidin*.

23. When they celebrate the *mangidin*, they kill a dog, which the father of the man furnishes. When they are ready to kill the dog, the *mambunong* prays and says:

"You¹²⁵ Kabigat who created us people; here is *tapuy*; let us drink and eat together. . . . and . . . are celebrating the *mangidin*.

¹²⁰ Literally, "the maker of prayer."

¹²² The three rocks on which the pots sit while cooking is being done.

¹²³ A few years ago it was comparatively easy for the influential men to force compliance with this regulation, and as a result practically all who were betrothed when children married. More recently a large portion of the young men have refused, and the pressure which could be brought to bear was not in all cases sufficient to compel them to pay the expenses which had been incurred for the *kaysing*. The celebration of the *kaysing* is becoming rare, and will doubtless soon be a thing of the past.

¹²⁴ This is one of the principal means by which the rich Nabaloi rule the poor.

¹²⁵ Pokjus, a *mambunong* who is a Kankuay by birth, but has lived in Kabayan for about twenty years, is the authority for the prayer. The text is a mixture of Kankuay and Nabaloi.

jut no makanak ja mangilin. I kasakasatcha; onbakkbknangeha; ipalapaladcha.

"Mabiag kami'n too iay ja insingputmi ja mangilin. Mabiag kami'd kalotoan; mabiag kayo'd ngo'd inaykayang, jut badbaranjokami tan tang-gu kami'n kayo'd inaykayang.

"No onbakkbknang kami ji guara kakchulanmi matawaalkayo'd inaykayang, jut panookobantayo.

"Nanpanbünong na pandü, kalajo; panookobantayo. Sikayo i nantaud ngia ja mangilin; pakatobtobi ja kami num guara kolangmi."

24. Jut bünöancha i kuchil, jut süta mambünong i bünongto moan ingis ni pilmero.

25. Ikojuncha chanom chi tasa chima kadan ni dakub, jut süta daki anasauwa manginom, jut inquan sakay ja abakol, "Panginomka say onpaladka tan onpatang i karadkadmo." Sayjay i chaka pasing, tap abayag inkwan nan Kabigat ji sayjay i pasing num manasauwa.

26. Jut say too mangan tan maninom era ni tapuy, jut inanbodio era. Inkwancha ji mankasat tan onpalad süta manasauwa.

27. No chakala tapuy, sinachüüm kaonpikot i too ni todo'u akou. No makado'n akou, say daki masapol ondau chi padok alantoi ataktói; jut masapol süta bii ondau alantoi sankab tan kayabang. Adopan ni abakol. No onbūday era itoroto'n süta abakol son sikara i madmad. Süta manasauwa manchadap, jut i madmad eha, "Ingistaka i chanom makabay: agmakatchang tautauan ji agnatí; ipalapalad."

28. Süta bii ojonantoi kaybang tan sankab ja singa anmandokto para asauwato, tan süta daki alantoi atakto ja singa anmangadat tan mangio para asauwato.

29. No onolicha süta daki mamasan ni bëlbël ja ootëk chi balisha. Toka ikojun chi būday ja sinangat ni bali. No kaddato ni akou, chaka taboyad atup ni bali, jut chaka batbayi nodtan inkatod kadopokto ono matan i bali. Nakelung may ngilin, jut son sikara san asauwa may too.

Bad omens.—30. No babtëkan ni otot ni chital ni bali, num guara mangidin, masapol ja mapinchüa moan. No guaray mahue ja nganguno, masapol ja mapinchüa moan i mangilin. No ontayab i kabang chi bali

Keep them straight; and may they who are celebrating the *mangidin* have children. May they have luck; may they be rich; may they have long life.

"May we the people here who have performed well the *mangidin* be alive long. May we live long on earth; may you also live long on high, and guard us and protect us, you on high.

"If we become richer so that we have pigs, (we) will call you on high, and we will eat and drink together.

"*Mambunong* of the past, come; let us eat and drink together. You were the first to celebrate this, the *mangidin*; add to what we have said if there is not enough."

24. Then they kill the hog, and the *mambunong* prays again the same as before.

25. They put water in a cup in the place of the door, and the man (who) is marrying drinks, and an old woman says, "Drink so that you will have long life and so that your health will be good." This they do, because long ago Kabigat commanded that this should be done when there was marrying.

26. Then the people eat and drink *tapuy* and sing the *badio*. They say that those marrying will be lucky and live long.

27. If there is much *tapuy*, sometimes the people will remain for three days. On the third day the man must go to a brook carrying his *bolo*, and the woman must go carrying her hand spade and *camote* basket. An old woman goes with them. When they go out of the house the old woman teaches them the *madmad*. Those who were married wash their faces and pray the *madmad*, "May I be like you, water; lucky, that does not break from year to year, that does not die; but lives long."

28. The woman carries on her back the *camote* basket and hand spade as if she were getting *camotes* for her husband, and the man carries his *bolo* as if he were making a fence and getting wood for his wife.

29. When they return the man takes a small pine tree to their house. He puts it on the ground in front of the house. On the third day they put it on the top of the roof of the house, and they leave it there until it is rotten or the house is moved. The *mangidin* is finished and they are husband and wife in truth.

*Bad omens*¹⁰⁰.—30. If a rat runs over the floor of the house while the *mangidin* is being celebrated, it is necessary to repeat it. If anything is broken, it is necessary to repeat the *mangidin*. If a crow flies over the

¹⁰⁰ Other bad omens: a lizard crawls up the side of the house; the bridegroom sees a snake cross the road; certain bad dreams; the screech owl is heard near where the *mangidin* is being celebrated.

ono onkerol, masapolja mapinchūa moan ngilin, mani matammi ja say kalaching agchapian. No manasauwa era ji agera mangidin moan, nabitug era ni olay tan mati era ni magono.

The wealthy.—31. No baknang i daki, mamūno's kuchil tan mangada ni tapuy ja kanun ni too inkato'd tadon akou ja kakehung ni ngilin. No makaddo moan madnabnabera. No baknanga pasla sūta mangilin, masapol ja mansabnab moan num maykadima'n akou, jut mamūno ni animal ja para too. Jut masapol ja mansabnak moan num kanun. Jut mansabnak moan num kawado. Masapol ja angipasial ja daki'd sabadi'n dūgad' ni dīma'n akou. Sayjay kwanmi baat. No onoli masapol ja mamūno ni kuchil ja para too, tan masapol moan ja mamūno ni kuchil num maykadima'n akou.

Duties and rights.—32. Sūta bī masapol ja tongpalantoi ni asauwato, annandokto, tan manobda'd wangan. Sūta daki masapol ja mangiū, mangadad, mandaka ni bali, tan manomkal ni panaganay. Masapol ja mangacharo ni payū. Sūta bī masapol ja manian nodta ikwan ni daki.

33. Sūta daki i makaampta ni amin ja kokoacha. No inpatawid amato sūta kokoa'n ni bī, agmabodin ja idako ni daki num agpian ni bī. Sūta daki i makaampta ja paobda ni payū ni asauwato tan num sepay onobda. No guaray kabadjo ni bī, mabodin pankabadjoan ni daki ankun agpian asauwato. No guaray payū ni bī, agmabodin ja idako ni daki num agpian ni bī, num mabodin ja idako i pagui ja inapitcha. No manbakal era maypoon ni kokoa, dintugan ni dalakay.

34. Mabodin ja bachasan ni daki i asauwato num agnanongpal, ono guara basūtlo, ono agtodagan i obdato. Agmabodin ja bachasan ni daki i asauwato num anchi mankabūl. No bachasantoi i asauwato ji anchi mankabūl asina ni bī.

Remarriage.—35. No matay i daki, sūta asauwato agmabodina mangasauwa ni sakay ja tauan. No mangasauwa i magono, say kalaching ni asauwato būnoanto. Asauwato'n daki agmabodina mangasauwa ni maka tauan ja inkati ni asauwato. Nūntan da masapol manochay ni ipata tauan ja pangasauwato. Sūta balo ni bī mankabas ni kūlibau ni chūan bolan. No agtongpolan matajang.

house or it thunders, it is necessary to repeat the *mangidin*; because we know that the spirits of the dead are displeased. If they marry and do not have the *mangidin* again, they will be poor always and will die soon.

