

THE STRUCTURAL BASES OF COMPADRE CHARACTERISTICS IN A BIKOL TOWN

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The recurrent characteristics of sponsors for baptism and marriage in Canaman, Camarines Sur, are studied both qualitatively and quantitatively. A major portion of the discussion examines the significance for the community of these five variables, which figure importantly in the choice of ritual kinsmen: prerite kinship, geographical proximity (townsman or neighbor), social class, age, sex, and marital status. The analysis suggests that there are patterned characteristics of sponsors, and that social class might be a significant part of the syndrome. More specific differences between baptismal and marriage compadrazgo are also indicated.

The research problem with which this paper is concerned may be stated briefly in these terms: What are the recurrent characteristics of baptism and marriage sponsors in the town of Canaman?¹

The town under consideration consists of four central and adjoining barrios of the municipality of the same name (pronounced /kanáman/) in Camarines Sur Province.² The data used for the present analysis were gathered in the course of a more comprehensive study of the town undertaken by Frank Lynch from September 1956 through April 1958. Parts of the larger investigation have been reported elsewhere (Lynch 1957a, 1957b, 1958, 1959a, 1959b).

At the start of the study a census was taken of all the households within the town as we have defined it. Out of 429 units enumerated, a stratified sample of 100 was drawn and schedules for a sociometric study administered

to each unit.³ The section on baptism and marriage sponsors was administered during the period from September 1956 to August 1957.

The core of the data consisted of answers to the items in a "List of ritual kinsmen" schedule completed by each of the 100 unit heads in the sample (or the spouse as a substitute). Included were the name of the sponsored individual, and the following data on the sponsor: name, prerite relationship, reason for choice, and residence.

A simple answer to the research problem would be a tabulation of the verbalized responses to the item, "Reason for choice." But a study of the answers showed their inadequacy in resolving the problem. Some answers were so broad (for instance, "Good character") that they were open to interpretation, or misinterpretation, if taken in isolation; others (for instance,

"Neighbor") excluded factors which on other grounds seemed relevant to the choice; still other responses (for instance, "My choice") were at least ambiguous. Whether or not the informants were willing or able to verbalize the reasons for choice it was clear that these responses, taken by themselves, would not provide an accurate and meaningful resolution of the research problem.

On the other hand, more data from other sources were available to supply the characteristics of the sponsor and the sponsored.⁴ Reviewing the data from these sources, and taking into account a broader view of the community, five factors that influence *any* choice of an interactor could be isolated, and, it was hoped, measured. These were proximity (townsman or neighbor), genealogical relationship, social class, marital status, age, and sex. If sufficient quantitative data could be obtained from the above sources, significant syndromes of sponsors in each of the two rites might be verified statistically.

To a certain extent, this objective was achieved. The procedure for the statistical analysis is outlined before the actual discussion of the characteristics of ritual kinsmen in the appropriate section below. What follows immediately is an elaboration of the broad factors in qualitative terms.

The Social Framework of the Compadre System

When an individual decides to ask another person to be a sponsor for his son at baptism or marriage that person will have certain definable characteristics. He will be, among other things, a resident of the town or a nonresident; he may be related to ego closely or distantly, or he may not be related at all; he will be upper class or lower class; he will be married or unmarried; he will be of a certain age; he will be male or female. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the person selecting the sponsor will have expressed a preference — thus manifesting his values — in terms of the five factors that have been isolated for closer examination.

But how important are these factors in the social and cultural life of the town? Within the

broad dimensions defined by each of these factors, what concepts of the desirable or undesirable are usually manifested? Under what circumstances are they manifested? These questions are better answered by examining the factors themselves in greater detail. This examination is the main task of the present section. For more orderly presentation, the section begins with a description of the usual events connected with baptism and marriage. Then the different factors are discussed in succession.

The ritual

Baptism. The baptismal ceremony starts with the child being carried to the church, invariably dressed in the best baby clothes that the parents can afford. In some cases the sponsor-to-be (later known as the *nagtubong* "the one who held") may have provided the clothes. The baby is carried in the arms of a woman or young lady who will later be referred to by the parents as the *nag-abit* ("the one who carried"). The *nag-abit* is usually a relative, a neighbor, or a friend of the parents. The *nag-abit* takes the place of the recently-delivered mother, who would still be discouraged from any task requiring physical exertion.

On those rare occasions when the parents can afford a band, the carrying of the baby to and from the church is accompanied by music. Usually, however, the sight that the occasion presents is that of a small entourage of adults, usually composed of close relatives and friends of the parents, with the *nag-abit* and the baby at the head and small children running around the group as it moves toward the church. The ringing of church bells announces the group's entry into the *patio*, or walled-in churchyard. Inside the church the priest is waiting. The baby goes from the *nag-abit* to the arms of the sponsor, and the ceremony begins. The sponsor makes the promises for the infant to renounce the devil and, in general, to be a faithful member of the Church. For himself, the sponsor incurs the obligations of a spiritual parent of the child.

A substantial meal at the home of the parents follows the church ceremony. This is considered essential at the baptism of a child; in fact, to allow the parents to accumulate the where-

withal for the celebration, baptism is often delayed far beyond the one month after birth that the Church considers the maximum period prior to christening.

The social relationship that develops after the ceremony is chiefly that between the parents of the child, on the one hand, and the sponsor and his spouse, on the other. In recognition of this relationship the term *kumpadre* is used for the male involved and *kumadre* for the female, and prerite reciprocal obligations, if they existed, are now intensified. To a significant extent also, the sponsor is conscious of certain duties to the child, such as remembering him with gifts on his birthday and on Christmas day, and giving him something new to wear for the Canaman town fiesta on August 15–16 or on Easter Sunday (*paskó*). The sponsor may in some cases provide for part of the child's education, if he has the means and the parents do not. The child, on the other hand, will treat his *nagtubong* and the latter's spouse as surrogates of his parents and call them by the proper (surrogate) terminology: *tata* or *tio* (or less commonly, Spanish *papá*) plus familiar form of the first name in the case of the male, and *nana* or *tia* (*mamá*) plus familiar name in the case of female.

Marriage. Marriage celebrations in Canaman are accomplished with a great deal of fanfare. But they are the climax of less spectacular events which are worth recounting because they help underscore the seriousness of the ritual.

The first major series of events is courtship. It may start at any time and under a variety of circumstances; for instance, while planting rice in the fields, or during social gatherings such as the occasional dances or the more frequent marriage and baptismal celebrations. The *harana*, or serenading at night, is still practiced in Canaman. Visiting at home is permitted. Dates if they occur at all must be rare, or are secret, since the investigators have no record or recollection of such meetings.

The second series of events has to do with the formal negotiations for marriage. At this point, major control of the situation passes from the hands of the couple immediately involved to those of their parents. Negotiations are con-

ducted on a family-to-family basis, with close relatives usually involved. The suitor's family secures the help of a *patuytuyan* (literally, 'acting as a small bridge'), generally a close relative or friend who is well known to the bride's family. He arranges a formal meeting, called *pagsurugá* or *pagpresentár*, between the two families. During the *pagsuruga* the man, accompanied by his parents and other relatives, visits the bride's home. There he formally asks for the hand of the woman. While those present are eating the food which the man's group brought with them, the dowry and details of the wedding are also discussed.⁵

Finally, the day of the wedding arrives. If bride or groom comes from one of the outlying barrios he or she has spent the night at the home of a relative. The parents and the couple themselves would have agreed on at least two sponsors (technically, witnesses), one male and one female; the maximum number of sponsors recorded for a Canaman wedding is four. The *madrina* (female sponsor) goes to the house where the bride is staying to be sure that the bride is properly dressed for the ceremony; the *padrino* (male sponsor) does the same for the bridegroom. Then the bride and the groom ride to church in separate cars, usually decorated sedans rented in Naga.

