

FIRST DRAFT

Ifugao Question Journal

recorded 5-7 March 1983

Banaue, Ifugao Province  
Luzon, Phillipines

c. 1983 Michael Naimark

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I wish to acknowledge Bob Stein, upon whose First Question Journal this was modelled. This journal is intended to compliment and challenge it.

Also, Barney Nietschmann, cultural geographer, and his wife Judy, cultural anthropologist, who suggested the Ifugao as a culture most extreme from ours where many of their people speak English. They had recently completed a four month around-the-world field study where they visited Banaue and met Dionicio.

And finally to Dionicio Damoyan Immatong, Ifugao Shaman, and his family who took me in as one of their own.

MM  
3/15/83

The Ifugaos are a minority culture living in the northern mountains of the Philippines. They are best known for their ancient and spectacular rice terraces, rising high into the mountains. Traditionally, the Ifugao carve wood, forge metal, and weave; they do not paint or draw. The Ifugao language is only verbal: prayer, poetry, and legend are passed down through word of mouth.

Most Ifugao live in small villages scattered throughout the mountains accessible only by footpath. To the outsider, the center of the Ifugao culture is the town of Banaue. A dirt road runs through Banaue and busses stop there regularly. Banaue has a school, a medical clinic, and a marketplace. Public electricity was installed in Banaue just a few months ago.

Banaue is not unlike an American Indian reservation town. For tourists willing to "rough it," there are a few hotels and restaurants. These hotels typically have only a few rooms, usually with no running water. Many Ifugao in Banaue cater to the tourists by making and selling souvenirs and by guiding tours.

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Patrick Tundagui is a twelve year old Ifugao boy living in the village of Paypayan, a short walk from Banaue. His father teaches in the elementary school and his mother works in the rice fields. He has two brothers and five sisters; many other relatives live in neighboring homes. Patrick gives tours of the rice terraces to earn money for tuition to the public school. He is in his first year of high school.

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Saturday 5 March 1983 8am

I meet with Patrick to give him instructions (we met yesterday evening when I arrived). I explain that a group in America is attempting to build a machine that can answer many questions, that you can ask it questions and it will answer in a variety of languages. This machine will be small enough to carry with you. No one has ever built such a machine but we think that our science will make it possible. It is a big project and will take maybe ten years.

I tell Patrick that we are trying to understand questions and that we would like him to record every question he thinks of. There were no correct questions, big ones, little ones, they are all ok. I instruct Patrick how to use the Sony Walkman-type recorder I had brought, and I ask him to always record three things: what time it is, where he is, and his question.

Sunday 6 March 1983 4:30pm

Dionicio and I stop by Patrick's home to listen to his tape so far. We meet with the family (Patrick's father knew of the project) and listen to the tape. Much to my surprise (apparently not to Patrick's), only questions were recorded, no time, no place. Even stranger (to me), questions were recorded always three at a time. Dionicio thought that most of the questions were "pretty good."

I later sat down alone with Patrick and interviewed him regarding time and place, as well as some proper names. What follows is a verbatim transcript. The bracketed material is from my notes.

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Where are you staying here in the Phillipines?  
When will be your flight back to your country?  
Did you enjoy your stay here?  
[Sat 11am home]

Where is the bus going?  
When did the bus arrive here in Banaue?  
Why did you\* miss the bus?  
[\*a particular tourist]  
[Sat 2:30pm Halfway House Lodge]

Where did God appear to Moses?  
What is the place that Moses did the Ten Plagues?  
Who created you\*?  
[\*God]  
[Sat 3:30pm walking home by the school]

Where do you find the biggest dam in the world?  
When did you\* visit the dam?  
How did people build the dam?  
[\*anybody]  
[Sun 6am near a neighboring house]

Where will you find the eighth wonder of the world?  
When did the Ifugao build the rice terraces?  
Why do tourists keep on coming here in Banaue?  
[Sun 6:30am in his room]