The wealthy.—31. If the man is rich he kills a hog and gets *tapuy* which is consumed by the people, after three days from the completion of the *mangidin*. On the third day he will celebrate again. If those celebrating the *mangidin* are very rich, it is necessary to celebrate again on the fifth day and to kill animals for the people. Then it is necessary to celebrate again on the sixth day. Then to celebrate again on the eighth day. It is necessary for the man to make a short journey to another place in five days (after the last celebration). This we call *baat*. When he returns, it is necessary to kill hogs for the people, and it is necessary again to kill hogs the fifth day afterwards.

Duties and rights.—32. The woman must obey her husband, get *camotes*, and work in the fields. The man must get wood, make fences, build the house, and buy the clothing. He must plow the rice fields. The woman must live where the man says.

33. The man takes care of all their property. If the woman's property was inherited from her father, the man can not sell it if the woman does not wish. The man takes care of the working of the rice fields of his wife, and (says) who shall work (them). If the woman has a horse, the man can ride it, even if the woman does not wish (it). If the woman has a rice field, the man can not sell it if the woman does not so desire, but he can sell the rice which it produces. If they quarrel about their property, the old men decide.

34. The man may whip his wife if she does not obey, or has a fault, or does not do her work.¹⁹⁷ The man can not whip his wife if she has no fault. If he whips his wife when she is not at fault, the woman may get a divorce.

Remarriage.—35. If a man dies, his wife can not marry for one year. If she marries soon, the soul of her (dead) husband will kill her. The husband can not marry until one year after his wife dies. Formerly it was necessary to wait for four years. The widowed woman must wear *kuliban*¹⁹⁸ for two months. If she does not do so she will have sores.

¹⁹⁷ Wife beating is not common among the Nabaloi. The author has never heard of a single instance.

¹⁹⁸ White cloth with a black border.

DIVORCE

Causes.—36. Say daki mabodin ja isinato i asauwato; num agtodagan ja amina obdato, no makiachol ni sabadi'n daki, no agmakeian chi balicha, tan num mabakal.

37. Mabodin ja isina ni bii i asauwato; num agtodagan amina obdato, ono bachasan ni daki ji anchi makabul, ono mabakal i daki. No mabii i daki, agmobadin ja isina ni bii, mani suta kanshat ni daki.

38. No achi anak, ono amarakas, ono eraka matay ja amin, suta daki ono bii mabodin ja mansina. No sinachuum guaray tagtaginap ni daki ono bii ja ngauau, jut numnumto i agpian ni kalaching i pakie-ianto sonan asauwato. Suta dalaki, chaka i dintug ji mansijan era. No tagtaginapan ni daki ono bii ji guara ininmutok chi balicha ji indatoi katabeha, ono ikaman, tan pipiketo'n impanchuto, masapol ja mansijan era.

39. No inpaachum suta bii ni sabadi'n daki nunta anung i pangidicha, suta asauwato ankun agtoamta anung i pangidicha, agmabodin ja isinato. No guara too ja inaychum era nunta nangilin, agmabodin ja makikan nunta apag chi nangilin. No kanunto mababajabang.

Allotment of children and property.—40. No guara anakcha, suta dalakay tan bunatcha i manongtong num sepay mangada'd sikara. Suta bii i mangada i anakonting ja anak ankun sikatoi nanbasul. Suta anakambalug chaka tongtonga num sepa onala, num chaka sochoto ngoruchian si inacha.

41. Suta guaguachay i alanto'n anak, sikatoi guaguacha kokocha; num suta sakay ootek i toka alan kokoa. Suta dalaki i kaontongtong. No anchi anakcha, suta bii i mangada nunta kokoa ja tauwidto, tan suta daki alanto ngo suta kokoa'n tinauwidto. Suta achuuma kokoa chaka paningus.

DIVORCE¹⁹⁹

Causes.—36. A man can divorce his wife if she does not do all her work, if she lies with another man, if she does not live at their house, and if she is quarrelsome.

37. The woman can divorce her husband if he does not do all his work, if the man whips her when she is not at fault, or if the man is quarrelsome. If the man has commerce with another woman, the woman (his wife) can not divorce him, because that is the custom of a man.

38. If there are no children, or if they are born dead, or if they all die, the man or the woman can get a divorce. Sometimes the man or the woman has a bad dream, and he thinks the souls of the dead do not wish him to remain with his spouse. The old men decide that they shall be divorced. If the man or woman dreams that some one came to their house, took their blanket or mat and tore it into pieces, it is necessary to be divorced.

39. If the woman had commerce with another man before the *mangidin*, her husband can not get a divorce, although he did not know it before the *mangidin*. If there is a person who had commerce (with the husband or wife) before (their) *mangidin*, he does not eat the meat at the *mangidin*. If he eats it, he will have sores.

Allotment of children and property.—40. If there are children, the old men and near relatives decide who shall have charge of them.²⁰⁰ The woman keeps the small children, even if she is at fault. The larger ones decide who will have them, but they generally follow the mother.

41. The more children (one) takes, the more property he (gets); but the other gets a little of the property. The old men decide. If there are no children, the woman gets the property which she inherited, and the man gets also the property which he inherited.²⁰¹ They divide the other property²⁰² equally.

¹⁹⁹ Divorces are very common among the Nabaloi. At least half the people of Kabayan who are more than thirty-five years old have been divorced. Divorces will doubtless be less frequent in the future since the young people are showing a tendency to choose their own spouses and to disregard the betrothals previously made by their parents. The larger proportion of divorces occur before any children are born.

²⁰⁰ I know of no cases where the father has taken any of the children. The only question the old men and relatives really have to decide is regarding the division of property and the payment of debts—especially such as have been contracted for the celebration of the *mangidin* or *kalon*.

²⁰¹ The husband and wife keep their property separate before children are born. After the birth of children, the property of the two spouses seems to be more or less subject to a partnership arrangement.

²⁰² This corresponds to the provision regarding the property of the conjugal community under the Spanish civil law.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

42. Sūta ama ono ina mabodina bachasancha i anakcha num agmanongpal. Sūta ama ono ina anchi mabodinancha ja onbūno ono mangilako ni anakcha. No asauwan ni daki i bñi ja guaray anakto, sūta anak masapol ja tongpalancha. No asauwan i sūta daki ja guaray anakto, masapol ja tongpalan era nūnta anak son sikato.

43. Sūta ama tan ina i masapol ja onajoan ni anakcha num kokonting era. No agonkalapay i ama tan ina ja manobda, masapol ja sūta anakcha i onajoan sikara num abitug era.

44. No tagibian i anak ni sabadi, masapol ja sikatoi tongpalan ni nganga. Sūta ama tan ina nūnta tinagibicha, anchi bibiangcha son sikato. No onoli sūta nganga son amato tan inato, sikara makaamta son sikato. No onoli sūta nganga son amato tan inato, sikara makaamta nan sikato.

45. No anung i pangasauwa ni anakni, agmiaknan ni kokoa. No mangasauwa era ji maysia era'd asawara, mika akni era ni kokoa. No sinachūm num agonkalapay i ama tan ina ja manobda, ehaka iakana amin i kokoachad anakcha, num masapol ja tadakanan era ni anakcha.

LAND AND WATER

46. Sūta chaga kokoa nūnta too ja angobda ni pilmero. Sūta too kakoato sūta chaga i chaga nan amato ono apoto.

47. No dagan ni too i payū chi chaga ni sabadi'n too, palabos i achuntoso ni sakay ja tauan, jut odian ni maka chaga. Sūta too ja nandaga ni payū, alantoi amin sūta pagui ja inachunto ni pimero'n tauan.

48. No achinan ni too i payū ji dintugan ni inpanama ja payū ni sabadi'n too sūta payū, sūta too ja mangchun, mabodin ja apitanto sūta pagui num alan ni maka payū i kagachūa.

49. Sūta too ja apangdū'n angolokol ni chanom, sikatoi makakokoa. No kinodokol ni too i amin ja chanom chi padok ji guaray sadadi'n

PARENTS AND CHILDREN

42. The father and mother can chastise their children if they do not obey.²⁰³ The father or mother can not kill or sell their children. If the man marries a woman who has children, the children must obey (him). If a man who has children marries, the children must obey (his wife).

