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The Alien in the Bakun-Amburayan River Valley Oral Literature

FLORENTINO H. HORNE DO

The confluent Bakun and Amburayan rivers have their headwaters in the northwestern part of Benguet Province and flow into the provinces of La Union and Ilocos Sur. Before they finally flow into the China Sea at the border of La Union and Ilocos Sur, they meet near Alilem, a town of Ilocos Sur at the border of La Union. Alilem, though part of Ilocos Sur, is culturally related to the neighboring places of Sugpon, Porporiket, Ban-na, and the La Union town of Sudipen. These inland Iloko communities are culturally identified as *Bag-o* or *Bago*. They speak an essentially Iloko dialect with a mixture of Kankanaey words and idiomatic usages. They distinguish themselves from the Iloko of the coastal plains and from the Kankanaey on the Cordillera. They live in the rugged valley of the Bakun and Amburayan rivers, and it seems that this valley has defined their culture a great deal. The valley is practically a character in their oral literature and traditions.

Bag-o (also pronounced *Bago*) means "new," or "neophyte." Oral tradition indicates that when the Ilocanos of the coastal plains of the Ilocos region had been Christianized, missionary work began in earnest in the interior lands and mountains which lie between the coastal plains and the Cordillera ranges. When they became Christian neophytes, they were called "bago." The use of the term persisted and today, centuries after, they are still called "Bago" by the coastal Ilocanos. They also have come to call themselves Bago. The word has

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become a designation for the peoples who live in the midland strip from southern La Union to eastern Ilocos Sur, below the western slopes of the Cordillera. They consist of a majority of Ilocanos and a minority of Kankanaey. Their language is marked by the presence of Kankanaey words in an essentially Ilocano matrix, although when occasion demands, they speak either pure Iloko or pure Kankanaey. It seems, however, that the ability to speak Kankanaey is now limited to the minority of true Kankanaey ancestry.

In 1975, the population of Ilocos Sur was 419,776, of which 10,726 spoke Kankanaey. The Kankanaey belong to the Bag-o communities among which is the municipality of Alilem. This town had a population of 4,409, and of this, 1,819 spoke Kankanaey (41.26 percent) in the census of 1975.

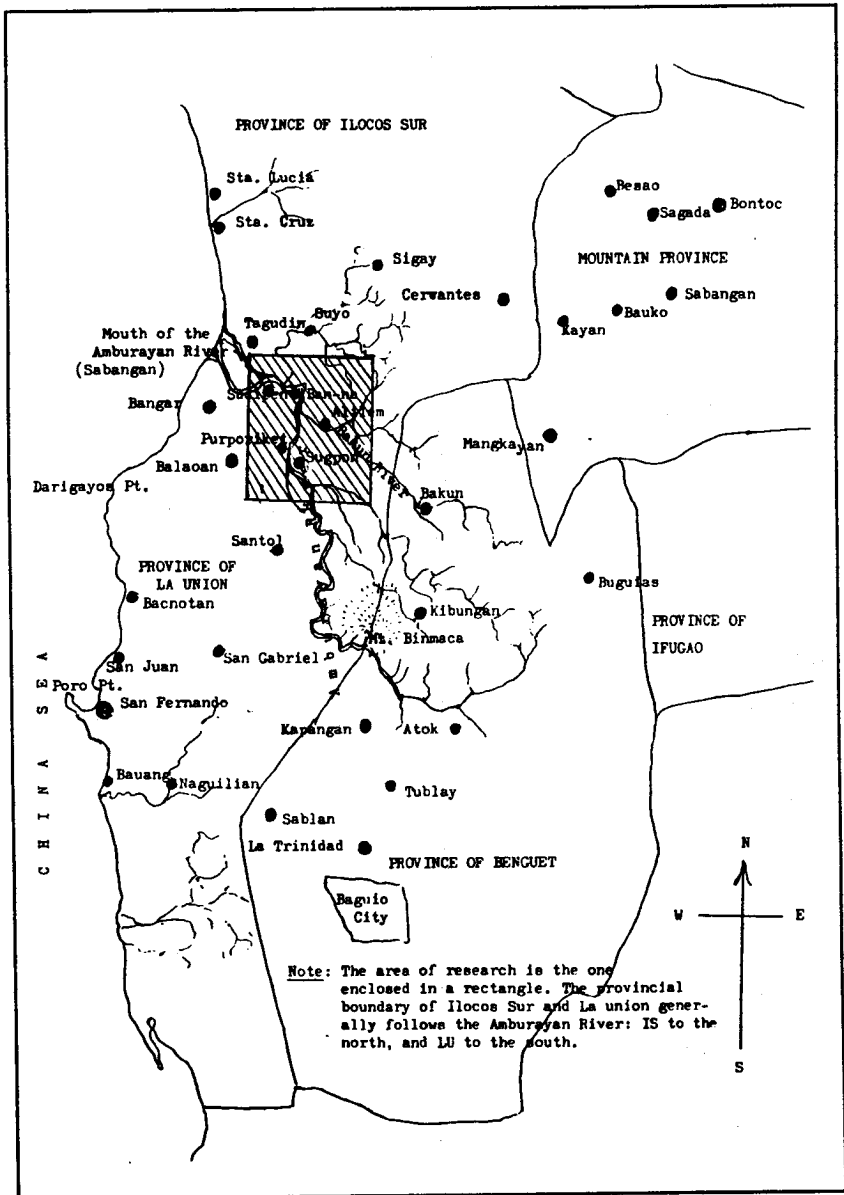
On the La Union side, Sudipen, though essentially an Iloko town, has barrios like Porporiket which lie along the Amburayan River. Some 461 people, mostly from the Amburayan barrios, were reported as Kankanaey speakers in 1975 when Sudipen had a population of 10,420. Also in the adjacent towns on the La Union side, Santol had 7,686 people of whom 2,426 or 31 percent spoke Kankanaey.¹ It is not difficult to understand the reason for the cultural mix which has led over time to a kind of ethnolinguistic identity.

The Bag-o in this article are those in the valleys of the Amburayan and the Bakun rivers. Along these rivers lie communities which, though culturally sharing a common heritage, have been politically divided by a provincial boundary separating La Union and Ilocos Sur. This article is not limited by the political boundaries, and takes the Bag-o people who are found on both sides of the boundary.

Because of the proximity of the Amburayan and Bakun River communities, the Bag-o have freely moved around, intermarrying among themselves, and establishing themselves at various times in different places even in a single lifetime. An example may be mentioned of *Lakay* Canuto Bayang, main oral literature informant for this study on the La Union side of the Amburayan. He was born in Sugpon across the river on the Ilocos Sur side 1899. As a young man, he resided in Op-oplas on the La Union side. In 1945, he came to stay in Porporiket, a barrio of Sudipen, La Union.²

1. The data used here are from the 1975 *Integrated Census of the Population and Its Economic Activities*, vol. 1, parts 7 & 8. See Ilocos Sur and La Union provinces.

2. From an interview with *Lakay* Canuto in Porporiket, Sudipen, La Union, on 2 April 1986. *Lakay* Canuto was born in Sugpon, Ilocos Sur in 1898. He is a major informant and carrier of the Bag-o oral tradition. Three of the narrative poems used for this article were recorded from his singing. The recordings are with this writer.



Source: *Atlas of the Philippines*, ed. Robert S. Hendry, 1959

In the towns and barrios in the Amburayan and Bakun river valleys, the people speak of their blood relations living in all the other communities. But some take care to distinguish themselves from the coastal Ilocanos whom they feel look down on them. For example, informants cite that in the 1960s and 1970s, a road connecting Alilem to Tagudin was started. But it was never completed, says an informant, "because of objection from the Tagudin side." The informants would not specify the reasons for the objections. It might be merely a misperception. But today, the chief road that connects the Alilem community to coastal Ilocos is a road that passes from Sudipen which is on the La Union side. It is this road that has served as the Bag-o's chief line of communication and commerce with the outside world. This arrangement, however, presents natural difficulties during the rainy season between May and October. Flood waters rushing from the Cordilleras seasonally inundate the two rivers and transform them into impassable barriers. There are no bridges in these parts of the rivers, and in certain places the Amburayan is a couple of hundred meters wide. Ferry boats are out of the question when the river currents run so wildly. Even during the dry season, November to April, only the most durable vehicles can manage to reach the interior communities because the grade of the roads in many places is steep, and the river beds which also serve as roads are so stony that fragile vehicles fall apart. Besides, vehicles have to wade through river waters every now and then. The alternative is hiking which most of the Bag-o do in going about their daily business of living. Most of the interior roads are unpaved.

