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Joy Christine O. Bacwaden



Religion is a major part of Bontoc-Igorot culture. Igorot religion penetrates every aspect of Igorot life, and actual prayers, rites and religious songs accompany every phase or step of life considered significant. There is no social event which does not center on some religious ceremony. Worship is therefore inseparably tied into the structure of society (Scott 1969, 148). The Bontocs profess belief in the presence of an over-all deity oftentimes referred to only as the *intutungcho* (the one above). When pressed for a specific name, he is vaguely referred to as Kafunian. It was Kafunian's son, Lumawig, who came down to earth, married a girl from the town of Bontoc, and showed the people all the arts and skills they now know. Their knowledge of irrigation, sighting and destroying the enemy, and other skills are attributed to Lumawig. The taboos and religious beliefs, rituals, and places revered are all part of this heritage from him (Botengan 1976, 21). These customs and ceremonies are still scrupulously observed to this day through the *ato*. The *ato* is the council house where the elders hold various ceremonies and meetings which may be religious, social, or political in nature.

One prominent activity in the *ato* is story-telling, a favorite recreation whenever a group with some leisure has formed. It is the only means of handing down village traditions, history, science and religion. In Bontoc, there are no individuals set apart as story-tellers, but old men and women who are no longer able to work in the fields, and who are supposed to know best what happened "long long ago" are most often the center of groups of attentive listeners. Among the favorites are stories of Lumawig and his adventures.

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Myths revolving around Lumawig are told by old men in the ato to show how he taught their ancestors certain rites and ceremonies. Two of the most popular myths revolving around Lumawig are parts of prayers integral to ritual. The first is the story about how he came down to earth, met and married Fukhan and lived in Bontoc. It ends with how he celebrated the first *chono*. This myth is related as a prayer at every *chono*. A *chono* or *chomno* is a marriage rite hosted by wealthy families. It is not necessarily for newlyweds but is almost always a rite for the renewal of marriage fidelity between married couples (Botengan 1976, 170).

The second myth relates how Lumawig flooded the earth and rescued a couple on Mount Pokis. This couple became the forebears of all succeeding generations. This myth is related during a *paafong*. This is also a marriage rite but not as grand as a *chono*.

On occasion, myths about Lumawig are told by old men in the ato not only to teach the younger generation, but also told by anyone purely for entertainment during the most mundane of human activities, perhaps in their homes at night, or in their front yards in the evenings when work is done (Interview with Ama Lomfaya, Bontoc *Ili*, 5 May 1991).

The Lumawig Bontoc myths are thus an integral part of the life of the Bontoc-Igorot. It is through them that the Bontoc-Igorot receives his intellectual, religious, and social structure.

The collection of Lumawig myths presented here consists of fourteen myths retrieved in the Bontok dialect and translated into English by the researcher. In addition, the flood myth written in the Bontok dialect by Carl Siedenadel (1907, 485–87) was translated and included. Also included are the Sagada version of the marriage myth, published by Scott (1988, 94–97) in *A Sagada Reader*, and the Bauko version of the marriage myth from the Vanoverbergh (1953, 86–89) collection. Various translations of only two of these myths have been previously published and only Scott and Vanoverbergh included both the English translation and the original version.

The translation used is meant for the average reader, so whereas literal translation is used whenever possible, in many ways logical translation based on context is used to approximate the real meaning of the myths.

The myths translated here are arranged in approximate chronological order showing how Lumawig came down to earth, then tracing his adventures in the various communities he goes to, and ending with his return to the sky.

Myths 1 and 2 are the Bontoc creation myths. Myth 3 relates how Lumawig comes down to earth and settles in the town of Bontoc, while Myths 4 and 5 relate his adventures in Bontoc. While still in Bontoc, he also goes to Sadanga to visit his brother. His adventures there are related in Myths 6 and 7. In Myth 8, he leaves his family in Bontoc, and Myth 9 relates the death of his sons.

Meanwhile, he goes to Sabangan in Myth 10, to Sagada in Myth 11, and to Bauko in Myth 12. He then proceeds to Kayan, Tadian in Myth 13, 14, and 15. Myth 15 relates how he leaves the earth for his home in the sky.

Myths 16 and 17 are placed at the end since the time element is not clear, thus, they cannot be placed within the order of the preceding myths. It is also possible that the events related in these myths occurred after Lumawig ascended to the sky because these myths most clearly show him in his role as a beneficent god who comes down to bless those who perform the proper rituals.

