IN A WEDDING, the parents of the bride are charged with the pagana. They produce four tabaks (large brass trays) — Zamboanga type — where the ampas, a decorated table cloth with four saucers called batointan (colorful chinaware) is filled with different kinds of mamis (sweets) like browa, tamokonsi, sliced dodol, gorinda, salyn, taag, awani, panganan and others. At the center of each tabak is a medium-sized tabak, covered with its own ampas containing another set of batointan filled with more mamis. On top of this medium-sized tabak is still another smaller tabak covered with an ampas. On this is placed the lapad a totokoden (rice tray of chinaware) filled with rice decorated with hard boiled eggs, with four more little trays filled with fried chicken, carabao meat, four glasses of water and four bowls of soup. Four pandayakus (brass stands) with solangs (big porcelain jars of water) are also prepared. Four tangelas with cuspidors are served to the parents of the groom — two for the elders of his mother’s side, the other two for his elders on his father’s side.

People who attend are served with medium-sized tabaks with three plates of rice and three bowls of fish and one glass. They are served with the ranaw (jug of water), taoko (dipper) and basin. Each tabak is for three persons. After the meal, the relatives of the bride offer betel-nut chew to the guests. For the ladies, they also offer the bintang a bolawan (circular, golden cosmetic container) for them to use. For special guests, the tabak is placed on top of a panggaw (elevated structure/bed) and servants are made to hold the tabak while they eat.

Traditionally, the main menu consists of chicken, beef, mudfish (arowan), yellow rice (king) and desserts like dol, tiyateg, browa and other delicacies. The serving of chicken represents the high socio-economic status of the guests and host. In the old days, wild chicken (materem) frequently trapped in the forest is served, although now domestic chicken is used due to the belief about a person having twin spirits to whom a totem chicken (totoro) is dedicated.

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