The Bag-o, like most of the other Ilocanos who live on the coastal region, are farmers. They cultivate rice, corn, and bananas. Since the opening of the Alilem-Sudipen road, there has been a reported increase in the production of crops for the Ilocos markets. There has been an impetus in the production of black and white beans which have a good market. Tobacco is also produced. The Bag-o do some limited fishing in certain parts of the rivers to supplement the limited protein in their diet. There is a limited production of poultry, pigs, goats, and some large cattle. Sugarcane is also produced in limited quantity. From this the Bag-o derive the juice which they ferment into the beverage well-known among the Ilocanos as *basi*. They also brew the rice wine called *tapey*. Along the river banks, sweet potatoes (*camote*) and peanuts are grown to great advantage. Camote makes up part of their staple, and peanuts are always a good cash crop.

Some Alilem folk still do some cloth weaving, though they do not produce in commercial quantities. They obtain most of their clothing

from the commercial markets which are now closer to them because of increased availability of transportation.

BAG-O VERBAL ARTS

Literature, understood as the art of the written language, is nonexistent among the Bag-o, as it is non-existent among most other ethnolinguistic cultural communities of the Philippines. But they do have *verbal arts* preserved for transmission diachronically and synchronically by oral tradition. Exhaustive work still has to be done, but the evidence on hand shows a rich verbal arts tradition.

Francisco S. Mallo wrote in 1972 about the Bag-o of "Cuenca and Saytan, in the municipality of Pugo, La Union." He said that Bag-o literature is "still unknown . . . to many Filipinos."³ To show the Bag-o indeed had a literature, he published what appears as very random sampling consisting of two legends, two poems, one *day-eng* or "ballad," and seven proverbs. What he called "legends" are in fact myths. The two poems, as he himself says, are prayers taken out of rituals. The *day-eng* which he also calls a "ballad" is a short narrative sung in verse alternately by two singers. Only the "ballad" and the proverbs are published with their original Bag-o texts.

The Bag-o involved in Mallo's article are not identical with the Bag-o in this study. As the map shows (p. 201), the Bag-o of Pugo are probably the southernmost group of Bag-o, while those of this study are beyond the northern end of La Union province. They share, however, the common characteristic of having Kankanaey or Ibaloy origin (from the province of Benguet) But they have adopted Iloko as their *lingua franca* as Mallo himself observed. This is also true, even with the northern Bag-o as the recordings for this study will also show. What Mallo has incidentally indicated, and largely failed to give due attention to, are the social institutions and traditions which occasion the *performance* of the verbal arts. He reports that the two prayers were recited, one at harvest time, and the other at a ritual performed in aid of a woman in difficult labor. The *day-eng*, he says, was performed "during big celebrations like the village feast, *rambac*." The proverbs, as may be expected, are for instruction.

Among the Bag-o of the Amburayan-Bakun river valleys, the occasion for the performance of the best known of the verbal arts tradition is the funeral wake. According to informants Engracia Sang-et (Alilem, Ilocos Sur), and Canuto Bayang (Porporiket, La Union), to the

3. Francisco S. Mallo, "Literature of the Bag-os," *Graphic*, 20 September 1972, p. 30.

best of their knowledge it is in the funeral wake that the long and short narrative poems are sung.⁴ Even the best known of Iloko narrative poems, the *Lam-ang* (which Sang-et sings and calls a *dal-lot*) is also sung at wakes.

Asked whether there was any special reason why such songs were performed at wakes, Bayang said that it was to keep people entertained during the dreary passage of the night. To prove his point that the songs sung at wakes are truly entertaining, and keep people awake, he sang several narrative poems of some length, all of which were humorous, sometimes to the point of what certain sensibilities might consider off-color or risqué.

There is, however, a fact to which the informants failed to advert, a feature that may have profound relation to the occasion of the funeral wake. Many of the narrative songs have in them a motif of "death and resurrection." In the longest of the narratives, the *Allusan*, the heroine's soul is taken away, after which she is given up for dead, and is floated down the river in a coffin. Then her soul is returned, and she comes back to life to marry her true lover. The "Donya Senas" heroine is killed by her Igorot suitors and is brought back to her father. A healer uses herbs to heal the mangled corpse and revives her. In "Dagdagimuyo," the hero obtains the treasures of the monkeys as well as his revenge on the thieving simians by feigning death. In another moralizing story, an old very kind man falls asleep, and when the monkeys who had been often fed by his generosity discover him, they figure out he is dead. So they bring him to a burial cave full of gold. When he wakes up, he finds the gold and takes some of it, and he becomes rich. When a wicked man hears about this, he also tries to be good to the monkeys, and then feigns death. But the monkeys know he is a selfish man, and they bring him to a cave full of stones. When he opens his eyes hoping to find gold, he finds only stones. Is this not perhaps a veiled cultural way of expressing the singers' consoling message to the bereaved that death is not final and that there is another life to be hoped for, as well as reward for the good? Maybe so, for even in *Lam-ang*, this motif is present, as *Lam-ang* himself is killed and then comes back to life.⁵

As already indicated by Mallo, the Bag-o have agricultural rituals. Another study on the Bag-o of Alilem reproduces a "prayer" recited

4. Engracia Sang-et was interviewed in Alilem on 31 March 1986; Canuto Bayang was interviewed in Porporiket on 2 April 1986. The interviews were done in the presence of several other members of the communities.

5. More study in this area is needed. But even in the ethno-epics of Southern Philippines, this motif appears, as in the Maranaw *Bantugen* for example.

during a ritual "performed before planting and harvesting."⁶ Jose Brown describes a ritual called *pakde*. It was probably from such a ritual that Mallo got the prayer reproduced in his article. But the harvest ritual had its own name: *apas*. The act of performing the ritual is *agapas*. There is a separate prayer for this, and a sample is reproduced in the original text by Brown.⁷

The amount of previous work to record the verbal arts or oral literature of the Bag-o has been minimal. But in 1984, Engracia Banagoil, then a senior college student at the Ateneo de Manila University School of Arts and Sciences, recorded *Allusan*, a micro-epic, in her home town of Alilem. From her consultation with me I came to know about the Bag-o. Since she was not doing any immediate additional recording due to other business, I decided to go myself to the Amburayan valley in the summer of 1986. During that field work, a number of narrative poems were recorded in addition to the *Allusan*.

No work has been done yet on the rest of the proverb lore, the riddles, and possible other forms of the Bag-o verbal arts. Even in the field of the narrative poems, much work has yet to be done.

ALIEN INTRUSIONS IN BAG-O ORAL LITERATURE

In spite of the anonymity of traditional literature, it is possible to discern a central consciousness and some sort of persona speaking through the folk literary artifacts. This is postulated on the assumption that people, as a rule, do not speak against themselves, and that if they create literary works presenting characters which possess undesirable traits, a normal assumption can be made that the creator of the work disapproves of the behavior of the character. On the other hand, characters which are presented as respectable, admirable, likable and such like, may be assumed to personify or embody characteristics which are valued, and therefore desired.

The question, then, for this article, is whether the representations of the *alien* in Bag-o literature are identified with the desirable or with the undesirable according to the anonymous Bag-o verbal artists' perception as revealed in Bag-o oral literature.