43. The father or mother must support their children while they are small. When the father and mother are too old to work, it is necessary for their children to support them if they are poor.

44. If a child is adopted²⁰⁴ by another (person), it is necessary for the child to obey him. The father and mother before it was adopted have no control over it. If the child returns to its father and mother, they take charge of it.

45. Before our children marry, we do not give them property. When they marry and live with their wives, we give them property. Sometimes when the father and mother are too old to work, they give all their property to their children, but their children must support them.

LAND AND WATER

46. The land is the property of the person who works it first.²⁰⁵ The man owns the land (which was) the land of his father or ancestor.

47. If a man makes a rice field on the land of another man, he is permitted to use it one year and then he (must) return (it) to the owner of the land. The man who made the field gets all the *palay*²⁰⁶ it produces the first year.

48. If a man is cultivating a rice field, and it is decided by the *impanama* that the rice field belongs to another man, the man who planted it can harvest the rice, but he must give the owner of the field half.

49. The man who first makes a ditch for water is its owner.²⁰⁷ If a person has used all the water of a brook, and there is another who

²⁰³ The Nabaloi are very lenient with their children, and rarely punish them severely.

²⁰⁴ There is no ceremony connected with adoption, but a large number of Nabaloi children live with others than their parents. If a poor man has many children, some of them live either with relatives or with some rich man. Even a wealthy person who has a number of children will sometimes send one of them to another wealthy person to rear. The one with whom the child lives is regarded as *in loco parentis*.

²⁰⁵ Ownership of land said to have been once planted in *cawotes* is recognized, although it has neither been cultivated nor fenced at any time during the last three generations. Ownership of timber land is not recognized around Kabayan.

²⁰⁶ Rice on the stalk.

²⁰⁷ The large irrigation ditches are generally the joint property of a number of owners. The Nabaloi have very little trouble with each other over their land, but disputes concerning water for irrigation are frequent.

too ja mandaga ni payū ji isokdatto i kolokol nadto achaan, iakan ni inpanama i chanom nodta mapangdūna kolokol.

INHERITANCE

50. No mati i daki sūta asauwato alanto'n amina tinawidto nan amato ono būnato. Jut sūta achūūma kokoa ni daki insilingeha. No guara anakto sūta abayan i bingayan ni anakto. No anchi anakto, sūta amato tan inato num mobiday era, sikara i onala ni kokoato. No atay i amato tan inato ji guara agi, sūta agi ja guara anakcha, sikara mandasin ja mangida i kokoato, num sūta achūūm ootēk i alancha. Sūta ama ono agi agmabodin idakoecha i payū, num masapol ja baybay-ancha sūta anak ni agi ni ati. Mobadin ja idakoecha sūta achūūma kokoa, num kawancha i sinapolancha jut mansilbi ni anak.

51. No anchi anakto, amato, inato, apoto, agito ono anakcha; alan sūta pangunaanto ono panginaanto tan anakcha i kokoato. No mati i sakay ja pangunaanto ono panginaanto ji guara anakcha'n bibiag, alan nūnta anakcha sūta kokoacha ja kojun amacha ono inacha. No anchi būnatto nayasop, sūta naktan ja bunatto imangada ni kokoa.

52. No mati i too ja guara anak, sūta kapangotoanan ja bii ono daki amandasin ni tauwid sinachūūm. Sūta aanak i daki tan bii imayingus ni payū. Amandasin i dadaki ni animal, num amandasin ngoi bibii ni pilak. Sūta aanak ja tagibi makeda era ni kokoa, num agmayingus nūnta anak ni ati. No chakal i kakoato, sūta anakto'd sakay ja bii makeda ni ootēk, num aligua'n payū.

53. Sūta assauwato agmangada ni tauwid ni daki, num kagachūa nūnta sinapolancha'n san asauwa, sikato makeda. Ngorūchian sūta asauwa ni bii mangada ni bali. Num sūta bii guara anakto sabadi'n daki, sikara agmabodin ja makeda era nūnta kokoa ja inatagancha, num agmobadincha ja mangada nūnta kakoa ja tauwid ja ati.

54. No makehung i siling chaka bingayay kokoa. No agontolok i aanak, kabingayan dalakay i kokoa.

makes a rice field and makes a ditch above the old one the *impanama* will give the water to the one who had the first ditch.

INHERITANCE

50. If a man dies, his wife will get all she inherited from her father or relatives. Then some of the man's property will be used for *siling*.²²⁸ If he has children, what is left will be divided among them. If there are no children, his father and mother, if alive, get his property. If his father and mother are dead and he has brothers and sisters, the brothers and sisters who have children will get the larger part of his property; but the others will get a little. The parents or brothers and sisters can not sell the rice fields, but it is necessary to keep them for the children of the brothers and sisters of the dead man. They can sell other property, but they must keep what they receive (for it), and give it to the children.

51. If there are no children, father, mother, grandparents, brothers or sisters, or their children, uncles or aunts or their children will get the property. If an uncle or aunt who has children living is dead, the children will get the property which would have been the property of their father or mother. If there are no near relatives, the distant relatives get the property.²²⁹

52. When a person who has children dies, the oldest boy or girl sometimes gets more of the inheritance. The children, male and female, get the same (value) of rice fields. The boys get more animals, and the girls get more money. The adopted children get a part of the property, but not the same (amount) as the children of the dead man. If there is much property, the children by another woman get a little, but no rice fields.

53. The spouse does not get any of the inheritance of the person, but she does receive half of what they earned while married. The wife generally gets the house. If the woman (wife) has had children by another man, they (the children) can get the part of the property which they helped to earn; but they can not get the property which the dead man inherited.

54. When the *siling* has ended, they divide the property. If the children do not agree, the old men divide the property.

²²⁸ A very expensive ceremony celebrated after a person dies but before he is buried. See part IV.

²²⁹ The Nabaloi inheritance law is based on the principle that the property should go to the next generation. Parents, brothers and sisters, and uncles and aunts may hold it in trust only.

55. No guaguachay alan nūnta sakay ja kokoa nan amacha ni kabidayto ja ootēk i alan i achūūm, guaguacha atngi moan i alan nūnta achūūm num matī si amacha.

56. Sūta bagaan agmabodin makeda ni kokoa. No sinachūūm sūta okob mabodin ja makeda ni kokoa num matī sūta apocha num bilang i baknang.

Wills.—57. No ikwan nūnta too ni kabidayto ji pamosoto'n amina kokoato ni sakay ja anakto num matī, agmabodin ja mosanto num guara agto. Idintug ni dalakay ji makeda sūta achūūm. Agmabodin ikwan ni too num sepay mangāda ni kokoato num matay, num mika sochota sūta kadauiian.

58. No mati sūta asauwa ni bīl, bingiancha kokoato ingus kokoa ni daki.

DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

59. Say too num maptung i alad ni omato, jut no madasin i animal ni sakay ja too, jut no chachalanchay pagui, dokto ono abua, say makakojun ni animal masapola baychantai apilchi. No aligua'n sigud i alad agtobaychan. Sūta dalakay ikwancha num pīga i baychanto.

60. No poalan ni too i bali ni sabadi'n, numnumancha'n basūlto, masapola baychanto. No poalanto ja chisgrasia, numnumancha'n aligua'n basūlto, agmasapol baychanto. Say anak ni sakay ja too ji poalantai bali ni achūūm, agmasapola baychanto.

61. No onboles i kabadjo ni sakay ja too ji būnoantai ni kabadjo ni sabadi'n too, agtobaychan.

62. No būnoan ni aso ni sakay ja too i kalneroni achūūm, say makakojun ni aso agmasapola baychantai kalnero, no abūnoi aso. No agtokosto ja mabūnoi aso, masapola baychan. Sēdan ni too i aso'n mabūno.

CONTRACTS

Purchase and sale.—63. No maydakoi payū, kītaka mangada ni tapuy. Mangodop ni too'n makiinom. Amaykwan ni too i kabalin

55. If one has received much of the father's property while he was living, and the others received little, when the father dies the others will receive the larger part.

