Preserving Living Traditions in Live Performances: A Traditional Music and Dance Troupe of the Kalanguya of the Northern Philippines.

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Abstract

The Kalanguya are an indigenous people group of the northern Philippines with a population of approximately 70,000. One of the authors (Arsenio) is a member of this ethnolinguistic group who manages a touring ensemble that incorporates traditional music and dance in performances for Kalanguya communities. Like recent efforts by UNESCO and other transnational cultural organizations, we advocate for strengthening local practices over preserving captured images and sound recordings. While there are important roles for archives and libraries, traditional performing arts are by definition dynamic, culture-making activities that problematize objectification and static forms of documentation.

This paper explores the role of these Kalanguya ensemble members as agents of preservation of cultural knowledge that is no longer practiced in its traditional contexts. By analyzing the structure of the group's performance, we investigate how the performers negotiate: 1) their own contingent, constructed, and shifting identities that often fall "in-between" standard classifications of the major ethnolinguistic groups of the northern Philippines; 2) ideas of authenticity regarding the representation of these traditions via new performance contexts; and 3) changes in the meanings of the generations-old rituals for the current generation.

Introduction

The Kalanguya people often fall "in-between the cracks" of standard classifications of major ethnolinguistic groups of the Philippines. The Kalanguya appear on no travel guides for exotic cultural experiences in the northern Philippines. The Department of Tourism does not promote their cultural products or encourage visits to their homelands. Even the National Commission for Indigenous People does not recognize the Kalanguya as a separate ethnolinguistic group, but instead they are listed as a sub-group of the Ifugao. Despite this lack of recognition from outsiders, the Kalanguya people recognize their language, songs, dances, and other forms of cultural knowledge as uniquely theirs. This paper details an effort by several Kalanguya people to the preserve their ancestors' traditions through a touring performance troupe. In the process of planning and performing, the group negotiates issues of identity and authenticity in the midst of seemingly overwhelming forces of globalization, culture change, and language loss.

Other research regarding the preservation of music and dance practices is not easily applied to the Kalanguyas' situation. For example, Livingston's (1999) theory of music revival reflects an urban, middle-class perspective in which the activities of and mechanisms for recording, purchasing, and marketing music products are taken for granted. She assumes that revivals will be based on a substantial corpus of recorded songs from which a "core revivalist"— an impassioned, counter-cultural insider—fashions borrowed musical materials into new, hybridized music projects. By contrast, this present case-study details a community-motivated effort of and for a rural culture group whose members lack the resources necessary for creating extensive catalogues of music products.

Even if the necessary resources were available to create an archive of photos, video recordings, or audio recordings of traditional events, the time has passed for capturing Kalanguya cultural practices in original contexts. In any case, we hope to challenge the assumption that archived records provide the best means of preservation for dynamic, living, culture-making phenomena like music and dance. We agree with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (2006) distinction between "archive" and "repertoire." The former is a static record of events, frozen in time for the sake of preservation of the past and accessibility in the future. The latter category represents the "embodied knowledge and the social relations for its creation, enactment, transmission, and reproduction" (2006: 182). The Kalanguya performance group featured in this paper attempts preservation through a living, performed "repertoire." In spite of the absence of the original ritual contexts, this group transmits the meanings of songs, dances, and ritual utterances in the context of live performances.

This paper presents a brief ethnographic overview of the Kalanguya, followed by a description of one of the group's performances. We conclude with three sets of concerns faced by the performers and the wider ethnolinguistic community they represent:

1) The Kalanguya construct their identities while overshadowed by high-profile indigenous communities of the northern Philippines. Their preservation efforts are affected by other groups that tend to dominate the cultural landscape in efforts to attract attention and recognition on a national level.

2) The members of this performance group negotiate ideas of authenticity regarding the representation of old rituals and traditions. The staged nature of the new performances raises questions about the nature of cultural revitalizations.

3) These new performance contexts necessitate a shift in meanings from those associated with the original performances. This current generation of performers portrays different understandings and interpretations of the old rituals.