6. Jose B. Brown, "The Impact of Education on the Cultural Life of the Bag-os," (M.A. thesis, Lyceum of Baguio, 1975), p. 107.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 109. Brown lists ten different rituals which by their description appear to have involved prayers in the form of narratives (myths) like those he reproduces. But his interest was not literature, so he probably did not record every narrative prayer, but selected a few. One may add to these the rituals related to courtship and marriage (pp. 121ff), and death (pp. 115ff.).

In Bag-o literature, the presence of the alien is not unusual. In the epic *Allusan*, the hero, Allusan, is from the downstream region, and the villain Agillang is a Nabaloy from Kapangan in Benguet. In the "Annagud" story, the object of fun for Annagud is an Igorot. In the *Lam-ang*, which is considered by the Bag-o as part of their literature, the outsider is the Igorot who killed Lam-ang's father. In "Donya Senas," the outsider is Gabat who is socially unacceptable because of a deforming skin disease. In "Dagdagimuyo," there is a different kind of alien, the monkeys. In "Poliganay," the outsiders are suitors from other villages who end up dismembering the heroine. A different sense of the alien appears in "Indayuan," which is a story of a group of people who move from their home to another land. The alien is the new land, and it needs to be conquered. Within the limits of this article, it is possible to treat only a selection from among these. Among the selections to be discussed, only one text will be presented as a specimen.

DONYA ANNAGUD*

Ay, maistoryak man ngarud
Ni Donya Annagud nga nagbaboy
ti putot
Nga sangadpa kan ti subbok,
Sangaanep kan ti bukot.

Nagdindinamag ngarud
Ni babae Annagud nga agili
diay Rimos,
Nadamag met di Igorot
Nga agili 'diay Bontoc
Ta baboy ni Annagud
Capu't mabirok na ti dilos
Ta pailado la ngarud
Asawana nga kaingungot,

DOÑA ANNAGUD** (Translation)

I will tell you the story
Of the woman Annagud, and her
tailless pig Putot,
Whose snout was a fathom long,
Whose back was very broad.

She was famous for her pet,
This woman Annagud who lived
in Rimos.
Her fame was heard by an Igorot
Who lived in Bontoc,
And this pig of Annagud;
And he was looking for a pig
To be offered in sacrifice
For the sake of his darling wife.

*This was recorded from the singing of Lakay Canuto Bayang at Porporiket, Sudipen, La Union, on 2 April 1986. The transcription from magnetic tape and the preliminary translation were by Saturnino Baltazar who is from Anaao, Alilem, Ilocos Sur, and works at present as clerk of court in Bakun, Benguet.

**The recording was done by this writer on 2 April 1986 from the singing of Canuto Bayang in Porporiket, La Union, and the transcription and preliminary translation was done by Saturnino Baltazar in Baguio City. I have edited and revised the translation, but have kept the stanza divisions. Baltazar was born and grew up in the Bag-o town of Alilem, Ilocos Sur.

Kinunana't nagpanunot
 Ni lalaki nga Igorot,
 Ala asawak nga naanus
 Nga kalinglingay ko kaingungot
 Nga kaid-idak pay no intan maiturog.

So this Igorot man
 Thought deeply and then spoke:
 Now my sweet and gentle wife,
 My playmate and my darling,
 My bedmate when we go to sleep.

Indak man la ipalubos
 Ta innak man idia'y laud
 Ta innak paneknekan no ni putot
 No tagilak ket ngarud
 Ket inowenan na pay ngarud
 Ngem.agdardaraskan kunan baketna
 Piman ket pinanpanunotna.

If you will allow me,
 I will go to the coastal region
 To find out if it is true
 That the pig without a tail is for sale.
 And she readily consented,
 But asked that he return home quickly
 So she wouldn't worry too much.

Ket daydi Igorot piman
 Di ka'd simmalog
 Pasaray tumaray, pasaray kan
 sumaytok
 Ta kasta't pannagna ti Igorot
 Piman aya nga sumalog.

So, the Igorot went down
 Towards the West,
 Sometimes running, sometimes
 hopping,
 For that is how an Igorot walks
 Down the mountain trails.

Idi dumanon ngay idia'y Inmayos
 Nasarakannan' Lakay Sagud
 Aya nga manglanlanut,
 Ti lanot nga bagbaggotot
 Nga inna kano paggalot
 Piman aya iti abolog
 Nga pangipopokannat' manok.

When he arrived at Inmayos,
 He met *Lakay Sagud*
 Who was gathering *bagbaggotot*
 vines
 With which to fasten his fence under
 his house
 In which he keeps his chicken.

Ket kunana diay Igorot,
 Diak makabasol, atanod*
 Biangko man toy agsalusod
 Nu adin ti dalan nga agpalaud
 Nga apan diay ili ti Rimos,

And the Igorot said,
 "If you don't mind, my friend,
 May I disturb you with a request
 To show me the westward road
 Which goes to the village of Rimos?"

**Atanod* or *atanud* is the address used by godparents for the parents of their godchildren, as well as the name used by the parents to address the godparents. In other parts of Christian Philippines, this is the equivalent of *compadre* or *comadre*. I have used the term "friend" in the translation on the suggestion of my translation assistant Saturnino Baltazar since the characters who use the word in the narrative do not have compadrazgo relationships. Additional help in the translation has been provided by Morice Vanoverbergh, trans. & ed., *Iloko-English Dictionary* (n.d.). This dictionary is a translation and augmented and revised edition of the Fr. Andres Carro, O.S.A. *Vocabulario Iloco-Español* published in 1888. The Vanoverbergh translation has no publisher or publication date, but it was most probably published by the C.I.C.M. (Fr. Vanoverbergh's Congregation) press, Catholic School Press in Baguio City, in or immediately after 1956, the year C.I.C.M. obtained permission from the O.S.A. to publish it.

Kinunan di Igorot,
Piman aya ken Lakay Sagud.
Imbaga met ni Lakay Sagud
Nga surotenna tay agpalaud.

Ket laud met nga laud piman
daydi Igorot,
Nasarakanna kan pay ni Lakay
Cuanso nga bukatot*
Nga nagkalalaw ti manok
Ken agguyguyod ti aso
Nga naggapu gayam diay barrio
ti Rimos
Nga in gayam nagbirbirok ti aso
ken manok.

Kinuna manen ni Igorot,
Apay diak makabasol, atanod,
Biangko man la toy agsalusod
Ta apay naggapu kan sa met diay
laud,
Ta apay nagkalalawka ti manok,
Adda pay asom nga maguyguyod.

Isu nga'd ti naggapuak, atanod,
Innak nagbirbirok ti aso ken manok
Ta isu ti paisangbok,
Kinuna kan ni Lakay Cuanso nga
Bukatot.

Adinno aya, atanod, ti dalan nga
agpalaud,
Kuna kan daydi Igorot;
Ket kuna kan met ni Lakay Cuanso
nga bukatot,
Aglaud ka la nga laud,
Makitamto dagidiay nagbibinnatog
Nga nain-intar nga niyog.

Thus spoke the Igorot to Lakay Sagud.
And Lakay Sagud said,
"Just follow the westward trail."

So on and on toward the West went
the Igorot
Until he met Lakay Cuanso alias
Bukatot
Who was carrying a chicken and
leading a dog.
He had just come from the village
of Rimos
Where he went to look for dog and
chicken.

And the Igorot said once again,
"If you don't mind, my friend,
May I bother you with a question?
For it seems you went to the
lowlands
Where you got your chicken,
And where you got your dog."

"You're right, my friend, I came
from there
Where I went to look for a dog and
chicken
As offering during our ritual
celebration,"
Said Lakay Cuanso, alias Bukatot.

"Where, my friend, is the way to
the lowlands?"
Inquired the Igorot.
And Lakay Cuanso alias Bukatot said,
"Just go on down the trail westwards
Until you come upon the parallel rows
Of well-aligned coconut trees.

