

Pop Culture Production in the Philippine Cordillera

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Most of the media representations of the Igorot continue to exoticize and freeze them in an ideal, primitive past. This paper foregrounds the cultural products now being produced by the Igorot using modern ethnology and media. In these self-conscious products, where they exercise agency, what can be learned from such pop culture products? How are the Igorot representing themselves? In pop songs, they construct who they are and what they have become. In recorded songs using mostly American folk, rock and country melodies and forms, they tell stories of how they are making sense of their experiences in an unevenly globalizing, runaway world.

Well into the fifth decade of production, pop songs in the various Philippine Cordillera languages still need to capture a substantial portion of the local broadcast airwaves. As self-conscious creations, the songs are certainly part of what Ileto (1979) and Maceda (1980) refer to as “voices from below” that should be heard in the continuing project of defining a Philippine identity.

As a cultural form, popular music has not been regarded as significant because of its commercial nature. I am foregrounding Cordillera pop music because, first, like rock music, it is easily identifiable, based on language, with groups of people who have been marked as different; second, it promises to be a rich cultural resource, and last, it affects the everyday life of the producers and listeners. Aside from affecting the audience emotionally and physically, the songs, like rock music, also deal with other social and cultural practices. This makes it safe for us to assume, Grossberg (in Littlejohn, 1996) says, that “some form of struggle is going on, some form of opposition is being voiced.”

During the early years of original Pilipino music (OPM),

Teresita Maceda (1980) already stressed that Filipinos continue to produce songs that “seek to explore a wider range of Filipino experience and emotion. The music is pop, rock and Western folk, but the language of its lyrics is the vernacular....” To paraphrase Maceda: Cordillera pop music is distinct primarily because of the language of its lyrics and the “Igorot-ness” of the experiences or emotions expressed, even if its musical form is still predominantly Western. After more than a century of others talking/writing/linguaging about the Igorot, usually frozen in their unclad state, the Igorots are now representing themselves in songs produced and distributed following capitalist market trends. In fact, cassette tapes and computer-generated CDs of this music are being peddled at the Baguio market alongside dried and smoked fish, meat, salt, vegetables and other goods.

The songs tell stories about who they are, what they have become (after Hall), what and why they do certain things, and what they think of their contemporary experiences, among other things. When the Cordillera people sing and use modern recording and broadcast technology, they stage what Martin Stokes (1994) calls an “assault on the ears” where one either moves away or dances to the music, even if only in the mind. McLuhan (1964: 32) says that in an ear culture, “sound...is the overwhelming fact.” Simon Frith (1996) says that, “in the end the song is about a use of language; it draws our attention to its puns and rhymes.” Frith further says:

For the best part of this century (the 20th), pop music has been an important way in which we have learned to understand ourselves as historical, ethnic, class-bound, gendered, national subjects. This has had conservative effects (primarily through nostalgia) as well as liberating ones. What music does (all music) is put into play a sense of identity that may or may not fit the way we are placed by other social forces. Music certainly puts us in our place, but it can also suggest that our social circumstances are not immutable (and that other people—performers and fans—share our dissatisfaction).

The appreciation of Cordillera music is now shown through the buying of tapes and CDs, performing or singing them, dancing to them, “dedicating” them to friends via local radio programs, and attending live concerts of the musicians, among others.

The study of Cordillera pop music also foregrounds the reality that we can no longer speak of pristine Cordillera cultures. Instead, these cultural communities can be considered as sites where local and global forces intersect in varying degrees, and the people exercise their agency through the nexus. When their songs find a little space in the airwaves, we are being allowed to eavesdrop and listen to their dreams and desires, thoughts and feelings, to the stories of their struggle. As Frith (1996) says, “To sing a song is to tell a story, and to tell a story is to be a storyteller.”

But just when people in the margins are starting to construct their own narratives and discourses, those in the center are declaring the end of narratives and subjecthood. Shohat and Stam (1994: 345-346) then suggest the possibility still of how to speak together, rather than asking the question, who can speak? They posit that cultural polyphony “would promote a mutually enriching proliferation of emancipatory discourses, transcending a mere coexistence of voices to foster a mutual adoption of voices and accents....”