MYTH 1

(This story is told as part of a prayer during a paafong. Paafong or umaafong is a marriage rite.)

"Nan Napsongan Nan Fatawa"

Waday san sin-akhi, ay yaket lumaos si ama cha ya kinwani na, "Uuponen yo angkhay nan aso yo ya ad-iyon iayanap si pamabaliyo sinan an-ak yo."

Ay yaket pay mawakas ya ipanad cha chadlo. Ipanad cha pay ya kumiyek nan aso cha. Maid kaised-chanana tay an-anwakag nan fatawa. Yaket pay maschem nan talon ya sacha't sumaa. Kinwanin ina cha, "Ay way inala yo?"

"How He Flooded The Earth"

There were two brothers¹ [sons of Lumawig]. Their father passed by and said, "You keep gathering those dogs around you. Why don't you use them to catch something for your children?"

The next day they went down [to earth]. When they descended, their dogs howled. There was nothing to confine [the game] for the earth was too open. Night came and they went home. Their mother asked, "Were you able to catch anything?"

1. The word *sin-akhi* literally means siblings, usually two, unless otherwise specified.

"Maid pay." Ya kanan kano nan an-ak nay chey en, "Intako't tut-uyen nan in-ina's nan fes-ang nay chey. Mo ipyana ta intako't lan-an nan wane."

Umey cha pay ilan tet-ewa, hacha't pumanad. Pumanad cha pay et umali cha'd Kayafang. Ayaka't nan umes ka wanga ay ka-unga-ungang-a. Kinwani cha, "Sino ka'y way fotog yo's nawelwelan ya ta kanan yo'n ken cha ama yo'n utowen tako't tay awnit matafog nan fatawa. No wa'y manok tako's nakilem ya chatako't utowen tay awnin et ma-amas nan takho."

Yaket pay, in-usaod cha pay et umey cha't akhes id Planas. Sachaet intokcho pay ya, kena't kinwani sinan 'nochi na en, "Ka ta pangasem nan panga'y chey."

Pinangas na pay nan esang ya khuyochena. Sana't iyarneb isnan wanga'y chey. Saet mangalimayeng. Awni pay ya lumifas, kasin na ket kanan en, "Pangasem nan chey esang ta iyanod ta kayet." Yakena't pinangas pay ya kasin na khuyochen. Chaet tumur-o nan chanom ay chey.

Yakena't kinwani kasin en, "Kasin mo iyarneb nan sana esang." Yakena't pay kasin tetewa iyarneb. Chaet tumur-o nan chanom ay chey et matafog et nan fatawa.

Naschem pay nan talon ya, "Chey ya," kena't kinwani, "Lamag ka'd ta ilaem no na-inek nan apoy."

Yakena't kinwani en, "In-asiwawa man nan apoy."

"None." Then, it is told, her sons said, "Let's go talk to the old woman on the other side of the mountain. If she'll agree we will block up the river."

So they really went to see her, and then they descended. They descended and reached Kayafang. Many children were bathing in the river. They [the brothers] announced, "Those of you who have mature pigs, tell your fathers to cook them for the world will soon be flooded. If we have full-grown chickens, let us cook them for everyone will soon be lost."

Then they also went down to Planas. They sat down and he [the elder brother] said to his younger brother, "Go and cut off that branch."

He cut off a branch and pulled it down. Then he submerged the branch in the river. And the sky darkened. Then the water started to overflow, and he [the elder brother] said again, "Cut off another [branch] and submerge it." So he [the younger brother] again cut off [a branch] and pulled it down. And the water started to rise.

He [the elder brother] said again, "Submerge another branch again." And he [the younger brother] really submerged another. The water kept rising and the world was flooded.

When night fell, he [the elder brother] said, "Do climb up and see if the fires have died out."

Then he [the younger brother] replied, "There are still fires burning here and there."

Yakena't kinwani en, "Pumanad ka ta itukcho ta." Itukcho cha pay ay chey, yaket pay kasin na tam-awan ya ket na-iinek nan apoy ay chey. Maid inlanglang si apoy.

Napat-a pay nan talon ay chey hana't kinwani'n, "Yam nan sangi ta'y sana ta kamasen ta nan folifog ay nay. Ta eppey ta's nan sangi ta."