Although all guests are invited to attend the church ceremony, only a small group of relatives and friends, including those directly involved in the ceremony, is actually present. The majority of the guests are already gathered at the bride's house, where the bridegroom's family has prepared food and is getting ready to serve it. This they do when the wedding party returns from the church, the groom sitting down with the bride and her people to signify his being joined to them by the ceremony just concluded. The celebration continues for most of the day, with the tendency to lavishness limited not by desire but by the financial capability of the bridegroom's family.

Later in the day, the bride and the groom will go to the groom's house, where a second celebration is held, also prepared by the man's relatives but less pretentious than that in the bride's house. During this visit, which symbolizes

in turn the bride's becoming a member of the groom's family and kin group, she is expected to sit with them at table and partake of the food prepared there.

There are two important sets of fictive relationships that result from the marriage ceremony. The first is that existing between the parents of the couple on the one hand, and the sponsors and their spouses on the other. They become coparents of the bride and groom. The *kumpadre/kumadre* terminology apply to the individuals involved.

The second set of relationships exists between the sponsors and their spouses on the one hand, and the sponsored couple on the other. This relationship is parental, and the couple uses the terminology appropriate to parental surrogates (*tata, tio, or papa* plus familiar name for male; *nana, tia, or mama* plus familiar name for female). This is the relationship that is more frequently activated. For, given the fact that most young couples will be struggling to achieve a measure of economic security, and given the pattern, to be elaborated below, that marriage sponsors are characteristically upper class, sponsors are sooner or later asked for economic assistance if they do not volunteer it themselves.

Family and kinship

If one were to pick a Canaman nuclear family at random, the chances are that it would be alone in the household; 68 percent of the families in 1957 were. If it were not alone (the other 32 percent) it would probably be living with another family or married couple, a widowed person, or a single person who was not a child of the nuclear couple.

If the nuclear family were living with the female spouse's family of orientation, it would probably be a relatively young family, the male spouse being a coworker of his father-in-law in the rice fields, and his family for all practical purposes merged into the household of his wife's parents. If they live with *his* family, a parallel situation would exist. If it were an independent household living in a lot adjoining that of the parents of either spouse, it is probable that the lot would be part of a bigger residential lot occupied by the parents' house.

Despite some variations, the nuclear family is the basic social unit in the community, and it mobilizes all its resources to attain whatever independence it can. In economic terms, for most families, this means relying mainly on the hazardous annual rice crop raised at least in part on tenanted land. For this reason, the family devotes the greatest amount of its time and effort to this task. The husband assumes the primary cultivator's role. It is his job to see the crop through, from planting to harvesting, and to put in as much physical labor as is necessary for this purpose — an investment which is quite substantial, especially when preparing the field for planting. But the members of the family assist in many ways: in clearing the field of growth, in transplanting, in weeding after the plants begin to grow, and in harvesting.

There are other sources of income available, but the returns from these are marginal. When the water from the Canaman Creek comes up to flood the fields at planting time, catfish (*hitò*) begin to grow in abundance. The farmer who traps some fish occasionally gives them to his wife for marketing in Naga. Most of the time, however, he sells them to the several middlemen in Canaman who have facilities for collecting them and shipping them to Manila.

The farmer may also hire out his services as laborer to private individuals or to the government in Canaman or any of the nearby towns. But the opportunities in this regard are not widespread; most Canaman farmers are unemployed or underemployed during the hiatus between planting and harvest seasons. Most members of the family somehow become engaged in the weaving industry (fans, nipa shingles, mats) during this slack period. The quantity of shingles and mats produced is too small to merit more than passing mention. *Anahaw* palm fans, however, bought and collected by middlemen from individual weavers, eventually find their way to Manila.

The extended household has been mentioned in passing above. These households, where they exist, are usually double families consisting of a nuclear family plus another formed by a married child, or a married sibling of one of the spouses. The senior family head is normally looked upon

as the head of the household, even if only nominally. The real head, that is, the family head whose opinion on common household matters, such as the distribution of the burden of maintaining and repairing the house, commands the most weight, is the person who has the most material resources for use in the common undertaking. While there is a definite tendency for each family to be as independent of the other as possible, each is nonetheless ready to give assistance to the other when necessary and able to do so. Thus, there is usually no pooling of earnings and other major resources between families. But the family in need may always count on getting a share of any momentary surplus that the other family may have. Thus also, each member of the family in a joint-family household will usually assume the duties he would have had if his own family were living completely independently. But should circumstances break the routine, such as when one couple needs somebody to look after the children while they are on some urgent errand, the other couple may be counted on to help.

Details regarding the contribution that each family makes for the maintenance of the household and the upkeep of the house and lot are characteristically tacit and flexible, and are generally governed by the broader cultural norms of reciprocity (Hollnsteiner 1961). Needless to say, this situation is a potential source of conflicts, but for the most part they are kept from rising to the surface.

Besides the extended household there are other recognizable kinship groupings. An individual's descent is traced through father and mother; however, he tends to be more closely identified with his father's kin group, since he carries his father's surname. The genealogies are described as "generally shallow, going no further than the second ascending generation; they are narrow, reaching out to second cousins at most. Blanks occur especially when even a close relative has moved away from ego's town or municipality" (Lynch: 1957a: 15). The pattern of kinship terminology is Eskimo in the descriptive, but Hawaiian in the address system.

An analysis of the census material reveals that there exist within the community discerni-

ble kindred foci, or concentrations of residences owned by families related to one another. The population of Barrio Sta. Cruz, for example, can be divided into three kindred foci. Similar foci are found in other parts of the community.

The functions of the kin group have been widely discussed. Murdock states (1949: 45):

Kin groups represent, so to speak, the individual's second line of defense. When a person is in danger or in trouble, when he needs help in the performance of an economic task or a ceremonial obligation, whenever in short, he requires a measure of assistance beyond what his own immediate family can provide, he can turn to the members of his larger kin group for aid or succor. Because they are bound to him by extended kinship ties, their obligation to help him is stronger than that of other members of the tribe or community.

The questions that kept recurring in the field were these: For what sorts of assistance and under what conditions are which relatives chosen? When is a neighbor, a fellow-townsmen, a ritual relative, chosen over a kinsman? The data bearing on these and similar questions show the strength of kinship in the community. But the same data also show its limitations.

For one thing, the individual himself does not prefer kinsmen indiscriminately as interactors; he makes a selection from his universe of kinsmen. Lynch makes this point clear when he writes (1959a: 52-23):

To begin with, evidence from scores of genealogies shows that where one of the ego's parents comes from another town, his bilateral kindred of recall (or genealogy) is heavy on the side that lives in Canaman and light on the side that does not. Some kinsmen are disqualified from ego's alliance system by the mere fact of residing outside Canaman.

What about those kin who live in Canaman? Lineal relatives and primary, secondary, and tertiary blood relatives in general are ordinarily considered allies until by some action the presumption is replaced by contrary fact . . . In this sense closely related kinsmen enjoy a preferred position in the alliance system. Locating the outer limits of presumptive alliance in the blood kinship system is made difficult, however, because of the supportive or contravening influence which factors other than kinship play in the attitude toward kinsmen. A paramount consideration is the amount of communication between ego and the relatives in question. A third cousin who lives nearby may be more easily recalled, and can be more solidly integrated into ego's alliance system, than a first cousin living in another barrio or town.

In many interaction situations there is, however, a definite preference for kinsmen over nonkinsmen — unless other factors intervene. For instance, in patronage of business or services

offered, preferential treatment is given to kinsmen. Between two rice mills, the first owned by relative and the second by a nonrelative, the first will usually be patronized. When similar conditions exist in an alternative between two *mga parahilot* (townsmen who practice folk-osteopathy), the kinsman is preferred. However, spatial distance, the quality of articles or services offered, pleasantness in dealings, and the withholding of the premium rates expected by kinsmen in some cases can upset the balance of choice in favor of a nonkinsman.