Although many of the Cordillera pop songs express a man’s love for a woman, and of woman to man, others are definitely not of the simple I-love-you-babe type. The love songs instead reveal certain cultural values about gender roles, bachelorhood, courtship, marriage, family life and aging, among other themes. Many of the songs also foreground male expressions of a range of emotions, possibly repressed by a tradition of marriage mediated by another person, usually an elder, instead of a man or woman personally courting or presenting a marriage proposal to each other.

Other songs also concern the people’s experiences of the modern condition which includes changes in the cultural geography of traditional life, education, religion, movement or mobility and other aspects of living in late modernity.

History, Geography and Modernity

Rolando Tolentino (1999) says that cultural products may actually be seen as constructs of history, geography and modernity. Tolentino defines history as the “confluence of past events that bear on the present.” In the Philippine case, he says, history can actually be summarized as the struggle among tradition, colonization and independence. Concretely, Tolentino says a cultural product may actually be the site of a contest of at least three major periods of influences on Philippine life. In this paper, I demonstrate that the form and content of Cordillera songs have been shaped and given flesh by the historical experiences of the Cordillera people. My main argument in relation to history is that, by drawing on and foregrounding past events as song materials, the contemporary Cordillera pop songs in fact have the role of what Erlmann (1996) calls “present-ing the past.”

Tolentino says geography refers to the different spaces or locations in a certain cultural product. Particularly in this paper, this would mean the physical and psychological spaces that are mentioned in the songs. For instance, the spaces invoked and involved have to do with the notions of home, hometown (*ili*) and other places (far places, the city [Baguio], abroad). Long before the Department of Tourism, for instance, brandished the phrase “Pride of Place,” the Cordillera singers have long been singing of their pride in the Cordillera, or their specific towns.

Modernity has to do with the project of development, mainly economic development after the Western middle class mode, says Tolentino (1999). Along with economic development comes the notion of personal development through education, employment, physical improvement and presentation, and movement.

Cordillera Pop Songs

Among the historical events used as materials in the Cordillera songs are the following: World War II and other recent wars, the damming of Ambuklao and Binga, the subdivision of the old Mountain Provinces, the Cordillera regionalization and autonomy issues, the 1990 earthquake, the punishment of crimes through the death penalty, gold mining (Lepanto, Antamok, and Balatac, “*Ininom mi sotan*” [We drank that thing] Beray). It seems to me that for particularly painful events, the contemporary approach in dealing with them is light and almost trivializing. The following song on World War II illustrates this playful approach to “presenting” a difficult past.

1. *Tempo ni Hapon* (Ibaloi, Bokod, Benguet)
(Iya-ak Mowan Ali, Vol. 4, Raul Beray, 2001)

Yodelehyo (3x)

Kalajo harin' aanak tep wara'y iistoriyak

(Come, I've a story for you, little children)

Timpo ni Hapon ja egio inabot

(About the time of the Japanese that you did not know)

Say wara'y amtaen jo tan wara i istoriya jo

(So you'll know something, you'll have a story to tell)

Man-unod alin eg naamtaan ja kowan jo.

(About an unknown past in the future.)

Alive'n sumangiyay, istoriya bengat iyay

(This is not to destroy others, this is just a story)

Yodelehoo ayshi kulang to, ayshi subda to.

(Yodelehoo no more, no less.)

Wara'y sabey jen solsharo ja ayshi'y intutulong to

(There was once a soldier who didn't help at all)

Matematekot, emo-emot dingdingka to
(A coward, he did nothing but hide)
Idi namtik da iray Hapon, pinaltulgan to 'y shapan to
(When the Japanese fled, he shot his foot)
Man-pension niman, veteran kuno, shabel pilak to.
(He now receives pension, a veteran so-called, he has much money.)

Wara mowan i solsharo ja simahit i ekes to,
(Yet another soldier whose tummy hurt)
En nin nanbawas shi sengeg ni abokado
(Went to relieve himself under an avocado tree)
Sinakupan ni tedo'n Hapon jet pinidit she'n mankansiyon
(Three Japanese caught up with him, they forced him to sing)
"Kalajo'n kait, tatedo ira..."
(“Come, comrades, they are only three...”)
Sotan na kansiyon engidigtas son si-kato.
(That song saved him.)