Sacha't tet-ewa kinamakamas ay chey. Iyan-anod cha pay et ilaen cha nan fatawa. Ya siya et naerngan nan fatawa'y nay, nachasichasig nan filig ay nay.

"Yake ababfochagcha-kew." Chey insa-kod-ag cha pay ya yaket nasilem nan kaew ay chey am-in. Am-in ay chapong, am-in ay fululong ya tinmufo cha am-in, ket nasilem.

Sacha't lumamag cha pay ya tangachen cha'd Pokis. Yaket idchanan cha nan sin-akhi ay chey. Kinwanin san fafai, "Ya maid tinangad ko's lalaki yaket ak natad-anan."

"Siya sa ta way inchasig, siya nan minfin-i sinan nachasichasig ay ili," kanan kano nan sin-akhi ay chey cha.

Awnin pay yaket umey san ama cha ay chey. Yake na't kanan en, "Into pay apoy tako?"

"Maid pay."

Yakena't pay chemangen ad Kalawitan ay chey, "Chey si apoy ad Kalawitan ay chey, mednet nan apoy ay chey."

Then he [the elder brother] said, "Come and let's sit down." They sat down for awhile, then he looked down again and this time the fires had died out. No fires burned anymore.

When morning came, he [the older brother] said, "Hand me our *sangi* so we can gather these pine cones.² We'll place them in our *sangi*."

And they really gathered [the pine cones]. And they submerged them and they looked at the world. And the world could be seen, and mountains had been formed.

"Why! The sky is clear already," [they said]. Looking around, they saw that forests had grown. All the trees, and the green grass had grown.

They climbed up the mountain and looked up at Pokis. And they found a brother and sister there. The sister said, "I haven't been with a man but I'm pregnant."³

"That's good because [the child] will be the ancestor of the people from this mountainous place," said the brothers.

Then their father [Lumawig] arrived. And he said, "Where's our fire?"

"[There is] none."

Facing Mt. Kalawitan, "There's a fire in Kalawitan, we'll use that fire."

2. A *sangi* is a bag made of rattan carried at the back.

3. The word she used is *tinangad* meaning "to look up." Presumably the Bontoks are familiar only with the missionary position (a sexual position in which the woman is on her back).

Yaket pay alana san songkhayog na ya posiposena pay ket ninpa-pangali'd Kalawitan ay chey. Chen-ana't akhes nan si Fanayan ay chey. Yakena't kinwani'n, "Maid pay tina-ngad ko's lalaki yaket ak natad-anan."

"Siya sa ta way menchasig ya way menfin-i sinan nachasichasig ay ili."

Aw-awni pay ket umanak si Fanayan, inmanak ya fafai. Yakena't kinwani, "Yake ka pet inmanak. Ya into pay nangyam sinan pamalayana?" Ya sana pay eppey iska fanga nan pamalayana'y sana. Alaen na pay nan pamalayana'y chey, kasin na isawsaw, ket ay lalaki.

"Ay siya sa ta wad-ay menfin-i sinan nachasichasig ay ili."

Ya sana't kinwani en, "Kecheng ta umaak et si apoy tay maid apoy ad Pokis ay chey." Ya saet inmaa san apoy et posiposena kasin san songkhayog nay chey, yaket ninpa-pangali'd Pokis ay chey. Ilaen na pay yaket ninkimen nan fafai'd Pokis ay chey.

Kinwani na en, "Ya into pay nangipayan yo's nan pamalayana?"

"Ya sana pay ineppey mi's nan poon nan kaew ay sana."

Alaen na pay akhes ya isawsaw na yaket fafai san isawsaw na'y chey. "Siya sa ta way menfin-i's nan nachasichasig ay ili." Na-asaswa am-in chachi.

Inila na pay san falay ay chey ya kena't kinwani, "Sino'n nen falay sina?"

Then he got his staff, twirled it around and immediately found himself in Kalawitan. He also found Fanayan there. And she said, "I haven't been with a man but I'm pregnant."

"That's good because [the child] will be the ancestor of the people from this mountainous place."

After a while, Fanayan gave birth. She gave birth to a baby girl. And Lumawig remarked, "Oh, you've given birth. Where did you put the placenta?" And he took the placenta and put it in a pot. And he held the placenta, and dipped it again, and it became a baby boy.

"That's good because he will be the ancestor of the people from this mountainous region."