In the very important political arena, the kinship factor manifests itself strongly, but again there are limits to its potency. Two power structures may be observed in the community. The first is occupied by the local representatives of the country's formal political structure. Its visible heads are the municipal mayor, vice mayor, and six councilors, all of whom are elected every four years. The incumbents of the second structure, which is of much less significance than the first except in symbolism, distribute and regulate power in Church-related activities, a carry-over from Spanish days. This structure may be termed the *hermano-hermana* system. Each barrio selects an *hermano* and his female counterpart, the *hermana*, to represent it in parish-church activities for the following year. All the *hermanos* and *hermanas* in turn select an *hermano-mayor* and *hermana-mayor* for the year.

Usually, the *hermano-mayor* represents a kin group different from that with which the *hermana-mayor* is identified. But each kin group attempts to win both positions. Sometimes a group succeeds in this. At the time the field research was undertaken an election was held in which there was subtle maneuvering by the male members of several economically powerful families to elect their chosen candidates. When the *mayores* had been selected, it was found that they represented a single group instead of usual two, for the groups were closely related to each other by numerous intermarriages.

Evidently, the kin group is called upon to act in concert to retain political power and its accompanying prestige for the group in the community. Thus the list of Canaman's muni-

cipal mayors since 1800 shows a limited number of family names recurring as holders of the office; moreover, elections in the more recent past have generally seen three serious rivals for the office of mayor, and they were not related to one another.

The strength of the kinship factor is evident in the foregoing. But kinship by itself is not singularly decisive. Otherwise, elections would not be the costly processes that they are. Lynch hypothesizes an "alliance system" model as one in which the ego's choice of personal interactors — the individuals to whom he is favorable and who are, in turn, favorable to him — might be fruitfully analyzed.⁶ In this model, ego consciously selects personal allies from among various social categories, including kinsmen. This model will explain political behavior more fully than the kinship model, even though an elaboration is outside the scope of the present paper. Suffice it to say that there are intervening variables that weaken the kinship tie as a means of gaining political support. Some of these variables are physical proximity and favorable behavior in the past. As Lynch says, "Relatives are important but the importance is relative" (1958: 16).

The taga-Canaman

A clear-cut definition of a *taga-Canaman* (literally, "from or of Canaman") is something that is hard to elicit directly from informants. For example, one informant would define him as somebody "who was born here," but who begins to lose the quality of being a *taga-Canaman* when he transfers residence to another town. Another informant who considers himself a real (*propiong*) *taga-Canaman* thinks that a *taga-Canaman* is somebody "whose parents were born here." Strangely enough, his own mother was born and reared in another town, and her family did not move to Canaman until she was an adult. It appears that the beginnings of a definition would involve consideration of the length of residence of the individual concerned, but the specific period is contingent on the individual's own feeling of pride in belonging to the community; his manifestation of this belonging by identification with members of the community as against

others, and extent of his reciprocal relationships with other members of the community.

The taga-Canaman is proud of his town and considers himself different from and — all other things being equal — better than people from other places because he belongs in the town. For one thing, he is proud of the Bikol he speaks, calling it *an tunay na Bikol* ('the real Bikol'). If an anthropologist should choose Canaman as his research site and should explain as his purpose, for the sake of simplicity, the study of the "real Bikol" and "other things like that," he would be considered as having made the proper choice of research site. One anthropologist did this and was so considered (Lynch 1957a: 57).

Behavior patterns tending to preserve the community's life-ways manifest this pride in the community. Lynch makes the observation (1959b: 4) that "those who return to the barrio from Naga and do not put off their city ways (by doffing shoes and donning wooden sandals, or *bakya*, for example) are chided for this: "So now he's a Naga boy" (*Taga Naga na iyán*, literally, 'That one's from Naga!'). He further reports that endogamy has characterized the municipality's marriage through the years. Catholicism provides a common religious bond, and outsiders coming to live in it are expected to be Catholics. Members of a Canaman family who had been converted to another religion were spoken of with evident disapproval.

Identification with the community is further manifested by participation in community-wide activities. When a series of robberies was reported, the *ronda* system of the Japanese occupation was revived and men took turns patrolling the streets at night, while some families provided midnight-to-dawn snacks.

But participation in community activities is regularly formalized on a number of occasions connected with religious celebrations. The success of the town fiesta celebration, for instance, is looked upon as a measure of the community's prestige, so there is general cooperation in the activities connected with it. Participants in all

phases of the celebration — from the nine-day novena in the church to the games on the day of the fiesta, and the dance party at the *palitada* (concrete pavement) in the town plaza on the eve and night of the fiesta — are chosen with care so that all sections of the community are represented.

The seasonal observance of folk-Catholic practices such as the *Panharóng-haróng* and the *Pagsabat* are all looked upon as affairs of the entire community, although they may be initiated along kinship lines. The *Panharóng-haróng* is a re-enactment of Joseph and Mary's attempt to find a lodging place in Bethlehem. It calls for widespread participation from community members as players, stage crew, or attentive audience. The *Pagsabat* itself is mainly a religious ritual; it dramatizes the Easter Sunday meeting between the Sorrowful Virgin and the Risen Christ. But the construction of the elaborate *hosanahan*, or arch, from which the angel descends and announces the meeting, and the fireworks accompanying the celebration itself call for community labor and expense.

Even some parish organizations are expected to reflect community strength and solidarity. In clamoring for a chapter of the *Adoración nocturna* that would be independent from Naga, one of the influential members reasoned that the prestige of the community was at stake in the case, since even municipalities smaller than Canaman had independent chapters. Some otherwise qualified individuals were reported to have refused affiliation with the local organization because of its being subsidiary to the Naga chapter.

From the evidence of community solidarity it follows that townsmen should accord each other mutual preferential treatment, and they do. The wife of the town dentist complains that her husband finds it hard to charge fellow townsmen the full amount for his services. One lawyer who belongs to a family originally from Canaman but who now practices in Naga is preferred by townsmen on the expectation that their cases would be given preferential treatment

at no extra cost. There is the reciprocal expectation, of course, that the recipients of these favors will take their business to a fellow-taga-Canaman before anybody else. Such reciprocal relationships, not just in business but in other spheres of activity as well, are so prevalent, in fact, that they truly constitute part of the individual's firmest roots in the community.

The neighbor

In an attempt to evaluate the neighbor relationship, couples included in the random sample were asked to name independently of their spouses the persons whom they considered their neighbors. Those names were recorded, together with the informant's unsolicited remarks on why a particular person was or was not considered a neighbor. A summary of the recorded data shows a tendency for both spouses to agree regarding a high percentage of the persons named, although one spouse frequently omitted one or more names given by the other.

The neighbor relationship arises basically from two major factors: proximity and regularity of satisfactory interaction. It is based on proximity because neighbors usually, though not always, reside in the first five or six houses nearest that of the informant. Several informants included in their list some residents merely on the basis of proximity, or so the verbalized comments went. On the other hand, the neighbor relationship does not depend on proximity alone, because not all the families who live nearby are included in the informant's list of neighbors. When explanations are sought for the exclusion, the most common factor has to do with the character and frequency of interaction.

The closest term for 'neighbor' in Bikol is *kataid*. Informants would distinguish between a *kataid* and *karani* ('one who is near'), saying that his *karani* is not necessarily a neighbor; antagonism may even exist between them. One informant, when asked why she did not include in her list of neighbors the family living in the house right next to hers, said coldly of them, "*Marháy ta karani*" ("Good that they are near"). This is equivalent to saying: "They live near us; there is not much else that can be said about it." On the other hand, another informant who did include the family living in the next house in his list of neighbors said that there is *patinabang-tabangan* ('helping one another') between them.