Wara ngo'y Hapon na solsharo ja simahit i ekes to
(Then there was a Japanese soldier whose tummy hurt)
En nin nanbawas shi sengeg ni abokado
(Went to relieve himself under an avocado tree)
Bina'ngat to'y punas ni bulong ja engaskas ni ovet to
(He just wiped with a leaf that scratched his butt)
"Bakero, pati burong girirya"
(“Goodness, even a leaf is a guerilla soldier”)
Ja eg to amta opdas gayam i in-ilo to.
(He did not know that he wiped with an opdas.)

(In Ibaloi history, Beray sings about the damming of Ambuklao and Binga: In Ambuklao, a barrio of Bokod, there are no more farms. They have suffered; they lost their source of livelihood... but they instead made fishpens they learned from seminars... in exchange for fields that have been washed away. There at the Overpass they sell Tilapia. They keep looking around, anxious [*envingivingi ra, enkelkel-ew ira*], the police might come to arrest them...[*Tilapia*, Beray, *Afo Shiyos Safay Koma*].)

Consciousness of Geography/Spaces in Cordillera Pop Songs

Yoyoy Villame became popular for his novelty songs *Magellan* and *Philippine Geography*. “Pride of Place” has long been a dominant theme in Philippine and Cordillera songs (See Song 2). Note how the Renegades extol the appropriateness of a certain place name in this song.

2. *Abatan* (Kankanaey)
Renegades 168 (1988)

Abatan, esa sin baryo di Buguias
(Abatan, one of the barrios of Buguias)
Di kanan da’y minas di patatas
(Which people refer to as potato mines)
No ennak nemnemnemen di begew ay Abatan
(When I contemplate on Abatan)
Di inpangadan din nankakay.
(As the name the elders gave)
Maiila met kayman ay
(Indeed it is obvious)
Isna di pan-aabatan
(People meet here)
Di mapu ed Lepanto ya ed Mankayan
(Those who come from Lepanto and Mankayan)

Ya mapu ed Bontoc, Sagada ya ed Kayan
(Those coming from Bontoc, Sagada and Kayan)

Isna abe'y pan-aabatan di customer ya negosyante
(It is also here where customers and traders meet)

No umali din agew di Market Day.
(When Market Day comes.)

Refrain: *Abatan, o Abatan*
Kanak no wa't baryo ya danan
(I thought it was just a barrio or thoroughfare)
Ayentako malabsalabsan
(That we just pass by)
No amey tako'd Bontoc, Sagada ya ed Kayan
(When we go to Bontoc, Sagada or Kayan)
Gayam isna di entako pan-aabatan
(Why, it is here where we meet)
Asi tako abe'n pansisiyanan.
(And here we part ways.)

Wada pay din esa ay baro ya balasang
(Once there was a bachelor and a lady)
Aymansese-ed si bus ay enda panluganan
(Waiting for a bus to ride on)
Ayamey ed Trinidad ya ed siyudad di Baguio
(Bound for La Trinidad and Baguio City)
Ta asi da koma'n mantakeged mo napno
(They were waiting for the bus to be filled)
Et isna da ay nansi-inila
(Here they set their eyes on each other)
Ya et baw inammama yan naan-asawa da
(Unexpectedly, they married each other)
Isunga bagay mo et kayman
(So it is indeed appropriate)
Ngaadan mo ay Abatan.
(That your name is Abatan.)

Sayeyak et emeyan
(Perhaps I'll go there)
Bareng no maabet ko
(Perchance I'll meet)
Di babae ay eyak kapusuan.
(The woman of my heart.)

The Cordillera People and Modernity

The pop songs show some of the ways by which the Cordillera people are confronting or dealing with modernity. The songs express their thoughts and feelings on education, religion, politics, economics, marriage and the family, and the various configurations of such institutions.