Classification and Naming of a People

The migration history of the Kalanguya people is a contested one. Cayat (2002) claims that the ancestors of today's Kalanguya people originated in the adjacent communities of Ahin, Taboy, Tucucan and Tinoc (also Tinec). The majority of the Kalanguya people do not now live in Ifugao, though oral tradition affirms that their ancestors originated there. According to these oral traditions, ancestors of today's Kalanguya migrated due to pressures of warring enemies, known as *bohol* or *bungkillaw/bungkellew* (literally, "plague") during a period of headhunting (*ngayew*). Those seeking refuge from the warfare often traveled far up into the mountains. Some went to places in what are currently Pangasinan, Benguet, Nueva Ecija and Nueva Vizcaya provinces. This oral history of Kalanguya origins causes many to erroneously conclude that they are a sub-group of the Ifugao. However they are culturally and linguistically distinct from the present-day Ifugao people groups (Peralta 2003). The Kalanguya people mark distinctions from the Ifugao people by differences in language, clothing designs, ways of gardening, and traditional foods.

The Ethnologue by SIL International lists Kalanguya as an alternative name for the Kallahan, Kayapa, an Austronesian language in the Southern Cordilleran family.[1] The two other Kallahan languages are named Kallahan, Tinoc and Kallahan, Keley-I (Gordon 2005). Difficulties in identifying a homogenous Kalanguya ethnolinguistic community are exemplified in these designations; all three languages list some form of "Kalanguya" as an alternative language name. As is common among the world's minority communities, toponyms and language names simultaneously conflict and overlap in these descriptions. For example, the entry for Kallahan, Kayapa mentions several alternate names for the language, including Kalanguya, Kalangoya, Kayapa, and Akab. Kalanguya is the most acceptable and commonly used name for the people of this group. However, Akab is a barrio/barangay of the municipality of Ambaguio, Nueva Vizcaya and Kayapa is the name of a different municipality in the same province.

Difficulties in naming and defining which communities constitute the Kalanguya also affect efforts to enumerate the population. The Ethnologue numbers the Kallahan, Kayapa population at 15,000 and the Kallahan, Keley-I population at 8,000. It provides no estimate for the Kallahan, Tinoc language group. In 2000, the National Statistics Office (NSO) estimated the "Ikalahan/Ilanuan" population of Nueva Vizcaya at 42,300 and the "Ikalahan/Kalanguya" at 12,147 and 13,946 in Benguet and Ifugao provinces, respectively.[2] These NSO numbers are consistent with an anonymous source who reported in a personal interview that there were 70,000 Kalanguya in the late 1990s. There is an obvious discrepancy between populations counted in the Ethnologue figures and those who self-identified themselves as Kallahan or Kalanguya in the last national census. In a later section we will explore some of the difficulties inherent in identifying and naming minority communities.

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[1] See http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=kak