For many a taga-Canaman the neighbor is a trustworthy ally on whom one can count for assistance not only in emergencies but in everyday situations as well. From him one can borrow the little things one needs around the house: a frying pan, a coconut grater, a flat iron, a step-ladder. He is a sympathetic listener and counsellor to whom one can turn for immediate advice, a friend with whom one can exchange food. If he has a faucet in his *banyo* (usually an enclosed space under the house) one can take a bath there, wash clothes, or draw water anytime. If all other resources, including one's own relatives should fail, one may find somebody among his neighbors for an urgent loan of money or the makings of a meal. If one has a *kasibutan* ('an occasion for hurrying'; a party) of some sort he can count on his neighbors to come not merely to dine but to help in the preparation and serving of the food. The neighbor's house is even a place where one can find recreation: gossipping, or listening to the radio if the neighbor has one.

No wonder, then, that the taga-Canaman says, "A good neighbor is better than a distant sibling" (*An marháy na kataid mas marháy pa ki kan tugang na harayô*). He takes utmost care to preserve the pleasant relationship. Favors done by his neighbors are filed away carefully in the memory with a note that they be repaid in a similar manner in the future. Situations which can lead to disturbance of the relationship

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are avoided until the contrary fact is established that the good neighbor relationship cannot be preserved any longer.

Age, sex, and marital status

The factors of age, sex, and marital status are treated together in this section, not merely for the sake of brevity, but because the people of Canaman themselves often view them in combination when differentiating people for purposes of relating to them properly. In the discussion that follows, age is treated as the primary classificatory factor, with sex and marital status acting to modify it under various circumstances. It should be noted, however, that the weightings of factors implied in such a strategy are more heuristic than empirically precise. The age categories that follow should also be considered tentative, since no deliberate inquiry into these aspects of the population was made during the field research. The data used in the discussion are part of those data that were collected in the course of participant observation.

Basically, there are two divisions in terms of age: the mature or adult persons (*mga gurang*) and the children or young persons (*mga aki*). Within each major category there are subcategories that may be distinguished. The adults, for instance, may be subdivided into at least four subcategories. In chronological order these are the old (*gurang*), the middle-aged (*kabangan*), the persons 'with age' (*may edad*), and the young adults (*ba-gong tao*). The *aki*, in turn, would include the infant (*umbôy*), child (*aki*), and the *buru-batà* (corresponding approximately to late teens and very early 20s).

Young people predominate in the town. In the Census of 1948 the median age of Canaman's residents was given as between 15 and 19 years. This fact may explain in part the taga-Canaman's considering a man in his 30s to belong in the kabangaan age grouping, thus puzzling the outside observer who is accustomed to think of middle-age as starting at 40 years or so. The man in his late 40s is probably considered an old man, and treated with the deference due the aged. Adulthood, however, begins shortly after age 20, when one becomes a *ba-gong tao*. In-

dividuals who are below this age would be considered, in general, the *mga aki pa* (those who are still children/young).

The old man is somebody who is aged by experience but also by his progressive physical deterioration. He will have raised his children, seen them properly married and bear his grandchildren. Now he feels his duties are almost at an end, and it is their turn to help him pass the remaining years of his life in reasonable peace and comfort. However, this expectation is more often unfulfilled than the ideal would suggest. Living in his son's household, he feels that he must be more economically secure than his son in order to keep his traditional authority over the latter within the household; or he must at least make himself useful in some way so that his stay will not be an imposition on his son's family. Otherwise he may shuttle from one relative's household to another, none of which can afford to shelter him for lengthy periods of time.

He is expected to act his age; that is, his actions must not have the impulsiveness characteristic of youth. He must impart the lessons he has learned in life. Because of his age and experience he must be prudent and sober in his counsel when it is sought by younger members of the community. Because of these expectations, he is accorded great respect.

The kabangaan age group is notable for the fact that the community generally draws from it those leaders who initiate community-wide activities. For this reason they compose what is probably the most important age grouping in the community. It is true that age in itself does not constitute the decisive factor in the selection of a leader. It seems that a prerequisite for community leadership is upper-class standing. The leader is an economically secure person who has a following composed of people who feel a personal sense of debt resulting from the favors that he has dispensed. Age, however, plays no small part in putting him in this position. By the time he is considered middle-aged, he will have accumulated enough security for himself to give him leisure and make him capable of assuming community-wide responsibilities. The rascality and impulsiveness of youth will have

mellowed, thanks partly to steady pressure applied by parents and their surrogates through the years. He is now considered capable of making the sober and prudent judgments characteristic of the aged. Yet he is young and vigorous enough to pursue his plans effectively.

The individual "with age," or *may edad*, is called this because he has just arrived at that age when his adult status is no longer in question. Normally he will be married, and this fact helps confirm his status as a responsible adult member of the community. However, he has not yet lived long enough to have crystallized his total status. Still deferring to the more established middle-aged members of the community, and being at that particular point in life where he has not accumulated significant material resources and/or *utang na buót* ('debts of gratitude') for favors that he has rendered, he is unlikely to take positive steps at this time to assume community leadership. In fact, if he were an upper-class individual before marriage, his status will have declined temporarily as people began considering his status separately from that of his parents. But given his original status, his potential in terms of inheritance, perhaps his education, and his relative youth, he is a serious contender for upper-class membership and community leadership in the future.

The ideal young adult (*ba-gong tao*) is *pormal*, that is, refined in speech and manners, respectful, and obedient to the wishes of his elders. These qualities are especially welcome since the person at this stage in life has just ceased being a child, and the extent to which he conforms to the ideal qualities is an immediate indication of how acceptable his more permanent life style as a member of the community will be. He is now considered to have the physical capabilities of an adult, and is granted much of the freedom and responsibility common to adults. He begins to be treated as a coworker (no longer an apprentice) on the farm, and is now allowed to smoke, drink, and stay out late at night with his friends.

Especially if he is observant and yielding, his initiation to adulthood will be smooth and easy. But departures from adult norms will be treated with leniency by both his parents and the com-

munity unless such departures result in serious economic losses to parents (e.g., through one young man's neglect a carabao strayed and broke a leg) or jeopardize the parents' relationship with other people in the community (e.g., by playing the young bully).

But when the young adult gets married and settles down, his lapses from accepted norms can no longer be excused on the basis of youth. Whether he likes it or not he must now be a responsible adult. If, for instance, he should borrow cash from a neighbor and fail to acknowledge or repay the debt, his behavior will be sanctioned, not as that of a young person who has not lived long enough to know any better, but as the action of someone who should have known better and has shamelessly failed to act according to this norm. Thus, marriage often makes a biologically young person into a genuine adult.

Children are considered to be in varying degrees *daing buót* (literally, 'no will'), or lacking in mature and responsible judgment; this inadequacy is roughly correlated with their physical development. Hence children are now to be indulged, now taught, now disciplined. The context in which all three attitudes are manifested is in the child's performance of general expectations. The *umbóy* (infant) is often indulged because he is completely *daing buót*, but the five-year-old boy's speech and locomotor abilities are developed enough to enable him to run short errands to the neighbor's house or to the sari-sari store. The *buru-batà* has enough *buót* and strength to begin apprenticeship by assuming part of his father's work on the farm (if he is a boy), or mother's work in the house (if she is a girl). However, in many cases, the enforcement of expectations (more precisely the parents' commands) seems to depend more on the immediate need for the fruits of the child's labor than on training purposes.

Thus, a boy who has done his work badly may be chided less because it is part of his training to have mistakes corrected, than because his bad performance has resulted in an economic loss to his parents. A parallel casual attitude towards the training aspect is shown in other areas. Toilet training begins as soon as the child

shows some comprehension of simple instructions. But it does not seem to be a matter of much concern how fast the child learns. A child with some *buót* may continue to take a casual attitude toward his toilet practices so long as he does not positively inconvenience his elders. Training in respect for elders, however, is notably rigorous. Such acts as kissing the hand of an old relative and addressing elders in the polite form are considered standard behavior. The sanctions for violation of this norm are more pronounced and more frequently applied. They range from mild verbal scolding to corporal punishment.