* *Bukatot* is "a kind of basket in the shape of a demijohn made of woven strips of heavy bamboo, and about one foot in diameter at its largest breadth. It is used for holding fish, by people actually fishing with the hand or with some kind of net or trap." See Vanoverbergh, *Iloko-English Dictionary*, p. 67. In the poem it is used as an appellation, so it has not been translated. Instead, it has been capitalized as a proper noun. Saturnino Baltazar of Anaao, Alilem, Ilocos Sur says that it is a local metaphor for greed and avarice.

Masarakamto daydiay ubbog,
Kuna ni Lakay Cuanso nga bukatot,
Di kad' laud kan la nga laud
Diay lalaki nga Igorot.

Idi ngay dumanon idiaay ubbog,
Adda met gayam ni Donya Annagud,
Ket agsabet da pay ngarud
Ngem di met am-ammo ni Igorot
Gayam nga isu ni Donya Annagud.

Ket kuna daydi Igorot,
Diak makabasol, atanod,
Biangko man la toy agsalusod
No adinnot' dalan nga agpalaud
Nga apan idiaay ili diyay Rimos

Nga ayan ni Donya Annagud
Akin-baboy kan ti putot
Nga kas kan la bantay nga turod
Nga sangaanep kan diay bukot,
Sangadpa kan diay subbok
Kunan daydi Igorot.

Kuna met ni Donya Annagud
Tasaanda nga agin-innammo ngarud.
"Nu isu ti gandatmo, atanod
Inta man ngarud agkuyog."

Nagkuyogda di Igorot
Idi dumanonda ngay idiaay Rimos,
Inturong na met nga imbatog
Nga "Ala, siripem man diay sirok."

Siripen di Igorot
Adda met gayam diay baboy nga
Putot,
Adda 'diay nga aglukluk-ob
Ket kuna kan di Igorot,
Diak makabasol, atanod,
Biangko man toy sumaludsod
No manot' bayad ni putot.

There you will find the spring,"
Said Lakay Cuanso alias Bukatot.
So the Igorot just followed the trail
That went down toward the West.

And when he came to the spring,
There was Doña Annagud;
And they came face to face,
But the Igorot did not know
That she was herself Doña Annagud.

So the Igorot said,
"If you do not mind, my friend,
May I bother you by asking
Where the westward trail is,
Which goes toward the village
of Rimos,

Where lives Doña Annagud
Who owns a pig called Putot,
Which is as big as a hill,
Whose back is very big and broad,
Whose snout is a fathom long."
Thus spoke the Igorot.

So answered Doña Annagud,
Since they did not know each
other yet,
"If that's your reason for coming,
friend,
You may come with me."

So she and the Igorot went together.
And when they arrived in Rimos,
She pointed to the house in front
of them
And said, "Now look under the house."

So the Igorot looked under the house,
And there was this pig Putot.
There it was lying on its belly.
And the Igorot said,
"If you don't mind, my friend,
May I bother you by asking
How much is this pig without a tail?"

Simmungbat ni babae Donya
Annagud,
No dayta balor ni putot ti inka
masaludsod
Iruigi tad' ta mukod agingga na diay
subbok
Ket kada bilang ti dutdot ket maysa
nga pisos.

Ket kuna kan di Igorot
Biangna ta'y nagpanunot,
Ala agurayka ngarud, atanod,
Ta sumubliak pay idiay barriok
Ta bareng no adda maitutop
Idiay inur-urnongko nga lagbok.

Kuna kan met ni Donya Annagud
Idi masibet daydi Igorot,
Apay maalanen sa ket datoy baboyko
nga putot,
Kunkunana ngarud
Ket in metten ngabilbilin ni Annagud.

Kunana't nagsao ni Annagud,
O, baboyko nga putot,
Sumublinto pay ni Igorot
Ta mabayadannan sa ket dayta
dutdot,
Daytoy ti bilinko ngarud:
No umayto ni Igorot,
Umaydaka bayadan O, putot;

Siguro ta adayo pay ngarud
Idiay ili diay Bontoc,
Maunayandanto ti bannog,
Mabalin nga didanto makaturog,
Kunkuna ni Donya Annagud.

Siimemto, wen, diay Igorot
Nga siguro ipandakanto diay sirok
Ta apandakanto igalot
Ket umulinto diay Igorot,
Lugarnanto ti makaturog,
Kinuna ni Donya Annagud
Idiay baboyna nga putot.

So this woman Doña Annagud said,
"If the price of Putot is what you wish
to know,
Let us begin from its heels to its snout,
And every hair we count is worth a
peso."

So the Igorot said
After he had paused for a while to
think,
"Well, my friend, please wait awhile.
I'll have to go back to my village
To see if there is enough
Which I have saved from my
earnings."

And Doña Annagud said
As soon as the Igorot left,
"I am afraid he will be able to buy
This pig of mine, Putot."
That's what she said.
So she counselled the pig.

And Annagud thus spoke:
"O, my Putot, the Igorot will return,
For he probably is able to pay
your hair,
So this is what I advise you to do.
When the Igorot comes again,
He will come to pay for you, Putot.

Maybe Bontoc is very far,
And they will be very tired;
And maybe they will also lack sleep."
This is what Doña Annagud said.

"You will spy on that Igorot;
They will probably place you under
the house
And tie you there.
He will go up the house
For it will be time for him to sleep,"
Said Doña Annagud
To her pig who had no tail.

Idi saan a nagbayag nakaawiden
dayidi Igorot;
Kuna ni asawana aya nga naanus
Nga aya kaingungot iti uray ania nga
parikut
Ania ngay kinunana piman,
Ania ngay ti napanam
Ta apay nabayagka met gayam,
Apayta adayo aya ti napanam?

Adayo pay ngarud aya nga barrio
Ngem isu daytoy insublik daytoy
panunotko
Ta kayatko nga umay iyammo
Kenka a baketko.
Ket dakkell nga panagyaman
Kunana piman ni asawanan
Ta dagus ngad'nga maammuan
Dayta nga napanam.

Kitaem man, baketko,
Di inur-urnongmo nga lagbo
Bareng no maipag-isu
Ta kuna ni Donya Annagud
Irugimi kan idia mukod
Ti agbilang ti dutdot
Aginggana kan idia subbok
Pisos, ken pisos, pisos.

Ay ket idi makitan di Igorot
Kinuenta diay pay ngarud
Ti kuarta nga sinupsupot
Bale pay la diay kinuribot.

Kuna kan diay Igorot
Saanko maannongan nga isalog
Mangalaak ti kargaderos
Nangala ti dua a nangawit iti kuarta
Sabali ti kinurkuribotda
Sabali pay diay sinupsupotda.

Idi ngay ta sumalogda
Idiay barrio ti Rimos
Ay dagus nga adda met ni Annagud
Gayam nga agpanpanunot.

Before long, the Igorot arrived home,
And his gentle darling wife inquired
Whether where he went was far,
Or where did he go?
Why did it take him so long to be back
home?
Was the place he went really that far?

"The village I went to is really far,
But I have a plan, and I have come
back
To consult with you, my wife."
(Thus spoke the Igorot.)
"I am very thankful to hear
Forthwith from you," said his wife,
"Where you have been."

"Please see, dear wife," (he said),
"My earnings we have set aside,
If perhaps there is enough,
Because Doña Annagud said
That we start from the heels
To count the pig's hair
All the way to its snout:
Pesos, more pesos, and more pesos!"

And when the Igorot found his
money,
They counted it all—
The money that was in sacks,
And that which was in baskets.

Then the Igorot wondered
How he could carry the money down.
So he thought of hiring carriers.
He got two to carry the money.
Some they placed in baskets.
Others they placed in sacks.

When they were at last down
In the village of Rimos,
Annagud was immediately there,
And she had been deeply thinking.

Kinunana kan di Igorot,
 Addaakon, atanod,
 Ta umayko man matalun-od
 Adda dagitoy kargaderos,
 Kinuna kan di Igorot.
 Ala kitaenta ngarud
 Met laeng no maitutop.