[2] See http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr0233tx.html, http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr0247tx.html, and http://www.census.gov.ph/data/pressrelease/2002/pr0228tx.html
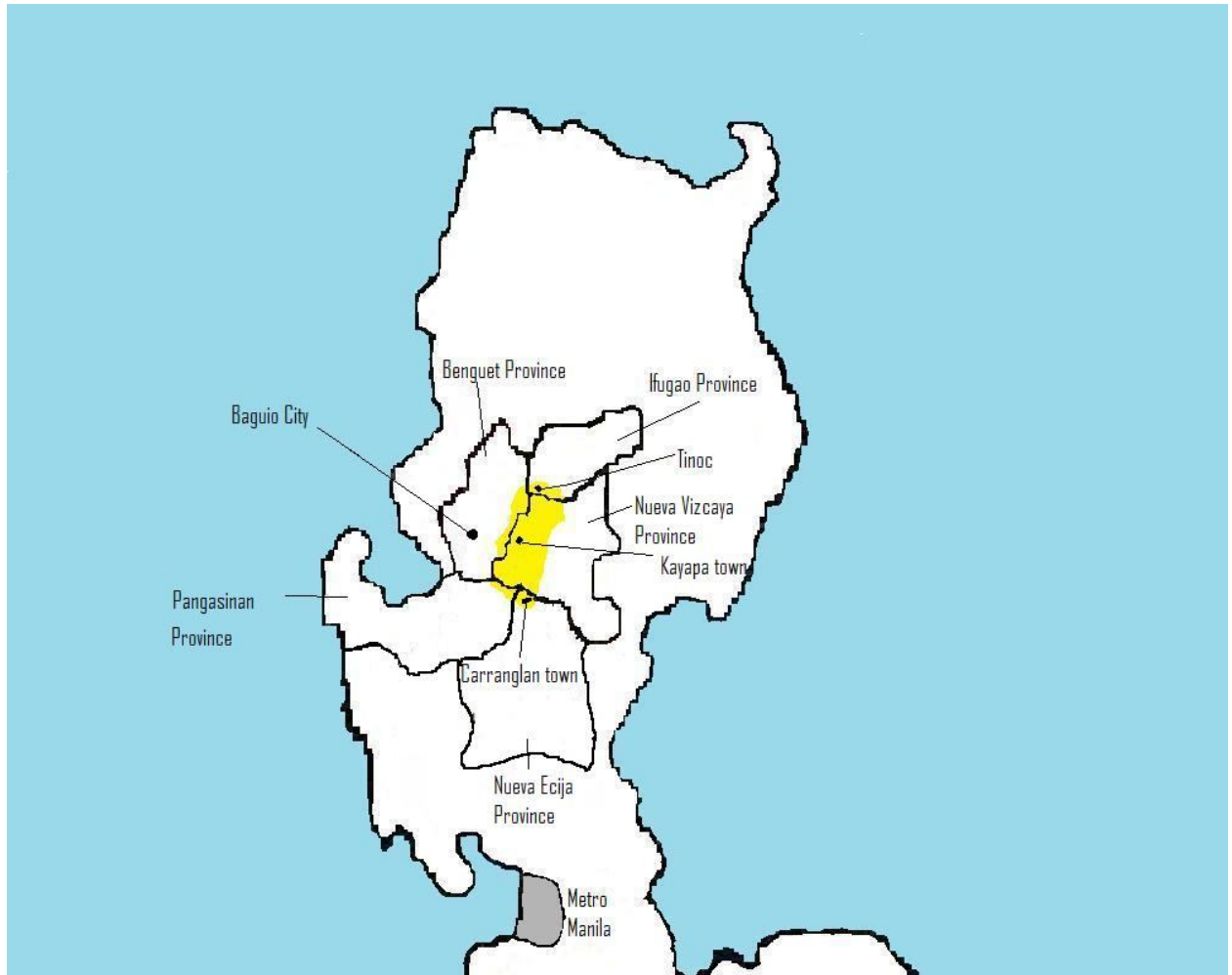
Figure 1. Map of Kalanguya language area.

The "Ikalahan" vs "Kalanguya" Controversy

For the Kalanguya people, the names "Ikalahan" and "Kalanguya" evoke a controversy about the correct name for the people group. According to a Kalanguya leader in Imugan, Santa Fe, Nueva Vizcaya, the controversy was complicated by the representation of the group by an outside researcher. An anthropologist, writing about the people of Imugan refered to the people as "Ikalahan", and he suggested the term "Kalanguya" was a derogatory term (Tebtebba 2006: 27). This stance conflicted with the popular and widely-accepted stance that the Kalanguya label best represented the group as a whole.

At a regional gathering for university students in the 1990s some representatives from Tinoc introduced themselves as Kalanguyas, while some students from Imugan called themselves Ikalahan. Despite this difference in naming preferences, both sets of students recognized that they shared the same language. After further discussion, the students admitted to confusion about which group name to fill out on forms or legal papers that requested their tribal group identity.