Then Lumawig said, "I'll now get some fire, for there is no fire in Pokis." Then he got the fire, and again twirled his staff, and immediately reached Pokis. He found the woman in Pokis had also given birth.

And he asked her, "Where did you put the placenta?"

"We put it there at the foot of that tree," she replied.

Lumawig also got the placenta, dipped it [in a pot], and it became a baby girl. "There, [these two] will be the forebears of the people from this mountainous region." All [of these children] eventually got married.

When Lumawig saw some rice plants he asked, "Whose rice plants are these?"

"Falay tako sa."

Ya sana't kinwani, "Kuyochen yo ed nan inmey ad Lakhod." Kuyochen cha pay ya makhuyod.

Yakena't kasin kanan, "Nan pay inmey ad Appay, khuyochen yo'd no makhuyod." Khuyochen cha pay ya makhuyod.

Yakena't kinwani'n, "Nan et inmali ad Khensachan si khuyochen yo." Khuyochen cha pay ya adi kakhuyod.

"Siya sa nan wanchen tako. Siya na nan pakhey yo ay umafong."

"Those are our rice plants," [the people said].

And he said, "Uproot the plants which are in Lagod." They did, and the rice plants were uprooted.

Lumawig said again, "The ones which are in Appay, uproot them if they can be uprooted." They pulled [the rice plants] and they were uprooted.

Then Lumawig said, "Pull the ones which come from Kensachan [Bontoc Iti]." And when [the people] pulled, [the plants] couldn't be uprooted.

"This is what we will do. This will be your palay, you who are getting married."

MYTH 2

(The Bontoc text, with revisions in spelling, is taken from Carl Seidenadel's The First Grammar of the Language Spoken by the Bontoc Igorot. It coincides in some details with other versions of the flood story and also includes other details the researcher wasn't able to come across in her research.)

"Nan Napsongan Nan Fatawa"

Waday nan sin-akhi ay manganop ay an-ak Lumawig. Nan fatawa maid filig; chata nan fatawa et mo manganopcha ya maid kaisadtan nan laman yanan ogsa.

Isaet kanan nan yon-a en, "Posgentad nan fatawa ta makolod nan filig." Isachat en posngen ad Mapotpotopot. Kecheng napsong nan fatawa.

"How He flooded The Earth"
(Siedenadel version)

There were two brothers, the children of Lumawig who went hunting. There were no mountains. The world was flat and when they went hunting there was nothing to confine the wild pig and deer.

Then the elder brother said, "Let's flood the world so mountains will be formed." So they blocked Mapotpotopot, and the world was flooded.

Isaet kanan nan yon-a en, "Entad manalokong." Isachat isalukong nan sangi ad Mapotpotopot. Isachat fengaen nan sangi ya angsan nan nakna ay laman yanan ogsa yanan takho.

Kecheng nalufog am-in nan takho. Wad-ay nan sin-aki ay natakho ad Pokis.

Kecheng in-oschong si Lumawig, ya oschonganad Pokis ya kecheng is igay kalineb; et siya nan natakhowan nan sin-aki.

Isaet lumay-og si Lumawig ya kanana en, "Ket chakayo sa!"

Isaet kanan san lalaki en, "Chakami na ya nay naskaw kami!"

Isaet alaen Lumawig nan aso na ad Kalawitan yanan ogsa. Isaet inkyat nan ogsa yanan aso ay umey ad Kalawitan ya umaa cha isnan apoy. Isaet isigchan Lumawig chaicha.

Kanana en, "Tato adi cha umali!" Isaet umey si Lumawig id Kalawitan. Isanat kanan en, "Nangke kayo chomongaw is faalen is apoy." Isanat kanan en, "Ayed, yey yo nan apoy ad Pokis ta iilaek chakayo!"

Kecheng umey chas san kawana nan posong ya matey san apoy ay chey ay inaa cha ad Kalawitan.

Isanat kanan en, "Nangke kayo chomo-ngaw si faalen. Kasin yo't yey; ta iilaek ed chakayo!" Kecheng iilaena ya matey nan eegnan nan ogsa. Isaet kanan Lumawig en, "At pay akhes matey nan eegnan nan aso'y chey."

Then the elder brother said, "Let's go trap [something]." So they left their *sangi* [rattan backpack] at Mapotpotopot. And [later] when they lifted up their sangi, they found lots of wild pigs, deer and people in it.

All the people on earth were now lost. Only one brother and sister survived on Mt. Pokis.