Ay ket rinibu, ginasut-gasut
 Ti awit ti dua nga kargaderos
 Nga kuarta nga kinuribot,
 Bale pay la diay sinupsupot.

Idi agkuenta da ngarud
 Ay agsubraanen ti dua gasut
 Dikad' sagtunggal gasut
 Ti tangdan diay dua nga kargaderos.

Ay ket idi kano ngarud a
 naginnawatdan
 Ken Donya Annagud,
 Kuna kan met ni Donya Annagud
 Nga agurayka, atanod,
 Ta ipanko pay to binugbog,
 Ta adda ipigsa ni putot
 Gayam nga sumang-at diay Bontoc.

A, ta kasasaona piman
 Tay baboyna ta palubosannan
 Iti met kinunana, "O, bilbilinenka,
 Putot,
 Imbagak manen ngem isurotko
 nga ipaannugot
 Ta no dumanonkanto 'diay Bontoc
 Dagusemto, wen, ti gumarot,
 Agtaros kanto ditoy sirok
 Ta agbalinkanto nga alsong nga
 lussok.

Ay, ket di baboyna nga putot
 Inna met piman pinampanonot
 Di kad'inuggudan di Igorot
 Piman aya ni putot.

Insang-atdan idiaay Bontoc,
 Naala da pay ngarud;
 Diak ammo no mano nga orasda
 Nga nagsang-at diay Bantay Pannoktok
 Aginggana't diay Bontoc.

And the Igorot said,
 "I have arrived, my friend;
 And I have come with these carriers."
 That is what he said.
 "Now, let us see, therefore,
 If what we have here is enough."

It was thousands, and hundreds
 That the two carriers carried:
 The money that was in baskets,
 And the one that was in sacks.

When they had counted the money,
 It was two hundred pesos in excess,
 So he gave a hundred pesos each
 To the two carriers as their wages.

And after they had made the
 payment
 To Doña Annagud,
 Doña Annagud said,
 "My friend, please wait awhile
 Because I have to feed the pig
 So that Putot will have strength
 To climb up to Bontoc."

And she went to speak
 To her pig which she now permits
 to go.
 And she said, "O, I advise you, Putot,
 I will say it again, and I want you to
 obey,
 That when you arrive in Bontoc,
 You must break loose immediately
 And go straight under my house
 And transform into a mortar with a
 hole."

And, oh! Her pig without a tail,
 She worries about him a lot
 Having been taken by the Igorot:
 Her poor pet, Putot!

They brought it up to Bontoc
 Because they were able to buy it.
 I don't know how many hours
 It took them to climb up Mt. Pannoktok
 Until they reached Bontoc.

Naunayanda met ti bannog,
Kasta met iti turog
Idi dumanonda ngay 'diay Bontoc.
Kuna met ni Igorot, "Ala aguray ka
nga Putot
Ta innak pay ipapudot
Tay kanem nga binugbog."

Kunanan di Igorot idi ipanna ibaud
Piman idiyay sirok nga naabulog
Iti tinalaksan nga kayo ngarud.
Ay, ket daydi Igorot insaangna pay
ngarud
Gayam aya di binugbog

Ta kalaingananto ngarud man a nga
pumudpudot
Inyedda na met nga inturog
Gayam daydi Igorot
Dakes ngay ta agurok
Ta naunayan nga'd ti bannog,
Dika'd tatta a ket naturog.

Dengdengen ni Putot,
Isu ti bilin ni Annagud,
Dinagusna met ti gimmarut
Ket ti inalupingping nga barot
Nga nangibaud ni Igorot
Idi naminsan la nga nagdugos
Nagkatlo nga kapugsot
Di inalupingping na barot
Sananto sinawang-sawang daydi
abulog
Nga tinalaksan pay ngarud.

Idi ngay ta makapuot, di lalaki nga
Igorot
"Sus, naunayak sa ti bannog
Iyulogkon ti binugbog, kunan daydi
Igorot
Idi inyulogna ngay diay binugbog
Ket isiripna diay sirok
Awan metten ni baboy nga putot.

Hay, nagdanag pay ngarud
Ni lalaki nga Igorot

They were very tired,
And they also lacked sleep.
When they arrived in Bontoc,
The Igorot said, "Well, you have to
wait, Putot,
Because I have to go and heat your
food."

Thus spoke the Igorot as he went to
tie
Putot in the enclosure under the
house,
Fenced around by fastened wood.

So the Igorot went to put
The pig's food over the fire,
As it would taste better when heated
a bit.
But he lay down and fell asleep,
This Igorot, and then snored,
For he was very tired.
So he was fast asleep.

As for Putot he listened.
That's what Annagud advised him.
So he right away escaped
For the intertwined wire
With which the Igorot tied him.
He broke into three pieces
With a single wild jolt
The intertwined wire!
And then he broke the fence
Which was made of fastened logs.

When the Igorot woke up,
"I must have been very tired,
And I will bring down now the pig's
food,"
He said, then looked under the
house.
And Putot was no longer there!

O, how worried he was,
This Igorot man!

"Asus, sus," kinunkunana ngarud.
Kailala ka'd pay diay naur-urnong
nga lagbok.

Ania aya ti remediok
Yantangay adda met asok nga pugot
Ta innak man la paisurot
Ta bareng ket no naisagud,
Kunkunan di Igorot.

Alaenna di asona nga pugot,
Itaboy-taboy na diay ayan ti bakir
Nga intero t' samekna nga
kullot-kullot
Di pay masukok ti allibot,
Di pay makayabkaban ti lamok,
Ngem ali laeng ti pamsaakan
Di asona a pugot.

Awan met ti maikuyog
Ken baboy na nga putot.
Ay, ket agdanagen ngarud
Ni lalaki nga Igorot.

Ania ngata ti remediok?
Innak sa ket idia y laud
Amangan no agtartarus
Kunan daydi Igorot.

Ala, idi kuan ket simmalog,
Napan idia y ili ti Rimos,
Napan met la nga dagdagus
Idia y balay ni Donya Annagud.

Idi dumanon di Igorot,
Kinunkunana ngarud,
Addaak manen, atanod,
Ta awanen a ni putot.
Siak ngata ti nagerrado
Ta siak ti nakaliway ngarud
Ay dagus met nga gimmarut,

"Asus! Sus!" That was all he could say.
He thought of all his savings now
lost!

"What will I do?" he thought.
"Since I have a black dog,
I will have it tracked down
And I hope it got caught somewhere,"
The Igorot said to himself.

He takes his dark-colored dog,
And urges it toward the forest
So thickly overgrown with
*kullot-kullot**

That neither lizards could penetrate,
Nor could mosquitoes fly through.
However, this could not stop
His dark-colored dog.

Yet try as it did very hard,
The pig without a tail was nowhere to
be found,
So he began to be very worried,
This Igorot man.

What should I do? He wondered.
Maybe I should go down to the West;
Perhaps it went straight back home,
Thought the Igorot.

Thus, therefore, he went down.
He went to the village of Rimos.
He went right away
To the house of Doña Annagud.

When the Igorot arrived,
He thus announced,
"Here I am again, my friend,
Because Putot is missing.
It was my mistake
Because I was negligent,
And it immediately broke loose.

**Kullot-kullot*, also pronounced as *kollot* or *kollokollot*, is "a shrubby, malvaceous plant with ovate leaves pale beneath, and pink flowers." (*Urena lobata*. Linn.) See Vanoverbergh, *Iloko-English Dictionary*, p. 154.

Isu nga immayak manen, atanod,
Ta amangan no nagtarus ditoy
aya sirok.

Kuna met ni Donya Annagud,
Ala isiripmo laeng, atanod,
Ta awan met nakitak nga simmalog.
Isirip la dita sirok
Ta no immay ditoy laud
Siguro adda dita sirok.

Siripen ngay ni Igorot,
Alsong met nga lussok
Ti agtultulid diay sirok.
Ay, ay, kinunan di Igorot;
Apay awan met, atanod.
Alsong met nga lussok
Ti agtultulid diay sirok.

