

SAGADA SECULAR LITERATURE: PROSE

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THE CLASS OF 1957, ST. MARY'S SCHOOL

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The Igorots of Sagada comprise what linguists are pleased to call a preliterate society, that is, they have not learned to read and write their own language. Their literature has been transmitted from one generation to another by word of mouth. The efforts of their bards and prophets, and the records of their hagiographers and town councils, are preserved only in an oral literature.

Within this oral tradition, it is possible to distinguish a body of "official" or authoritative literature. This is the religious matter which comprises in addition to prayers a great number of long myths; as the story of the Last Supper is central in the Christian Mass, so Igorot ceremonies often contain recitations of local myths. Although these rites are not memorized word for word, they are memorized well enough to retain archaic or terms unknown to the reciter, and the community recognizes certain old men as accepted authorities in this field. A collection of such religious literature can be found in "Bayang's Demang Notes," No. 3 in this series.

A much larger body of literature, broader in scope and distribution, is what may be referred to as Sagada's folklore, that is, stories told in prose or verse by housewives and grandparents who make no claims to accuracy and who when challenged refer to the authority of those wise old men who preserve the religious literature. The subject matter of this folklore derives more often than not from prayers and myths, and not infrequently from motifs common to other parts of the Mountain Province. It is generally possible to collect as many versions of any one tale as there are storytellers willing to recite

them. It is a sampling of this secular literature which is offered in this volume.

Although Sagada storytellers are distinctly unreflective about their own literary endeavours, it is possible to make several general categories. The divisions made in this work are as follows:

Nos. 1-19 are stories popularly known and nowadays usually told for amusement although their origins undoubtedly lay in some such serious purpose as prayer, the explanation of natural phenomena, or the giving of advice. They may be compared to a collection of old tales retold like the *Canterbury Tales*. They have been arranged in the order of their popularity. Nos. 18 and 19 are actually ghost stories, a type much more common in the ears of Sagada children than this collection indicates.

Nos. 20-30 are basically origin myths, most of them recounting how some abused child turned into a non-human creature of some sort, often the first of that species. Sagada children are raised in communal dormitories where discipline is administered by adults other than their parents, and these stories, perhaps more typical of Igorot folklore than any other type, reflect the irreconcilable conflict which the Igorot parent sees between loving a child and inflicting any displeasure on it.

Nos. 31-45 are offered as historic tales. Since Igorot storytellers rarely acknowledge their own handicraft in the stories they tell — except in the case of ballads or dirges — it is difficult to select those which are considered more rather than less historic. The criteria which have been used here have been to ask whether the

story is fixed by religious ritual or whether it is believed to have occurred within the memory of living men. The abused children of the last group reappear here only when actual sacrifices are nowadays offered to their spirits by the people of Sagada.

Nos. 46-63 are cautionary tales. Some of the same stories that appear in other categories are repeated here in the guise of frank warnings to young people. No. 62, for example, "Why Battek's Father Died," is told in the Poetry section (*Sagada Social Studies* No. 10) as an amusing song.

Nos. 64-69 are nursery tales or fables, and their paucity is indicative of the casualness with which they are regarded rather than of their actual frequency. The first three are retellings of songs mothers sing to their children and the last three are stories equally frankly told for the purpose of amusing youngsters, thereby disqualifying themselves in local eyes from falling within the proper field of serious storytelling.

W. H. Scott

A Glossary of Terms

Apoj: lit., fire; a sacrifice held in a field for fertility.

Barrio: village, hamlet.

Begnas: an important community religious festival for fertility and good health, formerly connected with headtaking.

Bitoto: a woven plate of basketry.

Bolo: machete, cutlas, jungle knife.

Camote: yam or sweet-potato, the main or secondary staple of Igorot diet.

Carabao: water buffalo.

Dap-ay: a sort of men's club which is the religious and political center of a town ward; unmarried men and boys sleep there, and all men gather there in their leisure time.

Doyog: wooden bowl.

Gabi: taro root, the Igorot staple before the introduction of rice.

Gangaw: a sacrifice performed annually, marked by rough grabbing and snatching for the flesh of the sacrificed animal at a signal given by the priest.

Kaingin: a mountain garden, usually for

camotes, cleared by burning off the underbrush; it is neither cultivated nor watered.

Obaya: a religious holiday in which villagers are not permitted to leave the village nor outsiders to enter.

Pomelo: a fruit like the grapefruit.

Pospos: a kind of small-leaved tree.

Tapis: a rectangular wrap around skirt.

1. The Legend of Lake Danom

By Ben Botengan

Many years ago a terrible famine occurred in Demang. Food became so scarce the people of that village had to trade with nearby barrios for food.

One day a man named Paggadew carried his pig to Agawa to barter it for food. When he was near a creek, the pig oinked. Suddenly an old woman with long white hair appeared. This woman seemed to come from the direction of the creek. She asked Paggadew where he was going so Paggadew told her about the terrible famine which caused him to go to Agawa to trade his pig. After a short conversation, the woman told Paggadew that on his return trip he should rest by that creek before proceeding home.

Paggadew was welcomed in Agawa, where he stayed about a week, and then, with a basketful of gabi, he started home. On the way, he rested by the creek. After some time the woman appeared again and invited him to her house. Paggadew accepted the invitation and they both went to the woman's house. Paggadew saw plenty of gabi around the house. After they ate lunch, the woman asked Paggadew to pick her lice. When he consented, he was surprised to find her hair full of poisonous insects. But he picked them off anyway. Then they went out and gathered gabi and Paggadew was pleased with the woman's generosity for she gave him all they had gathered. Then Paggadew went home happily with a heavy load of gabi.

The following day, Gatong-o, Paggadew's neighbor, heard Paggadew's story so he decided to do the same. When he got near the creek that Paggadew had told him about, he pinched the pig to make it oink, so the same woman

appeared and told him the same thing she had told Paggadew.

On his return trip, he stopped at the creek and soon the woman appeared and invited him to her house. But when she asked Gatong-o to remove her lice, he did it with great reluctance. Then they went to gather gabi. But when Gatong-o was in the middle of the gabi field, he suddenly found he could not move because the woman had bewitched him to stay in the middle of the field as a punishment for his unwillingness.

The next day, very early in the morning, a man passed by to cut wood. When he saw Gatong-o he thought him to be a tree so he cut off his head. Water gushed out of the wound and flooded the gabi field until Gatong-o's remains could not be seen. The lake that was formed was called Danom because the man who cut the tree shouted, "Danom, danom!" (water, water) when the water gushed out. At present you can see this lake near the road to Besao.

2. The Man Who Was Caught by Lake Danom

By Remedios Mapang

A long time ago some people from Besao went to make a ricefield below Lake Danom. They thought that this was a good place for a ricefield because they could use the water of the lake for irrigating it.

When the ricefield was ready, the people started digging a channel leading to the edge of the lake. As they were just about to finish it, the water jumped out and tried to grab ahold of the end of the first man's G-string but was unable to reach it. The other people were terrified and ran away, while the poor man who was left behind ran toward the mountain called Tetey. He tried to run fast but he couldn't. As he climbed up the mountain, he felt something holding his G-string which prevented him from going up any higher. He looked back and saw the water holding the back of his G-string. Quickly he pulled out his bolo and cut off one end of his G-string, sending the water falling back into the lake.

While he was on top of Mt. Tetey deciding what to do, he saw another man on the

mountain called Lallal-ay, just a little distance away from Mt. Tetey. He went over to the man, who was from Sagada, and told him what had happened. They both went down to Sagada and warned the people that no one should ever go to release the water in Lake Danom.

The field below the lake was planted with camote vines instead.

3. Why the Dead Don't Come to Life Again

By Beatrice Bacayan

Long long ago, dead people used to come to life again after three years. Dead people who came to life again had their faces on the back of their heads, and their color was as black as charcoal.

There lived in those days in Lokong a young couple. A few years after their marriage, the husband died. The wife couldn't wait for him to come alive again, so she married another man.

After three years, her first husband came to life again. As he was passing the *dap-ay*, he heard a baby crying. When he looked in the door, he saw some old men and a young man holding a baby in his arms. It occurred to him that this was his wife's second husband, so he proceeded to their house. The second husband, who had seen him, said, "What will I do now? my wife's first husband has come to life again!"

One of the old men said, "Well, why did you marry her when you knew that her dead husband would come to life again after three years?" The man didn't answer.

When he got to their house, the first husband told his wife to remove his lice. He sat down in front of the house: he didn't want to enter the house because his wife had married somebody else. As the wife was removing the lice from his head, milk from her breast dripped on his head. "So, you have a child by another man? Well, why don't you go and feed him? I know he's hungry because he was crying when I passed the *dap-ay*. You're married to another man - I don't know where to live."

"We can all live here," the woman replied.

"We can't all live here because you have another husband. I can't sleep with both of you."

The woman said, "You and my husband can both stay."

"You can't have two husbands at a time. I don't want to talk about it any further. Just bring me the water jar. I want to fetch drinking water for you."

The woman gave him the jar, but he twirled it around and dropped it on the ground. "Break!" he said, "so that people won't be able to make you into a jar again — just like the people: when they die, let them not come alive again!" After saying that, he broke the jar into pieces, and disappeared and was never seen again.

4. The Farmer Who Married a Star

By Frank Longid

Long, long ago there lived a farmer in Bogang. One day he went to build a ricefield in Namsong. After working very hard, he finished a small ricefield. Then he went home as it was already getting dark. When night came, three stars came down from the sky and played in the ricefield, causing the stone walls to fall down.

The next day the farmer went to the place where he had built his ricefield. When he saw what had happened, he rebuilt the stone walls. That night the same thing happened again. After rebuilding for the second time, he decided to watch the ricefield at night and see what had caused the stone walls to fall down.

That night the three stars came again. Leaving their wings hanging on a tree, they proceeded to the ricefield to play. The farmer immediately ran toward the three, intending to get their wings, but was able to get only one pair. This pair belonged to the youngest. The star begged the farmer to give her her wings but he refused to do so. Instead, he took the star home with him and she became his wife. After three years of marriage they had two sons.

One day when the star was getting palay to pound, she found her pair of wings among the stored palay. She immediately put them on and flew away to the sky. When the husband came home, one of his sons told him what had happened. At once he set forth to search for his wife.

On his way he met a cat. He asked the cat where he could find his wife, and the cat, giving him a firefly, said, "Go to that big building and there you will find a number of stars. Release this firefly and watch and see where it flies. When it goes to one of the stars, that star is your wife."

So the farmer took the firefly with him and proceeded to the building. He did as the cat had told him to do and, all at once, the firefly flew to one of the stars and settled on her forehead. Then the farmer asked his wife to come home with him and help take care of the children. But instead of going with him the star gave him a G-string and asked him to give it to their youngest child.

When the man got home, he gave the G-string to his youngest child and, all at once, the G-string changed into a pair of wings and the child flew up to the sky to join his mother! Thus the mother helped to take care of their children by making one of them come to her.

5. How Sallak-en Became Rich

By Beatrice Bacayan

Once upon a time there lived in Bokok a woman named Sallak-en with two daughters. They were very poor and could hardly find enough food. One day when they had nothing to eat, the woman went to dig their small camote field on the other side of the mountain. While she was digging, she heard a bird say, "Sallak-en, catch me."

"How can I catch you? If I get near you, you'll fly away."

Again the bird said, "Sallak-en, catch me."

The woman finally got tired of hearing the same sentence said by the bird so she caught it, tied its legs, and covered it with her big *Iowa*-basket.