In response to this growing confusion regarding the culture group's name, the Kalanguya Tribe Organization held a Kalanguya-Ikalahan Consultation at Nueva Vizcaya State University in Bambang, Nueva Vizcaya in 1993. Elders and representatives from various Kalanguya communities attempted to reach a consensus about which name should identify their culture group. One participant recounted that the debate was contentious and heated, with some arguing that they should accept the Ikalahan label suggested by the outside researcher. Others countered that this imposed term was inconsistent with the more familiar Kalanguya name.

With the matter of the group name still unsettled, the First Kalanguya Tribal Congress was held in Loo Valley, Benguet province later in 1993. This gathering attracted more than 500 community leaders, elders and young people from traditional Kalanguya areas. With a majority vote these delegates decided that Kalanguya is the proper name of their culture group.

The First Kalanguya Congress was then followed up with a series of consultations in Imugan, the research site of the anthropologist who advocated for the Ikalahan name. Although the majority of Kalanguya people reject the Ikalahan name, this issue remains a tension with those in Imugan who take the anthropologist's position.

Most Kalanguya people object to the use of "Ikalahan" because it means "people from the forest."[3] Many argue that other culture groups, like upland Negritos, are more accurately called "forest people." In addition, older Kalanguya people claim "Ikalahan" is usually used as part of a derogatory statement: "Ikalahan…(they) have big poop" – an idiomatic reference to the prevalence of sweet potatoes in the Kalanguya diet.

In addition, the word *Ikalahan* is often mispronounced in a way that makes it sound like a foreign word. In the Kalanguya language, the word should be pronounced with two *l's,* as "Ikallahan" and the primary stress should be on the pentultimate syllable. However in the imposed name, the primary stress is given to the first syllable and the secondary stress on the final one. In contrast to this outsider-imposed name, the name Kalanguya is considered very authentic and meaningful by most of the people. The word is actually a contraction of the phrase "*Kelay ngo iya?*" that literally means "Why/what is this?"[4]

Three subsequent Kalanguya Congresses have been held in three-year intervals since the first one in 1993. Each gathering has resulted in additional affirmations of the decision in favor of the Kalanguya name. Recently eleven recognized Kalanguya leaders sent an open letter to the Executive Director of the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA), arguing for official government recognition of the Kalanguya name. They maintain that Ikalahan actually refers to a sub-group of the larger Kalanguya group:

> This has reference to some reports, writings and notices which might have been forwarded to your office and possibly offices because in some reports and other writings coming out from your office show that "Kalanguya Tribe" is now a sub tribe of "Ikalahan" a small group of Klanguyas residing only in Barangay of Santa Fe, Nueva Vizcaya. If this small group of Kalanguyas will separate themselves to be called "Ikalahan" let them do so. Nobody will object to their freedom of they want to adopt the "Ikalahan" but not to include the big groups of Kalanguyas to be sub-tribe to them. Other reports and writings omit event he "Kalanguya Tribe" and only "Ikalahan" is reflected in the list of tribes for Northern Luzon. (Personal Correspondence. April 2008)

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[3] *I-* prefix means "from" in many Cordilleran languages. *Kalahan* means "forest."

[4] "*Kelay ngo iya?*" is often used as a rhetorical question that serves as a form of rebuke and critical assessment.

Kalanguya Gongs and Ritual

Bronze gong ensembles play a central role in the music of the Kalanguya. The gongs are played and stored in sets of four. Each gong is held by one player, usually in the left hand while he or she strikes it with a wooden stick. Oral traditions maintain that the best-sounding gongs in the past contained gold in the alloy mixture, which added to an instrument's value. A few generations ago such gongs were indeed extremely rare; one instrument alone would cost as much as three water buffaloes. Today's instruments rarely contain gold and many Kalanguya claim that they do not sound as nice as the instruments of the past.

Traditionally, the sounding of the gongs was a sacred activity; no one could strike or even hold a gong a without a prescribed reason. Traditional beliefs held that spirits would be offended by mishandling the gongs, often evoking a spirit-world response that could result in sickness. The gongs were usually played at feasts, called *canao*, and were always accompanied by ritual dancing. In keeping with the spiritual meanings of the ritual celebrations, domesticated animals such as pigs, cows, and water buffalo were butchered as gifts to the personal spirits.