Umulika man, atanod,
Kuna ni Donya Annagud
Nga ingatngato na pay ngarud,
Kitaem man ketdi, atanod,
Daytoy napudaw a luppok.

Ay, ket daydi Igorot,
Naay-ayo pay ngarud;
Ingatona met nga ingato ngarud
Daydi pandiling ni Annagud.
Hay, ala bay-am ketdin ni Putot.
Ipadasta, atanod,
Kinunkuna ni Donya Annagud;
Ay ket sinakayanna ngarud
Ni babae Donya Annagud.
Sudsod metten nga sudsod.

Ay ket ni Donya Annagud,
Kunkunana ngarud, ay agsinatan,
atanod,
Ta apay mabegbegen toy alipuyok
Ta dayta aya batbatlog,
Ay sus, agbutuanton daytoy alipuyok
Ta danog met nga danog.

Saanak nga makururod,
Naayot gayam ti Igorot.

That's why I am back again, my friend,
In case it went back straight under
your house.

Dofia Annagud answered,
"Well, take a look, friend,
Because I have not seen him come
down.
Take a look under the house,
For if it came back here,
I'm sure he would be under the house."

So the Igorot took a look
But he saw only a mortar with a hole
Rolling under the house.
"Ay, ay," said the Igorot;
"Why isn't it here, my friend?
Only a mortar with a hole
Is rolling under the house."

"Please come upstairs, my friend,"
Said Dofia Annagud,
While pulling up (her skirt).
"Why don't you look instead, my friend,
At my very white thighs?"

And the Igorot got so enchanted
As she kept on pulling up her skirt,
The underskirt of Annagud.
"Hay, ala! Forget about Putot;
Let us give it a try," said Dofia
Annagud.
And he went on top of her,
On top of the woman Dofia Annagud,
And thrust himself into her over
and again.

And Dofia Annagud said,
"Let's now part, my friend;
I feel like my flesh has been hashed
By your thrusting very hard.
Ay sus! my flesh will separate from
the bones
Because of your beating over and over."

"But I am not displeased, for now
I know that the Igorot is good at sex.

Alaem laeng ni putot
Ta adda d'ta met sirok,
Adda dita nga agluk-luk-ob.

Idi siripen daydi Igorot
Adda met nga agpayso ni Putot.
Nagbali met la nga baboy a Putot
Daydi alsong nga lussok.

Ala, innalanan ti baboyna
Piman ket insangpetna
Dika d' ket inaramidda
Ti ugali ti inuuna.

Isu nga imbagada
Ania ti makabael ngata
Ngamin aya nga mangibaga
Ti ugali ti inuuna.

Inkay alaen ni Canuto*
Ta isu ti makaammo,
Nalaing pay ti sapsapo
Daydiay ti nagpatinggaanna
Daydiay nga sarsarita.

* The raconteur is referring to himself (Lakay Canuto Bayang of Porporiket, Sudipen, La Union) and is alluding to the fact that since he is one of the best raconteurs of Bag-o lore, he is usually the person people call to sing whenever such

Just take Putot with you,
For he is there under the house.
He is there lying on its belly."

When the Igorot looked under the house,
There, indeed, was Putot—
The mortar with a hole in it
Had transformed into the tailless pig again.

So now he got his pig,
And then brought it home;
And he performed the rituals
According to the customs of the ancestors.

Thus it is said
That nothing can say more
powerfully
Or strongly express
The customs of the ancestors.

Go and fetch Canuto,**
For he it is who knows.
He is better than the imperfect.
That is the end
Of that story.

folklore singing or chanting is needed. He is not only a raconteur, but also a performer. I attest to this. He was doing such a performance in April 1986 when he was eighty-seven years old.

** See footnote no. 2

In the Bag-o language which is used in ritual prayers, the word for "people" is *ipugaw* or *kaipu-ipugaw*.⁸ Although the terms are generic, their specific reference in the texts is to people of the place. The specific term for fellow townsman is *kailian* as in Iloko. The alien is one who is not *ipugaw*, as in the case of beings perceived as nonhuman or one who is *ipugaw* but comes from another community or *sangaili*, or

8. See Jose B. Brown, "Impact of Education," pp. 107-108. The terms are from the usage in ritual prayer by Restituto Tibaldo of Barangay Daddaay, Alilem, Ilocos Sur, says Brown.

ganganaet which is the *dayuhan* in Tagalog and Filipino. He is a visitor but not in the sense of being a guest. What identifies him is his being from another place.⁹

In effect, the alien is perceived as "different," which does not necessarily mean different in appearance, since the alien may be human like the native. The difference appears to be essentially what is cultural difference. When the Bag-o say *sabali* in this case, it means a difference in way of thinking or of looking at things.

Intrusion refers to any entrance into the Bag-o world which evokes a reaction on the part of the Bag-o. It may be in the form of a suitor seeking to insinuate himself into the Bag-o social fabric. Or a customer seeking to negotiate to obtain a piece of merchandise. It may also be thieves other than native Bag-o, such as monkeys, who disrupt the quiet of a native farmer.

Perceptions refer to the way the native relates to the alien's intruding. A perception cannot be known directly since it is a mental event. But it is deduced from the description of the reactions of characters perceived to be collective representations of the Bag-o people.

In the *Annagud* story, the Igorot stands out as the alien. He comes from "Bontoc," which is referred to as far away. Coming from and going back to it is at the cost of "very much fatigue and lack of sleep." It is reached by climbing up "Mt. Pannoktok." It is up in the mountains, so that when the Igorot goes to "Rimos," his trip is referred to as a "going down" and "westwards" or "toward the coastal regions" (*agpalaud*). Even the manner of walking down the trails characteristic of the Igorot is noted:

Di ka'd simmalog
Pasaray tumaray, pasaray kan
sumaytok
Ta kasta t' pannagna ti Igorot
Piman aya nga sumalog.

So the Igorot went down
Towards the West,
Sometimes running, sometimes
hopping,
For that is how an Igorot walks
Down the mountain trails.

Most other characters have their own names, sometimes including an alias like *Bukatot*. Even the pig has a name. The Bag-o villages have names (Inmayos, Rimos). Even vines and shrubs are named (*bagbaggotot*, *kullot-kullot*). But the Igorot is simply called by that generic name. As if to emphasize the strangeness of this character, he is referred to simply as "Igorot" forty-five times. Even his "gentle darling wife" remains nameless.

9. In Filipino, a guest is *panauhin*, while a stranger is *dayuhan*. The Iloko *sangaili* literally means "one who is a native of another village." The root *ili* means "village" or "town."

This alien is pictured as rich (has sacks and baskets of money), and pious (keeps and performs the traditional ritual sacrifices offering animals without bothering about cost). But he is also pictured as somewhat simple-minded—easily fleeced of his money, and easily seduced sexually. The story is an extended sort of joke basically at the Igorot's expense. The jokester is both "ni babae nga Annagud" and Lakay Canuto Bayang of Porporiket, Sudipen, La Union, who sang the story both to signify and to amuse.

Annagud is "babae Donya," and seems to live alone. She owes her fame to her pet pig of unusual size (its back is large and broad, and its snout is a fathom long, in addition to being able at will and upon instruction to transform itself into a "mortar with a hole," and with great strength). Annagud is witty and self-confident. She is manipulative in a comic sort of way, and her seduction of the Igorot does not seem out of character. She has no qualms about it. She stands clearly as the exploiter of the Igorot, which the story-teller seems to take as quite natural in her culture. She may not be as rich as the Igorot, but she certainly could find a way of taking a great part of the alien's wealth. Compared to the fretting, somewhat insecure wife of the Igorot, Annagud is a strong woman.