Lumawig looked down. He looked down on Pokis and it was the only place which was not covered with water. That was where the brother and sister survived.

Then Lumawig came down and said, "Oh, it's you."

And the brother said, "Yes, it is we and we're cold."

Then Lumawig ordered his dog and deer to go to Kalawitan. Then the deer and the dog swam to Kalawitan to get fire while Lumawig waited for them.

He said, "What's taking them so long?" So Lumawig went to Kalawitan. And he said, "You can't be depended on to get fire!" Then he said, "Okay, bring this fire to Pokis and I'll be watching you."

When they reached the middle of the pool, the fire they got from Kalawitan died out.

Then Lumawig said, "You can't be depended on to follow orders. Take this fire again and I'll be watching you." As he looked at them, the fire held by the deer died out. Then Lumawig said, "Surely the fire that dog is holding will die out too!"

Isaet inkyat si Lumawig umchan ya pinfanes na nan apoy ay eegnan san aso na. Isanat id-an ad Pokis. Isanat idnet nan apoy ya inchowana ka sin-akhi.

Kecheng maschok nan chanom. Isaet kanan Lumawig en, "Chakayo ay sin-akhi in-asawa kayo."

Isaet kanan nan fafai en, "Siya mangan; siyat nay kakaiso tay sin-akhi kami!"

Kecheng si Lumawig inasawana chaicha. Ket maliton nan fafai. Kecheng makhanak cha.

Isaet potlongen Lumawig nan angsan ay tanob. Isanat kanan isnan tanob, isnan chwa, "Engkali kayo'd ay chwa ay tanob." Ya inkali cha's kalin si i-Khinaang.

Inpakaliena chaicha ay chwa is kalin si i-Maligkong. San chwa pakaliena chaicha is kalin si i-Sachanga. Isanat cha inasawwen chaicha. San chwa ay i-Maligkong nakhanak cha'd Maligkong; san chwa ay i-Khinaang nakhanakcha ad Khinaang.

Kecheng cha maangsan nan takho. Kecheng chaicha nan umili isnan fatawa.

Kecheng pakaliena san chwa ay tanob akhes si kalin si i-Minit. Kecheng makhanakcha. Kecheng chaicha nan umili isnan fatawa cha. Isaet waday nan ini-Fewang, ini-Tokokan, ini-Kaneo, ini-Tufeng, ini-Fallig.

Kecheng mawalasan nan fatawa isnan takho. Kecheng cha maangsan nan takho.

Then Lumawig swam [in the flood] and when he reached [his dog] he snatched the fire the dog was holding. And he brought it to Pokis. Then he gave the fire to the brother and sister.

The flood water receded. Then Lumawig said, "You, brother and sister, marry each other."

But the sister said, "But that would be disgusting for we are brother and sister."

But Lumawig married them. Then the woman got pregnant. And they prospered.

Then Lumawig cut down a lot of weeds. And he said to two of the weeds, "Talk [to each other], you two weeds." And they talked [to each other] in the dialect of Guinaang.

He made two [weeds] talk in the dialect of Maligcong. Two [weeds] he made to talk in the dialect of Sadanga. Then he married them. The two [weeds] from Maligcong prospered in Maligcong; the two [weeds] from Guinaang prospered in Guinaang.

Mankind multiplied and [people] populated the earth.

Then Lumawig also made two of the weeds talk in the dialect of Mainit. And they prospered. And they settled in their village. Then there were those who settled in Belwang, Tocucan, Can-eo, Talubin, and Barlig.

And the world was filled with people. And mankind multiplied.

Kecheng isanat patofoen san asin ad Lagkangew. Isanat kanan en, "In-uto kayo't." Ya na-uto san asin.

Isanat kanan, "In-ilako kayo't." Ya adi cha kekken ay mangilako issan asin tay inchachawes nan kalitako.

Isanat atonen ad Minit et tumofo nan asin. Isanat kanan en, "In-ilako kayo't."

Isanat kanan en, "Nangke kasisia nan engkalianyo; et isna et nan tokchon nan asin ay nay. Chakayo nan minkoa isnan asin tay nannay chay i-Fontok ya inchachawes nan kalicha. Laklako nget nan koan chatona."

Kecheng isanat kanan akhes en, "Engkayot umala ay i-Fontok is pita ta kab-enyo is fanga." Kecheng kab-en cha ya adi masayog.