But under the *Iowa*-basket, the bird kept saying, "Sallak-en, cook me."

Again the woman got tired of hearing the same thing repeated so she cooked the bird and put it in her small *atobang* basket, intending to take it home for her children.

But when she had dug a little, the cooked bird said, "Sallak-en, eat me."

She was surprised that the bird was cooked and yet it talked. She said, "No, I won't eat

you. I'll take you home. My daughters will be very happy to eat you because they are very hungry."

But the bird kept repeating the same sentence many times so that the woman got tired of hearing it so at last she ate it.

As she continued digging, the bird in her stomach said, "Sallak-en, go to the toilet."

The woman, much more surprised than before, said, "How can I go to the toilet when I don't feel like it?"

But still the bird said, "Sallak-en, go to the toilet at the edge of the field."

So the woman finally went to the toilet on the edge of the field, but when she had only gone a few steps from the spot, the same voice said, "Sallak-en, place sticks around me."

So the woman did what she was told to do. Then, since it was becoming dark, she took the few small camotes home and cooked them. After supper she told the children about the bird.

The next day she went to the same field to dig again. It was very warm and she had nothing to drink so she looked around for a shady place. When she looked around, she saw a pomelo tree where she had gone to the toilet the day before. She picked a piece of the yellow fruit and skinned it — and it contained rice! When she skinned a green one, she found meat in it. So she gathered some of the yellow and the green fruit, filled her basket, and went home. Then she had the pomelo tree fenced off.

Then they always had enough food, and became very rich.

6. Palpal-ama and Palpal-iking

By George Panisigan

There were once two brothers, Palpal-ama and Palpal-iking, the older and younger respectively. One day they went to the forest to make a *kaingin* for planting camotes. They cleared a wide space after a day's hard work cutting the trees and grass. When they had gone home, Inoto-otot, the rat, came with his magic ladle and caused the trees and grass to grow up again.

The following day when the two brothers returned, they were surprised to see the place

that they had cleared was full of trees and grass. They set to work hard again and cleared a larger place than the first day. But that day they didn't go home; instead, they hid themselves in the bushes to see what would happen.

Just before dark, they saw a rat coming toward the spot they had cleared. They heard the rat say, "Trees and grass, grow up." Immediately, the trees and grass grew up. Therefore the brothers got very angry. They rushed out of their hiding place and chased the rat. They caught the rat and were about to kill him when he cried, "I'm Inoto-otot, don't kill me. I'll take you home and give you some delicious food!" The boys were hungry, so they let the rat go and followed him home.

On the way, Inoto-otot tried to run away from them but the boys watched every movement of the rat. He finally escaped and hid in the bushes. The boys said, "Let's bum the bushes so that Inoto-otot will be bumed to ashes." When the rat heard that, he came out again and led the way to his house.

When they got to Inoto-otot's house, they were given blindfolds to cover their eyes. But Palpal-iking, the more clever of the two, peeked out and saw what Inoto-otot was doing. He took his magic ladle and said, "*Kidlo, kidlo, masapokas bobo*" (Ladle, ladle, make some rice) and the ladle produced rice.

When they had eaten the good food prepared for them, the two boys were told to choose anything they wanted from Inoto-otot's furnishings. Palpal-ama chose the ladle, and Palpal-iking chose a gong. It was dark when they started home, leaving Inoto-otot very sad because they had taken the magic ladle. Always after that the boys and their grandmother had all the good food they wanted and never worked hard again.

7. Bangan and Oto-otot

By Soledad Bangloy

The day was clear — not a speck of clouds could be seen in the heavens.

"Bangan," called her mother. "Let's go to dig camotes." Off they went. Little Bangan tarried on the way so she was left behind.

When Bangan reached Panidingan, someone blocked her path. It was Oto-otot. "Let's go to my house," she invited, and Bangan, who was young and didn't know what was right and what was wrong, followed her. Unlike other rats' houses, Oto-otot's was made of wood. Bangan looked in the back yard and saw many eggs scattered around.

"Isn't it a terrible waste to leave those eggs that way?" she asked. "Why don't you eat them?"

"Those are chicken droppings," answered Oto-otot.

"Why, those are eggs," insisted Bangan. "Eggs are a kind of food."

"If so," said Oto-otot, giving up arguing, "take some."

"Where's the rice?" Bangan asked after she had cooked the eggs.

Oto-otot went into a corner. She got a wooden ladle and moved it back and forth over the plate while she muttered some magic words. "Ladle, ladle, manufacture rice," she said and before her appeared the rice. When she wanted meat, she held a knife and said, "Cut, cut, and give us meat." And the meat appeared.

Three days passed. There was a *Begnas* in Losban. Oto-otot dressed Bangan in beautiful clothes. "Go and join the dancers," she told Bangan. Then they went to the feast. When Bangan danced, she danced so gracefully that the whole world seemed to dance with her. "I love this child — she dances so gracefully," Oto-otot murmured to herself.

"My daughter!" Bangan's mother gasped in excitement and wonder. "Why doesn't she come home?"

Oto-otot heard this, so when they got home again she said to Bangan, "Bangan, it's time you go home. Your mother is looking for you. Take anything you want with you."

Bangan, taking all she wanted as she had the eggs, chose clothes from Oto-otot's pile of clothes, and went home gaily.

Bodobodo¹

By Adelaida Haban

Long, long ago there lived a couple whose names were Bangan and Gatan. One day when

Gatan went to work in a canefield in Dagdag, Bodobodo came and ordered her to give him all her clothes or he would sting her. So Bangan removed her clothes and gave them to Bodobodo. Instantly she was transformed into a worm and Bodobodo took on Bangan's appearance.

After the transformation, Bodobodo went to Bangan's home and acted as Gatan's wife. Meanwhile, Bangan began eating up all the sugarcane in the field. So Bodobodo and Gatan went to offer a sacrifice in the field. They took an egg with them. The next day they discovered that the sacrifice had not stopped the cane from dying. So they took a hen. The same thing happened. The third day they took a pig.

While they were getting ready to butcher the pig, Gatan heard a voice singing, "You think that's Bangan standing in front of you but you don't know it's really Bodobodo." He started looking for the source of the singing at once. Soon he found that it was coming from a worm inside a piece of sugarcane. The worm, which was Bangan, told him everything that had happened. Gatan asked the worm to wait while he took Bodobodo home.

When they got home, Gatan asked Bodobodo to fetch water and boil some in the vat. She did so, and while the water was boiling, Gatan told Bodobodo to put in some rice. As Bodobodo bent over the vat, Gatan suddenly pushed her into the boiling water, killing her. Then he went back to get Bangan who had now been changed back into a woman again.

9. The Orphans Who Got the Hoofs and Bones

By Thomas Pekas

A long time ago there lived two orphans together in a house. These orphans were always obedient to their neighbors and other people. But no matter how obedient and willing they were, people didn't consider them or pity them, even though they were always hungry.

Every time a family butchered a pig, these two orphans went to their house. They waited for their share, but because people considered them no better than dogs, they were always

given the hoofs, bones and other undesirable parts. The two orphans were always unhappy with their share, so they put them in a jar instead of eating them or throwing them away. After some months the jar was full.

One day they heard of a man who was going to butcher his pig, but they didn't want to go to his house: they thought it would be useless to go there and be given the same unsatisfactory share again. So instead of going to his house they went to the river to fish. While they were fishing, a person came to them with a little pig and gave it to them, telling them to butcher it and invite all the people to eat.

The two orphans took the little pig home. Then they invited all the people who had given them the hoofs, bones and other undesirable parts of the pigs that they kept in the jar. When the people were gathered in their house, the two orphans brought out the little pig. When the people saw how little it was, they laughed and mocked the two orphans.

But after the little pig was cut up and distributed, it was more than enough, so the people were very surprised. The two orphans brought out the jar and told the people to open it. When it was opened, the orphans said, "These were our share when you butchered your pigs. We've never tasted them. Please take as much as you want."

The people went away very ashamed and from that time on they took pity on the orphans and took care of them.

10. The Squash Seed

By Andrew Kiley

Long years ago there were Gatan and Bangan, the two youngest children in a family, and the favorites of their parents. All their requests were granted by their parents, while their elder brothers and sisters were ignored. When the parents died, the older children were happy because now they would force Gatan and Bangan to work for them. Gatan dreamed that he and his youngest sister would soon be treated like servants by their brothers and sisters, and the next day they were treated very harshly. The two were forced to work for the

others who did not work themselves. From that day on, they were abused by their elder brothers and sisters.

One day Gatan felt very sorry for his young sister Bangan. He took her on his back and left home without telling the others. Then it rained. On their way, they found a squash seed. Because they were very tired, they went to rest in a small cave. Before they fell asleep that night, they stuck the squash seed in a stone crack.

The next day they saw that the squash had grown up and borne much fruit. Bangan decided to cook one of them for their breakfast. When she opened the squash, she was surprised to find the inside was full of rice. She took another one and opened it and it, too, was filled with rice. They decided to build a house right there. So they lived there and soon became rich.

A few years later a famine occurred in the place where their elder brothers and sisters lived. Most of the people went to buy food in other places. When the people who had gone to buy rice returned home, the brothers saw that they were laden with rice, so they decided to go, too. When they got to the place where the people were buying rice, they saw that it was from their own younger brother and sister that the people were getting rice. They presented themselves timidly and bought some rice. When Gatan and Bangan saw that their elder brothers and sisters were sorry for what they had done, they asked them to live with them. After a long pause because of their shame, the elder brothers and sisters gratefully agreed to live with Gatan and Bangan.

11. The Starved Boy

By Frank Domanas

Very long ago there lived in Pide Gatan and Bangan with their two children, Bogan and Lawigan. This family was the richest in the barrio. All the people in the barrio depended on them for their food.

The family's farm was in Lomaan. It was one thousand kilometers long and five hundred kilometers wide. In the time of planting it took

the people of the barrio a whole month or more and the same in the time of harvest. The family hired people to guard the farm when the rice began to ripen.

When Bogan and Lawigan grew up, their father no longer hired people to guard the palay against rice birds but assigned the two children to the field. The boy, Lawigan, was assigned to one end and the girl, Bogan, to the other end of the wall. At both ends of the wall there were small houses built for the guard to sleep in during the night.

The mother cooked the food. She cooked the children's food and took it to them every day. But the mother did not divide the food equally between the two children. She gave the good food to the girl and gave bones and burnt rice to the boy. Thus the girl grew big and fat and the boy became thinner and smaller.

Lawigan did not eat his food. Instead he put the bones and burnt rice on pointed sticks and used them for scarecrows. This he did for half a month. Then one day the father asked the mother, "May I take out the children's food today?" The mother hesitated to say "Yes" but at last she said, "Yes, you may go."

The father took the food to the field. He reached the girl's place first and gave her her food. Then he proceeded to give the boy his food. The father divided the food evenly. When he was about a half kilometer from the boy, he saw that the boy looked like a scarecrow. He was surprised, and called, "Come, my son, and eat." The boy did not answer. They met on the wall. The father said, "Have you not been eating, my son?" The boy did not answer at first but pointed to the bones and burnt rice on the pointed sticks he was using as scarecrows. He said, "Father, I did not eat because mother only gave me the bones and burnt rice to eat."

The father got very angry and said, "Let's go home and let the rice birds eat all the palay!"

They went home, and the father soon died of sorrow for what his wife had done to their children, Bogan and Lawigan.