The alien comes uninvited. Annagud did not advertise an intention to sell Putot. The pricing and the sale appear to be on the spur of the moment, even whimsical. What can be more whimsical than pricing a pig by counting its hairs? But the Igorot takes it, and there is indication that she was surprised that the Igorot should accept the ridiculously high price. She may have meant it in jest, but the Igorot was serious. She was willing to pursue the jest further, with the cooperation of her obviously enchanted pig. But surprise of surprises, the Igorot is dead serious. To crown her jest over this serious Igorot, she seduces him. He takes the seduction with great enthusiasm while Annagud merely captures this outrageous scene in words which can hardly be considered as less comic than the rest of her acts.

The alien, according to the way he is treated, is not one to be feared or hated. But if one is able, he can be handled to great advantage and profit. The native certainly does not consider him as an equal, but maybe as a plaything when opportunity presents itself. But surely the alien can be a source of great fun—the cultural device on whom to dump the follies of human nature, and the device for the boosting of ethnocentric human pride as is universally done in the tradition of ethnic jokes in which one nation amuses itself with the follies of another.

The Bag-o culture surely pictures itself as a confident and independent culture with something of the character of Annagud. To date the Bag-o have tried to remain distinct from the Ilocanos and the

Kankanaeys. Will Annagud bear the offspring of the Igorot? That is another thing. Or will Putot, the enchanted pig be forever the liaison of an illicit affair with the outsider?

ALLUSAN

Allusan is a Bag-o micro-epic whose present title is the name of the hero of this narrative poem.¹⁰ It was first recorded and reported by Engracia Bangaoil in 1984 when she presented it as part of an undergraduate thesis at the Ateneo de Manila School of Arts and Sciences. It was recorded from the singing of Lakay Andres Budeng of Alilem. Further inquiry was made by me in Alilem in the summer of 1986.

The story is of Allusan, a young bachelor from the downstream region (an Ilocano) who goes up the river valley in search of a suitable woman to marry. He finally finds one who willingly reciprocates his offer of love. Since they plan to get married, rites and appropriate celebrations have to be performed. But Allusan has come unprepared, so he must go back home to make the preparations and get the gifts. Meanwhile, a rich man from Kapangan, Agillang by name, has arrived to claim the maiden for his bride. He performs all the needed ceremonies and gives the appropriate gifts; and to the dismay of the maiden, she is forced to marry Agillang. In the meantime, Allusan arrives and discovers he has come too late. But he learns from the maiden that she will remain faithful to him, but he must do something to extricate her from this fix. Allusan assures her, and the wedding with Agillang goes on as planned. But after the wedding rites, Agillang brings his new wife to Kapangan. There Allusan follows, and while Agillang is out on the farm, he enters the house and tells the girl that he will suck up her soul and place it safely in a bamboo container, there to be kept safely until he has the chance to return it to her body so that she will come to life again. He does what he proposes. So the body of the girl lies lifeless on a mat in the house of Agillang who soon discovers the tragedy. He mourns her and invites the whole village and the neighboring villagers, too, to attend the funeral. The corpse is laid in a wooden coffin and sealed. Then it is floated down the river toward the sea.

10. The original recording was done by Engracia Bangaoil, a native of Alilem. She also did the original transcription and translation to English. Subsequent rechecking of the translation was done with the help of Professor Felino Lorente of Saint Louis University, Baguio City. Miss Bangaoil has the original tape recording. This writer has the transcription and translations courtesy of Miss Bangaoil. The raconteur of this epic is Lakay Andres Budeng of Alilem whom this writer interviewed in March 1986.

As the coffin floats down the river (Amburayan), Allusan waits for it to pass. When it passes, he grabs it and returns the soul from the bamboo into the body of his fiancée, and she comes to life again. The two go to the girl's home and then prepare for their wedding.

During the wedding, as is the custom, guests from far and near are invited. Agillang and those who had been at the funeral also come. And when Agillang sees the girl, he tries to claim her as his wife. But everyone knew his wife had died and had been given proper funeral. But he creates trouble, so Allusan, with the aid of magical equipment beats up the villain who, after proper humiliation, leaves and goes back home to Kapangan. And Allusan and Maria, for that is her name in the recorded version, live happily thereafter.

The hero and the villain are the aliens. They come as suitors. One is an Ilocano, and the other is Nabaloy. The Ilocano is not as rich as the Nabaloy. But the Nabaloy is certainly more proud, and troublesome.

The native is the girl, faithful in love, but culture-bound so that she gets herself into a social fix. She is the heroine of the story, and surely has the tacit approval of her culture—maybe even the projection of what the Bag-o feel is their fate of being wedged between two distinct cultural communities. Through her the culture perceives itself as desirable to outsiders. It is through the rivers that they have access to her and her people. She is not rich, but she can be enriched by the outsiders who desire her. She surely disapproves of the proud alien, although by herself she is unable to protect herself.

The perception of the alien is positive if the alien is lovable and humble and capable of prudent heroic love. But it is negative to proud and overbearing outsiders like Agillang. He may be rich, but the native values good character better than wealth. Alien incursions into Bagoland, the story seems to be saying, must be discerned. The acceptable are welcome; but the trouble-maker and the proud are beaten away.

D A G D A G I M U Y O

Dagdagimuyo was a farmer.¹¹ He cultivated corn and pumpkins. He lived in the village, but he had a farm house. Near his farm lived many monkeys who lived by stealing his crops. One day, while he lay in his farm house, the monkeys came. When they saw him lying

11. This narrative with chanted parts was recorded by this writer from raconteur Engracia Sang-et in Alilem, on 31 March 1986. The recording on magnetic tape is with this writer.

motionless, they decided to find out if he was dead or asleep. To find out, they heated a metal rod red hot and thrust it through his anus. If he moved, he must be asleep, and if he did not, he must be dead. Dagdagimuyo heard what they were saying so he pretended to be dead. When the monkeys were satisfied that he was dead, they left to go and feast on his crops. But they left behind one of them to watch Dagdagimuyo. Once all the rest were gone, Dagdagimuyo got up and forced the monkey to show him their treasures, killed it, and left for his village home.

When the monkeys discover the death of one of them and the loss of their treasures, they decided to go after Dagdagimuyo. They finally came upon him in his village home. There he invited them to his house and served them wine. Once the monkeys were drunk, he set his house on fire, and they all were killed except one whom Dagdagimuyo saw after the fire, perched on a pole. He tried to kill that monkey, too, but it escaped. It was a pregnant monkey. And that is why, says the story, there are still monkeys today.

The alien as symbolized by the monkeys is perceived as negative. They are greedy and thieving. They have treasures which they seem to acquire by injustice. So they are treated as enemies to be exterminated.

Dagdagimuyo, the native, may well be the image of the common Bag-o. He was a farmer producing the same crops the Bag-o still cultivate today. There is a subtle suggestion at the end of the story that that lone pregnant monkey should have been killed too, so that there would be no more farm thieves. But nature had it another way.

This story presents a very negative perception of the alien. That the symbols are monkeys cushions the moral impact of the extermination by fire. But as an expression of anger at exploitation, it is no less intense, in spite of the lightness and comic quality of its tone in the narration and chanting. Among the stories I recorded, this is unique in being both narrated and chanted, thus combining in its form prose interspersed with verse.

D O Ñ A S E N A S

Dofia Senas was a very beautiful maiden, daughter of Lakay Bawas.¹² One day, she asked her parents' permission to attend with her friends a wedding and feast in the town of Sto. Tomas (La Union).

¹². "Donya Senas" was recorded from the singing of Lakay Canuto Bayang in Porporiket, Sudipen, La Union, on 2 April 1986. The recording on magnetic tape is with this writer.

Her father objected, saying she should not go because she might encounter the cruel Igorots who might do her harm. She insisted, however, that no harm would come to her, and so she went as she wished, bringing along a gift for the newlyweds.

But three days after the wedding she had not yet returned. So her worried father began a search, and her body was found with her head cut off. The Igorots had vied to win her, but failing to do so, they cut her head off.