Here are some of the traditional Kalanguya gong music styles that occurred in traditional ritual celebrations:

1) *Liya* was played when the shaman (*mabaki*) blessed the host of the occasion by laying both hands on him. The shaman stomped his feet and pronounced words of wishes or future blessings. Often he asked the spirit/s that the people might be able to raise more pigs, experience abundant harvests, or gain additional blessings bestowed by *kabunyan* (literally "sky") or the sun.

2) *Hi-bat* is a style of music played while warriors danced around the severed head of an enemy combatant. The taking of heads was usually required by the shaman as a result of his mediation with the spirit/s. As head-hunting fell out of favor (and became a crime increasingly prosecuted by the national government) the shaman shifted to using a head fashioned from a fern tree as a substitute for a human head.

3) *Amboyew* was played while the members of a household would leave for the fields. Often the field husband of the household carried some wood and a spear, while the wife carried sweet potatoes and fatty meat in her basket-like backpack. They would roast and eat the meat in a space near the fields before returning to the house.

4) *Deggenden*. This started when a rock rolled over or fell without someone pushing it. Such occurrences were often celebrated as omens. Dancers would often use a style of dancing in a backwards motion.

5) *Gangha* was played when the shaman shouted his blessing on the host of a ritual celebration. This was accompanied by dancing. It was often played during big feasts and celebrations like *padit*, *bayyog* and *kiyad*.

At present the above rituals are no longer practiced by the Kalanguya. Now the gongs and their dances accompany occasions such as weddings, political gatherings, reunions, and celebrations of thanksgiving. Using the gong music outside of the original cultural functions is

not acceptable to everyone. A young Kalanguya man we interviewed stated that he dislikes how the traditional music forms are increasingly performed as entertainment. He also questioned the authenticity of non-Kalanguya musicians who co-opt the dance forms, deliberately change the rhythmic patterns, improvise new attire or change the dance steps. He described this kind of cultural and musical borrowing as demeaning.

Significant changes in the society's belief system also add tension to the debate. Many Kalanguya subscribe to a form of Protestant Christianity that proscribes ritual interactions with spirit beings. Since the traditional music and dance forms were enacted in contexts related to spirit appeasement, many Kalanguya people associate their performance with those beliefs. Indeed, most of the Protestant respondents to our informal questioning said that the playing of the gongs was offensive to God. This widely-held belief has led to a decline of traditional Kalanguya music performances, particularly those that feature the gongs. As a result, many of the musical instruments have been sold to traders and antiques dealers.

The Choir and Dance Troupe

Since there are no colleges or universities in Kalanguya villages, post-secondary students must attend college away from home. Even the closest schools within the same province are several hours away from their villages. In 1991 a center for Kalanguya students was established in Bambang, Nueva Vizcaya. The center provides Kalanguya college students with housing, a small library and a computer lab. It was founded for the purpose of keeping Kalanguya students together while attending college. The parents of many Kalanguya students are fearful of the influence of drugs and other social problems facing their children in a strange city.

A group of these students living at the center in Bambang was organized as a choir in July 2005. The group performs popular songs in English and Tagalog, but they also enact traditional Kalanguya ritual songs and dances. Their performances are designed to communicate meaningfully to all generations of Kalanguya—both the young people who are increasingly influenced by national and international media, and the elderly who still remember the original ritual contexts of the traditional music and dances. By integrating the cultural dances and imitating some of the rituals done by earlier generations, the choir tries to affirm Kalanguya practices and heritage. Since the cultural dances are no longer performed in ritual contexts, these concerts are intended to increase cultural pride and combat feelings of inferiority often experienced by minority indigenous communities who have "lost" their traditions. The performances of this group are the only living records of the past rituals.

