often than not, when the currents of the rivers are strong, two elders from each of the team hold and securely fasten the hook of the two pakid to the kina-ag. Once done, the tugging ensues. The winning team then faces-off with the remaining group for another round. The challenges for another round can go on as long as there is still a kina-ag to pick and pull or until everyone gets tired.

Whoever wins the most number of rounds in the tugging ritual is declared the over-all champion, not only in the punnuk but of the entire harvest season. The losers go home feeling forlorn as it is generally believed that their harvest would be easily consumed and thus will not last until the next harvest season. Those in the winning side, on the other hand, are all euphoric, completely confident that the forthcoming year would be a year of plenty and that their rice granary will always be full or replenished every time.

Every kina-ag used in the punnuk is thrown into the river to be swept away by the currents so that when the remnants are seen by those in the lower communities, they would know that the harvest in Hapao has been completed.

There are many associated observances of taboos and discipline during the harvest ritual. For example, the community abstains from eating leafy vegetables, soft covered shellfish and fish during the entire harvest period. Leafy vegetables are not regarded as auspicious food since they shrink when cooked while soft covered shellfish are shunned because they are easily crushed. It is believed that these characteristics can have similar effects on the harvest, leading to easy depletion or destruction. The smell of fish is said to be disdained by the gods and therefore avoided. Legumes such as beans can be served for food since they expand when cooked and is equated to the multiplication of harvest. The dumupag and the mumbaki also do not bathe during huowah nor have hair cuts until the punnuk is over to prevent the loss or dissipation of the blessings and the good fortune accumulated during the entire harvest season.

The hinulukhukab ritual is performed three to four days after the punnuk. This is done to put back the hukab (ritual box cover) and to properly close the kinteb, which has been left open from the time of the dupag ritual and kept atop a bundled rice or in a corner of the owang (granary) owned by the dumupag. A chicken is sacrificed during the performance of the hinulukhukab officiated by a mumbaki.

Further demonstrating sportsmanship and camaraderie, men with enough strength left engage in a wrestling game called bultong or dopap or in arm wrestling called hangul before everybody takes a bath in the river.

A few weeks after the punnuk, the mumbaki is called again for the performance of the hagnong ritual where two chickens are sacrificed. This is done to allow the people to repair their terrace fields in preparation for the next planting season.
A PERSON WHO has been murdered must be mihim’ung, for this, all the relatives gather near the corpse and amidst yelling and stamping of feet, implore the sun and the moon to avenge his death. They shout to the spirit of the dead person to make his murderer his constant companion so that even in work and in sleep, the murderer will not feel at peace. He will be haunted by the spirit of the dead and in the end may die a violent death—by suicide or be murdered himself.

No animal is used as a sacrifice during the burial rite. The dead is not even given a decent burial. More commonly known among non-Ifugao as a war dance, it is only so in appearance. The people who come for the him’ung are dressed rather weirdly as traditional warriors in g-strings and blankets, with the double-bladed hinalung or hanggap knives in open scabbards attached to their ginutto, shell ring belts about their waist and brandishing spears or beating these against shields or bangibang that they beat in unison. They decorate themselves with red leaves of the dongla and those who have bango (a leather bag with the hair still on the skin, in the form of a backpack) put it on. They all hold their spears and shields as if they are going to battle enemies. Others make noise with a bamboo on a stick (munbangibang). In a single line, they hop and skip, characteristic of Ifugao dance, to the rhythm of the beating of the bangibangs and shields. The lead warriors, often holding two spears, act out the theme of threat for the whole group.

When they finally go to bury the dead, they hold the corpse by the leg and drag him all the way to the grave. There, they just drop him roughly and cover him with earth. The corpse is usually unrecognizable after the rough treatment given, but they say that it is done to arouse his spirit to anger, and thus take revenge on his murderer. After some years, the family of the dead digs him out of his grave and is given a proper burial.

In the less violent dog’al, pagpag or patipat, the line of warriors seeks out nooks and crevices where evil spirits might dwell, winding around the pathways of the whole village, or the terrace dikes where rats that devastate their fields might be hiding.

JTP