Where is the place that the Malay build the rice terraces?  
When did the Negritos come to the Phillipines?  
How did people come to the Phillipines in the olden times?  
[Sun 7am viewing rice terraces]

Where are you\* going tomorrow?  
What time you\* leave Banaue tomorrow?  
How can you\* go to Manila without any bus?  
[\*anybody]  
[Sun 7:10am walking down road]

Where is the place that Jesus born?  
What time did Jesus call his Apostle?  
Who created the world?  
[Sun 7:50am in Bocos Village doing an errand]

Where do you find the highest mountain in the Phillipine?  
When did the people know that the highest mountain is in the Phillipir  
Who is the president of the Phillipine?  
[Sun 7:53am Bocos Village]

Where is that place that they begin the war before it came to the  
Phillipines?  
What is the year that Hitler declared war against the allied power?  
Who invented the atomic bomb?  
[Sun 8:30am walking past school]

What country did you came from Mike?  
What time you arrive here in the Phillipines?  
What is your purpose in coming to Banaue?  
[Sun 8:50am home]

Where do we find the country with four season?  
When did the government know that America has four season?  
How many season in the Phillipines?  
[Sun 9am home]

Where do people spend their holidays in Banaue?  
When do they have holidays?  
What do the people do during holidays?  
[Sun 9:15am near home]

Where do people in Banaue get their food?  
When do they plant rice here in Banaue?  
What do the people do during harvest time?  
[does not remember]

Where is the place that they make the spacecraft?  
How many years before they build a spacecraft?  
How did the scientists build the spacecraft?  
[Sun 9:20am coming to market]

Where do you find the most valuable gold?  
When did the people start to mine for gold?  
Why they are mining for gold?  
[Sun 9:25am in market]

Where is that place that they have lots of oil?  
When do people know that oil is inside the ground?  
How do people make oil into gas?  
[Sun 9:28am in Halfway House Lodge]

Where is the country that there are many jungles?  
When did they discover that Africa has many jungles?  
Why did the foreigners guard the forest?  
[Sun 9:30am in Halfway House Restaurant]

Where is the most beautiful rice terrace here in Banaue?  
What time do the sun rise in Batad\*?  
How can you go to Batad?  
[\*Batad is 14km away from Banaue]  
[Sun 9:35am giving tour of rice field]

Where is the best restaurant here in Banaue?  
What time do the restaurant open?  
Why are the people in Banaue are making restaurant?  
[Sun 9:40am in Stairway Lodge]

Where is the place that they broadcast time?  
What time the announcer announce the time?  
What is the use of the radio?  
[Sun 9:42 in Stairway Lodge]

Where do you find the smallest bird?  
What time do people saw this is smallest bird?  
How do people know that this is the smallest bird?  
[Sun 9:45am home]

Where do you find the biggest waterfall in the world?  
What is the year that the person found the biggest waterfall?  
How do you know that the waterfall is the biggest?  
[Sun 9:50am guiding tour in Bocos Village]

Where is the original carver came from?  
What year that people of Banaue begin to carve?  
What is the use of the carvings?  
[Sun 10:20am guiding tour at waterfall]

Where are you\* staying here in Banaue?  
How many days you\* are staying here?  
Why are you\* here in Banaue?  
[\*a particular tourist]  
[Sun 10:30am on road]

Where is the most beautiful hotel?  
What time do you\* sleep at night?  
What did you\* do before you travelled from one place to another?  
[\*another particular tourist]  
[Sun 11am in Halfway House Lodge]

Where are you\* staying in California?  
How many years are you\* before you leave your parents?  
What is your\* problem now?  
[\*Mike]  
[Sun 11:10am outside Halfway House]

Where do we find the biggest ocean?  
What is the date the navigators found the biggest ocean?  
Why do people know that the Pacific Ocean is the biggest?  
[Sun 11:20am home]

What is the country that they don't make weapons for war because they are punished by the Americans?