56. Slaves²¹⁰ could not get any property. Sometimes household servants receive a part of the property when their master dies, if he is rich.

*Wills.*²¹¹—57. If a man while alive says that he will give all of his property to one of his children when he dies, he, (the legatee), can not take it if there are brothers and sisters. It would be decided by the old men that the other (children) should get a part. A man can not say who will get his property when he dies, but we follow the custom law.

58. If the wife dies, they divide her property in the same manner as the property of the husband.

DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

59. If a person (has) a good fence (around) his field and an animal belonging to another person breaks in and destroys rice, *camotes*, or *gabi*, the owner of the animal must pay the damage. If his fence is not good he is not paid. The old men say how much shall be paid.

60. If a person burns the house of another and it is thought to be his fault, it is necessary for him to pay. If he burns it by accident and they think it is not his fault, it is not necessary for him to pay. (If the child of one man burns the house of another, it is not necessary to pay.

61. If the horse of one person gets loose and kills another person's horse, it is not necessary to pay.

62. If one person's dog kills another person's sheep, the owner of the dog does not have to pay for the sheep, if the dog is killed.²¹² If he is not willing to have the dog killed, it is necessary to pay. The dog which is killed is used for food by the people.

CONTRACTS

Purchase and sale.—63. When a rice field²¹³ is sold we get *lapuy*. The people gather together to drink. The people are told about the

²¹⁰ It is not probable that any slaves are held by the Nabaloi at present.

²¹¹ Probably the first written will ever made by a Nabaloi was drawn up by the author in February, 1917, for Akop, a rich Igorot living near Baguio. He has been married twice and had seventeen children. His purpose in making the will was to protect the children by his second wife.

²¹² About ten years ago the author owned a flock of sheep in Kabayna. One of them was killed by a dog belonging to one of the wealthy Igorot. The Igorot took possession of the dead sheep and brought the dog, which he proposed to kill and give in exchange, stating that this was the *kudanian*.

²¹³ Rice fields are seldom if ever sold except when the owner dies, and does not leave enough personal property for *siling*.

ni tolag, say kamon guaray bakal numakay, sūta too'n kayittayo'n anginom ni tapuy taksiancha, num tongtongan ni dalakay. No bayag num guaray maydako'n kabadjo, noang, baka, ono kampolni mika dagay ingis ngiay, num niman mika pasing num mandako dami'n payū bangut.

64. No idakomi i kabadjo, noang, baka ono kuchil, no onong sūta animal notda dagad ngorūchian, sūta angilako mangikan ni guanut nūnta anomkal. No paniakantoi guanut nūnta anomkal, kwanto, "Alan iay guanut ja awatanmoso nūnta binomkalmo'n baka, jut niman sikam i makaamta."

65. No idakoi ni too aligua'n kojunto, masapol ja iolitoi bayadto nūnta anomkal. No idakoi too i animal ji amtato'n amansakit ji agtoikwan ni manomkal, sūta anomkal mabodin ja iolito, jut odiantoi bayad.

Gifts.—66. No guara iakan ni too kampolni sabadi, toka iakan ni kanshat, ji mabayag ji pianto'n adian, mabodin ja pasingto, ankun nakehung ja inda nūnta sabadi'n too.

Leaves.—67. Kadauiian ni olaolay num payisoī payū para kagachūa ni pagui. No sigud i payū, sūta mangiso, sikatoi makaampta ni pinadag. No ngaau, sūta makako jun ni payū i makaamta pinadag. Sūta mangiso, sikatoi makaamta ni noang tan diininta. No sūta makakojun ni payū i makaamta ni noang, sūta mangiso baychantoi abangto. Sūta mangiso masapola idaucha i kagachūa ni pagui chima bali ni makakojun. Agkami mangiso ni payū ja para pilak. Agkami mangiso ni payū num bidang ni taynayan. Kamika mangiso olaolay ja kagachūa ni pagui.

68. Agkami mangiso ni doktoan. Sinachūūm mika patanum ni abitug i dokto chi chagami, num acha era manbayad.

Debts and interest.—69. Nūntan da no angotong i too ni sampolo'n pesos, masapola manbayad ni tado'n pesos ni tinauan ja patang. No agnanbayad ni tado'n pesos ni pilmero'n tauan, no maysanara tauan, otangto moan it ado'n pesos ja patang ni sūta sampolo pesos, jut pesos moan ja patang nūnta tado'n pesos agtobinaychan. No masachat sūta sampolo'n pesos ni chūa'n polo'n pesos, ankun aghaychan ageha dinataan moan. Niman no puotangmi sampolo'n pesos, pesos tan salapi niabos i patang ni maka tauan ta, guara dintug ni Amerikano niman.

70. No bayag kamon otangan ni too i sakay, i tongtongancha i inpanama say achūūma kokoato mabodin ja panbayjadto, num niman guaradintug ni Amerikano. Agmi alan ni kokoa ni achūūm niman ankun guara otongcha. Nūntanda no mangotan i too ji tongtongancha ji manbijad, no agkosto ja manbayad, tongtongancha achūūm ja

agreement so that if there is a quarrel afterwards, the people who were our companions drinking the *tapuy* will be witnesses if the old men decide. Long ago if carabaos, cattle, horses, or anything was sold, we did like this, but now we do so only when we sell rice fields.

64. When we sell horses, carabaos, cattle, or pigs, if the animals are to remain at the same place, the seller gives a rope to the buyer. While he is giving the rope to the buyer, he says, "I give you this rope to show that you have bought the cattle and (that) now you control them."²¹⁴

65. If a person sells other than his own property, it is necessary for him to return the price to the buyer. If a person sells an animal which he knows is sick, and does not tell the buyer, the buyer may return it and get back the price.

Gifts.—66. If a man gives anything to another as a gift, and long afterwards he wants to take it back, he can do so, even if the other man has taken it.

Leases.—67. (It has been) the custom always to rent rice fields for half of the *palay*. If the rice field is good, the renter will furnish the seed. If it is poor, the owner of the rice field furnishes the seed. The renter furnishes the carabao and tools. If the owner of the field furnishes the carabao, the renter must pay for its hire. The renter must take half of the *palay* to the house of the owner. We never rent rice fields for money. We do not rent rice fields for a certain number of bundles (of *palay*). We rent always for half the *palay*.

68. We do not rent *camote* fields. Sometimes we let the poor people plant *camotes* on our land, but they do not pay.

Debts and interest.—69. Formerly, if a man owed ten pesos, it was necessary for him pay three pesos a year for interest. If he did not pay the three pesos the first year, the next year he owed again the three pesos, interest for the ten pesos, and a peso again interest for the three pesos he did not pay. When the ten pesos increased to twenty pesos, although it was not paid, it did not increase again. Now if we lend ten pesos, one peso and a half only is the interest for one year, because there is the law of the Americans now.

70. Long ago if a man owed another, the *impanama* would decide that some of his property could be taken for payment, but now there is the law of the Americans. Now we do not take the property of others, even if they owe us. Formerly when a person owed a debt and the *longtong* decided that he should pay, if he did not want to pay, they

²¹⁴ It seems to be a principle of Nabaloi custom law that title is not vested in the buyer until payment in full has been made. At any time before payment has been completed, the vendor, after returning what he has received, has the right to demand the return of the thing sold.

mamotos ni mangida ni kokoata ja iakan ni too ja angotanganto. No anchi kokoato ni too ja mabodina maada, panobda ja too ja angotanganto inkud nakchung i otangto. No abadug i otang, kolang i obdato ja panbajadto ja amin, num i baychan i patangto pilmero.

71. No too guara otangto ji mati, masapol ja baychan ni anakto. No anchi pilakeha, ono ngaranto ja panbayad, manobdacha ja panbayjadeha. Nūntan da eraka manobda ni chakada tauan, num niman eraka ondau chi Baguio. Nūntan da say inpanama, ehaka padita i manobda tan manbayjad ni otongcha, num niman guara dintug ni Amerikano.

72. No manobday too ni achūūn ja mabayjag ni otangto, sūta angatonganto masapol aknanto i kanunto, kobal, katab, tan tobako.