The corpse was brought home to Lakay Bawas. In grief he sought a medicine man to do something. But the only medicine man who could be found was a very poor man living as an outcast in the cleft of a rock, who was deformed by a very serious affliction from ring worm. After much pleading with him, he consented to see the corpse and apply some curative herbs. Doña Senas miraculously returned to life, and Lakay Bawas was overjoyed. He asked Gabat, for that was the medicine man's name, what he would have as recompense. Gabat said he would have Doña Senas for his wife. But Doña Senas refused because Gabat was so ugly because of his ringworm disease. So Gabat said, it was all right that she refuse him, but he would have to take back the life he gave her. Senas had no choice, so she agreed. And they went together to live in the cleft on the rock.

Senas went about her housewife's chores, embarrassed to be the wife of an ugly sick man. But one day she got herbs which she applied to her husband's ringworm, and soon he was cured. And Doña Senas' fame for beauty went far and wide.

The alien or outsider in this story is in the form of the Igorots and the ringworm-infected medicine man. The first are ethnically and geographically aliens. The second is a social outcast.

The "Igorot nga naranggas"¹³ ("cruel Igorot") is first mentioned in line 31. The Igorot is mentioned three times more before line 80. In two of the three, he is described as naranggas (cruel, inhuman, savage, etc.); and in the other one, he is pictured as contentious. Just after the last mention, the Igorots behead Doña Senas.

Gabat, the ringworm-infected outcast and medicine man, is a being of fun and irony in the Bag-o culture. During the singing of the narrative by Lakay Canuto during the recording, the members of the local community present were exploding with uncontrollable laughter. Even his daring in asking for the beautiful Senas in marriage is found immensely funny by the local Bag-o and Ilocanos. But he is also a

13. This is the rendering by Baltazar. See also Vanoverbergh, *Iloko-English Dictionary*, p. 257 where the meaning of *naranggas* is given as "cruel, inhuman, brutal, savage, malicious, mischievous, harmful, injurious, hurtful, destructive, noxious, pernicious."

being of irony. He is the proverbial physician who could not cure himself. He was so great a folk medic that he could bring the dead back to life. But he could not heal his "flapping" ringworm.

The native is Doña Senas—beautiful and tender, and a lover of life. She is willing to accept the ugly if only for the sake of life. But she is also a lover of feasts. Just for a feast she lost her life, in spite of the warning of her father about the "cruel Igorot."

The parents of Senas are also symbols of the native sensibility as they show the biases and fears of local citizens concerning their Cordillera neighbors.

The natives' perception of the alien like the Igorot is very negative. The repeated use of the word *naranggas* is significant. That the aliens are presented as killers (who cut heads) says much about Bag-o perception of aliens. Gabat, though the name is not specifically Christian, shows a familiarity with Christian language. He says, "Diak met Dios, diak met propeta." ("I am not God, I am not a prophet.) In any case, it is his sickness that is shown as the reason for his being an outcast. But the attitude towards him is not so negative, especially because he is a healer and perceived as helpful to the local people. Perhaps the ultimate indication of the native regard for this outcast is his successful marriage with the most beautiful local girl. Not without arm-twisting, but at the very least, there is no indication of a lasting rejection. The healing of his sickness by Senas in the end suggests his final integration with the local people.

INDAYUAN

Indayuan was a lovely lass,¹⁴ daughter of Sevilla¹⁵ and Kapariaan. They were part of a small group of migrant people who eventually were led by Lakay Salapang. There was heavy road construction in the North, impliedly with little or no pay. The *cedula* tax was ₱3.00

14. "Indayuan" was recorded from the singing of Lakay Canuto Bayang on 2 April 1986 in Porporiket. He spoke of Sugpon with fondness because he was born there in 1899 and grew up there. There is a suggestion in his fondness of the place that he may be a descendant of Indayuan's fellow pioneer settlers of Sugpon. It was known earlier as Balbalayang from the banana first planted there by Lakay Salapang, the pioneer community leader. Canuto has been himself a leader of his community, and at the time of the interview, the Sangguniang Bayan of Porporiket was his son Leoncio Bayang who was this writer's host.

15. The Hispanic name Sevilla may be an indication that the migrant group may have been partially Christianized and fled from what they regarded as oppressive (possibly Hispanic) policies. I use the term "partially" because Sevilla's husband's name "Kapariaan" is not a Christian name. Were these what have been called *remontados* in some Philippine history books?

which at the time was regarded as excessive.¹⁶ The little band of objectors to the government of "dagiti mangopisina" ("those who hold office") decided to migrate southward in search of new land and freedom to be themselves. In their southward exodus they passed through Bio, crossing the river by raft. Indayuan was a newly born child when the group crossed the river at Bio. They spent the night there. Then on advice of Lakay Bukaen and Lakay Salapang, they followed the Amburayan river southward. Some of the members of the group decided to go on ahead to farther places like the children of Lakay Daw-asen who went to Cabanatuan. Others went to Baler.

Indayuan's family remained in the company of Lakay Salapang. They followed the river until they came to Dalawa (now a barrio of Alilem) in search of a good place to settle. But they did not find the place suitable, so they moved on until they reached Kalipayan which was a difficult wilderness. They once more moved on until they found a place a little to the south which had a spring and was a good place for settling. But in a year's time the spring dried up. So they decided to move on some more to the south. Lakay Salapang went ahead as a scout and found a place with a stream (now called *Gayyaman*), rich with fish and shrimps. His companions requested Lakay Salapang to first test whether the land was fertile or not, and he did. He planted banana called *balayang*, and it grew fast and fruitfully. The land had passed the test. Because of the banana first planted there, it was then called *Balbalayang*. The small community moved in and settled there for good. In this fertile new land along the Amburayan river, a little up the slopes of the Western Cordillera, the lovely Indayuan grew up. In time the place came to be known as *Sugpon* (southernmost town of Ilocos Sur), a word which means "pooling together resources for a common enterprise."

In the context of this article, the aliens are Indayuan and her family and the rest of the people of Lakay Salapang. They were probably Ilocanos from the Ilocos Sur region between Tagudin, Suyo and Cervantes, roughly along the Chico River. Their experience of migration in exodus fashion is probably the history of most other Ilocano migrations to so many other parts of the Philippines and to foreign lands like Hawaii and the United States of America. Always, it is the alien who tests the cordiality of the native which is the land.

16. Fleeing back to the wilderness and mountain fastnesses has often been reported in Philippine history as a Filipino reaction to the imposition of taxes like the *cedula* tax mentioned in the poem. This is what suggests that the poem "Indayuan" is a piece of oral history, particularly of the people of Sugpon. The poem is in fact more the story of the founding of Sugpon than of Indayuan who is mentioned only in the early part of the story.

But this aboriginal alien stayed and became today's native. It seems that Indayuan, the young migrant, came to this land to become the symbol of the native soil. And as she raised her family there, she and the land became indistinguishable from each other. Her children also became the children of the land. This story is a lovely story of a search for freedom and prosperity—two things which the small community discover to be attainable through Sugpon a "pooling of resources".

Or if one should look at it differently, the land was truly the alien, perceived as acceptable or not depending on its fruitfulness and its promise of a better future. But however one looks at the human native, he was once a visitor who stayed on long enough to become truly native. It does seem that time does finally break down the fence that makes the distinction between alien and native.

CONCLUSION

The Bag-o soul shows a great degree of independence and pride. Although it shares with probably all nations in the beginning a level of ethnocentricist bias, it generally relates to the alien or stranger according to the alien's behavior. Annagud takes the Igorot with good to outrageous humor and fun, but not before she has fleeced him of his money. Allusan is accepted, while Agillang is rejected. Dagdagimuyo the native destroys the thieving monkeys. Donya Senas is the pride of native beauty and serves as the device for picturing the "Igorot nga naranggas", as well as the embodiment of Bag-o love for life, even if such a love for living meant marrying an embarrassing outcast. And then there is "Indayuan," which is probably the micro version of the Ilocano migrant's story who goes in quest of freedom and prosperity in a new land, arriving first as an alien, and then made native by time and the community of his creative endeavors.