What is the time America punished them?

How did America punish them?

[Sun 11:25am home]

Where is that place who first discovered writing?

When is that year that they discovered writing?

What is the use of writing?

[Sun 11:30am outside]

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Monday 7 March 1983 4:30pm

This is my final meeting with Patrick. We play the tape he's recorded over the past 24 hours. After about the fifth entry, I ask him how (why) the times are not in order. He says they are "interchanged." I look at him as if he's crazy. He looks at me as if I'm crazy. He tries to explain. I try to understand. I think he was recalling questions he'd missed. Place and time are now meticulously noted, but not the day. I interview him for days. (Note some blatant conflicts.) Also, the questions now take on a seemingly rhetorical style, though subject to multiple interpretation based on his varied use of the word "you."

Again, what follows is verbatim from the tape. My notes are in brackets.

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I was standing in the playing court and it is 11 o'clock in the morning. What is your purpose in going there?

I was sitting in the playground viewing the rice terraces and it is 7 o'clock in the morning. Why are you\* here?

[\*anybody]

I was in the school talking with my classmate and it is 10 o'clock in the morning. Why did you\* go to school?

[\*classmate]

I was playing with the small children and it is 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Why did you not go home?

[Sunday]

I was in the field gathering shell and it is 8 o'clock in the morning. Why are you late in eating?

I was in the Viewpoint and it is 4 o'clock in the afternoon. How did you go to the Viewpoint?

[Sunday]

I am in the Halfway Lodge and it is 7 o'clock in the evening. What time did you go home?

[Sunday]

I was in the Valgreg Lodge and it is 4 o'clock in the morning.  
How did you go there?  
[Monday]

I was in the basketball court and it is 5 o'clock in the morning.  
What is the use of the basketball court?

I was in the road walking and it is 7:30 in the morning. What is  
the use of jogging?

I was in the Viewpoint talking with my classmates and it is 4  
o'clock in the evening. What are you talking there?  
[Sunday]

I was in the bedroom sleeping and it is 6 o'clock in the afternoon.  
Why are you sleeping?  
[Sunday]

I was in the junction and it is 4:30 in the afternoon. What are  
you going to see?  
[Sunday]

I was in the school and it is 7:30 in the morning. What is the use  
of the school?  
[Monday]

I was home yesterday and it is 1 o'clock in the afternoon. What  
are you doing at home?  
[Monday] [??]

I was riding in a jeepney and it is 9:30 in the morning. What  
did you do so that you ride from the jeepney?  
[Monday]

I was in the Santa Fe Lodge yesterday and it is 12 o'clock at noon.  
What are you doing there in the Santa Fe Lodge?  
[Sunday]

I am in the native house getting rice and it is 6:30 in the  
morning. What do you do after getting rice?  
[Sunday] the

I was in the volleyball court and it is 3:30 in the afternoon.  
What are you doing during physical education?  
[Monday]

I was in the field carrying rice and it is 1 o'clock in the  
afternoon. What do you do after getting the rice?  
[Sunday]

I was in the river and it is 11 o'clock in the morning. What is  
your purpose in going to the river?  
[Sunday]

I am in my room and it is 11 o'clock in the morning. What are you  
doing to your room.  
[Monday]

I was in the natural pool at 8 o'clock in the morning. What is your purpose in going to the natural pool?

[Monday]

I was in the Bocos Village and it's 8:30 in the morning. How did you do so that you are in the Bocos Village?

[Monday]

I was in the market and it is 8 o'clock in the morning. What is your purpose in going to the market?

[Sunday]

I was in Poitan Village and it is 3:30 in the afternoon. What are you going to see in Poitan Village?

[Sunday]

I was climbing the mango tree and it is 4:30 in the afternoon. What did you do in climbing?

[Sunday]

I am in the church and it is 2:30 in the afternoon. What did you do to the church?

[Saturday]

I was<sup>at</sup> home washing my pant and it is 1:30 in the afternoon. How did you do in washing your pant?