HOMICIDE

73. Nūntanda no būnoan i sakay ja too i sabadi'n too, ji anchi basūl nūnta too abūno, sūta bimūno chaka bachasa, jut chaka ibayjat. Sinachūūm chaka pansowi, ono iikuteha'd takday. No sinachūūm chaka ibayjat chi panga ni kayū, tan no sinachūūm chaka ibayjat chi bali ja disang. Asancha apasa num chachani mati. Jut sēkatancha, jut ibayjatcha'd panga ni kayū ni kobal ono guanut. No ati apascha jut inosaleha jut sinidingancha.

74. No būnoan ni too i sabadi ji bimūsol sūta abūno, tano sikatoi apangdū ja anat onbūno sūta too'n amūno ni sabadi, i makaampta ni amin ja siling, num sikato agmachosa.

75. No manbakal i chadwa'n too ji būsoleha'n chūa ji būnoan sakay i sakay, sūta maka būno, chaka ibayjat inkato'd mati.

76. No manbakal i chadwa'n too'n abotung, ji būnoan sakay i sakay, chaka ibayjat inkato'd mati.

77. No ondau i too'd bali ni sabadi'n too ji bakalanto sūta maka bali, ji būnoan nūnta maka bali, agcha chimosa, num sikatoi makaampta ni siling.

78. No būnoan ni too i amato, inato, ono anakto, amachsa ngorū-chian ja ingistoi pamūnoto ni sabadi.

ordered others to take (some of) his property and give it to the person he owed. If the person had no property which could be taken, they caused him to work for the man he owed until (payment of) his debt was completed. If his debt was large and his work was not enough to pay it all, he paid the interest first.

71. If a man who had a debt died it was necessary for his children to pay (it).²¹⁵ If they had no money or anything (else) to pay, they worked for (its) payment. Formerly they worked many years, but now they go to Baguio. Formerly the *impanama* forced (debtors) to work and pay their debts, but now there is the law of the Americans.²¹⁶

72. If a man works for another a long time for his debts, the creditor must furnish him his food, breech-clouts, blankets, and tobacco.

HOMICIDE

73. Formerly if a man killed another man, and the man killed was not at fault, the man doing the killing was whipped and then hanged. Sometimes they hanged him feet up, or they tied the rope to his arms. Sometimes they hanged him to the limb of a tree and sometimes they hanged him in a house which was not occupied. They took him down when he was almost dead. Then they tied his neck and hanged him on the limb of a tree with a breech-clout or rope. When (he was) dead they took him down and put him in the *asa*²¹⁷ and celebrated the *siling*.

74. If a man killed another man, and the man killed was at fault because he was the first to try to kill the man who did the killing, (the slayer) furnished everything for the *siling*, but was not punished.

75. If two men fought and they were both at fault, and one killed the other, they hanged the one doing the killing until he was dead.

76. If two drunken men fought, and one killed the other, they hanged the slayer until he was dead.

77. If a man went to the house of another man and fought and killed the owner of the house, they did not punish him; but he furnished the *siling*.

78. If a man killed his father, mother, or child, he was punished just the same as if he had killed another (person).

²¹⁵ According to the Nabaloi custom law, there is no statute of limitation which runs against a debt once contracted. Some Nabaloi claim payment of debts which are supposed to have been contracted in favor of their great-great-grandfathers.

²¹⁶ There is no doubt that the Nabaloi were more successful in enforcing payment of alleged debts before American laws became operative than they have been since.

A record of debts due was formerly kept by a system of notches made with a bolo over the door.

²¹⁷ Death chair. See the account of the *siling* in part IV.

79. No onan ni too i asauwato ja amakeachol chi sabadi'n daki, ji būnoanto sūta sabadi'n daki nūntana tiēmpo, agmachosa. No būnoanto asauwato, agmachosa. Agmasapol ja mangakan ni gastos ja para siling nūnta'n sabadi'n too ono asauwato.

80. No agtobuno sūta asauwato tan sabadi'n daki nūntana tiēmpo, ji mabajag sikatoi būnoa, chaka ibayjat inkato'd mati. No onan i too i asauwato ja amakeachol chi sabadi'n daki, ji būnoanto era nūntana tiēmpo, agmachosa, tap amanbungut ni basul nan asauwato. Satan i toka panangauwi. No mabayag asanto būnoa, toka dibki ni bungutto.

81. No onan ni bū i asauwato ja amakeachol chi sabadi'n bū, ji būnoantoi asauwato tan sūta sabadi'n bū nūntana tiēmpo, agmachosa. Agmiampta i bū ja onbūno i asauwato tap inkeachol ni sabadi'n bū.

82. No būnoan ni too'd Kabayan i too'd sabadi'n ili ja sūta akkayjum chi Kabayan, sūta tongtong chi Kabayan, dīmau nodtan era. Sūta tongtong chi Kabayan tan tongtong chi sabadi'n ili nantongtong era. No i Kabayan i naka basul, chaka ibayjat chi sabadi'n ili. Sūta too'n naybayjat ono ikabayan anchi chaka iakan ja ankun kampolni chi būnat ni ati. Anchi chaka iakan ni too nodta sabadi'n ili. Ankun Baknang sūta bimūno ni sabadi, chaka ibayjat ngorūchian. Agmabodin ja baychantoi biag nūnta ati chi bunatto ono too, num baychanto sūta siling.

83. No būnoan ni too i sabadi, ji agkosto nūnta būnat ni ati ja machosa, agmachosa, num sikatoi makaampta nūnta siling ni ati.

84. No būnoan i Kabayan i too'd sabadi'n ili ja aliguan kayjum ni i Kabayan, sūta too nakabūno, aghosanan ni i Kayaban ankun basulto. No guaray ondau ali'n too nodta sabadi'n ili ja maypangkup sikatoi, kabakala era ni i Kabayan.

85. No būnoan ni too'd sabadi'n ili ja aligua'n kayjum ni i Kabayan, i too'd Kabayan, ji achidan ni i Kabayan; sūta atakto ono kayangto

79. If a man saw his wife lying with another man and killed the other man at the time, he was not punished. If he killed his wife, he was not punished.²¹⁸ It was not necessary for him to furnish the expenses of the *siling* for the other man or his wife.

80. If he did not kill his wife and the other man at the time, but killed them long afterwards, the people hanged him until he was dead. If a person saw his wife lying with another man and killed them at the time, he was not punished, because he would be very angry at the fault of his wife. That would make him insane. If long afterwards he should do the killing, he should have forgotten his anger.

81. If a woman saw her husband lying with another woman and killed her husband and the other woman at the time, she was not punished. We do not know of a woman who killed her husband because he slept with another woman.

82. If a person of Kabayan killed a person of another town which was friendly to Kabayan, the *tongtong* of Kabayan went there. The *tongtong* of Kabayan and the *tongtong* of the other town decided. If the inhabitant of Kabayan was at fault, they hanged him in the other town. (Neither) the man who was hanged nor the inhabitants of Kabayan gave anything to the relatives of the dead man. They did not give (anything) to the people of the other town. Even if the person killing the other (was) a rich man, they hanged him just the same. He could not pay for the life of the dead (person) to his relatives or (to) the people, but he paid for his *siling*.

83. If a man killed another man and the relatives of the dead (man) did not wish that he be punished, he was not punished, but he bore the expense of the *siling* of the dead person.²¹⁹

84. If an inhabitant of Kabayan killed a person of another town which was not friendly to Kabayan, the person who did the killing was not punished by the inhabitants of Kabayan, if he were at fault. If the people of the other town came here to capture him, they would fight with the inhabitants of Kabayan.

85. If a Kabayan person was killed by a man of another town which was not friendly to Kabayan, and he (the murderer) was captured by

²¹⁸ Adultery among Nabaloi women is not common. The old men say that it was even more rare in former times, since the men always killed their wives if they were unfaithful, but that now they only divorce them.

²¹⁹ With the exception of acts which might endanger the safety of the community as a whole—such as violations of taboos, etc.—it seems that crimes have always been regarded by the Nabaloi as private rather than public offenses. If the injured party does not want the criminal punished, he is not punished. The only action taken by the community is to assist the injured party to inflict punishment according to the custom law. It is very difficult even now for the Nabaloi to understand why the Provincial Fiscal sometimes insists on preferring charges after the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of the injured party.

i pamūnora'n sikato. Jut no chakal i chanom, 'chaka itabok i bakdangto'd chanom. No mamtēkda'd ilito, ji agiekan ni kaydianto ni iKabayan, kabakala ni iKabayan i too nodta sabadi'n ili.