Education is sung about as very important. For poor families, it is the only inheritance that can be given to children. Education is pursued mostly in the city so that its pursuit can be distracted or destroyed by the other allures of the city (e.g., vices, *barkada*, peer pressure) that compete with a student's attention, allowance and tuition money. Perceptions of the city are therefore ambivalent: nurturing the mind and corrupting character, comforting the broken-hearted and destroying commitments. The pursuit of education must also then take precedence over marriage (See Songs 3, 4, and 6).

Because of the potential implications of introduced religion on lifestyle, the attitudes toward it are also quite ambivalent. There are songs that advocate the acceptance of introduced, Western religion which includes getting baptized, praying and reading the Bible (Song 3 and 7). There are others which advocate a middle ground, take on Christianity as a second religion, second to the traditional religion, as a form of social insurance (Song 3, *Dakdake ay Iyaman* [Thanks so much]). Then there are songs that conflate the ideas of God and Kabunian. And then there are ideas about sticking to the practice of tradition as a marker of identity (Song 4, *A-anak* [Children]).

3. *Dakdake ay Iyaman* (Kankanaey)
(Lourdes '89 (III) Mountain Trail, PTR-003/"Kasalan";
Joel Tingbaoen, The Wonder of Joel Tingbaoen,
LL Records/ Abatan Records)

Dakdake ay iyaman nan entako naaguman

(We are very grateful for this gathering)

Sin nan ay baliwang ay ilin di iyugtan

(Here in this place, home of our younger sibling)

Ta say entako pandengngan si bilin di napuan

(For here we are going to hear the admonitions
of our elders)

Sin makuani ay kagibusan kinabaro ya kinabalasang.

(About the so-called ending of bachelorhood.)

Say ek aben maibaga na en dakayo ay sin-asawa

(On my part I'd like to tell you both)

Baken din iba-ibaw esten yo et ayman-ubla

(Avoid fighting, instead be diligent in work)

Ta mo uray maga'y baknang si tinawid yo ay sin-asawa

(So that even if you have no inheritance)

Ta mo et matago ta ya maurnos din pamilya.

(So long as you progress and lead a good family.)

No wadan toy anak yo, ed simbaan pabumyag yo

(When you will have your own children,
have them baptized)

Tan iduwani ay tiempo istrikto nan gobierno

(For now the government is strict)

Say enda kasapulan mo way enda pan-ublaan

(They will need it when they will go to work)

Am-amed mo addawi din pan-inapan si kataguan.

(Especially if they will need to go far to find livelihood.)

No dumteng din ugali, binmangunan napuan tako

(When the customs into which our elders
were born come)

Ayadi kakaan, dinumket enggana's apo

(These which don't go away,
clinging even to grandchildren)

Idawani ay tiempo, ikadawan pamati'n di Kristiyano
(These times, take on Christianity, too)
No manbunong di ap-apo, en Apo Dios ikararag abe.
(If our ancestors prayed, let us also pray to God.)
Magay kanaan din napuan tan enda maawatán
(Our ancestors will not say anything, they understand)
No datako ay ginanak iinap panlagbuan
(That we, the new generation, need to look for work)
Tan entako met natumpungan tiempo ay karirigatan
(It just so happened that we are living in difficult times)
Nangina amin ay mausar ay malakuan.
(Everything that is needed is expensive.)
No kaman koma'd nabaon ay nalakan kataguan
(Had it been like the past when life was easier.)
Say ek abe'n maibaga na en dakayo ay sin-asawa.
(These are what I wish to tell you both.)

(Alternative lyrics in Tingbaoen's version)

Dakayo ay aam-a ya iina ay mang-il-ila
(You fathers and mothers who are observing)
Sin naysin-asawa no maamag di beeyda
(This couple when they build their home)
Ibaga din pansegdan ay enyo pinadasan
(Share your experiences that led to good)
Amangan no ilan yo ya ad-adoy pankurangan.
(Perchance you will notice there are plenty of shortcomings.)

Ugali da ed kagay-an no mabalin sukatan tako
(The customs of old, if possible let's change them)
Entako et manpaburyagsin simbaan di Kristiano
(Instead let's have ourselves baptized
in the Christian church)
Tan adi tako met ammo din bunong di ap-apo
(For we do not know the prayers of the elders)
Adi tako'n kabaalan din kedawen di anito.
(And we can't afford what the spirits want.)