12. The Monkey and the Farmers

By Muriel Fawas

A long long time ago there lived in a lonely place a man named Dagdagimoyo and a companion called Akki. Dagdagimoyo was a man who knew all about plants, especially about the care of fruit trees. Because of his knowledge of gardening, he had a good garden with orange and banana trees. For many years Dagdagimoyo and Akki were never in want because they had an abundant supply of fruit and they lived a happy and contented life in that lonely place.

One day Dagdagimoyo went out to look at his orchard. When he reached the place, he was taken aback by what he saw. Some of the bananas had been stolen. After a few minutes he calmed himself and fell into deep thought. He couldn't think how anyone could be stealing his fruit because his orchard was far from the nearest barrio. He decided to watch the orchard that night and see who the robber was.

At midnight he heard a noise among the banana trees so he crept up slowly and noiselessly and when he was near enough he saw that the robber was a monkey. Dagdagimoyo crept nearer and suddenly grabbed the monkey and tied it up with vines.

When Dagdagimoyo got the monkey home, it pretended to be dead, so he told Akki to heat a piece of wood. After the piece of wood was heated, he told Akki to touch it to the monkey's behind and if the monkey wiggled his behind, that would prove he was alive. The monkey heard and understood what the man said, so, in order to save his life, he controlled himself and never let his behind wiggle when the hot piece of wood was placed near it. The men thought the monkey was dead so they unloosened the vines which bound it and threw it out. The monkey ran away and never returned to Dagdagimoyo's orchard.

From that time on, Dagdagimoyo's orchard was never bothered by monkeys or other animals. The monkey that had been caught might have told the other animals what their fate would be if they ever stole the man's fruit.

13. How Pitpito Tricked the Giant

By Alejandro Gaston

There was a boy named Pitpito. His father told him to go and pasture the carabao one day. He went, but he forgot to tie the carabao. It happened to rain very hard so he went to shelter in his grandfather's house. Pitpito's father saw that their carabao was gone so he got angry.

It was after dark when Pitpito got home after the rain stopped. When he got home, his father scolded him and beat him. He told Pitpito not to come home until he had found the carabao. So Pitpito went back.

Pitpito searched for the carabao but was not able to find it. He came to a pond where many carabaos were usually taking a bath, but instead of finding carabaos, he found many turtles.

The next morning he found a cave which was full of bones. He entered and while he was inside he heard footsteps coming in so he hid in a crevice. Pitpito saw that it was a giant. The giant said, "I can smell someone for dinner."

Pitpito said, "You can't eat me: I'm bigger than you. Throw down one of your lice and we'll see who has the bigger lice."

The giant got one of his lice and threw it at the wall. Then Pitpito threw out a turtle and the giant was amazed. The giant was frightened, so he called Pitpito to come out and be his friend. Then they both became friends and the giant told Pitpito about the carabaos he had stolen.

One day Pitpito told the giant about a herd of carabaos he had seen but it was hard to get them because they would have to climb a precipice. The giant was very happy when he heard this. So they immediately started and went to the place to be climbed. Pitpito climbed first. After he reached the top, he pulled the vine as a signal for the giant to follow. But when the giant was halfway up, Pitpito cut the vine and the giant fell to his death.

Pitpito went home and told everything that had happened. The story of Pitpito became very popular. The carabao owners wanted to reward Pitpito so they asked him what he

wanted. He told them that each person who owned carabaos should give him two of them.

14. The Ball that Made a Marriage

By Adelaida Haban

There was once a rich man whose name was Gatan. Because of his wealth, all the women felt that they were too low to marry such a man. Gatan was worried because of what he considered the women's indifference to him and feared he might never be able to marry.

One day he decided to float his ball in the river and the girl who got it would become his wife. The next day he went to the river and carried out his plan. It so happened that young men and women were swimming in the river where the ball floated. Each one tried to get the ball, except one girl who just looked at her companions swimming after the ball. Her name was Bogan. When she swam toward the ball, it did not escape from her so she got it. After taking a bath, she tucked the ball in her belt and went home.

Days passed and Bogan's father suddenly noticed that she was pregnant. When her father asked her for an explanation, Bogan told everything that had happened when they were in the river. Bogan's father immediately went to every barrio and asked who had a toy that was like the moon.

In one barrio they told him that the richest man's son had a plaything like the one he described. He went to that man's house and asked if he had a toy similar to the moon. The man — Gatan — told him that he had and that he had thrown it in the river. Bogan's father then told him why he was looking for a man who had that kind of a plaything. Then when he went home, Gatan went with him.

When Bogan and Gatan saw each other they fell in love, so the next day they were married. A month later Bogan had a baby, and the baby was holding a ball, which proved that Gatan was really the father of the child.

15. The Tale of a Danom²

By Gloria Bawaan

There was once a woman — a *danom* — who

had just given birth living in Egwa-an. Just then a typhoon struck the land and lasted for several days. The people's store of food was all gone and yet the typhoon did not stop. So the woman one day said, "What shall we eat? I'd better go out and look for food." So she told her children to stay at home and take good care of one another while she was away.

She went to Langayan where there was a field of *gabi*. Then she let down her beautiful long hair and water began to flow from it. The water washed away the soil and the *gabi* roots were exposed. She gathered them up and carried them home to her children who were eagerly awaiting her return.

16. What Lying Brought into the World

By Gabriel Na-oy

There was once a man named Law-igan. No one knew where he came from.

One day he started searching for a wife. He walked and walked, not knowing where he was going. Then he met a boy named Laksan. The boy joined Law-igan because he also was searching for a wife.

They walked and walked without eating or resting. At last they came to a wide river. Law-igan asked his companion to cook the salted meat which was their lunch and to guard him while he slept. When the meat was cooked, Laksan ate it all up without leaving any for Law-igan. After the meat was gone, he realized he had done wrong and he wished he had not done it. So he shouted loudly, as if a dog had taken the meat. The noise woke Law-igan, who asked him why he has shouted. Laksan told a lie. Law-igan burst into tears and said, "I am very sorry that you did wrong and lied. Now the people will follow you. The people will be liars like you because you have begun it." Laksan was so ashamed of himself that he tried to run away, but Law-igan held him back.

Law-igan excused him for what he had done and they continued their journey. The day was hot so they became very thirsty. Then they saw a coconut tree full of fruit. Law-igan told the boy to climb the tree and get some coconuts to quench their thirst.

When Laksan got to the top of the tree, he found there were matured coconuts, tender young ones, and blossoms. He didn't know which kind Law-igan wanted so he gathered every one on the tree thinking that whatever kind Law-igan wanted he would find it among them all.

When Law-igan saw what Laksan had done, he cried out, asking why he had gathered all the nuts. Laksan made no answer. "This is the second time you have done wrong," he said. "Every coconut represented a person in the world — the mature ones were the adults, the tender ones the children, and the blossoms babies inside their mother's womb." He went on, "Now that you have gathered all of them, babies will die inside their mother's womb, children will die before reaching manhood, and adults will die also."

Laksan felt very sorry for what he had done so he cried, too. Now he understood that Law-igan was the son of Kabunyan. Laksan asked if there could be any help for it, but Law-igan said to him, "The only thing I can do is change you into a devil." And it was done.

17. How Liggaya Had Many Children

By Gloria Bawaan

There lived a couple named Palikwawa and Liggaya in the village of Bollaga. For a long time they wished to have children. One day Palikwawa took their *bola* — good-sized pig — to be butchered as an offering to the gods. It was their belief that butchering an animal as an offering to the gods would please them and they'd grant them many children.

One month passed and Liggaya didn't become pregnant. Again, Palikwawa took a *bola*-sized pig and butchered it but it had no effect. They kept on butchering their animals as offerings until they had none left. The months passed but still Liggaya did not become pregnant.

One day Palikwawa went to Ninggawa, a place near Bollaga, to get a *doyog* and *bitoto* to use from Juanita's house. But when he saw Juanita, he fell in love with her. He thought that if he married her, he would be able to have

children. He asked Juanita's consent. But Juanita said, "How about your wife, Liggaya? You are married to her. What will happen?"

"Don't be afraid, nothing will happen. I'll take care of everything," was Palikwawa's answer. So at last he succeeded in persuading Juanita to marry him. He then took a red rooster as a means of persuading Liggaya to let him marry Juanita. He coaxed her and coaxed her and at last she consented and he married Juanita.

It was not long before Juanita became pregnant. When Palikwawa heard this, he was very, very happy and jumped with joy. When Liggaya heard it, she wept because of her fate.

Palikwawa one day took Liggaya to see Juanita in Ninggawa. He told Juanita not to scold Liggaya because she had been his first wife. So the three of them lived together in Juanita's house in Ninggawa. Juanita was very proud and happy because she'd have a child later on.

One day Juanita told Liggaya she was just eating up their food but didn't bear any children. This caused both women to exchange harsh words. Liggaya became miserable. Palikwawa told them to stop quarreling and settled it once and for all: to avoid troubles that might arise again, he had better go home with Liggaya to Bollaga. So they departed and left Juanita.

Later, when they were at home, it was known that Liggaya was pregnant. Nobody had known that when Juanita became pregnant, Liggaya had also become pregnant. That is to say, Juanita's pregnancy caused Liggaya's pregnancy.

At last the day came when both women had their babies. Juanita had a baby boy while Liggaya had a girl. From that time on, each woman gave birth to many children, Liggaya always having girls and Juanita always having boys. Palikwawa counted his children and found they were many. He had never been so happy before. These children intermarried and their family continued from generation to generation.

18. Bolboligi

By Adelaida Haban

A long time ago there lived in Demang an old woman named Bolboligi. Because she was not strong enough to go out to the fields to work, she spent most of the day and night spinning thread.

One night as she was spinning, a woman stopped by her house and asked for fire to light her torch. After she got the fire, she returned with the same request. After the woman returned several times to ask for fire, Bolboligi got irritated. She thought of a way to find out where the woman came from. She tied the thread she had been weaving to the woman's belt.

The next day she followed the thread she had tied to the woman's belt. She found that it led to one of the coffins just below Daw-angan. Near the coffin was a torch made out of grass, which she recognized as the woman's torch of the night before.

19. The Three Little Brothers

By Thomas Pekas

One morning while Biagen was sleeping his three little children made so much noise that he was awakened. In anger he sent them outside. Outside, one of them said it would be fun to go to Nangonogan to look for birds' nests. So they agreed to go to Nangonogan.

They wandered about Nangonogan until midday but found no birds' nests at all. At last they were tired and hungry so they rested. As they were sitting down, Damiyeg, the youngest, saw a bird in a tree. The three little brothers watched the bird for a long time, but the bird never went to its nest because of their presence. Since it was midday and very hot, the children moved behind a big stone, still eyeing the bird. After some time, Oyaden, the eldest, told Bayading to keep an eye on the bird while he and Damiyeg went home to get food for them.

When Oyaden and Damiyeg reached home, they entered the kitchen secretly. While they were filling a little basket with rice, their mother came in. "Where are you going to take that rice?" she asked. Then they told her they

had left Bayading in Nangonogan. Then she scolded them because they had left their little brother in Nangonogan.

They ate their lunch and then their mother told Oyaden to go and get Bayading. So Oyaden went. But on his way he saw a carabao coming toward him and was afraid so he ran back home. When he got home, his mother got angry. "Now go, both of you, and tell Bayading to come." So they both went. But when they reached the place where they had left their brother he was not there. They shouted for him but nobody answered. They searched everywhere but failed to find him. At last they went home exhausted.

It was late in the evening when the two brothers reached home. This time their mother sent her husband with the two boys to search for Bayading. When they reached Nangonogan their father said, "Where did you leave him?" "Behind that big stone."