Description of a performance

In January 2006 the Kalanguya choir was invited to perform for a group of foreign expatriates in Nueva Vizcaya province. The rituals were presented in the format of a basic story line to portray a scenario in which they were traditionally enacted.[5]

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[5] At the time of writing, a video clip of the performance is available at
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pPXkwQvNdrA

This section we will briefly describe comes after the portrayal of the *liya* – the act of supplication from the spirits for a successful harvest. In this performance, a group of Kalanguya people are going to the fields. This was a time when the gongs were traditionally sounded in the hope of a good harvest. Soon after the portrayal of this celebratory occasion, one of the women actors gets sick and is carried home by her companions. The *mabaki* , or spirit medium, requires the sacrifice of a live chicken in order to detect what is wrong with the sick woman. After examining the chicken's bile, the medium determines that an enemy head is required by the spirit that caused the woman's sickness. A warring party leaves and then returns with the required head. Then a celebration with dancing and gong-playing ensues around the fern plant fashioned as a human head, which is placed on a pole in the middle of the room. This section of the ritual is called *hi-bat*, which refers also to the style of music played while the warriors danced around the severed head.

The dancing was set to the sounds of a standard four-gong set. Four young men danced around the head pole while another four men played the gongs. After several minutes of dancing in this way everyone stopped while the spirit medium character led the dancers in a series of chants. These words used to invite the sky and sun to protect and bless the family of the sick woman. After the chanting the dancing resumed in the same manner as before. After this episode, the sick one is healed, proving the rituals to be effective.

Three Concluding Issues

1) <u>Forming Identity in a Complex Cultural Landscape</u>

As mentioned above, the Kalanguya primarily reside in Nueva Vizcaya province, which is not one of the six provinces that constitute the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR).[6] The CAR is the homeland of several prominent "tribes", or indigenous people groups, including the Ibaloi, Igorot, Kalinga, and Ifugao. Myths abound in popular imagination and public discourse about the "authentic" and "unconquered" peoples of the Cordillera. Rosaldo (1988) describes popular sentiment about these highland wet-rice cultivators as Filipinos with the "most culture", in contradistinction to the other peoples of the Philippines who are "without culture" (i.e., the "postcultual" Hispanicized lowlanders and the "precultural" Negritos). Edward Said similarly recognized that nation-states of the 20th century tended to promote and even create uncolonized places "where people search for a native authenticity as a foundation for a new identity" (1990: 463). This phenomenon is certainly not isolated to the Philippines. Writing about the issue of identity in Tanzanian minority communities, Sanga (2008) quoted Turino: "distinctive local groups are necessary because they provide the emblems that distinguish the nation from other nations."

The Ifugao peoples have undoubtedly been appropriated by the government of Republic of the Philippines to represent an indigenous authenticity on the world stage. The famed rice terraces of Banaue are often called the "eighth wonder of the world", with popular stories (and some academic research) insisting that the structures pre-date the Spanish colonial period by several centuries. Banaue is easily reached in less than one day from Manila by road, making it a

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[6] The six provinces of the CAR are: Abra, Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Mountain.

convenient site for displays of such "uncolonized" culture. Rosaldo (1989) notes this appropriation of the authentic and pre-historical within one's national borders as a form of "imperialist nostalgia." No wonder that the Ifugao rice terraces are on the list of UNESCO's World Heritage sites and the Ifugao *hudhud* narrative chants are listed as protected Intangible Cultural Heritage.[7]

Mark Slobin (2007) reminds us that transnational organizations like UNESCO and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) exist through their representative nation-states. Consequently, minority cultural communities tend to be represented in the ways that these national governments draw boundaries and recognize their own minority peoples. This is fine for groups like the Ifugao, who live along well-maintained national government roads and near tourist-quality hotels and restaurants. But do these multi-national organizations have safeguards to ensure the representation of less recognized or underrepresented minority groups?