86. Sūta too'd Kabayan, chaka ibayjat i bīi ja ingistof daki num maningis i basūlcha. Cha moan kayibajat i aanak num onbūno ni sabadi'n aanak. Num būnoan aanak i naama, cha bangut kabachasa.

RAPE

87. No piditan ni daki ja achaman i bīi ja guara asauwato, kapidita ni tongtong ja mangikan ni achūma kokoato ja para kanjau, num agbūno ni asauwato. No anchi kokoato mangotang ni baknang, jut i obdato son sikato inkatod nakchung i bayadto. No pipidit sūta bīi, agmobadi'n ja isijan ni daki'n asauwato. No inachaman ni daki i bīi, sūta daki masapol i mangikan ni gastos ja pansijanancha.

88. No piditan i balodaki ja achaman i marikīi ji balasang era'n chūa, kaydintug ni tongtong ji manasauwa era. No piditan ni daki ja guara asauwato ja achaman i bīi ja balasang, kapiditan ni tongtong ja aknanto sūta bīi ni baka, noang, ono kuchil ja para kanjau.

ABORTION AND SUICIDE

89. Anchi intanungmi ja bīi ja amūno ni anakto ja anung i ibūdayto, ono bimūday. Numnummi imaysagang, num agmaychosa.

90. No anat būnoan ni too i angulto, agmachosa, num chaka isagang tan bidina. Sūta kalaching ni too ja binūto angulto, agondau chi kadan ni kalaching ni achūm.

the inhabitants of Kabayan, they used his own *bolo* or spear for killing him. Then if there was much water, they would throw his body into the river. If he ran away to his own town and was not given up by his neighbors to the inhabitants of Kabayan, the people of Kabayan would fight the people of the other town.

86. The people of Kabayan would hang a woman as well as a man, if their faults were the same. They also would hang children if they killed other children.²²⁰ If children killed grown people, they were only whipped.

RAPE

87. If a man forced a woman who had a husband to have commerce, he was compelled by the *tongtong* to give some of his property for a *cañao* if he was not killed by the husband (of the woman). If he had no property, he borrowed from a rich man and worked for him until payment (for it) was completed. If the woman was forced, the man (who forced her) had to pay the expense for the divorce.

88. If a young man forced a young woman to have commerce, and they were both single, it was ordered by the *tongtong* that they marry. If a man had forced a woman who was unmarried, he was always ordered by the *tongtong* to give her a cow, carabao, or hog for a *cañao*.

ABORTION²²¹ AND SUICIDE

89. We never heard of a woman who killed her child before it was born, or (when it) was born. We think she should be scolded, but not punished.

90. If a man tried to commit suicide,²²² he was not punished, but they scolded him and advised him. The soul of the person who kills himself will not go to the same place as the souls of other (people).

²²⁰ This does not seem to be according to the general Nabaloi idea of justice. Some of the old men said that they did not believe any children had ever been hanged in Kabayan, but two of them stated that their grandfathers had told them of an instance where a boy about twelve years of age had been hanged for killing another boy a little younger.

²²¹ The Nabaloi say that they never practice abortion. This is probably true since they all want children and often mutually consent to a divorce if no children are born.

²²² Literally, "to kill one's own body." The common method of committing suicide is to tie a breech-clout around the neck, bend down a small pine tree, and tie the other end of the breech-clout to its top. Strangulation results when the tree springs back in place.

ASSAULT

91. No manbakal i chūa'n too, kapidita era ni tongtong ja mangiakan ni baka ono noang ja para kanjau. No agangasauwa i anakcha, eraka mankaysing. No abitug era baknag i makaamta i noang ono baka, jut idagbūan nūnta too inkatod mabayehan. Sūta gastos ni kanjau, chaka paningus ankun agbinasūl sūta sakay.

92. No kinakbig ni sakay i sakay ja too ji agtobinalsan, sūta sakay ja tinmapang ni sakay mandasain ni gastos, num sūta sakay masapol ja baychanto i achūūm. No nankayjum era sūta chadwa'n too chōgos, agpiditan era ni tongtong ja mankanjau.

WITCHCRAFT

93. No bayag guaray chosa nanmantala. Chaka sēkuti būklou ni guanut, jut kakojora ni sansiskay ja too i ngoro ni guanut inkatod matay sūta nanmantala. Sūta gobernador i Kastil i inpayisalchung ni būno nan mantala. Agnichosaan i nanmantala niman tap guaray dintug ni Amerikano.

SLANDER

94. No guaray too'n inalnalanto i sabadi'n too, chaka chosoa ni baras. No agkosto'n ni achūma too i kachasato, agmachosa.

THEFT

95. No kibotan ni too i animal ni sabadi, masapol ja baychanto ni mamintado'n chūbdi num sūta bayadto nodta makakojun. No iolito i kinibotto, masapol ja baychanto ngorūchian ni maminchūa'n chūbdi num sūta bayadto.

ASSAULT²²³

91. If two men fought they were forced by the *tongtong* to give a cow or a carabao for a *cañao*. If their children were not married they celebrated the *kaysing*. If they were poor, a rich man furnished a carabao or cow, and they would pay the man until payment was completed. The expenses of the *cañao* were divided equally, although one of them was not at fault.

92. If one (person) hit with the fist another man, and he did not hit in return, the one who hit the other paid the majority of the expenses, but the other had to pay some. If the two men at once became friends, they were not forced by the *tongtong* to give a *cañao*.

WITCHCRAFT

93. Long ago witches were punished. They tied the neck with a rope, and a man (at) each end pulled the rope until the witch was dead. The Spanish Governor caused the killing of witches to be stopped. We do not punish witches now because there is the law of the Americans.

SLANDER

94. If one person lied about another person, they punished (him) by whipping. If it was not desired by the other person that he be punished, he was not punished.

THEFT²²⁴

95. If a person stole an animal belonging to another person, it was necessary to pay three times as much as its value to the owner.²²⁵ If the thief returned it, then it was necessary to pay twice its value.

²²³ The Nabaloi rarely engage in personal encounters except when they are intoxicated.

²²⁴ The Nabaloi rarely if ever steal from a person living in their own town.

²²⁵ The old men say that it is necessary to inflict severer punishment for stealing animals, on account of the greater difficulty of detecting the thief. An animal may be stolen in the early part of the night, taken to another village, and be entirely consumed before the next morning.

In 1907 a cow belonging to Kamorn, a wealthy Igorot of Kabayan, was stolen by some Igorot living in Tinak, a mixed Kankanny and Ifugao settlement near the Benguet-Ifugao boundary. The cow was killed near Kabayan and a part of it carried away. The next day Kabayan men who were hiding captured two of the thieves who returned for the remainder of the meat. Fifteen Kabayan men then went to Tinak taking with them the two Ifugao who had been captured. Payment of three times the value of the cow was then demanded, but the Tinak Igorot at first refused to pay anything. They prepared to fight, but desisted when they saw that some of the Kabayan men had revolvers. They then agreed to pay the value of the cow, and consented for the men who had been captured to be sent to Benguet where they would be tried in the Court of First Instance. The author witnessed the events narrated above.

96. No angibot i too ni pagui chi payū ni sabadi, masapol ja baychanto ni maminchūa'n chūbdi num sūta bayadto.

97. No angibot i too ni kojun ni sabadi ji anchi pilakto ja i bayadto, masapol ja i obdato nodta makakojun ankod nakchung i bayadto.

98. No pinchūanto'n angibot, amabachas, tan toka baychi ni mamintado num sūta bayadto.

99. No angibot ni kojun amato, amachosa ni baras bangut. No abadug sūta anak i daki mabodin ja mangada sūta amato ni sabadi'n too ja onbaras sikato.