Several songs foreground the difficulty of living in the present, and express fear as to what will happen in the future. The hard life is accepted as a valid reason for movement to other places in pursuit of gain or a better life (to meet basic needs) and thus separation from husband, wife, children and home (*Biyang ni enta pan-inaravian* [Never mind our separation], Song 7). The pursuit of better lives somewhere highlights the significance of reunions, calls and announcements for which now dominate the public service announcements sections of the local media. Such reunions are also now interpreted by the people as the substitute for the traditional prestige feasts, but the reunion is more egalitarian because everyone contributes to the food.

Travel and movement or mobility have become an important feature of living in late modernity. Even the traditional Ifugao song turned pop *Ittetem* (Song 5) gives only one reason for feeling cold, needing to sit, eating and sleeping: coming from “*daddawi, darwin bobleh*,” a very, very far place.

For the people then, the family reunion has become a substitute for or a continuation of the expensive feast of old which was shouldered by a single family. Now the feast has become everybody’s responsibility through a uniform (but negotiable) contribution of cash and rice. The participants are often advised during the reunion program to still attend despite the inability to give the contribution, as next year perhaps, when others are unable, then those who are able will pitch in for those who can’t give.

The significance of reunions is also recognized as important at a time when people meet in the city assuming everyone is a stranger. Reunions make people realize that some persons met in the city are actually relatives so that love relationships should be avoided, or in workplaces, infliction of violence should be avoided. Pertierra (1997) calls this the tendency to carry over village relations of personal reciprocation to the city where we deal with contemporaries and strangers, not village mates and consociates.

4. *A-anak* (Pasil, Kalinga)
(Goomvu, Arnel Banasan, Saliw Music Philippines.
1998)

A-anak un nangkapatog, babbaros ken babbalasang
(Precious children, young men and women)

Changron yon inyak iffingay we fagfagan che lallakay
(Hearken as I share what the elders had to say)

Tago kan napanunutan achim koma sungsungfatan
(You have a mind of your own, please don't
talk back)

Cha amam weno si inam ta san fiyag we o-ognam
(To your father or mother for the life you have)

Utang no we chakor kan chi cha ya si Kafunyan.
(You owe them and Kabunyan)

No inka man iskulwela Fagyo wemmo Manila
(When you go to school in Baguio or Manila)

Ipapatim we manfasa ta mangara kas cheploma.
(Persevere in studying and earn a diploma.)

No pi-om mangasarwa panumutom si maminlima
(If you want to marry, think it over five times)

Im-imasom sin am-amano-an-anona
(It will please the elders so)

Te mansigaf che mangilugi se faru we pamilya.
(Because it is hard to start a new family.)

Nu awad fos okasyon wemmo amung we iyayag cha
(When invited to an occasion or gathering)

Narnarnam we tumutukcho we manchangor se fagfaga
(Be ready to sit and listen the elders' words)

No iparangchas chan bayas, basi we mampiyapiya
(When they serve wine, good basi)

Surdipom ta ugali na kapyan che i-Kalinga
(Partake of them as it is customary among the
Kalinga)

Ngem achim larlaw-anan te gatok-e-lawengan
(But observe moderation for it is difficult)

*Masuktan che chacharan mantikitiking kan kamakas
angtan.*
(To walk like the crooked-walking mantis.)

A-anak un nangkapatog, babbaros ken babbalasang
(Dear children, ladies and gentlemen)
Changron yon inyak ifingay we fagfagan che lallakay
(Listen as I'll share old men's admonitions)
Intako losan acharon san pagtan che pachon
(Let us learn the Pagta and Bodong)
Tasiya nan nanangchon sin kinalinga e linyog
(For they embody Kalinga life and laws.)

5. *Itettem* (Tuwali; Ifugao)
(Montaniosa, Jeff Abul, GP/Joel Tingbaoen, LL
Records)

Itettem ta hungopak
(Please draw down the ladder that I may come
in)

Te eh tun nakaktollak
(For I am shivering cold)

An narpu hi daddawi
(I have come from afar)

Hi daddawi, dawin bobleh
(From a far, far place)

Itettem, itettem, inoh.
(Draw down the ladder, draw down the
ladder, would you.)