What all this suggests is that the child and pre-adult is not a rigorously restricted individual, nor is his training as a whole treated casually. But a more precise statement on the areas where the training aspect is treated rigorously or casually must await more particular studies.

Women generally play secondary though not necessarily passive roles in community affairs; they are relegated to duties which are considered not quite man-sized but proper to woman. In the power struggle for community leadership, for instance, women are seldom consulted, although they are often called upon to help in executing the decisions made by the men. Their main task is housekeeping; the *taga-Canaman* who is a career-woman is hard to find. Although most women are involved in at least some intermittent income-earning activities, the money-earner is the man. Farming or fishing or hiring out as a full-time laborer for a daily wage is generally a man's job. If the woman helps in the field it is usually only for the lighter and tedious tasks of transplanting the seedlings, weeding, harvesting, and threshing. She is in charge of the weaving industry because weaving is an occupation considered light enough for women: it can be carried on at home, in a sitting or squatting position, and at a leisurely pace. The care of the *sari-sari* store — in *Canaman* the ratio of *sari-sari* stores to houses is about 1:10 — is also a woman's job, with the one or two large stores notable exceptions to the rule.

In some folk-Catholic activities, for instance, the *Santakrusan*, the women seem to be in the foreground. Actually, the stage has already been

set for them by the men. The men arrange for the holding of the *Santakrusan*; then the women come to lead the singing and praying. In feasts, where a great deal of cooking is usually done, the cooking is generally done by the men; but women serve the food.

The social-class system

The social class system in *Canaman* is more fully analyzed and reported in Lynch (1959b). What follows is a summary based on that report.

The study of social class was commenced after collecting and analyzing numerous scattered bits of evidence indicating differential social ranking. Some houses in the town were big and made of permanent or semipermanent materials; others were small and made of *nipa* and bamboo. Some informants were diffident when consulted for advice and information, while others seemed to think it proper that they were approached for this purpose. Some wore relatively expensive clothes while others did not. In everyday interaction among the people in the community there appeared a personal, complementary relationship between two apparently different categories of people: the "big people" (*dakulang tao*) and the "little people" (*sadit na tao*).

Moreover, the two categories could be identified by perceivable characteristics. The big people were those who wore the most expensive clothes, owned the house constructed of permanent and semipermanent materials, and seemed less deferential in speaking with their visitor, the American *padre*. The little people generally had contrary characteristics.

These observations set the stage for the systematic study of the social-class system. The hypotheses formulated were (1959b: 15) the following:

1. *Canaman* is composed of people who see themselves as members of one or another social class;
2. The number of these classes is two;
3. The function of these classes is to complement each other socially, economically, and politically; and
4. Units are placed in this system with satisfactory agreement among raters.

Departing from the traditional techniques of delineating hierarchically differentiated units, Lynch selected a purposive random sample of twenty raters on the basis of age, sex, marital status, barrio of residence, and presumptive social-class placement. Then, working with his assistant, Augusto Plopinio, he proceeded to obtain, through discreet and cautious questioning in Bikol, the following information: (1) a statement on whether the respondent thought the residents in the community were divided into different ranked groups or strata; (2) identification of these strata according to the respondent's criteria for differentiation; and (3) placement of as many as possible of the community's 429 household heads in one of the strata the respondent had identified.

The results from the interviews showed that there was little agreement among the 20 raters on the number of strata in the community. The number identified by the different raters ranged from three to eleven, with only five of the raters agreeing on a common number of identifiable strata. Customary interpretations of these data would have led to the conclusion that there were no objective social classes in Canaman.

But this conclusion was not consistent with the qualitative behavioral data which showed a functional two-class system of "big" and "little" people interacting in situations invested with social inequality. Even by examining the data from raters themselves the assumption that if there is no rater agreement there are no objective social classes seemed gratuitous. For these data showed that (1) there was significant agreement on the distribution of the community on a social-status scale and on the relative ranking of most of the units in this scale (indicating that there was a shared system of social-status-ranking); and (2) of 52 criteria employed by raters in status-ranking distribution and placement, 25 were of an economic nature.

Hence, Lynch hypothesized that a distinction had to be made between the behavioral and the contrived. The behavioral pattern of the people in the community indicated that social classes exist. But these are latent and do not exist on so manifest a level as to provide agreement among

individual residents when they are asked to conceptualize these classes. Could this theory be demonstrated from the raters' data on hand, perhaps by going beyond the raw strata identified by them and sifting the data more thoroughly for the latent patterns? It could.

The steps that achieved the objective were the transformation of individual placements into percentile scores (to make them comparable), and the calculation of the mean percentile score of each individual. This was the individual's "community rating." A frequency count of composite scores was made and plotted on a graph, then diagrammed. The figure that emerged assumed the shape of a double diamond, with a constriction at the top of the upper, smaller diamond.

What would such a figure suggest? Lynch sees this as a representation of the latent social stratification system in the town. The double diamond indicates basically two social classes. The lower and bigger diamond represents the lower class; more than two-thirds of the units in town are in this class. The upper and smaller diamond represents the upper class. The constriction at the top of the upper diamond separates an elite grade from the rest of the upper class; the latter Lynch prefers to call the marginal grade. The marginal and the elite grades together comprise less than one-third of all units in the town.

But one must go beyond the figure to see what the social class system means to the people of Canaman.

The 52 criteria used by the raters in stratifying the community were tabulated and grouped under three main categories: (1) economic, or material possessions and wealth-based power; (2) political, or formal and informal behavioral control; and (3) personal, or character and achievements. Such is the primacy of the economic factor that, as has been mentioned above, out of the 52 criteria used 25 were economic in nature, as against 12 for political and 15 for personal. It was also found that the average rater used economic criteria three times more often than he did political and personal criteria combined. The kinds of economic

criteria used are generally ownership of land and steady income from other sources.

The great importance given to the economic criteria by the people of Canaman fits in very well with their way of life. Depending primarily on the precarious annual rice crop for their material existence, they know that the person who gets the greatest share of the harvest and is able to absorb, indeed survive, the loss of recurrent crop failures is most fortunate indeed. So is the person who, because of a steady income from other sources, need not depend on the rice crop.

Closely related to the economic factors that divide the social classes is the complementary functions of these classes. Interactions along vertical class lines follow a pattern of mutual help and dependence. The upper-class person is expected to share his economic surplus by dispensing it in the form of loans which in many cases are allowed to remain unpaid, giving ample rewards for services rendered by lower-class personal allies, and contributing generously in leadership and funds to community activities. The lower-class persons who are the recipients of this patronage, on the other hand, give him their support and are at his beck and call for the odd jobs that he requires. This kind of relationship builds up into a system whereby individuals in one class assume reciprocal obligations with persons of the other class; such relationships, for instance, as that between the landlord and the tenant, the leader and the follower, the creditor and the debtor.

Manifestations of this complementary relationship are found in community activities as well. The upper-class people own most of the land that the lower-class people till. At the Santakrusan, the upper class provides the leadership and the funds — for the substantial repast for participants, for instance — that makes it a significant occasion for the neighborhood or the community. At religious processions, especially in Holy Week, the best images are owned by the big people; they are pulled by or carried on the shoulders of the little people. The stipend for the novena preceding the town fiesta is generally paid by members of the upper class; they also entertain the greatest number of visitors

on the day of the fiesta. In brief, the role of the big people in community activities is to provide the physical and financial leadership, while the little people lend their support and make their contribution in terms of manual labor.

Lynch sums up the complementary roles of the upper class and the lower class persons by conceiving archetypes of each (1959b: 131–32):

The archetype of the upper class is a wealthy person who lives according to his station, is responsive to his community-wide duties, and keeps a certain social distance between himself and the lower class people. He gives, sometimes generously, to those in need; he may employ the formality of a loan to save their face, but he does not really expect payment in kind. His return will come, he knows, in the services rendered by a perpetual dependent, his debt-partner.