100. No agkosto nūnta makakojun ni akibot ja machosa, agmachosa.

GAMBLING

101. Sūta nasogal agera machosa, num kayisagang era ni būnatchu, num naabak era. No naabak i too ni sūgal ji agtopian ja baychan, kapiditan ni tongtong ja manbayad. No anchi pilakto, i obdato nodta angabak.

FORCIBLE ENTRY OF DWELLINGS

102. Sūta too no ipilita'n onsakub chi bali ni sabadi'n too ji agpian ni makabali, piditan ni tongtong ja mangiakan ni kuchil nodta makabali. Sūta makabali masapol ja būnoanto sūta kuchil para too.

103. No guaray alan nūnta too'n ngangano nodta bali, masapola baychanto ni mamintado'n chūbdi num say bayadto.

104. No agpian nūnta makabali i panbayadto, agmasapol ja baychanto.

PROCEDURE

Evidence.—105. No dintugan ni tongtong i bakal, sūta too'n aman-bakal chaka issodsod i kababalin ni bakal. Sūta achūma too ja makaamtacha, mean kaisodsod i kababalanto. Pilmero sūta taksi kwanto, "Ankun matijak totogua ikwanko." Eraka masasakay ja masomadcha.

96. If a person stole *palay* from the field of another, it was necessary to pay twice as much as its value.

97. If a person stole the property of another and had no money with which to pay, it was necessary (for him) to work for the owner until the payment was completed.

98. If he stole the second time, he was whipped and he paid three times its value.

99. If (a person) stole the property of his father, he was punished by whipping only. If the son was large, the father could get another man to whip him.

100. If the owner did not wish the thief to be punished, he was not punished.

GAMBLING²²⁶

101. They did not punish the gambler, but his relatives would scold him if he lost. If a person lost at gambling and did not wish to pay, he would be forced by the *tongtong* to pay. If he had no money he worked for the winner.

FORCIBLE ENTRY OF DWELLINGS

102. If a man forcibly entered the house of another man when the owner of the house did not wish, he was compelled by the *tongtong* to give a hog to the owner of the house. The owner of the house had to kill the hog for the people.

103. If the man took anything in the house—he had to pay three times as much as its value.

104. If the owner of the house did not wish that he be made to pay, it was not necessary that he pay.

PROCEDURE²²⁷

Evidence.—105. When the *tongtong* decided a quarrel, the persons quarrelling told about the quarrel. The other persons who knew would then tell about the quarrel. The witnesses first said, "Although I may die, what I shall say is true." They testified one by one.

²²⁶ The Nabaloi love a game of chance, and some of them who were formerly rich now have practically nothing on account of losses at gambling.

²²⁷ Another method for determining guilt is to kill a chicken and examine its gall.

106. No guaray taksi ni chūa'n amanbawal, mangabak sūta wawa-chay taksito. Naniŋus i taksi ji maypoon ni kokoa i chaka panbakali, chaka paningus num sinachūūm. No sinachūūm ji guaray taksi ni piig ji anchi'd piig sūta, anchi taksito, toka kakhūway kilat.

Kilat.—107. Sūta danehok ja amodsokan chaka potipoti ni dimobid ono abue sūta nayasop chi modsokto. Sūta too'n amanbawal eraka manaskang ja ontūgau. Sūta adakay i mangitolnak ni danehok chi toktok ni amanpidat, jut toka talpaa i danehok ni takdayto. Sikatoŋ toka pasing chi sakay ja too. Sūta too ja marada i toktok amaabak. No makikilat i too inkwanto, "Sikama akou pabūdaymoi chala'd toktok ni bimasūl." No kakhūwan ni sakay ja too i kilat, kayitolok ni tongtong ni olaolay.

Akikilatak ni pinsak. Guaray inakan nan amak ja pilak sonan ama nan Jakjak chi Atok ja anat i tomkaltoi kuchil. Ama nan Jakjak agto inakan i kuchil son amak. Atay era'n chūa. Dimauak chi Atok, nak siningul i pilak, num agpian Jakjak ja manbayad. Anchi taksimi, jut diningtug ni tongtong chi Atok ji mankidatkami. Aehachakal i chala nan Jakjak, jut masapol ja baychantoi otongto.

Wrestling.—108. Sinachūūm no ikwan ni sakay ja too ji guara otongto ni achūūm, jut ikwantoi anchi otangto; nantokog era num ikachung ni abang. No koman ni too ji impaotangto ni too'n achūūm managamis, masapola bayehan i otang. Inkwan ni sakay, "Sikama akou mangabakak ni abang ta iay impaotangko." Inkwan ni sabadi, "Sikama akou mangabakak ni abang, tap anchi otangko."

Bagto.—109. No sinachūūm kakakehūwa ni too i bagto. Eraka managada ni chūa'n dokto ja naniŋus i balatto. Chaka todadjoa. Sūta too'n amanbawal. Sūta too'n amanbawal manbinodat era'n ontūgau ni anuma chlpa'n bitan. Sūta adakay i amanganakan sikara ni sakay ja dokto. Eraka manibayosa chūa, jut inkwan, "Sikama akou, no sikak i bimasūl, maknaak ni dokto." Sūta amanboka i amapangdū ja mangidpig ni dokto. Jut sūta sakay ichapigto ngoi doktoto. Sūta onkana ni sakay i amangabak. No anchi mangobak, chaka ipinchūa moan. No mankenana era'n chūa chaka ipinchūa moan. Amadintug i bakal num maknay sakay ji agmaknay sakay.

Bakal ni bakas.—110. No guaray nanbawal ni kinibotcha ja achūūm, numnuma ni too sikara angalkal ni bakas. Maningus i bakas ja

106. If there were witnesses for the two quarrelling, the one having the most witnesses would win. If (the number) of witnesses were equal and they were quarrelling about property, sometimes they divided it equally. Sometimes when there were witnesses for one side and none for the other, the one without witnesses would ask for *kilat*.

Kilat.—107. They wrapped near the point an iron, which was sharp-pointed, with a string or (a piece of) *bejuco*. The men who were quarrelling sat near together. An old man put the iron on the head of (one of) the persons quarrelling, and hit the iron with his hand. Then he did the same to the other man. The man whose head bled more lost. When the *kilat* was used, the persons (being tried) said, "You the sun, cause the blood to come out from the head of the one who is at fault." If one asked for the *kilat*, it was always agreed to by the *tongtong*.

I was tried by *kilat* once. My father gave to the father of Jakjak of Atok money (with) which to try to buy hogs. The father of Jakjak did not give the hogs to my father. They both died. I went to Atok. I went for the money, but Jakjak did not wish to pay. We had no witnesses, and the *tongtong* of Atok decided that we should be tried by *kilat*. The blood of Jakjak was more, and it was necessary for him to pay the debt.

Wrestling.—108. Sometimes when one person said there was a debt due by another and the other said there was no debt, they agreed to decide by wrestling. If the person who claimed the debt from the other won at wrestling, it was necessary to pay the debt. One said, "You the sun, may I win at wrestling because the debt is due me." The other said, "You the sun, may I win at wrestling because I do not owe the debt."

Bagto.—109. Sometimes a person asked for the *bagto*. They took two *camotes* which were the same in weight. These were weighed on a balance. The persons quarrelling sat back to back six *chipas*²²⁸ apart. An old man gave them one *camote* (each). They both prayed and said, "You the sun, if it was my fault, may I be hit with the *camote*." The complainant was the first to throw the *camote*. Then the other also threw his *camote*. The one hit by the other lost. If neither was hit, they threw again. The quarrel was decided when one hit (the other) and the other did not hit (him).

Bakal ni bakas.—110. When there was a quarrel about stealing something, the suspected persons chewed rice. The same amount of

²²⁸Distance from finger tip to finger tip when arms are outstretched.

mayakan nūnta too ja numnumacha. Inkwancha'n amin "Sikama akou, kalkalankoi bakas ja sigud ta aligua'n basülko." Naningkas i impangalkaleha. Jut inkojun i bakas chi chūlong; binitbit ni anongtong. Sūta sakay ja aganalkal sigud, sikatoi naabak son sikara. No anchi sangi ni sakay son sikara, agera mangalkal ni bakas, num sabūk ni ampatanga chanom.