Dumliga ta umbun ta
(Please move a little that I may sit down with
you)

Te eh tun nakableyak
(For I am very tired)

An narpu hi daddawi
Hi daddawi, dawin bobleh

Dumliga, dumliga, inoh.

Mun-akuda ta manganta
(Please set the food so we can eat)

Te eh tun naaganganak
(For I am very hungry)

An narpu hi daddawi
Hi daddawi, dawin bobleh
Mun-akud, mun-akud ka, inoh.

Iyabok mo ta malok ta
(Make the bed so we can sleep)

Te eh tun makahuybuyopak
(Because I am already sleepy)

An narpu hi daddawi
Hi daddawi, dawin bobleh
Iyabok mo, iyabok mo, inoh.

6. *Iyaman* (Kankanaey)
(Lourdes '89 *Iyaman*, PTR-001)

Iyaman, o iyaman ko
(Thanks, o my thanks)

Ken dakayo ay gagayem ko
(To you my friends)

Tan gapu sin layad yo
(Because of your care)

Naymadnge din nennem ko.
(Now my mind could be heard.)

Id kasin insapatak en da amak en inak
(Once I promised my dad and mom)

Emeyak ta man-adalak, pangalaak sin diplomak
(I'll go so I can study and earn my diploma)

Ngem kaman ayos din danum, dingasat et dumanon
(But like the flowing of water, fate just came)

Baken tako sin mamanggan, si Apo Dios met laeng.
(We don't hold it in our hands, it is God who wills.)

Kanan din esa'y gayem ko, "Sayang pay din adal mo,
(One of my friends said, "You are wasting
your education,)

Enka et nan-musikero ya linpas mo din kolehiyo."
(You became a musician when you
finished college.)

Kanak abe ay mangsungbat, "Gayem, magay makaabak,
(I say in response, "Friend, nothing beats)
Sin ragsak ay mariknak no dengngek din palakpak."
(The joy that I feel when I hear applause.)
Ngem din usto'y gapu na yan eyak maibaga
(But the real reason I'll say)
Eyak maipakaammo iyaman ko ya layad ko
(Is to express my gratitude and love)
Idaton ko ngarud en dakayo nanumo ay kansion ko
(So I offer to you my humble song)
No eyak to kumaan, adi kayo'n liplipatan.
(So when I depart, please don't forget it.)

7. *Biyang ni Enta Pan-inaravian* (Ibaloi, Kapangan, Benguet)
(Digat ni Ma-in-love, Fabian Chris Jacildo, 1999)

Edigat i biag shiya kawad-an
(Life is difficult here)
Aysbi usto'n obda ta jen pansepulan
(There is no gainful work)
Iparas mo ga ngo i man-abroad
(Would you try going abroad)
Enusan ta i enta pan-inaravian.
(We will bear the pain of our separation)
Tedo'n tawen i enta pan-inaravian
(We will be apart for three years)
Anak mo tan asavam ja en mo taynan
(You will leave your child and your husband)
Pansingsingpet ka nem warake'd man
(Be good when in another place)
Inges to ngo son si-kami ja en mo taynan.
(Left here, we will do the same.)

Refrain: *Biyang ni enta pan-inaravian*
(Don't mind our separation)
Saksabey kita'd puso mango eshan
(In our hearts we will still be one)
Kavul ngarud ta edigat i panbiagan
(Because life is difficult)

Anusan ta i enta pan-inaravian.
(Let us bear our separation)

Nem enmotok ka'd ma pan-obdaan
(When you arrive in your workplace)
Pansulat ka ali say wara'y mi pengamtaan
(Write to tell us how you are)
Biyang ni enta pan-inaravian
(Never mind our distance)
Dinawdavi entaha i kararagan.
(I'll pray for you every night.)
Nem enmutok i timpo ni pandikatan
(When difficult times come)
Wara'y sabeyya dag-en mo jen kamaptengan
(There is one best thing you can do)
Ipasnek mo i kararag mo so nen Apo
(Be fervent in your prayers to the Lord)
Ta si-kato i entulong ni digat mo.
(He will ease your burdens.)