The lower class archetype is a person who has no sure and sufficient income for the year unless at some point in the cycle he goes into debt to one or more persons. He has no surplus at all for any length of time, for if he should happen to have something extra in the way of food or money he will shortly give it away (every relative a bank, every friend a granary) or have it borrowed if he delays. The archetype of the lower class, the “little person” is apparently not an extremely poor individual by local standards. He does not excite pity (*hirak*); he is considered to be in the “natural” (*natural*) or “ordinary” (*ordinaryo*) station in the community. The “big person” ideal-type construct, however, is the model elite grade person.

In such a setting and with the factors that have been discussed, compadre choices are made in Canaman. The relationships between taga-Canaman, neighbors, kin, and members of various social classes, modified as they are by the age, sex, and marital status of the individuals concerned, define a composite value system at work in this Philippine town. The decisions of Canaman residents at the time of the baptism and marriage of their children are made after consideration of these factors and thus offer a clue to the relative importance of each at these life crises.

The Characteristics of Ritual Kin

How the variables of residence, kinship, social class, age, sex, and marital status elaborated above affect the selection of sponsors for baptism and marriage may now be discussed. First, the procedure followed in preparing the data for statistical analysis will be described.

Analytic procedure

During focused interviews with a random sample of 100 household heads or their spouses, the names of 317 baptismal sponsors and 155 marriage sponsors were recorded. However, the informants' own sponsors were excluded from the study, for the evident reason that their parents, more than they, controlled the selection of these individuals. A total of 52 baptismal sponsors and 99 marriage sponsors were dropped on this basis. Then we eliminated all sponsors who had died (12 for baptism and one for marriage) or were for other reasons not in residence in the town at the time the research was done (128 for baptism and 31 for marriage). This we did because the background data we needed could not be completed for them. Remaining in our sample was a total of 125 baptismal sponsors chosen by 44 informants and 24 marriage sponsors chosen by 10 informants.⁷

The next step provided each actual, or "observed," sponsor with an "expected" sponsor, an individual who might have been sponsor if the choice had been made at random. This random selection of expected sponsors was made from the August 1957 census of Canaman, which was contemporaneous with the interviews mentioned above. Eligible for choice were all those 12 years of age or older who were of the proper sex for the particular ritual role.⁸ Once the choice had been made, each respondent was asked to identify the randomly selected "sponsor" in terms of kinship; other variables were known from census data.

The major limiting assumptions that the above procedure imposes on the analysis should be stated at this point. The first is that the exclusion of sponsors mentioned above drastically and systematically reduced the number of cases. There is no way of determining what differences there might be in the patterned characteristics if the excluded cases were included in the study. All that can be said is that any patterns that emerge will apply only to the sample of sponsors resident in the town.

The second limitation arises from the fact that the data as measured are applicable to the time the research was undertaken, not to the various times that selections of sponsors were

made. Hence we are really looking at the matrix of relationships that resulted from various selections, and not at the reasons for choices made. We cannot, then, conclude exactly to those characteristics which the taga-Canaman looks for in sponsors at the time that he makes a selection. Rather, we can say that these various choices have surrounded our sample with social allies of describable characteristics which depart in definable ways from what would have been the case had they selected kumpadres and kumadres at random.

Precise measures of sponsor characteristics and elaborate statistical tests were both avoided. Except for age, characteristics that could be measured were dichotomized, thus: related/not related to selector, selector's neighbor/non-neighbor, same class/other class, younger/same age/ older in age relative to selector, ever married/single. Goodness-of-fit tests were used: the Chi-Square test (with Yates' correction) for two independent samples was used for baptismal sponsors, and Fisher's Exact Probability test for marriage sponsors (the number of cases is small).

The findings

The characteristics of the three categories of individuals — respondents, observed sponsors, and expected sponsors — in terms of age, social class, and sex are summarized in Table 1. The summary is presented to serve as a reference point in examining more closely the succeeding tables, since some of the characteristics in these tables are measured in relational terms. No further substantive comments need be made on this table.

The characteristics of baptismal sponsors. Data on the five characteristics that were subjected to a statistical test of association are summarized in Table 2. First, no significant association was found between kinship and sponsorship. Second, it was not possible to test association between sponsorship and residence/non-residence in the town; the data are presented separately (Table 4) and discussed below. Third, tests on the remaining four variables were positive. Thus the results show a very strong association between being a kumpadre and being a neighbor. A similarly significant association is

found between social class placement and being a sponsor. The pattern is for lower-class parents to be kumpadres/kumadres with upper-class individuals, and for upper-class individuals to be similarly related with individuals of the same class.

Sponsors tend to be of the same age as their kumpadres/kumadres; the association between age and sponsorship in this direction is highly significant. Marital status which, in light of the previous discussion of this characteristic, has a close relationship with age, is also significantly associated with sponsorship. It should be noted that while the age ranges of respondents, observed sponsors, and expected sponsors, respectively, vary widely, the central tendency puts the respondents and the observed sponsors in the kabangaan age group and the expected sponsors in the lower grade of this age group.

The characteristics of marriage sponsors. Similar tests of association were made using the data on marriage sponsors (Table 3). Except for marital status, none of the variables measured showed a significant association with sponsorship. Although some tendencies are discernible, the frequencies and the variations are too low to reach statistically significant levels. The tendencies of two pivotal variables may nonetheless be pointed out. One is that a no-kinship

relation tends to be associated with sponsorship. Second, as with baptismal sponsors, there is a tendency for lower-class individuals to have upper-class sponsors and for upper-class sponsors to have sponsors from the same class.

The residence characteristic. The methodological procedure outlined above and the data actually gathered precluded testing any association between residence and sponsorship. There are data, however, on the residence of observed baptismal and marriage sponsors (see Table 4). These data suggest that the town population itself constitutes the main source of sponsors. From here, the universe of selection radiates outward to other barrios in the same municipality and contiguous areas, and even to other provinces and Manila.

A nonsystematic examination of the raw data indicates that many of the present non-resident sponsors were actually in the town at the time the selection was made in the past. Even allowing for this factor, however, a substantial number were definitely selected from out of town. It is evident that at times a preference for townsmen will in the selection process give way to more heavily weighted variable(s).

Summary. Characterizing baptismal sponsors now in bold and modal strokes, he or she is,

Table 1

Respondent, observed sponsor, and expected sponsor categories in baptism and marriage, classified by age, social class, and sex (Canaman, Camarines Sur, 1957-58)

Rite and role category	Total N	Age (in years)			Social class (Ns)			Sex (Ns)	
		Range	Mean	Median	Elite	Marginal	Lower	Male	Female
A. Baptism									
Respondent	44	21-74	41.38	39.5	4	12	28	41	3
Observed sponsor	125	18-70	39.9	39.0	31	54	40	65	60
Expected sponsor	125	12-88	32.4	29.0	12	40	73	65	60
B. Marriage									
Respondent	10	45-72	58.7	60.0	1	3	6	10	0
Observed sponsor	24	29-65	45.5	44.0	8	12	4	14	10
Expected sponsor	24	12-100	33.12	27.5	3	8	13	14	10

first of all, preferably a member of the upper class. He may or may not be kinsman of his kumpadre. He is likely to be a resident of the town and may even live in the same neighborhood as his kumpadre. He is likely to be of the same age or younger relative to his kumpadre, and is likely to be married.

To characterize marriage sponsors, who are represented in our data by a relatively small sample, we must withdraw from the quantitative data to more qualitative observations. It is very likely that the characteristics of marriage sponsors would generally be the same as those of baptismal sponsors, with stronger tendencies towards upper-class and nonkinsman character-

istics. In fact, the earlier version of this analysis, relying mainly on qualitative data, saw marriage compadrazgo as basically an extension of one's alliance network to upper-class nonkinsmen for the security that such an extension provides. The same pattern was observed, but to a smaller degree, in baptismal compadrazgo. In the latter case, pleasant interpersonal and reciprocal relationship on an equal basis was seen to be heavily emphasized — an emphasis that is not so easily observed in marriage compadrazgo.