When they looked behind the stone, they saw Bayading sleeping. Then their father gently took the child in his arms and they went home.

When they reached home, the child suddenly cried out with a sharp strange voice. When they looked at the child, they were all frightened. The child was changed. He was very pale and his eyelashes and fingernails were very long and he looked different. They were all silent for some time. Then the youngest child said, in a low tone, "He must be very hungry." So the mother went to the kitchen and came back with a plate of soft rice. When the child saw the rice, he opened his mouth. Immediately the woman dropped the plate and stared at the child. She was terrified because she saw that the child's teeth were now long and sharp.

After a few weeks little Bayading died. The old men and women said that an *anito* must have changed him. From that time on, men and women have always advised children not to go anywhere alone and not to leave their little brothers anywhere.

20. The Legend of Inodey Waterfall

By Juanito Layag

Once upon a time there lived in Guina-ang a

couple named Gatan and Bangan. They are believed to be the only couple from Bomabanga, Sagada, who went to live in Guina-ang. They had been married a number of years but they didn't have any children. How they wished they would have a child! They prayed and prayed to Kabonyan that they might have a child. Kabonyan, moved by their earnest request, came down to see them and gave them advice on how to have children.

Gatan and Bangan were very happy that their prayer was answered and later they had two children, a boy and a girl. The children were named Dey and Ino. They were good-looking children. They grew tall and slender and handsome and beautiful.

One day Dey told Ino that they had to stay at home that day for their parents were out in the fields. With the exception of fetching water, they did all the housework. In the evening their parents came home and were happy to see their children sitting together near the fireplace. They all ate their supper. After eating the children went to bed, and the father went to get a drink of water from the jar.

He saw that the jar wasn't full of water and told his wife about it. She woke them up and scolded them that they hadn't filled the jar with water. Then she whipped them, too.

The children didn't go back to sleep but cried pitifully until morning. The parents then just left them in the house instead of comforting them, but the children ran out of the house and went on a trip. They passed many places but they didn't stop to rest. Finally they came to the mountain between Bagnen and Tadian, and there they rested, trying to decide what to do. They looked back toward the place from which they had started but they couldn't see it. Then they continued their trip, not knowing where they were going.

On a mountain near Guinzadan, Ino couldn't walk any farther for he was tired. Besides, it was raining very hard. There Dey told her brother she would leave him if he couldn't walk. He talked in a weak voice and told his sister he must follow her whether he died on the way or not. So they walked on slowly and

painfully until they reached a mountain where there was a level place. There they looked back to the place they had come from but they couldn't see it. They could see many other places, however.

Then, because Ino couldn't walk any more, his sister left him. Ino was so tired he just couldn't follow his sister, so he prayed to Lomawig to become water flowing toward the place they had come from.

Dey later came back to look for her brother, but when she came back, he was gone. But she saw a stream of water coming out of the place where he had sat down. Then Dey walked two miles away from this place and sat down. She couldn't think of anything to do. So she prayed to Lomawig to become water. And she, too, was changed to water.

Nowadays, this waterfall on Mt. Data can be seen.

21. The Origin of the "Dalag" Fish

By Ana Pulao

Once upon a time there lived an old man named Gatan. He didn't have any sons or daughters or other relatives. He suffered hunger but nobody bothered about him. He lived on nothing but small creatures like grasshoppers and butterflies. He was an old man, but he could catch many grasshoppers and butterflies, and even caught enough for two days.

Years passed and as he grew older, he couldn't catch as many as he had caught when he was young. The grasshoppers and butterflies, too, disappeared little by little. Finally he went to Mt. Lamot. On this mountain, he caught a male and female grasshopper and a male and female butterfly. Then he went down with those grasshoppers and butterflies to the fields between Balugan and Ambasing. In the center of the fields he sat down and prayed to Lomawig to change those butterflies and grasshoppers into something he could catch easier. Then he put the male and female grasshoppers into the field below him and the male and female butterflies into the field above him. Then he went home.

Five days later he went back to the fields to see what had become of those grasshoppers and butterflies. The field where he put the grasshoppers was full of long thin *dalag* fish and the field where he put the butterflies was full of short fat *dalag* fish. He sat down and thanked Lomawig and caught as many fish as he could. Then he went home happily.

22. The Origin of the Bird that says "Kwakwa"

By John Agayo

There was once a man and his wife who lived in the old days. The man was one of the hunters in town. One day he went to hunt in Mokgong.

While he was hunting, he lost his dog in the middle of the forest. He called and called, "*Kwakwakwakaya!*" but the dog didn't return to him. So he went home and told his wife what had happened to the dog. She got angry and sent him back to Mokgong to look for the dog. Because the husband was henpecked, he went, hurt and miserable.

When he reached the forest, he called and called but the dog didn't come to him. Finally he climbed into a tree and shouted again and again the Igorot call for dogs, "*Kwakwakwa*" until he could shout no longer. After his voice was gone, he suddenly became a bird, and began to call the dog in a hoarse voice.

From that time on, woodcutters are often misled by this bird, thinking that it is another person. But it is only a bird saying, "*Kwakwa*," the call for dogs.

23. The Boy Who Became a Monkey

By Santiago Tacwigan

Long long ago a couple who had been married for a long time had a son and the parents were very happy. But their happiness didn't last long for the wife died. Soon afterwards the man married again.

The woman he married disliked his son. Every time the husband went away, she whipped her stepson and made him do all the work in the house.

Now the father had a *kaingin* in the nearby mountains where he had built a little hut. One time he sent his son to guard this *kaingin* against wild pigs. Every day the stepmother took his meal to him. The meal his stepmother brought was always the burnt part of the rice. So instead of eating this, he dug a hole and buried it. Every day he did this, and ate raw camotes instead.

One day he found he could speak only one word, "Ek, ek, ek," and his hair had grown long all over his body. His mother came the following morning and was amazed to see her stepson had long gray hair all over his body. The only word he could speak was "Ek, ek, ek" like a monkey.

24. The Child that Became a Leech

By Muriel Antonio

A long time ago there lived a woman and her child in Gedangan. One day the child went to the house where she was sewing. He wanted to nurse because he was hungry. The mother did not want to nurse, but he kept bothering her. She got mad and ran out to the kitchen and got some hot water and poured it all over her child. The child was so hurt by his mother's cruelty he wanted to become a leech.

An hour later, the child had grown smaller and smaller, and finally he turned into a leech. His mother did not know where he was so she called for him to come and nurse. But the leech out in the bushes answered that he preferred to stay in the bushes and eat. The cruel mother cried and promised never to do such bad things to the child again and tried to persuade him to return. But the child said he would rather suck blood from people who passed by and not get hurt at home.

25. The Girl Who Became a Cutworm

By Muriel Antonio

In a certain place called Bilig there lived a couple who had a daughter. The daughter's name was Yemyeman. One evening a man came to their house for the purpose of arranging a

marriage between his son and Yemyeman. Her parents agreed to let their daughter marry as soon as possible because they were getting old. They wanted very much to see Yemyeman's children before they died so they forced their daughter to marry. But Yemyeman refused. Her father got angry at her. He whipped and scolded her. Yemyeman cried because of her father's cruelty and got all her clothes and ran away from home. She ran to Pakad and built a little hut there.

As she sat mending her *tapis*, she suddenly heard a noise near her. She put down her sewing and went to see what it was. It was a fat cutworm so she took it in the shade. She continued her mending after helping the cutworm. It was very quiet there in the shade when she heard the cutworm talking to her. The cutworm told her to become a cutworm, too. He told her how he had become a cutworm. He had run away from home because of his mother's cruelty and went to the bushes where many cutworms were. There he took off his clothes and he, too, became a cutworm.

Yemyeman was so bitter because of her father's cruelty that she decided not to return home but to join the cutworm. So she took off her clothes and became a cutworm and left the little hut in Pakad. She married the first cutworm and afterwards they had ever so many children.

Yemyeman's parents missed their daughter very much. They went from house to house looking for her. A friend of their daughter's told them that she had seen Yemyeman going toward Pakad. When the parents got to Pakad, they found Yemyeman's *tapis* on the ground with many little cutworms on it. Yemyeman recognized her mother's voice so she crawled out of a leaf. Her father begged and wept for his daughter to be changed back to her original form, but Yemyeman refused. Her parents returned home broken-hearted.

26. The Boy Who Became a Hawk

By Muriel Antonio

A long time ago there lived a man and his wife in Tokipa. For many years of married life

they never had a child. The couple agreed that they would separate if the wife didn't have a child after another year. During that year the wife became pregnant. The husband was very happy and after some months she had her child. They named this boy Lalawigan.

Lalawigan was very handsome and all the neighbors came to see him. His father, Gatan, was jealous of his son's good looks so he always kept Lalawigan in the house. His mother, Bangan, told Gatan that Lalawigan should get some sunshine, but Gatan refused to do what his wife suggested.

One day he took his son and went to a *dap-ay* and there all the men praised the child for being so handsome. The next day the man took his son to a more secluded place so the neighbors wouldn't see him. He prevented other children from playing with his son.

At the age of 15, Lalawigan ran away from home. He went to play with a gang of boys on the side of a mountain near his home. One of his playmates told him that he was going to Vigan to buy pigs. Lalawigan ran home and told his parents he wanted to go with them to buy pigs in Vigan. His father got angry and whipped him cruelly. Then he threw down a five-centavo piece and sent Lalawigan on his way with it. When they got to Vigan, the people laughed and mocked Lalawigan for trying to buy a pig with five centavos. The next day they started home.

On their way home, near a brook Lalawigan found a dead hawk. He cut off the hawk's feathers and fastened them to his own shoulders. He had decided to become a hawk so he would be free from his father's cruelty. His companions went home sadly and told Lalawigan's parents what he had said. His mother went out where the hawk was and cried and begged him to return. If he would not come back, then she would become a hawk, too. Lalawigan felt so sorry for his mother that he took off the feathers and came down from the tree. He went home with his mother and from that time on his father always gave the child what he wanted.

27. The Girl Who Became a Firefly

By Muriel Antonio

Once upon a time there lived an old man in Sakkang with his daughters. He loved his daughters very much although they were always quarreling.

One morning when the old man was in the yard feeding the chickens he heard his daughters arguing with each other. He heard the elder sister say that the work should be done by the younger sister alone. The father was unhappy about this problem so he decided that the work should be divided between the two girls equally. So he called them to the house and told each one what to do. The younger would cook and clean the house while the elder would feed the pigs and chickens.

Now, this elder sister was very lazy and she only did her work when she was told to do it. The younger sister did her work well. During her leisure hours she would plant camote greens in their garden. The father thus liked the younger daughter more than the elder. When the elder realized that her father loved the younger girl more than her, she made up her mind to do her work well, too.

When it was time for weeding the rice fields, the old man sent his children out to weed their fields. There was plenty of *amti* — a kind of vegetable — in the field as well as weeds. The younger sister would separate these *amti* from the weeds while the elder sister would throw aside both the weeds and the *amti*. It was late in the afternoon when they started for home. On the way, the elder sister picked up all the *amti* her younger sister had gathered and put them in her own basket. When they got home and the father saw that the younger daughter had nothing in her basket, he pretended to be angry with her.

The younger daughter then wept and told what her elder sister had done. The father then was really angry and whipped his elder daughter very hard. He said she was lazy, she was like a firefly that eats without doing any work. As a result of his words, the daughter became a firefly. Then the father was grieved for what he had said and begged his daughter to come back. But the girl enjoyed being a firefly so she never

did come back. As a firefly she visited their home every evening.