Because the majority of the songs are love songs, let me dwell a little longer on them by first quoting from Simon Frith (1996):

The pop song 'formula,' ... was indeed (as the Frankfurt scholars argued) an effect of market forces. But content analysis has consistently revealed the way in which the pop formula is also dominated by a particular sort of romantic ideology. The pop song is the love song, and the implication, putting these two findings together, is that what pop songs are really about are formulas of love.

One analytic strategy that can be adopted, says Frith, is "to argue that these romantic formulas (and, in particular, the way they change over time) somehow *reflect* changing social mores, and thus give us useful evidence as to how 'the people' regard love (and associated social mores)."

In relation to this, Giddens (1999) says “Marriage used to be an economic phenomenon, now it’s a matter of personal relationships. It means the emotional stakes in finding a partner for life are that much higher....” The prominence of love, following Giddens, makes marriage an example of a “shell institution.” “So while modern marriage can be more rewarding in terms of love shared, fragile emotions bring new anxieties that were alien to previous generations.”

Related to this perspective on love and marriage is the idea that feelings or emotions belong to the realm of the private. The expression of private emotions in pop songs makes such emotions public (Songs 6, 7, 8, and 9). This also illustrates the idea of private feelings commercialized (Pertierra, 1989). The popular song *Batawa* (Song 9, to the tune of John Denver’s *I Walk in the Rain by Your Side*) also illustrates an attempt to debate in public (through songs) these public expressions of what were hitherto considered private.

Still related to Giddens’s idea of “democracy of the emotions” are reproductive rights where persons decide whether or not they would have children. This means the investments on children are also that much higher so that they should be more loved (because they are expensive). Still related to this is the idea of children’s rights, something unheard of before, that children must be allowed to talk back to their parents. Children are talking back to their parents in Cordillera pop songs. (Balag-ey sings: Why did you separate? Why did you leave me with somebody else to care for me? ... Come visit me, perhaps you will change your mind....) The didactic nature of most of the songs make them carriers of admonitions to all listeners, young or old, single or married. There are a few songs, however, which advise against talking back to one’s parents out of respect for one’s origins (Song 4, *A-anak*).

8. *Layad Nan Likatan*

(1989 Version, Bontoc, Mt. Province)

(Lourdes 89 Iyaman, Pine Tree Records 001,

Lourdes Gomeyac Fangki, 1989/Pedro Chinalpan, 1962;

Tune: *Love at Home*.)

Oooo... Nan layad nenlikatan

(The love that we suffered for)

Tet-eway sikab

(It's indeed taxing)

Layad ta'y nensikafan

(The love that we worked hard at)

Nar-os cha amin.

(It's all gone.)

Refrain: *Seg-ang yang kay nan wad-ay*

(It is only pity that is left now)

Sik-a et achi mampay

(It is because of you)

Ya ngag kasin ta angnen?

(What shall we do now?)

Nar-os cha am-in.

(It is all gone.)

Sanenta nenfuwekan

(The times we were together)

Adi'm ngen semken?

(Don't you remember?)

Sanenta nenfachangan

(When we were helping each other)

Nar-os cha am-in.

(They're all gone now.)

Take-en mo nimuwasan

(But although it's all over)

Sumeg-ang ka pay

(Please have mercy)

Ta kasin ta libnayan
 (We can start all over again)
San layad ta ay churwa.
 (Our love for each other.)
Layad ta ay chachama
 (Our deep love)
Wedwechas fangumen ta
 (It is worth reviving)
Ta et ta payen amung ta
 (So we can be reconciled)
Umafung ta ay churwa.
 (And settle down together.)