The preference for upper-class individuals follows from the function of the relationship and the expectations attendant upon the role of sponsor. The function of the relationship among

Table 2

*Baptismal sponsors, observed and expected, classified by selected characteristics
(Canaman, Camarines Sur, 1957-58)*

Selected characteristic	Sponsor		Total N	Level of significance
	Observed	Expected		
A. Kin relationship				
Related to selector	45	34	79	
Not related to selector	80	89	169	n.s.
(Unknown)	0	2	22	
B. Neighbor relationship				
Selector's neighbor	26	1	27	
Not selector's neighbor	99	124	223	0.001
C. Social class relationship				
1. Lower class selectors				
Same class	34	53	87	
Higher class	59	40	99	0.01
2. Upper class selectors				
Same class	26	12	38	
Lower class	6	20	26	0.001
D. Age relationship				
Younger than selector by more than 5 years	51	80	131	
Same age as selector, \pm 5 years	59	20	79	0.001
Older than selector by more than 5 years	15	25	40	
E. Marital status				
Ever married	110	68	178	
Single	15	57	72	0.001

social unequals is to solidify the superordinate-subordinate relationship that previously existed between the two parties, thus making the mutual obligations firmer. The sponsor is in the upper-class stratum, the sponsored in the lower class. The sponsor may be the owner of the land that the parents of the sponsored tills; he may be the employer; or he may possess that influence and those contacts with other upper-class people which could help obtain for the sponsored a more secure occupation. The expectation is that the sponsor will manifest a fraternal interest on the parents of the sponsored and a paternal interest on the sponsored himself, dispensing favors with generosity over the years to come. Expectations involving sponsor and sponsored's

parents are strong in the case of baptism, but are modified somewhat to stress only the sponsor-sponsored relationship in marriage. In any event, the verbalized reasons for the choice of a particular sponsor indicate the selector's belief that the prospective sponsor is willing and able to assume this role and to fulfill its concomitant expectations. These are the persons whom the informant considers an *amigo/amiga* (friend) and a *marhay na tao* (good man/woman).

Among upper-class individuals the choice of sponsors likewise tends towards individuals belonging to the same class. As the lower-class individual seeks to *increase* his security through the kumpadre system, so upper-class individuals seek to *preserve* theirs, and to enhance their

Table 3
Marriage sponsors, observed and expected, classified by selected characteristics
(Canaman, Camarines Sur, 1957-58)

Selected characteristic	Sponsor		Total N	Level of significance
	Observed	Expected		
A. Kin relationship				
Related to selector	8	11	19	
Not related to selector	16	10	26	n.s.
(Unknown)	0	3	3	
B. Neighbor relationship				
Selector's neighbor	1	0	1	n.s.
Not selector's neighbor	23	24	47	
C. Social class relationship				
1. Lower class selectors				
Same class	2	7	9	n.s.
Higher class	12	7	19	
2. Upper class selectors				
Same class	8	4	12	n.s.
Lower class	2	6	8	
D. Age relationship				
Younger than selector by more than 5 years	18	20	38	
Same age as selector, \pm 5 years	5	2	7	n.s.
Older than selector by more than 5 years	1	2	3	
E. Marital status				
Ever married	24	13	37	0.001
Single	0	11	11	

placement in the stratification system. The expectations in this case consist of mutual and fraternal help between the sponsor and the sponsored's parents; this fraternal character is modified by generational differences in the relationship between sponsored and sponsor.

The frequency of nonkinsman sponsors should be pointed out if only because of its importance in verifying whether any patterned bias for or against kinsmen exists. That no such bias is found suggests, among other things, that marriage compadrazgo is not a channel for reinforcing extant kin relationships.

The tendency for ritual kinsmen to reside close to their kumpadres, indeed to be neighbors, indicates the importance attached to proximity. Beyond proximity, it also indicates the value which the taga-Canaman attaches to personal, face-to-face relationships. Indeed, most verbalized reasons for selecting a particular individual as sponsor suggest that the respondents were seeking to formalize a satisfying interpersonal relationship (not necessarily kinship) already enjoyed with the particular individual.

Going back to physical proximity, it should be noted that despite the tendency to select townsmen as ritual kinsmen, a substantial number of sponsors nonetheless come from outside. This pattern suggests that residence is a

variable that takes secondary importance to other variables. One likely candidate for this more heavily weighted variable is preference for upper-class individuals. Given the small upper class in the town, and given the fact that a significant number of Canaman's economically critical rice farms are owned by absentee landlords, it is reasonable to expect that the preference for upper-class sponsors would direct some of the choices outwards.

Like the residence variable, age and marital status also act as modifiers of more heavily weighted variables. The tendency to have sponsors who are of the same age or younger than the parents may be interpreted as paralleling the security motivation in selecting upper-class sponsors. The younger the sponsor is, the more lengthy will be the relationship and its benefits. On the other hand, the overall effectiveness of the individual diminishes with age, even though the respect due him may consequently increase. Further, the choice of older sponsors militates against the fraternal definition of the relationship between sponsor and sponsored's parents.

Conclusion

We have discussed factors that may influence the selection of ritual kinsmen, the character-

Table 4

Observed sponsors in baptism and marriage classified by residence (Canaman, Camarines Sur, 1957-58)^a

Residence of sponsor	Baptism		Marriage	
	No.	%	No.	%
In Canaman town	125	49	24	44
Out of town but in Canaman municipality	33	13	4	7
In towns/city contiguous to Canaman	29	11	12	22
Elsewhere	31	12	8	14
Residence unknown	35	14	7	13
Total	253	99	55	100

^aExcluded are respondents' own sponsors and sponsors known to be dead.

istics of ritual kinsmen that are in fact important, and the social functions associated with these characteristics. Here the findings are reviewed and compared with findings from similar groups elsewhere. Finally, their implications for the underlying value system of the community are indicated.

First, the rituals themselves and the relationships that develop consequent to them. Two types of rituals of *compadrazgo* found in Canaman were included in this analysis. The first is that of baptism. Here the sponsor speaks for the child as he renounces the devil and promises to obey the laws of the Church. For his part, the sponsor guarantees to furnish the child religious guidance. The ritual produces significant social relationships between the sponsor and the child. The relationship is that between social unequals, with the sponsor expected to exercise paternal interest, and confer paternal benefits on the sponsored; the latter is expected, in turn to show his sponsor the deference and respect due a surrogate parent. Just as important, if not more so, a relationship is contracted between the parents of the child, on the one hand, and the child's sponsor, on the other. This pattern thus follows that generalized by Fox for the Philippines (1956: 424), and reported by Mintz and Wolf (1950: 354-55) and Foster (1953: 5-10) for Latin America; it contrasts with the practice in Spain reported by Foster (1953: 4-5).

The second type of ritual included in the analysis is that of marriage. The ceremony requires the attendance of at least two other witnesses besides the officiating priest. In Canaman these witnesses, one male and one female - in some cases two such couples - are chosen carefully. For, as in baptism, significant new social expectations are contracted between the sponsors on the one hand and the couple on the other. Approximately the same norms and expectations that apply in the sponsor-sponsored relationship in baptism are operative in marriage also. As in baptism, further, the social obligations in other relationships such as that between godparents and parents of the couple and godparents' children and the married couple are recognized. In contrast with baptism, however,

these latter obligations tend to be amorphous. Fox's findings, generalized for all three godparenthood rituals (baptism, confirmation, and marriage) and for the Philippines as a whole, that "the relationship actually develops and emphasizes a primary social bond between the parents of the child and the godparents" (1956: 424) does not seem to be true of *marriage* godparents in Canaman.