28. The Origin of the "Intapik" Bird

By Remedios Mapang

Once upon a time there were two sisters. These girls had a cruel mother. One day their mother sent them to cut camote leaves in Ampakaw. After they had cut enough leaves for both of them to carry they started home.

When they were a short distance from their house, they saw some other girls who were going to pick blackberries. Pangga, the younger, wanted very much to go with those girls to pick blackberries so she told her elder sister, Laboka, to take her load and carry it home while she went with the other girls to pick blackberries. Laboka agreed and carried Pangga's load home with her own. But when she got home she didn't tell their mother where Pangga had gone. When her mother asked where Pangga was, she said she had left her on the way because she couldn't walk fast and that she would be coming home later.

When Pangga came home later that evening, her mother asked why she hadn't brought any camote leaves. Pangga tried to explain that she had given them to Laboka to carry home but her mother wouldn't listen. Instead she took a piece of wood and beat her. Pangga ran out and climbed the guava tree outside their house. She cried and cried but their mother didn't bother about her, and neither did her sister.

The following morning when the mother went out, she didn't see anybody in the guava tree. Instead there was a beautiful bird which looked sad and it just looked down at her. The mother picked up a small stone and threw it at the bird, but the bird flew away, saying, "*Intapik, intapik,*" which meant she had added her sister's.

29. The Boy Who Turned into a Snake

By Muriel Fawas

In a certain place called Dagdag there lived a couple who had two sons. The elder son's name

was Gatan. One day during the *Begnas*, their mother told Gatan to fetch water but Gatan refused to do it. His mother got angry at him for his disobedience and scolded and whipped him. Gatan felt very bitter about his mother's cruelty so he decided to run away from home.

Gatan ran away to Bayeng and climbed up a tree. Meanwhile, of course, his family missed him because he didn't show up for lunch. His younger brother promised to bring him back since they were worried about his disappearance. So he set out for the mountains to search for Gatan.

When he reached Bayeng, he saw his brother up in the tree. He called to Gatan and argued with him to come home but his words were in vain. Gatan told his brother to go himself, and he dropped his G-string and told his brother to take it home. As soon as his brother was out of sight, Gatan climbed down from the tree and went to a place called Dingding-eyen. In this place there were five lakes where many snakes lived.

Gatan went to the fifth one and asked the chief of the snakes to turn him into a snake, and the snakes agreed to his request. Gatan was then turned into a snake and lived with them in the lake.

A few days afterwards, his brother was again out looking for him. Gatan's brother went to the first lake in Dingding-eyen and asked the snakes if his brother was there. The snakes promised to tell him where his brother was if he gave them some of the *topig*³ in his lunch-basket and he agreed. When they got the food, the snakes told him that his brother had turned into a snake and was living in one of the lakes.

The boy then went on to the next three lakes and got the same answer. He was weary and exhausted from his long hike but went on bravely since he was thinking only of seeing his brother again. When he reached the last lake, he asked for the chief of the snakes and then demanded his brother's return to human form. The snake chief refused but Gatan's brother threatened to kill all of them if he refused. The other snakes then clamored for their chief to consent to his demand for they were frightened by his threats. So the chief

agreed and Gatan was changed back to his original form and he and his brother started for home.

When they drew near their home, their parents saw them and came running out to greet them. Their tears intermingled with their laughter and happiness. From that time on, the mother was always careful not to scold her sons or punish them severely.

30. The Girl Who Turned into a Fish

By Beatrice Bacayan

Once upon a time there was a woman with two daughters. Every day this woman scolded her daughters. One day she told them to fetch drinking water from Gedangan. When they reached Gedangan, the elder sister removed her clothes and gave them to her younger sister, saying, "Take these home and give them to mother. I'm going to live here. Tell her I will never come home again." Her younger sister didn't want to leave her and pleaded with her that they both would go home, but the elder sister didn't want to have to put up with their mother's cruelty again. So the younger sister gathered up her clothes and cried all the way home.

The elder daughter changed into a big fish and lived in the ricefield where she had removed her clothes.

Early one morning, a man and his son went to see if the ricefield had enough water. They saw the fish, caught it, and took it to their house. They put it in a big barrel of water and went out to cut firewood. When the fish saw that nobody was at home and the doors and windows were closed, it changed into a beautiful young girl. She went to the kitchen and cooked food. After cooking, she went back into the water and changed into a fish again.

At lunchtime the father and son came home. The father told his son to cook, but when he went to the kitchen, he found that the food was already cooked. They looked at each other in surprise. The father said, "If one of our neighbors cooked our food, how did he get in the house when the doors and windows were all

locked?" Then they ate their lunch and, after eating, the boy gave food to the fish.

This happened again the next day and still they didn't know who cooked their food. On the third day, the father said to his son that they should stay on the hill a few meters away from their house so that they would be able to see when the smoke came out of the chimney and they could run to the house and discover who was cooking their food.

A few hours later they saw the smoke coming out of the chimney. They ran to the house and peeked through the window and saw a girl cooking. When they went inside the father said, "So — you were the one who has been cooking our food!" The girl tried to get back into the water but the boy blocked the way. When he looked into the barrel of water and saw that the fish wasn't there, he asked her why she had changed into a fish. So she told them her story.

Later the girl and the boy were married, and they visited her mother and younger sister and then they all lived happily together afterwards.

31. The First People in Dawangan

By Geoffrey Dongalen

Long ago four men of Bika went to Candon. These four men were brothers: Biag, Doday, Dinawgan and Abaya. While they were in Candon a Christian asked them to be baptized, but they didn't all receive baptism. Abaya was the only one who was baptized.

Biag, Doday and Dinawgan left Candon and went to Kay-ang. Biag and Doday decided to leave Kay-ang, but Dinawgan couldn't go with them because he had married a Kay-ang woman. Doday went to Maeng while Biag went to Mabengbeng to look for a wife. Biag couldn't find a wife in Mabengbeng so he went to Kittong. Biag didn't like the women of Kittong so he went to Makamkamlis. He found a beautiful woman in Makamkamlis called Dikdikan and they were married.

One day Biag's pregnant dog didn't come home. The dog stayed away for three days so Biag went to look for it. He found it with its puppies in Mabengbeng. Biag went back to his

wife and took her to live in Mabengbeng. There they had children called Bandowa and Pikong. Bandowa and Pikong married women from Bilig but their wives went to live with them in Mabengbeng. They had children who married and had children, too. When Biag's children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and great-great-grandchildren were many, they built a *dap-ay* and called it Daw-angan, which had been the name of Biag and Dikdikan's dog.

32. The Bengbeng Tree in Dagdag

By Juanito Layag

Once upon a time in the early days, only a few people lived in Daw-angan. Many had to live outside Sagada to cultivate their kaingins and plant sweet potatoes for food. Besides the sweet potatoes which the people raised for food, some men had to go to the forest to hunt deer, wild pigs and wild chickens. For hunting, the men used bolos and spears, and their dogs to help, for there were no guns in those days. The bolos and spears were provided by Bengbeng, a rich man and a blacksmith who was considered their leader or chief.

Bengbeng was loved by all because of his generosity and kindness toward his neighbors. In Bengbeng's house, different kinds of animals' skulls hung on the first floor, and animals' heads newly cut off were piled in one corner of the second floor. The third floor was used for sleeping and storing camotes.

One day Bengbeng was invited by his friend Law-igan to attend a feast in Dalikan. While he was gone it happened that three Guina-ang men came and broke into his house and took some of the animals' skulls from the first floor, some of the freshly cut heads on the second floor, and the camotes from the third floor.

When Bengbeng returned, he noticed that his house door was open, and when he entered the first floor he saw that some of the skulls were gone; on the second floor some of the heads were gone, and from the third floor some camotes were gone, too. He got angry and blamed the people of Daw-angan. He said that if the stolen things were returned he would continue as before as if nothing had happened, but

if not he would never again give anything to anybody.

For many days the stolen things were not returned and Bengbeng's hatred for his neighbors became more furious. Finally, he went to some rocks a half kilometer northwest of Daw-angan and stayed there overnight. That night Lomawig came down and appeared to him. Lomawig said he would change Bengbeng into a tree so that people would come and burn sacrifices to him and pray that he should not be angry with them since they weren't the ones who had stolen his skulls, newly cut heads and camotes.

So Bengbeng became a tree with many branches like a pine tree but with leaves instead of needles, and grew in that place where he had stayed overnight. Even today the tree called Bengbeng can be seen in Dagdag near the brook.

33. The Pospos Tree in Dagdag

By George Cadiogan

A long time ago there lived a man named Biag. He and his family were the first inhabitants of Sagada. They lived in a place called Demang. Biag was a prosperous hunter and farmer. He had trained dogs which he used for hunting.

One time he and his dogs went hunting in the woods north of Demang. He camped in the woods for a couple of nights. After the hunt, he found that one of his hunting dogs was missing. The missing dog was a bitch that was ready to have her puppies, so Biag went back to the woods to look for her. He searched the place diligently but did not find her so he went home very sad over the loss of this dog.

After a month the lost dog came back to her master's house. Her master was very glad to have her home again. He saw that her nipples were enlarged so he knew that the dog had given birth to her puppies. The dog wagged her tail and seemed to tell her master to follow her. So Biag followed her until they came to a big *pospos* tree. There Biag saw the puppies under the big tree.

Biag then went home and told his family

that the dog had given birth under a *pospos* tree. Then he decided to move his house to the place where the dog had had her puppies, thinking that the dog might have brought them to a more lucky place to live in. So he and the members of his family cleared the woods but spared the *pospos* tree. They lived happily and had many children, and called the place Dagdag. Biag warned his children to warn their children never to cut down the *pospos* tree. Now we can still see the big *pospos* tree in Dagdag which is kept sacred by the people of Sagada.

34. How Patay was Inhabited

By Corazon Aguilar

The site of Lallal-ay today was once the home of a big waterfall in the older times. The people of Patay were then in Demang and that was the only part of the modern community of Sagada that was inhabited. The Demang people carried water from Lallal-ay, where the waterfall was.

During those days when the falls was in Lallal-ay, it was the main source of water. Other sources dried up during certain months, but not this waterfall. Even people from other places came at times to carry water.

But soon the people began to abuse the service given them by the falls. Some brought their pots and other household utensils to wash near the falls. Others bathed their children and sometimes even themselves in the falls. Still others brought their waste and all sorts of disposal to throw in the falls, making it dirty and unsightly. Because of this, the waterfall got angry and decided to leave that place and settle in another place.

From Lallal-ay the falls went to one of the highest peaks along Mt. Data and settled itself there, so high that it could be seen in different far-off lands, including Demang.

After the falls had vanished, some families from Demang moved over to the former site of the waterfall to make up for their former misdeeds for which they were now suffering and to pray to their god for the return of the waterfall. They visited the place often, brought sacrifices,

offered prayers, and did things of this sort. Their pleas weren't entirely answered, however, because not the whole waterfall but just a small portion of it came back, which is still a source of water up to the present day.

35. The Three Orphans who had Begnas

By Ana Pulao

Once there were three orphans. Two of them were boys. They were always looked down on by the people. Their relatives didn't give them anything to eat. So the boys decided to leave, but their younger sister objected because she couldn't hike far. Their relatives wished they were dead, so they called them and locked them in a small empty granary. After five days, the relatives went to see if they had died but found they hadn't because they had eaten rats and insects that were in the granary. The relatives went thrice to the granary to see if they had died but still they didn't die. Then the relatives let them out of the granary and drove them away.