The origin of this song is attributed to a certain Mr. Chaokas of Mountain Province. The song was first recorded in 1962 by a certain Pedro Chinalpan, among the early bus drivers of the pioneer bus company Dangwa Tranco. The recording was financed by the late George Tate, representative in the Philippine Congress of the old Mountain Provinces (Ngalawen, 2002). I have been told that this song originated out of a failed marriage caused by prolonged separation between husband and wife because the husband had to leave home to teach in another village. (It was apparently the wife who was unfaithful.) That the song had been sang and recorded first by a man and then later on by a woman shows that infidelity cuts across genders. The tune and theme of the song is an adaptation of the English hymn *When There's Love at Home*. But while the English hymn is rarely sang in churches now, Nanlayad now has a life of its own, subverting and denying its past (Appadurai, 1996). The song also demonstrates the concepts of appropriation and re-appropriation (Taylor, 1997) or bricolage (Chandler, 1998) because of the global distribution and marketing of American or Western music. Taylor says, "the appropriation of dominant cultural forms by marginalized groups always involves some changes by the appropriators, changes that bend the dominant culture's values and remake them into the subordinate group's own values, aesthetics, and ideologies."

9. *Batawa II* (Ladies' Version), Southern Kankanaey
(Rose and Ria Gambala, Urayennak, Roy Basatan, Dusty
Road Records, 2001; Tune: *I Walk in the Rain By Your
Side*, John Denver)

Naeyak ay man-es-esa

(Here I am alone)

Timmutukdo isnan batawa

(Sitting outside the house)

Sedsed-ek no umali ka

(Waiting for you to come)

Ingganas nalabi yan maga ka.

(Night came and you were not there.)

Menparigat nan nemmem ko

(My mind is bothered)

Addak ammo no sino'y iyat ko

(I don't know what to do)

Nan pusok met abe man problema

(My heart is problematic)

Tan kaman balewalaak ken sik-a.

(For it seems I don't matter to you.)

Refrain: *Maga met di inbagbagak*

(I haven't said anything)

Ayman-in-inapak si nabaknang

(About me looking for a rich person)

Tan magay ganas di kinabaknang

(For wealth is nothing)

No magay layad ya ragsak si marikna.

(In there is no love and joy that can be felt.)

So “can the subaltern speak?” Spivak asks. Bhabha (in Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989) asserts that a native voice can be recovered. Bhabha says that parody and mimicry have both been used by the colonizers to appropriate the “Other.” In the case of Philippine Cordillera, I am actually seeing pop musicians mimicking and parodying the colonizers, and also being themselves to produce a body of contemporary songs. The production and

packaging of their music (such as calling certain songs as “versions” of some other song, and labeling an album as “Ivadoy na Country”) and their public presentation of themselves (as cowboys and cowgirls without horses and herds) then show cultural products that are local but global, or global but local.

Today, the dominant discourse in the Philippines still insists on representing the Cordillera people as exotic beings, appropriated by advertising copywriters as the essence of the central northern Philippine region. This partly demonstrates what Chatterjee (1997) claims “are glaring inadequacies of the old forms of democratic representation” (34). The songs of the people are, however, constructing a different narrative that is more reflective of their contemporary everyday lives, about what they are becoming in a rapidly but unevenly globalizing world. In the production of the songs, they stake new claims and entitlements, some of which “directly contradict and violate universal ‘modern’ conventions of civil society” (Chatterjee, *Ibid.*). Today, the Cordillera singers and album producers are mouthing the slogans against piracy of their own products, but they also refuse to question their own appropriation of secondhand tunes and rhythms.

The sustained production, distribution and consumption of Cordillera pop songs, like the Afro-American blues, allow for expressions of individuality but, as Frith quotes Levine, “kept them still members of the group, still on familiar ground, still in touch with their peers and their roots.”

As the producers are now labeling their music as their own kind of country music (Cordillera country, Kankanaey country, Ibaloi country), they are actually creating their own musical styles as a people “in the flux of change who desire[d] and need[ed] to meet the future without losing the past, who need[ed] to stand alone and yet remain part of the group, who craved communication with and reassurance from members of the group as they ventured into unfamiliar territories and ways.” The Cordillera pop songs also demonstrate Ulf Hannerz’ (1987: 555) contention that “openness to foreign cultural influences need not involve only an

impoverishment of local and national culture. It may give people access to technological and symbolic resources for dealing with their own ideas, managing their own culture, in new ways.”

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