It is evident that the relationships among individuals involved in the *compadrazgo* system, whether marriage or baptismal, are structured according to the extended family model (Fox 1956: 429). The sponsor and the real parents of the sponsored are regarded as coparents. The sponsored is likened to the son/daughter of the sponsor, and the latter, in turn, is accorded some of the authority and respect due a parent. The children of the sponsors are likened to cousins or step-siblings of the sponsored. Thus the first value that is pointed up as important from the practice of the *compadrazgo* system in Canaman is that of kinship. On a conscious basis, the *taga-Canaman* is kin-biased in that he structures his relationships with newly-acquired allies according to a kinship model. The *compadrazgo* system thus becomes a demonstration of the value attached to kinship.

On the other hand, the high frequency of nonkinsmen selected as sponsors should indicate the limitation of the kinship model. For while it may be granted that *compadrazgo* is a mechanism for acquiring *new* kinsmen fictively, there is no inherent reason that such should be the purpose of the institution in every group where the institution is found. It could, for instance, function primarily as a way of intensifying relationships among prerite kinsmen, as it does in Spain (Foster 1953: 6). That it does not do so in Canaman suggests that in at least some spheres of social life competing characteristics other than kinship take precedence in the choice of allies or interactors. If this is so, social-class standing, qualified by other characteristics such as age and geographical and personal approachability might well constitute part of the complex of competing characteristics, as they seem to do in the choice of *kumpadres* and *kumadres*.

Upper-class standing is achieved and main-

tained basically through possession of economic security from any source. If the taga-Canaman looks for this support from his fellowmen, then he is bound to have among his allies (including kumpadres) one or more of those economically powerful individuals whose assistance and protection very few people can dispense with for any length of time. Living in the precarious social and economic setting that is Canaman, the pursuit of the security that such allies provide seems to follow from the very nature of prevailing social order.

Foster's summative observation about compadrazgo in Latin America is not very far from that which one might make about Canaman.

... the compadrazgo in much of Spanish America acts as a cohesive and integrative force within the community, between classes and ethnic groups, by formalizing certain interpersonal relationships and channelizing reciprocal behavior modes into customary patterns so that the individual achieves a maximum degree of social, spiritual, and economic security (Foster 1953: 10).

Notes

The data on which the analysis is based were gathered as part of a larger study undertaken by Frank Lynch, S.J., in Canaman, Camarines Sur, September 1956 to April 1958. The study was supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation; additional support was given by the Ateneo de Naga (Naga City) and the Asia Foundation. Augusto V. Plopinio provided research assistance in the field.

The original version of this paper was submitted as a master's thesis to the department of sociology and anthropology, Ateneo de Manila, in 1961. That version relied almost solely on qualitative data, even though some of the quantitative data were collated and used. The present version integrates the quantitative data more fully into the analysis, although it does not otherwise attempt to make the substance more current. The preparation for the later analysis, still using the 1956-1958 data, was undertaken in late 1972 and early 1973, with the assistance of the following: Peter Kim, S.J., of the Ateneo de Manila's department of sociology and anthropology, Rico T. Casimiro of the same university's Institute of Philippine Culture; and the Ateneo de Naga's Research and Service Center staff, headed by Constancio T. Cater, Jr., and Aniceto B. Oliva. The few expenses involved in the selection and study of "expected" sponsors (see text) were absorbed by a related study directed by Frank Lynch and supported by a Ford Foundation Southeast Asia Research Fellowship.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of the assistance of the above individuals and institutions. Some of Frank Lynch's ideas are formally documented at various points in the paper; his other helpful suggestions can be acknowledged only generally in this note.

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1. A third type of ritual which gives rise to the compadrazgo relationship is the confirmation of the child. This ritual, however, does not seem to have so much social significance as the first two, and is thus excluded from the present analysis.

Basic materials on ritual relationship in the lowland Philippines are to be found in the synthesis by Robert B. Fox, "Ritual co-parenthood" (1956). Other investigators have made passing mention of ritual relationship in the Philippines. Pal (1956), Lande (1958), and Hollnsnteiner (1961) have reported findings substantially in agreement with those of Fox. Lynch (1959b) has already reported his own tentative observations on the ritual relationship system in Canaman.

Materials on ritual relationships in other parts of the world are more numerous and provide excellent sources for comparison. The following were accessible and constitute primary references: Foster (1953), "Cofradia and compadrazgo in Spain and Spanish America," Mintz and Wolf (1950), "An analysis of ritual co-parenthood (compadrazgo)," and Pitt-Rivers (1957), "Spiritual kinship and the family in Andalusia."

2. The four barrios are Dinaga and Pangpañg (which together constitute the poblacion), and Tibgao and Sta. Cruz. Because of their centrality and importance these barrios will be referred to collectively as "the town" or simply "Canaman."

3. "By a unit is meant a married couple with or without children, a widowed person with or without children, or an independent single person. This unit is culturally recognized" (Lynch 1959b: 45).

4. The data may be summarized under the following categories:

a. Participant observation data, part of which were recorded in journals kept by Father Lynch, Augusto Plopinio, and myself.

b. *OCM file*. A card file, indexed according to the categories in the *Outline of cultural materials* (Murdock *et al.* 1950) was kept in common by all three of us working in the field.

c. *Life histories*. The life histories of 16 selected informants were recorded.

d. *Household census of 1957*. A list of all the houses, families, and units within the town was made during August through November 1957. Information gathered included the occupants of the house; their relationship with one another; their parents, siblings, and children; age; and residence after marriage.

e. *Kinship lists*. Each husband and wife included in the random sample was asked to give a systematically elicited list of his/her kinsmen, along with the spouses and children of each kinsman, the parents of each spouse, and residence before and after marriage. A total of 110 such lists was made from information furnished by informants in the random sample. An additional 42 were also taken, some of them only partially completed.

f. *Church records*. A complete collection of baptismal records dating from 1847, and a similarly complete record of marriages performed since 1895

are found in the Canaman parish convento. Transcripts of all these records were made by the Bikol Area Survey and are on file at the BAS office in the Ateneo de Naga, Naga City. Information relevant to the present study were the names of the baptized or the marrying partners; their ages; their parents; their residence; their sponsors; and the residences of their sponsors.

g. *Surname tables.* The surname tables are primarily reconstructions of family trees from 1847 through 1957. Data for the tables were taken mainly from church records, genealogies, and census materials.

h. *The sociometric study.* To measure the frequency and intensity of interaction between ego and others, notably his kinsmen, neighbors and fellow townsmen, a series of schedules was constructed and administered covering a wide range of interaction situations. The "List of ritual kinsmen" is part of this study.

i. *Social class data.* The collection and analysis of these data are reported in Lynch 1959b and summarized in a section below.

5. The custom which requires the bridegroom to render service at the bride's family's home for a period of time before the wedding is widely known and recognized, but its actual practice has grown increasingly rare.

6. "The alliance system is a network of reciprocal relationships constituting firm claims on the favor or assistance of those who are joined by them. It is not an aggregate of the relationships found in the locality system, the consanguineal, affinal, and ritual kinship systems, or systems of friendship or economic relationship . . . [It] connects those whose favorable behavior toward one another, on whatever grounds this may occur, is not an untested cultural expectation, but is at least possible and likely, if not yet a fact predictable by past experience" (Lynch 1959b: 49-52). Individuals are linked by a personal sense of reciprocal obligation.

7. As the final report was being typed it was discovered that three additional baptismal sponsors and one marriage sponsor whose names were not written correctly in the pertinent records were actually residents of the town and should have been included in analysis as such. Since the number of cases was minimal and the report written under deadline pressures, no adjustments were made to take account of these minor errors.

8. According to Church law, the sponsor at the baptism of a child must be of the same sex as the baptized. The sponsors at a wedding are invariably a male-female pair, or two such pairs. Hence, sex of the sponsor is not considered a variable in the analysis.

With regard to age, technically, any individual who has reached the "age of reason" is qualified to be a sponsor. Traditionally, this age is held to be seven years. The minimum of 12 years set in this study is a compromise between what is formally feasible and locally possible.

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