Sabuk.—111. Imarakehakchay chanom. Amin son sikara inkwan-cha, "Sikama akou, agmaatangan i takdayko tap aligua'n basülko." Inkojuncha i takdaycha chima chanom maningtug chima agpal. Sūta naatungana pasfa sikato naabak.

Buyon.—112. No sinachūm niman num guaray akibot, paodopmi i mambūnong, toka sapola angibot ni būyon. Iktantoi danchok ni dinobid, jut agehiantoi ngoro ni dinobid. Mansibok jut inkwantoi, "Panbidangtoi danchok num sepay angibot." Inkwantoi ngaran ni numnuma too angibot. No onbilang i danchok num ingadantoi ngaran i too, sikatoi angibot. No itoro'n i danchok ja angibot, totogua. Toka ipūgno, ta amtato'n Kabūnian i impawidang ni danchok ja sikatoi angibot.

ACTUAL CASES

I

Nūnta kabadolakik, tiempo ni Espanjol binongbong ni būsol i noang nan Babay ja bū. Sūta'n anongbong ni noang numnummi nanbali chi Palatang. Dinukkukeha jut indara da.

Tinongbak ni achūm ja iKabayan jut inchulehay apat chi chalan. Namtēk i achūm. Binūnod era ni iKabayan jut inakadeha'd balicha. Idi immūtokeha era chi balicha, inbalodeha sēdira kolba, jut intalocha era.

Nūnta naykadon'n akou mimūtok i asolok num san deson too'n iPalatang ja mangibūdōs ni kayiteha. Inchil ni too iKabayan apata polo tan pito, sum namtēk i asoloka dīma'n polo. Binando hado'd era ni iKabayan i takday tan sēdi nūnta būsol ja inchileha, jut intakudeha era takod ni balicha.

Apalado' chakal era i būsol ja kaontakot i tongtong ja nanosa son sikara. Amaga ni iKabayan i binkara son gobernador chi Trinidad, jut amaga's gobernador ni soljaro para alan ni būsol.

rice was given to each person who was suspected. All of them said, "You the sun, may I chew the rice well because I am not at fault."

They chewed the same length of time. Then they put the rice on a plant: it was examined by the *tongtong*. The one of them who had not chewed well lost. If one of them had no teeth, they did not chew rice, but were tried by *sabuk* or hot water.

Sabuk.—111. They boiled water. All of them said, "You the sun, may my arm not be scalded because I am not at fault." They put their hands to the wrist into the water. The one who was scalded very much lost.

*Buyon*²²⁹.—112. Sometimes now when there is stealing, we bring the *mambunong* (and) he finds the thief by *buyon*. He ties an iron with a string, and holds the end of the string. He prays and says, "Cause the iron to show who did the stealing." He calls the names of the persons suspected of stealing. If the iron moves when he calls the name of a person, he is the thief. If the iron shows who did the stealing, it is true. He confesses because he knows that Kabunian has caused the iron to show that he did the stealing.

ACTUAL CASES²³⁰

I

When I was a young man in Spanish times, the Busol stole a carabao belonging to Baybay, a woman. We think those who stole the carabao lived in Palatang. They cut it into pieces and took (it) away.

Some of the inhabitants of Kabayan hid and caught four (Busol) on the road. Some escaped. The inhabitants of Kabayan tied them, and took them to their houses. When they arrived with them at their houses, they fastened their feet (in) stocks and kept them.

Then on the fifth day more than a hundred people—inhabitants of Palatang—arrived to release their companions. The people—inhabitants of Kabayan—captured forty-seven; but more than fifty ran away. The people of Kabayan bound the hands and feet of the Busol whom they had captured, and tied them (to) the posts of their houses.

(There were) so many Busol that the *tongtong* were afraid to punish them. The inhabitants of Kabayan sent a messenger to the Governor at Trinidad, and the Governor sent soldiers to get the Busol.

²²⁹ Also used to determine the ceremony demanded by an occasion.

²³⁰ The material is practically inexhaustible. The data regarding the few cases recorded here were furnished by Maslagan.

Idi nachil era sūta iPalatang anchi baybayagto, i dīnau moan ali achūūm ja iPalitang chi bali nan Bungdi, jut binūra's Bungdi, Chūmay ja asauwato tan anakcha. Pinutolchay toktok nan Bungdi ja indara, num agcha inda toktok nan asauwato tan nganga. Tatdo sūta busol.

Inchil ni iKabayan era sūta būsol chi Gūsaran. Kinanta ni tongtong ji makadod i takdaycha tan sēdira, jut maytabnak era'd chanom. Chakala chanom. Nalnud era i būsol.

II

Idi tado'n tauan adabas indakok i barok tan bakut sonan Kameo. Agtoak binaychan. Idi apalabas i sakay ja tauan nak tinungay num kwanto i binaychanto. Tinongtong ni dalakay ji mabagto.

Indak i sakay ja dokto jut indango nan Kameo i sakay ja dokto ja ingisto'n badug. Sūta dokto asokok chi taladjo. Timūngaubak jut timūngau's Kameo chi apata chipa'n balau. Nanbinodo'd kami.

Jut nanibayjosak tan nanibayjos si Kameo. Nanpig si Kameo, jut kinatoak. Jut nanpigak jut shinpigko. Tinongtong ni dalaki ji baychantoak ni Kameo ni kagachūa.

III

Nūnta kabadolakik quan si Banig ji akibot i pilakto. Si Banig guaray pilakto'n pesos ja insēkotto'd kobalto. Makiogip si Banig chi achūūm chi bali.

Tinongtong ni dalakay ji amina too ja amaogip nodta bali manalkal ni bakas. Napang era ni sanpopolo'n ja kalkalancha. Amina too kinalkalcha'n pasta kojuncha num abos si Ngios ja agto kinalkal i kojunto.

Inamta ni tongtong ji si Ngios i angibot ni pesos, jut simpolcha'd kobalto.

IV

Nūnta kabadolakik guaray tado'n bīl pinakpakuncha i angibot ni abua, num agnatongalan num sepay sakay ja angibot.

Tinongtong ni tongtong ji manukehunk i chanom. Maytabok i abua'd chanom chi banga. Pinidid ni tongtong i sansiskay ja bīl ja manabat ni abua'd banga.

Kinabat ni chadwa'n bīl abua'd banga, jut agnantangan i takdaycha. Si chūlay kinabattoi abua'd ampatanga chanom jut naatūngan i takdayto. Inamtaan ni tongtong ji si Chūlay i angibot ni abua.

Not long after (these) inhabitants of Palatang were captured, some who were inhabitants of Palatang came again to the house of Bungdi, and killed Bungdi, Chumay his wife, and their child. They cut off the head of Bungdi and took it, but they did not take the heads of his wife and child. (There were) three (of) the Busol.

The inhabitants of Kabayan captured them—the Busol—in Gusaran. The *tongtong* decided that their hands and feet should be tied, and (that) they (should be) thrown into the river. There was much water. The Busol were drowned.

II

Three years ago I sold my coat and (some) cloth to Kameo. He did not pay me. Then after one year I asked him for his debt, but he said he had paid. The old men decided that there should be the *bagto*.

I took one *camote* and Kameo also took one *camote* which was the same in size. The *camotes* were weighed on the balance. I sat down, and Kameo sat down four *chipas* distant. We were back to back.

Then I prayed and Kameo prayed. Kameo threw and hit me. Then I threw and hit (him). The old men decided that Kameo should pay one half.

III

When I was a young man, Banig said that his money had been stolen. Banig had money—a peso—which was tied in his breech-clout. Banig was sleeping with others in a house.

The old men decided that all the people who were sleeping in the house should chew rice. They were given ten (grains) each to chew. All the persons chewed their parts well except Ngios, who did not chew his part.

The *tongtong* knew that Ngios had stolen the peso, and they found it in his breech-clout.

IV

When I was a young man there were three women who were accused of stealing *gabi*, but it was not known which one was the thief.

The *tongtong* decided that water should be boiled and a *gabi* root put into the water in the pot. The *tongtong* forced each woman to take out the *gabi* root from the pot.

Two women took out the *gabi* root from the pot and their arms were not burned. Chuay took out the *gabi* root from the pot and her arm was burned. The *tongtong* knew that Chuay had stolen the *gabi*.