This paper has demonstrated that groups like the Kalanguya can be easily overlooked, even on official levels. This can be done by classifying a cultural community as a sub-group of a larger ethnolinguistic group. For example, few of the seventy thousand Kalanguya people would refer to themselves as Ifugaos. However, Republic of the Philippines' own National Commission of Indigenous People, labels the Kalanguya as a sub-group of the Ifugao.[8] As mentioned above, the government also subverts the Kalanguya's own efforts at self-representation by using the pejorative Ikalahan name.[9]

Efforts at proper representation and classification are further complicated by laws that reinforce nostalgic constructions of place. The Indigenous Peoples Rights Act (IRPA) is built on the circular argument that land and people are inseparable; it seems to assume that people's movements and boundaries were fixed and impermeable from time immemorial until the 20th century. McKay argues that indigenous groups who have inhabited the same land for centuries are very rare; most people groups inhabit lands as a result of shifting colonial frontiers (2005: 481). The Kalanguya people, because of their origins in Ifugao province and migration to other areas, are not easily granted protected status; they are easily overlooked and are in danger of falling "in-between the cracks" of land-based classification systems.

2) Participation and Ritual to Presentation and Performance

Hoerburger (1968) wrote about folk dance that transitions from its primary, or "first existence" state to a revisionist/revivalist mode, which he called "second existence" dance. He made the distinction that folk dance in its first existence is integral to the community; removing it would bring irreparable damage to the group's social fabric. This is not to say that is it fixed or unchangeable—it actually functions as a living tradition that accepts innovation and change. Second existence folk dance is the property of only an interested few, is less open to innovation and requires specialist teachers. A major differences between Hoerburger's two kinds of folk

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[7] See UNESCO's website at http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?topic=mp&cp=PH#TOC1

[8] See NCIP's website at http://www.ncip.gov.ph/ethno_groupdetail.php?id=54

[9] See NCIP's website at http://www.ncip.gov.ph/ethno_groupdetail.php?id=55

dance can be described as participatory versus presentational (Nahachewsky 1995). According to Hoerburger's model, this Kalanguya dance troupe is a purveyor of second-existence dances. Here the rituals are no longer a vital or essential part of Kalanguya life. In addition, these performers are not actively innovating, as the concern is to accurately and authentically represent the rituals of the past.

Working from Hoerburger's first-existence versus second-existence theory, Nahachewsky (2001) argues that a society's "reflectiveness", in which the subjects evaluate their present practices in terms of past performance styles, marks the advent of a new existence. Nahachewsky noticed that his own community's dances existed in first-existence venues, but the motifs were based on movements gleaned from staged second-existence performances. He saw the process of cultural change and adaptation as a complex back-and-forth flow of cultural ideas. Claiming that the dances and rituals of two generations ago are a "first" existence presumes that the culture did not undergo changes prior to the 20th century. Such "first" and "second" existences are probably more like 15th and 16th existences if one were to look at the changes made since the origins of the society. By assuming that a culture group had achieved complete stasis prior to the 20th century, we raise problems such as the identity-via-land-occupation issue mentioned in the previous section. A more appropriate perspective views these changes brought about by 19th century colonialism or 20th century globalization as the most recent links in a long chain of cultural changes.

Sutton (1998) wrote about a similar process of cultural renewal in South Sulawesi, Indonesia that brought traditional dances from the village onto the stage. Their revitalization movement raised issues of regional identity within a national culture often dominated by Javanese and Balinese cultural forms, noting that the culture groups of Sulawesi were often used in national-level presentations to highlight the national motto "Unity in Diversity." He uses the term "re-choreography" to describe these changes from ritual enactment to stage performance. He thus emphasizes that changes in form are inevitable when moving the ritual from the traditional dancing ground to the stage. The Kalanguya performance group also grapples with similar issues; a ritual that used to occur in clearings between village houses must now be presented in a space and using a style that can be viewed by an audience. The troupe's performances are limited by time constraints and other concerns that would not have been limitations on previous performances.