The three orphans went to Mt. Pokan and an anito appeared and told the young girl to make *topig* — cooked rice wrapped in sugarcane leaves — and he gave them bolos to chop wood, hens, a small pig, and rice. They were of course very happy and thanked the anito. A few months later they had a fight with their enemies and with the help of the anito won the battle. Then the anito said to them, "Go home and tell the people that you have won the battle."

They went home and told the people that they had won the battle and all about the anito who had given them the hens, bolos, the pig and the rice. Afterwards they became very rich and the people didn't look down on them any more. After telling all the events that had happened, they all went to the *dap-ay* and had *Begnas*. They used all the things the anito had given to the orphans for the *Begnas* and the sacrifices. From that time on, the orphans became more popular and married some of the people. The following generations of these orphans continue to have *Begnas* at any special time, such as sowing palay in the fields or other things that happen in the village.

36. How Sagada Came to be Settled

By Ricario Deleso

Many years ago Sagada and its surrounding regions were not inhabited except for Bika, which had a population of not more than ten people. Bika was always pillaged by savages from the east. The settlers feared that there would come a time when their village would be completely destroyed so they held a meeting. It was agreed among them that they would forsake the place. Five went to Vigan, while Posi and his wife went to the east. Only one of them that went to Vigan had a wife: that was Biag.

At that time there were Spanish missionaries in Vigan. The Spanish ordered the people from Bika to be baptized. But most of them were afraid. Only one was baptized and remained in Vigan. The other four ascended to Langyatan, but they hadn't stayed there long when they went down to Angaki. There they divided into three groups. One went to Maeng and one to Kayan. The rest proceeded to Agawa. Biag was one of them. Upon reaching Agawa, Biag's companion died. Believing that it was bad luck to live in that place because of that incident, Biag moved to Kitang just opposite Pedilisan. But he and his people found that Kitang wasn't an agreeable place to settle in. So they made a camp where the doctor's house is located at present.

One morning their pregnant dog ran away. They were much worried about it, fearing that the dog might have died. But after a day it returned to their camp. They saw at once that it had had puppies. After they had eaten their breakfast, the dog went away again, but this time Biag saw it. He carefully followed the dog's tracks and found her under a big tree with small puppies.

Biag returned to the camp immediately and informed his wife of his discovery. He then decided that it would be a better place for them to live where the dog had had her puppies. They agreed to move. Biag named the place where they moved Malingeb Dagdag. Posi, fortunately, dwelt just near the place so it wasn't long before they met each other. After that, Biag's children married Posi's children.

Slowly their number grew until they formed the community now called Sagada.

37. The Sagada Children

By George Cadiogan

Long ago in the village of Sagada there lived two orphans. They lived with an aunt, their only relative. The orphans helped their aunt by hunting on the mountain of Ampakaw west of Sagada.

Now, the people of Besao hunted on the same mountain. The orphans were skillful hunters though they were just boys. They were very successful at hunting wild pigs, wild chickens and birds. Unfortunately, they became the victims of a group of less skillful hunters from Besao. Whenever the orphans met this group, they would be deprived of their catch, kicked, beaten and stoned. Sometimes these mean Besao hunters would hide and wait for the orphans. The two brothers would try to defend themselves but they were only two boys against a group of men and big boys. Sometimes they tried to give whatever they had willingly so as to be spared the blows, but there seemed to be no mercy for them. Oftentimes they went home bruised, swollen and empty-handed. Having no relatives except their aunt, the boys had to endure this all through their boyhood days and even when they were young men. Thus they grew bitter and a feeling of revenge grew in them.

When the orphans grew older, before they died they said they wished to have their bodies taken to the caves in Mabinoso. They also expressed their desire to ask their ancestors to revenge them for the abuses they had received from the Besao hunters. They would set fire to the houses of the Besao people when the dry season came. When they died, their bodies were taken to Mabinoso as they had requested.

Shortly after their death, a line of fire was seen by the Sagada people coming from the direction of Mabinoso and climbing the mountain toward Besao. The Sagada people recalled the two brothers' desire for revenge. They said among themselves, "Let's watch: these are the anitos from Mabinoso going to

burn Besao." And, sure enough, when the dry season came, several houses in Besao were burned.

Since then, several houses at a time burn in Besao, always preceded by the same line of fire climbing the same mountain toward Besao. Few people now claim that they see this line of fire but among the old people many say they saw it when they were young.

38. Why They're Rough during Gangaw

By Samuel Pajarito

Many years ago there lived two families in Letang. They lived so close to each other that conversations in Oggaw's house could be heard in Obay-en's house.

One evening Oggaw's wife brought home some gabi stalks and boiled them. While the family was eating, one of the younger children in the family kept saying, "My, these intestines are delicious!" The neighbor heard the child's words.

The next morning, Obay-en found that his pig had been stolen. He remembered what the child had said. Obay-en went to his neighbor's house and asked the child what their food had been the night before. The child said it had been intestines so Obay-en thought it was the intestines of his pig. Oggaw insisted that their supper had only been gabi trunks but Obay-en did not believe him. Obay-en demanded proof that Oggaw had had gabi stems for supper so they gave the child tobacco juice to drink to make him vomit. He vomited up the gabi trunks a few minutes later — and then suddenly the child died, poisoned by the tobacco juice.

Oggaw snatched up his sharp bolo and with one blow revenged the death of his child. Then the two families fell to killing each other until every one of them was killed.

Today it is the practice of the non-Christian families to go to Letang during *Gangaw* to pay homage to the two families that once lived there. There they kill chickens and have a feast. During the prayer, or *apoy*, people attending the feast try to grab and eat as much as they can. They grab each other's food roughly, and it is believed that this manner is caused by the influence of the spirits of the two families.

39. The Water that Came Back

By Rufino Aquino

About 50 years ago the stream in Tomalaw, on the way to Banga-an, left its place and went to Babba-ak, a village just above the *presidencia* in Angaki, Ilocos Sur. As a result, the fields which had been watered by the stream dried up.

By chance, some people from Sagada passed by Babba-ak from some other place in the Ilocos provinces. As they passed they heard somebody saying, "*Ay ayewwet san id Tomalaw matew-enen ma-ppoan si pokpokaw!*" meaning, "Alas, alas, in Tomalaw they always sacrificed a white chicken every year!" These people who heard the song reported the matter to the old folks in the village when they got home. When the old men heard this, they went to Babba-ak to bring the water back to Tomalaw. They took a *tobong* — a container made of one joint of bamboo — with them to put the water in.

When the old men came home with the water with them, they announced to the people in the village, "There should be a *Begnas* to please the water." Then they went and put the water in Tomalaw. When the *Begnas* performed for the water was over, an old woman killed a pig to keep the water in its place.

Nowadays a white chicken is killed every year near the stream in Tomalaw.

40. The Story of Bosa-ingan Ricefield

By Juanito Layag

Once upon a time there lived a hunter in Demang named Bosa-ingan. He had two trained dogs for hunting called Lapsek and Danonoy. He loved them very much for whenever he went to hunt with the dogs he caught lizards. One time they caught four at once.

One day when Bosa-ingan took a walk with Bapsek and Danonoy in the forest, he saw two fat wild pigs. When the wild pigs saw him, they ran away, and his dogs ran after the wild pigs and left him behind. He followed the trail where the pigs and dogs had gone until he came to a small hill. There he found Lapsek dead, and when he came to another hill he found the

other dog dead, too. He concluded that the wild pig had killed his dogs so he set fire to the forest, hoping that the wild pig would be burned to death.

The following day Bosa-ingan went to the place he had burned to see whether any wild pigs had been burned to death. But because the wild pigs had all escaped, he found only his own dogs' ashes. So he cleaned the brush off the place where the dogs' ashes were. He dug up the soil and used the dogs' ashes for fertilizer. Many years later the kaingin which Bosa-ingan had cleared was turned into a ricefield and was called Bosa-ingan's.

41. Ginowan

By Cornelia Ayochok

There once was a man named Ginowan who lived in Ledawan. In that place, people lived by hunting and by planting camotes. One day Ginowan suggested to his friends that they go to Kay-ang and fish so they'd have a change of diet. His friends agreed and asked him to prepare a lunch. He told them everything was prepared except the prayer they should say for good luck.

When they go to Kay-ang, the people at first refused to let them fish there, but Ginowan begged them to be kind and let them fish for they had no fish in his place. While they were fishing, Ginowan went to rest on a grassy hill. He told his companions to go on fishing while he went to smoke his pipe.

While he was smoking his pipe, a huge snake came along. A bird perched on a tree twittered suddenly and he stood up to see what the matter was. He saw the snake near him. He grabbed it by the tail and threw it as far as he could, not knowing that the direction he threw the snake was where his friends were in the river, fishing. He sat down again and wondered why the snake had come along. Nothing had crossed their path on the way to Kay-ang. Then he went back to join his friends.

When he reached the place, he saw his friends all dead. He examined closely what had caused their death and discovered that they had been bitten by a snake. He also saw that one of

his friends had fought with the snake but had been successful only in cutting off its tail. The tail was the tail of the snake he had thrown.

Ginowan went home and told his people what had happened. The old men of the place gathered together to discuss the matter. After an hour or so, they told Ginowan to bring all his chickens to the *dap-ay*. While they were killing the chickens, some men started to get the bodies in Kay-ang. There was great lamenting. Afterwards, the people were told not to go to fish in the river in Kay-ang or anyplace else far away. So they continued to live by hunting and planting camotes.

42. Why Bogang Leads the Bird-Netting

By Remedios Mapang

A long time ago a woman from Bogan went to dig camotes in Ampakaw. On her way home she saw a flock of birds and she caught some of them by using her *tapis*. When she reached home the men asked her where she had caught the birds. She told them that she had caught them in Ampakaw.

The following night the men went to Ampakaw with the nets they had made. In order to attract the birds, they built a fire and sat around it. (This method of catching birds is called *mangkik*.) After a few hours they heard a noise and when they looked up, some birds were flying above them. With their nets they caught them. Every night after that the men of Bogang went for *mangkik*.

While the Bogang men were going every night to net birds, the Sagada people saw the fire which they built. One night some Sagada men, wanting to know who built the fire in Ampakaw every night, went to the place where they saw the fire. They found the Bogang men sitting around so they joined them. At the usual hour some birds came over and the men from both Bogang and Sagada caught them. But before they went home, the Bogang men told the Sagada men never to go for *mangkik* unless the Bogang men went first.

One night, because of greediness, the Sagada men went ahead of the Bogang men. The Bogang men on their way to Ampakaw saw the

fire built by the Sagada men and knew that somebody had gone ahead of them so they returned home.

While the Sagada men were sitting around the fire, they heard a loud noise above them. When they looked up, a man's leg followed by an arm fell into the fire, putting the fire out. The men were terrified and ran home wildly in the dark.

The next day the Sagada men went to tell the Bogang men about the leg and arm which they had seen. The Bogang men told them that was their punishment for disobeying them and going ahead of them. So the Sagada men went back to Sagada and told the people that nobody must go to net birds unless the Bogang men went first.

43. The Tinmongaw

By Ricardo Deleso

During the olden days wild pigs were many around the premises of Sagada. They even came into the yards of the houses. They made much destruction in everybody's camote fields. Sometimes the people drove them away at night with spears but the wild pigs could see better at night than they. They couldn't catch them; the only pigs caught were caught by dogs. The people made various kinds of traps but the pigs seemed to be watching while the traps were being set up so they passed some other way.