Isanat kanan en, "Nangke faken chakayo is inkaeb si fanga. Laklako nget nan koayo tay adiyo kekken nan chak ifagfaka ken chakayo."

Isanat atonen ad Samoki nan fanga. Isanat kanan en, "Engkayo't umala ay i-Samoki is pita ta kab-enyo is fanga." Isachat en umala ya kab-ench a ya masayog nan fanga.

Isachat kinaeb ya kanan Lumawig en, "Enkayod ilako nan kinaebyo ay fanga." Encha pay ilako ya mal-an.

Isanat kanan isnan i-Samoki, "Chakayo's minkoa isnan fanga." Isanat kanan en, "Chakayo ay i-

Then Lumawig raised salt in Lagkangew [part of Bontoc Ili]. And he said, [to the people] "Cook [the salt]!" And the salt was cooked.

Then Lumawig said, "You can now sell [the salt]." But they weren't able to sell the salt because they spoke very fast.

So Lumawig moved it to Mainit and the salt multiplied. Then he said, "Sell [the salt]."

Then he said, "My, you speak very well. The salt will stay here. This salt will be yours because the people of Bontoc speak very fast. Maybe selling will be the trade of the Bontoc people."⁴

Then Lumawig again said, "You people of Bontoc, get some clay and mold it into pots." But the pots they made crumbled into pieces.

Then Lumawig said, "You will not be the ones to make pots. Maybe selling is your trade for you can't understand what I tell you."

Then Lumawig moved the pot-making to Samoki. And he said, "You people of Samoki, get some clay and mold it into pots." The people got some clay and they made good pots.

When they made the [pots], Lumawig said, "Go, sell the pots you made." And they easily sold [the pots].

Then Lumawig said to the people of Samoki, "From now on pottery will be your [trade]." Then he continued,

4. People of Mainit speak in a singsong manner while the people of Bontoc Ili speak in a direct, almost harsh, manner.

Funtok, nan lokham nan koayo tay nachawes nan kaliyo."

"You people of Bontoc, [growing] weeds will be your [trade] because you speak in a direct manner."⁵

MYTH 3

(This story is prayed during a chomno or chono. A chomno is a marriage feast given by the very rich, in which numerous pigs and carabaos are butchered. It is not necessarily a marriage rite for the newlyweds but is almost always used as a rite for the renewal of marriage fidelity among older couples.)

"Nan Chomno'n Lumawig"

Ay, chey kano nan chey ay Lumawig ay chey, kanan ama na ay Kamfunian en, "Ngag man nan uschu-uschungam sisa?"

"Laychek ay makigkakhayam man," kanan Lumawig.

"Kecheng, alaem et nan kitangan mo, ya nan sukod mo, ya nan manok ma, ya nan aso mo. Ta teyeyak et ta pumanad ka," kanan ama na.

Chey pinmanad siya ad Kalawitan. Panachena et id Kayang. Kanana't en, "Chua, yangag pet chana's kagkhayamen! Yake pet nan inerpan cha ya lusab. Nafuslan nan payew cha, yake lusab nan inerpan cha. Sumangaw cha na's kagkhayamen."

Umali't ad Finumcheng ya uschungana't id Safangan. Ngem usto pay ay ilana nan fu-uk cha, nakengchan. "Na walaw nan i-Safangan ay nay cha, yangke cha nenkakaengchan ya sacha't manga-chew cha's ka wanga!"

"How He Celebrated His Chomno"

Oh that Lumawig, it is told, his father Kamfunian said, "Why do you keep looking down [on earth]?"

"I want to befriend [the earth people]," answered Lumawig.

"All right, get your head axe, your spear, your rooster and your dog. I'll place a ladder so you can go down [to earth]," said his father.

Lumawig went down on Mt. Kalawitan. Then he went on to Kayan. He said, "What kind of people are these! They butcher their pigs on slabs of wood.⁶ They have wide fields but butcher their pigs on slabs of wood. I don't want to befriend these people!"

He went to Mt. Finumcheng and looked down on Sabangan. But when he saw that the hair [of the people] was cropped [at the nape]. "Oh, these people of Sabangan, their hair is cropped and they fish in the river!"⁷

5. Until today the salt springs are in Mainit, pottery is the trade of Samoki and according to them, the people of Bontoc raise the best palay.