Such "presentational", "second-existence", or "re-choreographed" performances inevitably result in discussions about authenticity, especially when state-sponsored organizations are involved in the promotion of traditional or folk dance. Shay (1999) observed that folk dance companies sponsored by national governments, especially those of the former Soviet block, mine "the field" for authentic material that can be stylized on stage. In this case study there is no folk dance ensemble borrowing Kalanguya dance forms; no urban groups are seeking to index a "true and authentic" spirit of the national culture via Kalanguya rituals. While that sort of valorizing of idealized village and tribal societies does indeed occur in the Philippines, the Kalanguya tend to be an invisible group, overlooked by more accessible, and ostensibly "authentic", ethnolinguistic groups.

Harnish (2007) would describe these changes as "detraditionalization"—a process that occurs when a tradition is intentionally removed from its context or appropriated for different purposes. This label may be more appropriate for a national-level organization that takes cultural materials from a minority group in order to represent an idyllic or authentic past via a staged spectacle. However, we prefer not to use a pejorative label to describe what this

Kalanguya group is attempting. The new contexts for the Kalanguya performances are not "spectacle" – and thus devoid of all original meaning—like they would be for foreign tourists or an urban audience in the national capital. Instead, the primary audiences are other Kalanguya, who have not completely forgotten the meanings of the rituals. Certainly a change in context, forms, and shared meanings has taken place in the shift from participatory ritual to performed presentation. However, we argue that the new performances are indeed "authentic" and an appropriate way to preserve intangible cultural heritage.

3) <u>Culture Change for the Present Generation</u>

The Kalanguya people will continue to negotiate changes in culture and identity vis-à-vis dominant urban cultures and high-profile minority cultural communities. Additionally, the Kalanguya people will continue to work through generational changes within their own society. Their original rituals belonged to a past generation, who appropriated the meanings of the songs and dances for specific effect within the seen and unseen worlds. As the influence of urban society and the teachings of the Christian church have impacted the current generation, these young people are experimenting with other explanations and solutions for crises like sickness and death.

In much writing about cultural change, the adoption of new cultural forms from is portrayed as negative. Note this quote from the UNESCO website for the UNESCO about the Ifugao *hudhud* chants:

> The conversion of the Ifugao to Catholicism has weakened their traditional culture. Furthermore, the Hudhud is linked to the manual harvesting of rice, which is now mechanized. Although the rice terraces are listed as a World Heritage Site, the number of growers has been in constant decline. The few remaining narrators, who are already very old, need to be supported in their efforts to transmit their knowledge and to raise awareness among young people. (UNESCO)

This sort of language is not surprising, nor is it new in the literature about culture change. Unfortunately, it assumes the all culture change is imposed by outsiders, against the will of the minority peoples in question. It does not account for the agency of the subjects or their right to make their own cultural decisions—i.e., to adhere to aspects of Roman Catholicism or to find wage-paying jobs in regional cities. Certainly there have been and continue to be outsiders who seek to force changes on minority communities; we documented one such instance regarding the Ikalahan name. However, we suggest that our descriptions of culture change should not default to the assumption that the worlds' peoples are passive subjects. Is it too optimistic or naïve to hope that the forces of globalization, language shift, and economic development can be co-opted by the world's minority communities to create new forms of meaningful expression that are rooted in their ancestors beliefs, language, agricultural methods, and ritual performances?

Appendix: Other Kalanguya Musical Instruments

The gongs are central to Kalanguya rituals and music practices. There are also a variety of other traditional instruments:

1) *Kuldahing*- a flat rectangular piece of wood with four strings that can be played with one's fingers. It is like a small version of a gong because it can produce the same sound as the gongs.
2) *Pakgong*- a smaller size of bamboo with a cut portion on both sides with a knot at a far bottom and a small piece of wood inserted in it to control the sound. It is usually played by women while they are on their way or going home to the field or inum-an (kaingin) to dig sweet potato.
3) *Ku-ling*- a section or portion of the rice stalk where the hole inside is used to play by blowing through it producing a good melody.
4) *Holibao*- a drum made of wood but longer than the common drum. It is played by striking on the mouthpiece of it.

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