One day Kidangen, an inhabitant of Sagada, arrived from Manila. He brought a shotgun and a flashlight with him. These were strange to the Sagada people.

The next night, Kidangen went to hunt. With his superior weapons he killed a hundred head in one night. It took the people of Sagada the whole day to carry home the pigs. A month later he went out again. This time he had three companions. When they reached the summit of the mountain, Kidangen and his companions found the wild pigs all assembled in one spot. He shot down fifty head while the rest ran away. He was about to run after them when a shout was heard from the topmost part of a tree.

"Why are you killing all my pigs?" the voice

cried. Kidangen was the only one who heard the voice. When he told his companions about it, they were afraid. They went home right away without carrying any of the wild pigs.

When they reached home, Kidangen related this story to the old men. The old men said that the noise kidangen had heard was the voice of the *Tinmongaw*, the divine caretaker of wild pigs. The following day Kitangen died. The old men concluded that it was the power of the *Tinmongaw* that had killed him. From that time on, if a hunter goes to hunt, he must first make supplication to the *Tinmongaw* and share his pig. They offer a piece of meat before they begin hunting.

44. How Sagada Got its Name

By Geoffrey Dongalen

The town of Sagada got its name from the Spaniards. It was a group of Spanish soldiers who came to Sagada during the Spanish regime that gave the name Sagada to the town.

When these soldiers first reached the town, they met a tall young man carrying on his back the kind of fishing basket called a *sagada*. The Spanish soldiers asked the name of the place where they had met the fisherman, but the man, who didn't understand Spanish, thought they were asking the name of the basket he was carrying, so he answered, "*Sagada*." The Spanish soldiers supposed he had told them the name of the place.

45. When the Mountain Fell on Bogang

By Pureza Dulaycan

In 1936 there was a spring above Bogang. The spring was big and clean so people nearby used it for their water supply.

In June that year it rained a whole week. Then one morning the people in Bogang were surprised to find that the spring had disappeared. But they did not ask themselves why the spring had disappeared. Instead, some of them said to themselves, "Maybe the spring has moved to Besao." Some believed this had happened because they had not offered any sacrifices to the spring. They did not know that the reason the spring disappeared was that it

was inside the mountain and the mountain had cracked.

Then one night a few stones fell down from the mountain. The falling of these stones should have served as a warning to the people. But the people didn't pay any attention to this warning. Then the falling of the stones increased so the councilor said that everybody should go to help those people who lived near the mountain move their things away. Everybody went to help except one woman and a child.

At nine o'clock that night the whole mountain fell on Bogang. All the people who had gone to help those living at the foot of the mountain were buried. People from the other villages came to dig them out. The people dug for a month and it was estimated they dug 100 feet deep. The town leaders later called a surveyor and the people were warned that within 50 years the mountain above Bogang would fall again.

46. Why People Don't Eat in the Dark

By Muriel Fawas

In the olden days, one of our ancestors' customs was always to eat in the dark. Kabonyan didn't like this custom and wanted it changed so people would eat with a light. In order to carry out his wish, he came down to earth, but he made himself invisible so no one could see him. Passing a cemetery on the way to the village, he picked up some dried human flesh. When he got to the village, he went to the chief's house.

The chief and his family were eating their supper when Kabonyan secretly went in. Kabonyan placed some of the dried human flesh in each of the plates and went away. The chief, biting his piece of meat, smelled a different odor from the meat he was supposed to be eating. His curiosity was aroused so he felt the meat with his hands and found that his piece of meat was a human hand!

He told his family of his discovery, and they shouted with fright. The neighbors, hearing their shouts, went running to the chief's house with torches. When the neighbors saw the kind

of meat in the plates, they were frightened, too. Later, when they became calm, they agreed with the chief to change their custom. From that time on, no one ever dared to eat meat in the dark again.

47. Why People Keep Quiet during Typhoons

By Ana Pulao

Once upon a time there lived a family in Balugan. This family had the most beautiful Chinese jars and the biggest ricefields of the whole village. These Chinese jars and ricefields were valued very highly by this family. They offered sacrifices for them every year by butchering pigs or killing hens.

One day a strong typhoon came and people couldn't go out. The family couldn't go out to work during the typhoon so the mother told funny stories and the children enjoyed hearing them. These funny stories made them laugh and shout. They also played games and jumped and ran about in order to keep warm. After an hour of this, they were surprised to see their Chinese jars were also jumping up and down — until they were broken into pieces!

The following day the sun shone and the father went to their ricefields and was startled to find their ricefields all washed away. He went home and told about the startling sight in the fields. He also told the people in the village how their Chinese jars had broken to pieces during the typhoon. The people explained to them that their Chinese jars had been broken and their ricefields washed out because they were laughing, jumping and running around in the house during the typhoon. From that time on, people always keep quiet during typhoons.

48. The Boys who were Noisy while Planting

By Gregory Cawis

Long long ago there were two boys who went with their mother to a nearby kaingin. They were supposed to pull up the camote roots left from the last harvest while their mother planted new ones. This was the first time these boys had gone with their mother. Instead of helping their mother, the boys kept

shouting and making unnecessary noise. When it was time to go home, they went home but their mother regretted having taken them with her. When the harvest time came, the camotes taken were small and had been attacked by worms. Previous harvests, showed that that kaingin provided good ones; it was only this time that the harvest was poor. The mother believed that the noise made by the boys when planting was the cause of their bad luck. The mother never took the boys with her again and advised all the other village children not to do as her boys had done when their mothers were planting something.

49. The Boy who Played with Fire in the Daytime

By Gregory Cawis

Long long ago there was a foolish little boy who always liked to play tricks with fire in the daytime. The boy's name was Onongon. Onongon was always advised by his father not to play tricks with fire in the daytime. There were times that Onongon obeyed his father, but most of the time he disobeyed his father.

Whenever he played tricks with fire in the daytime, he had terrible dreams that night. But when he didn't play with fire during the day, he slept without any trouble. His parents noticed this and told Onongon about it. From that time on, Onongon never played with fire and so never had terrible nightmares. Onongon's townmates also warned their children not to play with fire during the daytime so they would not have nightmares either.

50. The Boy who Slept in the Forest

By Gregory Cawis

Long ago in a certain village, a young man called Kodyat started to go to the forest to cut fuel. He reached the forest very early so that his load was cut long before the sun set. Then, thinking it was still early, he lay down and went to sleep.

Night came and Kodyat's relatives were worried about him. The next morning a search party went to look for him but they found no-

body. The party found Kodyat's load and beside it, a place where somebody had been sleeping in the grass. The party and all the village people believed Kodyat had been taken by some kind of anito.

51. The Boy who Slept Alone in the Dap-ay

By Andrew Kiley

Long ago most people's children slept in *dap-ays*. The boys were forced to sleep in the *dap-ay* because boys who slept with their parents were made fun of.

One night a boy named Gosadan went to sleep very early. Not knowing that all the people had gone to a marriage feast, he went to sleep. None of the other children came to sleep there that night.

Around midnight some anitos came. They carried the boy away sleeping on his bed. When they came to path used by the village people, Gosadan stirred. He got a pea seed from his pocket and chewed it, making a noise in his mouth. The anitos heard it and said, "What are you eating?"

"I'm grinding up your ears!"

After a few more steps, Gosadan took another seed and ate it. Again the anitos asked, "What are you eating?"

"I'm grinding up your teeth!"

When the anitos came to a brook, Gosadan took another seed, and when the anitos asked what he was eating, said, "I'm grinding up your heads!" With that, the anitos threw him down in the brook.

The next day the people of the town noticed that Gosadan was missing. All the people were asked if they had seen Gosaden. Then one of Gosadan's neighbors stood up and said he had seen Gosadan going to the *dap-ay* the night before. It immediately occurred to the old people that the anitos had probably taken him away while he was alone in the *dap-ay* asleep. So from that time on, people have said that sleeping alone in the *dap-ay* is very dangerous.

**52. The Pregnant Woman who was
Always Sleeping**

By Andrew Kiley

Many years ago there was a pregnant woman. During her pregnancy, she slept most of the time. People said she was very lazy because she did not work at all. All she did was sleep.

In the ninth month, a witchdoctor was called to see the woman because she had not yet given birth although her stomach kept growing bigger and bigger. When the witchdoctor came, he did not tell the woman her condition. He only told her relatives. He said that there was a child in her womb with no head but that it had two hands on one arm and that there was no hope for the child to live. This had not been told to the people when the woman died in the eleventh month of her pregnancy.

Since this incident, folks say that pregnant women should not sleep too much.

53. The Boy who Ate Lying Down

By Gregory Cawis

Once upon a time there was a boy who always had to lie down when he ate. His parents tried to stop him from doing this but he insisted on it. As time went on, his head began to grow bigger and bigger and bigger. The village people believed that his food was going into his head and not into his belly. So from that time on, parents have always advised their children not to eat while lying down.

54. The Boy who Ate Uncooked Food

By Gregory Cawis

In a certain village where people depended upon camotes for their living there was a greedy boy named Ponyaski. He was so greedy he even ate the village people's uncooked camotes. He especially liked the ones preserved for the rainy season, *boko* (dried camote). But as time went on, his parents noticed that he was not growing despite his greediness. Then they found he had lots of worms in his belly, which were believed to have been formed out of the

uncooked food that he had been eating because when he stopped eating uncooked food the worms disappeared and he started to grow.

55. The Boy who Laughed at the Blind Man

By Gregory Cawis

Once upon a time there was a boy who jeered at people, particularly those who had some bodily defect such as the lame or the blind. One day a blind man passed by and the boy laughed at him. The following morning the boy's baby brother was born — blind. People all believed that because the boy jeered at the blind man, the baby was born blind.

56. The Boy who was Always Sitting on Mortars

By Gregory Cawis

Long long ago in a certain village there was a boy who was fond of sitting on mortars. Whenever he saw a mortar not being used for pounding rice, he delighted in sitting on it and dreaming. When asked by his friends why he liked doing this, he would answer that he felt more comfortable there than sitting on flat stones in the *dap-ay* or anyplace else.

Later, this boy was found to have boils on his buttocks. But when he stopped sitting on mortars, these boils disappeared. This was later confirmed by the quack doctor and since then boys are told never to sit on mortars so they won't have boils.

57. The Boy who Ignored the Omen

By Alejandro Geston

Once upon a time there was a boy who went to cut wood in the forest. On his way to the forest he saw a snake going across his path. He was frightened and waited until the snake could no longer be seen on the path. Then he continued walking without resting.

When he reached the place in the forest where plenty of dried pine branches could be found, he set to work. He climbed three big pine trees one after the other and cut the dried branches. When he thought the dried branches were enough for a load, he began removing the bark. When he finished, he went to look for

some vines for binding the branches.

The vine he got broke so he got another one. This one broke, too. The vine broke for the third time. He replaced it again, but when he tightened it, the vine broke again. So he went to look for more vines but could not find one strong enough to bind the branches.

It was already dark when finally he succeeded in binding the branches. Then he carried his load home safely.

When he reached home, he told his parents what had happened to him. After supper his father called him and gave him some advice. He told him that whenever he went someplace and a snake or rat came across his path, he had better not proceed because he would be sure to meet an accident. He also said, "When you are binding a load and the material you're using for binding keeps breaking, it's better to leave the load and go home. For that's a sign an enemy is near."