6. The Bontoks butcher their pigs on beds of sticks tied together. Obviously, they butcher bigger pigs.

7. Women usually don't fish, only men do.

Ey saet manikid siya et ikwana nan faat nan Khonokhon ya Safangan ya umey id Tufeng. Kanana akhes en, "Na walaw nan i-Yapyapan ay nay cha, nangke cha ingitngitiit cha. Ey, sumangaw chana's kagkhayamek tay pet inyahyahyah nan kali cha."

Saet tumuli et umali't uschungan na'd Khonokhon. "Walaw nan i-Khonokhon ay nay cha, fanafanan-iyog cha ya inpap-alatik cha ya. Ta nangke sumangaw akhes chana's kagkhayamek tay nangke inki-chiit nan kali cha. Ey, ke suma-ngaw cha na."

Umali pay id Mangichis na, umali pay id Alab, "No, walaw nan i-Yaab ay nay cha, ke cha inlupisaak ya tangko kisob nan ili cha. Sumangaw pet chana's kakhayem."

Saet umali id Apa et umilleng. Munaangen na pay ya umali ed Tuwed, ad Tumakayong. Umali et ed Patungalew. Ninpalikot et nan aso na ay chey ya inpadsek na nan sukod na. Nan manok na ya inkuka-id. Itukcho na saet umileng. Ilana nan chua ay mamagkit id Lanao ay cha in-uwag si falatong.

Kanana't ken ama na ay, "Ama, isyeng mo ed nan akhew ta ilaek si khagkhayamek si nan chey in-uwag si falatong id Lanao."

So he climbed up [the mountain] to Talubin, passing between Gonogon and Sabangan. Again he said, "Oh these people of Talubin, they're so dark. I don't want to befriend these people, they'll just confuse me for they talk with lots of yahs."⁸

So Lumawig retraced his path and looked down on Gonogon. "Why these people of Gonogon are very small but very energetic. I don't want to befriend these people for they twitter like birds. They'll just confuse me."

When he went further to Mangichis and reached Alab, "Oh these people of Alab, they're very fair but their village is too narrow and low [in the valley]. I do not want to befriend these people!"

Then he reached Apa and rested. He looked around then went to Tuwed, in Tumukayong. And he reached Patungalew. His dog curled itself [around a huge rock] and Lumawig thrust his spear [into the rock]. His rooster scratched [the ground].⁹ And Lumawig sat down to rest. He saw two young women gathering black beans in Lanao.

Then he said to his father, "Father, make the sun shine as hot as it can, so I can choose the right girl to marry from those two women gathering black beans in Lanao."

8. The Talubin dialect has a lot of *h* and *j*'s.

9. This rock is now called Palikot Aso, literally "Twisted Dog." The rock still bears the marks where his dog crouched, the spot where he had stuck his spear, and the scratch marks of his rooster.

Saet kano pigsaan ama na nan akhew. En na't kano ibfe-ibfen nan chey yun-an nan si Fukhan, nan anak Fatanga, nan lufid na ka wanga, tay adi kakatpelan sinan akhew. Ukhay si Fukhan ay chey mamalatong.

Pumanad et si Lumawig ya kanana'n, "Ya adi yo ngen kawinan nan chakupen yo'y sana'y falatong?"

Kanan et kano Fukhan en, "Ya yake ka pet pumatey?"

"Adi. Insaludsod ak. Kanak en adi yo ngen kawinan nan sana'y falatong? Ta kawinan tako."

Ikiwakiw na nan tag-ong et watwat. Sacha't mangan. Sana't kanan en, "Mangan tako ta sayo't inkanan ken ama yo en engka kano tumkew si epat ay tayaan ta ikalima nan nay inaala yo."

Saet umey si Fukhan. Umey pay ya kanana ken ama na'y Fatanga ya, "Engka kano tumkew tay wad-ay man nan inchichiyayos nan linget na'y chey ay mangwani'y inkhak-hayam kami."

Kanan et ama na'y chey en Fatanga en, "Na yake khawis et sa muket ay fab-alo." Saet umey tumkew et eyey et Fukhan.

Iyey na pay ya fatfatena nan chey tayaan. Apsot na pay sinan isang ay pakhew ay chey ya sana't ken ipagpag sinan ka tangfew nan tayaan. Ninkakapno et am-in nan chey lima ay tayaan si nan falatong.

And so, it is said, his father made the sun shine as hot as it could. The elder sister of Fukhan, the daughter of Fatanga, it is said, kept wetting her *lufid* in the river, for she couldn't stand the heat.¹⁰ Fukhan kept on gathering the beans alone.