[Saturday]

I was at home feeding my ducks and it is 4 o'clock in the afternoon. What is your purpose in feeding your ducks?

[Doesn't remember]

I was in the clinic watching the patient and it is 12:30 in the afternoon. What is your purpose in watching the patient?

[Sunday]

I was in the Santa Fe Lodge talking <sup>with</sup> ~~to~~ a tourist and it's 11:30 in the morning. What are you talking with the tourist?

[Monday]

I was going to the Viewpoint and it is 5 o'clock in the morning. Why are you going to the Viewpoint?

[Saturday]

I was jogging<sup>going</sup> to school and it is 5 o'clock in the morning. What is your purpose in going to school?

[Monday]

I was in the store and it is 7 o'clock in the evening. How did you go out when it's night?

[Sunday]

I was in the junction and it is 4:30 in the afternoon. How did you go there?

[Saturday]



I was at home playing chess with my friends and it is 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Why are you playing chess here?  
[Saturday]

I was in the waterfall and it's 11 o'clock in the morning. Why are you there in the waterfall?  
[Sunday]

I was going to the market and it is 10 o'clock in the morning. Where are you going?  
[Monday]

I was in the rice fields sitting and it's 10 o'clock in the morning. Why are you there?  
[Sunday]

I was at home playing the guitar and it is 4 o'clock in the morning. What is the use of the guitar?  
[Monday]

I was in the school and it is 11 o'clock in the morning. What are you writing?  
[Monday]

I was in the market talking with a tourist and it is 1 o'clock in the morning. Why did you talk to the tourist?  
[Monday]

I was in the house of my uncle and it is 3:30 in the afternoon. Why are you there in the house of your uncle?  
[Sunday]

I was in the blacksmith and it's 4:30 in the afternoon. What are you doing during vacation?  
[Sunday]

I was in the bakery and it is 3:30 in the afternoon. What is your purpose in going to the bakery?  
[Saturday]

I was in the Viewpoint taking some souvenirs and it is 2:30 in the afternoon. Why are you there in the Viewpoint?  
[Sunday]

I was in the Bocos Village getting some wood carvings and it is 8 o'clock in the morning. Why are you getting wood carving to the village?  
[Monday]

I was in the house of my friend and it is 4:30 in the afternoon. Why are you talking with your friends?  
[Saturday]

I was standing near the banana tree and it is 2 o'clock in the afternoon. What is your purpose in standing near the banana tree?  
[Saturday]

I was in the Banaue Hotel yesterday afternoon and it is 3:30 in the afternoon. Why are you there in the Banaue Hotel?

[Monday]

I was home yesterday playing with my brothers and sister and it is 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Why are you talking yesterday?

[Monday]

I was in the Las Vegas talking with my friend and it's 3 o'clock in the afternoon. What are you doing in the Las Vegas?

[Saturday]

I was in the store buying [ . . . ] around 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Why are you in the store?

[Saturday]

I was in the Traveler's Lodge and it's 12 o'clock at noon. Why did you stay there?

[Sunday]

I was in the forest yesterday and it is 2 o'clock in the afternoon. What is your purpose in going to the forest?

[Saturday]

I was sleeping in my room and it is 12 o'clock at night. Why did you not come here?

[Saturday]

I was in the natural pool and it is 2:30 in the afternoon. What is your purpose in going to the natural pool?

[Saturday]

I was walking going home and it is 8:30 in the evening. How did you go without light and it's night?

[Sunday]

I was in Matanglag and it is 4 o'clock in the afternoon. How did you go there?

[Saturday]

I was in the village of Poitan yesterday and it is 9 o'clock in the morning. What is your purpose in going there to Poitan?

[Monday]

I was in the library and it is 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Why are you there in the library?

[Saturday]

I was in the market talking with my friend and it is 3 o'clock in the afternoon. What are you doing?

[Monday]

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