58. The Woman who Broke the Obaya

By Dolores Basilio

It was an *obaya* (a religious holiday when nobody is allowed to work in the fields) but a woman had to go out to the field early to dig camotes because they had nothing in their house to eat. When the anitos saw her working in the field, they sent two anitos to her house to find out the reason she was working so early during an *obaya*. The two anitos found that they had nothing to eat so they returned and told the other anitos. So the anitos felt sorry for her but they did not want her to work during an *obaya* so they helped her. In just a short time her basket was full because of their help so she went home.

She cooked some of the camotes for breakfast and after eating went to join a group of women telling stories to each other. She told them of the unusual digging of the camotes and the other women said that maybe she had been helped by anitos because it was an *obaya* and so the time for anitos to come out.

During the next *obaya*, another woman thought she would also be helped by the anitos so she went out to dig up camotes. When the

anitos saw her, they again sent two anitos to see if it was necessary for her to work during the holiday. The anitos found plenty of food in her house. This made the other anitos angry, so they stole all the woman's camotes. The woman noticed her camotes were disappearing, but she went on working anyway. When the anitos saw this, they started to throw stones at her. Then she ran home as fast as she could but the anitos chased her and pulled off her *tapis* so she got home naked. Her back where it had been struck by the stones swelled up and never became normal again so she looked like a hunchback. From then on people were always afraid to break the *obaya* unless they were in real need of food.

59. The Boy who Went Fishing during the Obaya

By Alejandro Geston

There was once a boy who loved to trap mudfish in the ricefields. One afternoon he got his fish traps and started for the fields. At that time the planting season had been over about two months and the mudfish were supposed to be plentiful at the time when the ricefields were planted again because no one could catch them then except with traps.

The sun was just setting when he reached the place. He placed his fish traps on the ground and began collecting grass. After he collected rough grass, he placed it at the bottom of the traps in order to prevent the fish from escaping when caught. When everything was prepared, he set the fish traps in the fields and went home.

Early the next morning an *obaya* was proclaimed, a rest day for the whole community. When the boy heard this, he was troubled. He was so eager to get his fish traps he went to the fields secretly and collected all the traps. He was very happy on his way home because he had caught plenty. But when he reached home, he found that his parents were looking for him. When he told his father where he had gone, his father got angry because he left the community when it was *obaya*.

From that time on, he never caught any mudfish when he went to trap them.

60. The Girl who Waited too Long

By Geoffrey Dongalen

A long time ago there lived a beautiful girl. This beautiful girl belonged to a wealthy family. Her ancestors owned many ricefields.

When this girl was in her adolescence, many young men courted her, but her relatives always objected to her marrying any of the young men who courted her. Her relatives always told her to marry a man who was rich and handsome. One time a handsome man courted her but her relatives objected to their marriage because he wasn't rich. The relatives of this beautiful and rich girl always objected to any marriage of the girl to any boy who courted her. So the girl kept looking for a husband who was rich and handsome until she had passed her early twenties.

But from that time on, no more young men ever made love to her so she lived single for the rest of her life.

Nowadays, old men and women advise young people not to be too choosy when they marry. The old people say that young people should marry anyone who courts them as long as he is the same age and is physically able to work, rich or poor. If young people wait too long to choose, they'll never get married and then when they're old, nobody will want to marry them.

61. The Spoiled Child

By Frank Domanas

During the early days there lived in Demang a family. Getba-an was the name of the father, and the mother's name was Seyba-an. They had only one child, whose name was Gomang-an. When Gomang-an was a small child, he was pampered and loved by his parents. When he grew up to be a big boy he wanted many things, as children often do. Whenever he saw something he wanted, he asked for it and his parents gave it to him.

When Gomang-an was about 16 years old, a tribal war broke out between Sagada and Bontoc. One night the people of Bontoc attacked Sagada. It was a tragic event and most of the people were killed, including Gomang-an's

parents. Gomang-an was among the few who were not slain.

Gomang-an didn't know how to take care of himself; he didn't even know how to prepare his food. He had no relatives to help him find a living. As a result, the boy died of hunger. You see, the child didn't know how to look out for himself because his parents had always done everything for him and had given him everything when they were alive.

63. Kamandokang

By Dolores Basilio

A man called Kamandokang used to go around the town at night to see if everybody was sleeping. He was from Nakagang.

One night Kamandokang went to Suyo and the first house he entered was the place where all the young ladies slept. He found them all asleep so he went next to the *dap-ay* where all the young men slept. He found that nobody was awake so he left it without doing anything. Then he went around to the houses and came to a house where a child was crying.

The child was so frightened when he saw Kamandokang that he cried louder. This made Kamandokang very angry so he got out his knife and cut the child's ear off and ran away with it!

62. Why Battek's Father Died

By Frank Domanas

There was once a couple with a son named Battek. One day Battek's father said to his wife, "I'm going to get palay in Kewdan. At lunch time bring my food."

At lunch time Battek's mother carried out the food in a small basket on her head. As she was walking, she saw a mountain burning. She went to see who had started the fire and found a dead body lying on the ground. She thought it was her husband. She cried and cried. Afterwards, she carried the dead body to their house and placed it on the second floor where they kept palay.

Late that evening Battek's father came home. Battek and his mother were overjoyed

because their father had not been the one whom the mother found dead. But they forgot to tell the father about the dead body that had been placed in the place where they kept palay.

When Battek's father later climbed up the ladder to the second floor to put his palay there, he was very scared to see the dead body. In his fear he jumped down from the second floor and broke his neck when he fell. This caused his death. The neighbors gathered together and buried him in front of the house.

When the funeral was over, Battek said to his mother, "Mother, if you had informed father of that dead boy you placed where the palay is stored, maybe father wouldn't be dead now." When people heard this story from the child, they went to see the body and when they brought it out it was not a person but a dead monkey. Wives should tell all things that they do to their husbands.

As he was passing another house, he heard another child crying, so he went in and cut this child's nose off and ran away with it. He always cut a small part of a child's body off, like the ears, fingers or nose, and ran away with it when he found the child crying and disturbing others instead of sleeping. Therefore, a mother whose child doesn't sleep when it's late at night often tells this story to scare the child. She might say, "If you don't stop crying and go to sleep, Kamandokang will come and cut off your ear or nose!" Then she might add, "If he cuts off your nose, your playmates will laugh at you."

64. Chasing Tadpoles in Saliwekwek

By Veronica Guitelen

One day a child said to his father, "Please make me a cane so I can go help chase away the tadpoles in Saliwekwek that are so noisy." On his way he stopped for a little while to rest. When he was sitting there, he noticed a pit and when he looked into the pit he saw many anitos so he ran away. The next time he rested he saw a big tree. He climbed the tree and his G-string got caught in a branch of the tree and was blown away by the wind.

When the G-string fell on the ground, an uncle of his got it and went around whipping

the stones with it. So the child didn't go to Saliwekwek but went to look for his G-string that had been blown away by the wind.

65. A Lullaby

By Veronica Guitelen

A long long time ago a family lived in Gawa. One day their baby cried and the mother said, "Don't cry, we'll wait for you father who went to get *bayyabayya*." The child went on crying so the mother sang this song, "Stop crying and we'll wait for your father gone to fight with the headhunters. Stop crying so the headhunters won't find us." The mother and child hid while a cat guarded their property.

66. Boliwan and Biyogan

By Veronica Guitelen

A long long time ago two friends lived in Dagdag. Their names were Boliwan and Biyogan and they were neighbors.

One day they went to fish in the river. They made a pond on one side of the river where there was less water flowing. Boliwan caught fish while Biyogan drained the water from the pond. Boliwan caught plenty of fish. Biyogan cried because he caught nothing and it was already time for them to go home. When they got home, Boliwan didn't give any of what he had caught to Biyogan.

The next day Boliwan and Biyogan went to a high mountain to pray for clothes. On top of the mountain Biyogan prayed to Lomawig to give him a shirt. After he had prayed, a shirt dropped down from heaven. Boliwan then also prayed, but a coffin dropped down for him. Their next wish was for G-strings. Biyogan again prayed, and a G-string dropped for him. But when Boliwan prayed, a snake dropped instead of a G-string. Boliwan put the snake in the coffin because he thought it was an eel he could take home to eat. Biyogan put on his shirt and G-string and they went home.

When Boliwan's mother saw them she thought Biyogan was her son so she was very happy. But when Biyogan and Boliwan reached home, it was Biyogan's mother who was very happy because her son had nice clothes, while Boliwan's mother was disappointed.

67. The Rat and the Bee

By Frank Longid

Long long ago a rat and a bee were very close friends.

One day while the rat was cooking his lunch, a bee entered his house and asked if he would play with him. "I'll play with you if you'll help me cook," answered the rat. The bee said he would so the rat asked him to go and get fuel.

The bee left and returned a little while later with a reed. The rat took the reed but when he threw it into the fire, he found it would not burn since it wasn't dry. The rat sent the bee back again, telling him to get a dry reed.

The bee left and returned later with another reed. The rat took this reed and threw it in the fire. He saw that this one wouldn't burn either, since it was rotten. This made the rat angry, but because he was too lazy to go and get fuel himself, he again sent the bee back to get fuel.

The bee left and returned later with another reed. This time, he sneaked up behind the rat and dropped the reed on his head. So the rat became so angry he took the reed and chased the bee away.

68. The Monkey and the Turtle

By Gregory Cawis

Once upon a time there were two friends, a monkey and a turtle. They one time went for a walk and by the roadside they saw a banana tree with ripe fruit on it. The monkey said he would climb the tree and drop some fruit down for the turtle. So the turtle waited while the monkey climbed the tree.

But the monkey kept eating the fruit and throwing the peelings down to the turtle. The turtle, unable to think of any way to get some bananas, said he would borrow the monkey's knife. The monkey gave the turtle his knife. The turtle went and cut some pointed sticks and, without the monkey's seeing him, stuck them in the ground just under the banana tree where the monkey would likely land on them. Then he challenged the monkey to a fight.

The monkey, enraged, jumped down right where the sticks had been stuck by the turtle, and his life came to an end!

69. The Frog and the Mouse

By Gloria Bawaan

Once upon a time there were two friends, Kadew, the frog, and Otot, the mouse. Kadew lived in Tomangdew and Otot lived in Kobot.

One day they went to Bokong to catch eels and mudfish. They had a lucky catch, but they could not divide it equally between themselves. They grew angry with each other and quarreled. They exchanged words, then wrestled. Finally, Kadew, the stronger of the two, seized Otot and dived into the water with him. Otot tried to free himself but he couldn't because Kadew held him firmly. Otot, who could not live in the water, drowned. Kadew won and went leaping home happily with their catch.

Notes

SAGADA SECULAR LITERATURE is a collection of Igorot folklore made by the class of 1957 of St. Mary's School as a project in English composition during their senior year 1956-57. With the exception of the ballads and other verse selections, the students collected the material without writing them down in their own tongue and then told them in their own words in English. They were divided into six groups for the collection of the material, each group seeking a different type of literature. One group looked for popular tales and legends, another origin myths, the third historic tales, the fourth cautionary tales, and the fifth nursery tales. The sixth group was composed of volunteers who submitted to a more difficult test of their command of English: the translation - rather than the retelling - of ballads, songs and nursery rhymes.

Dr. H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines donated a cash prize for the best individual collections. This prize was awarded as follows: First place - Frank Longid, Second place - Richard Abeya, Third place - Gregory Cawis.

The collection is presented in two sections: prose (*Sagada Social Studies* No. 9) and poetry (*Sagada Social Studies* No. 10).

1. Bodobodo: a kind of hairy caterpillar which when touched makes the skin irritated.

2. Lit., water; here, a woman with long hair like a waterfall.

3. Rice cooked inside of banana or sugarcane leaves.