Lumawig went down and said, "Are you not going to eat salt meat with the black beans you're gathering?"

Then, it is said, Fukhan exclaimed, "Oh, are you going to kill us?"

"No. I just asked if you're not going to eat salt meat with those black beans, in order that we will eat."

He stirred [the pot] with the ladle and [it was filled with] meat. Then they ate. Afterwards he said, "After we have eaten, tell your father to borrow four other baskets so we will have five of them, including what you have already."

So Fukhan went home. And she said to her father, Fatanga, "Borrow [more baskets] for there's this [healthy looking] man oozing with sweat who proposed to me."

Said her father, Fatanga, "That's good as long as he's single." Then he got the baskets and gave them to Fukhan.

When she brought the baskets, Lumawig placed them in a line. He picked up a bean pod and slapped it against the rim of the basket. And the five baskets were instantly filled with black beans. Then

10. The *lufid* or *tapis* is the native wrap-around skirt of Igorot women.

Hana et kanan en, "Chey, intako't. Iyun-una yo't ta intako."

Sakawil na pay sinan chap-ay ay chey ad Lanao, ya sanat tanmanad Sub-ang si fak-kag. Kinwani na'n, "Tanmak sik-a et mupay insaknit cha ya insenget cha sika, adi ka kapup-uwag."

Ay, umey pay ad Fel-lang akhes, "Tanmnak sik-a et mupay insaknit cha pay ya alan cha sik-a's infalon cha. Machachakuwag ka'y fak-kag."

Umey pay sinan tap-ag na'y chey Apalay ya kanana't en, "Into man nan intengan nan ili sina ta siya's innak manginapnapan sana'y chap-ay."

Umey pay id Sig-ichan, kinwani na et en, "Nay sak-en inapnap nan nintengan nan ili ay nay, chap-ay. Et no pay inkiyob nan fatawa et alopen cha nan linanges ya sul-okena nan chaya ya manik-a. Nan naay edchanak ay nalay Kensachan et ulay akit nan chanum cha ya kichang kaman isawali-an cha nan kabfakang. Infekas isama cha ya adi na man anak-en nan isama chatona. Kechang ka man ay ken puno cha nan mangipay-an cha. Infekhas am-in nan isama cha. Tukhi cha ya machak-chakuwag, in-isek cha's falatong ya in-ipap-ay, itab ya in-ipap-ay. Nintetengnen et nan edchanak ay nay cha'y i-Kensachan tay sesemken cha nan maangangnen et na'y ya-ik am-in nan kutod."

he said, "Let's go [home]. But you go ahead."

Picking up a huge flat stone in Lanao and carrying it under his arm, Lumawig planted some gabi in Sub-ang. He said [to the gabi], "I'm going to plant you and when they gather sugar cane, they'll use you for food. You will never wither and die."

When he reached Fel-lang [he said], "I'm going to plant you, and when they gather sugar cane, they'll make use of you. You will always bear large fruits."

As he went further up the village in Apalay, he said, "Where's the center of this village so that I'll place this flat stone there?"

When he reached Sig-ichan, he also said, "I'll put this flat stone in the center of this village.¹¹ And when there's a storm, they will light a fire on it and the rain will stop and the sky will clear. This place Kensachan [Bontoc Ili] which I have found, though there is little water here, the people will have more than enough to share with their neighbors.¹² Their crops will flourish and their crops will not wither. Their granaries will always be full. All they plant will bear fruit. They will have large camotes, their bean plants will bend with fruits, their peas will flourish. The people of Bontoc will always be level headed¹³ for they perform what is instructed them, and I now bring them all the rituals."

11. He placed the stone in Khal-lat. The stone is now also called Khal-lat.

12. Bontoc is a very productive place and the people do produce more than they can consume and thus sell their products to neighboring towns and villages.

13. I can't attest to this. Although it is true that the Bontoks know how to observe rituals properly and still do up to the present.

Awnin pay, kanan Fukhan ken ama na, "Yaket adi paat umali chi ay!"

"Ya sasad-en tako."

Chey umali pay tay nalpas si Khal-lat, ay inapnap na nan chey chap-ay. Umey pay akhes sinan ka tangfew nan khunguwan ya kanana, "Sino'n nin piner-ag sinan naay?"

Kanan Fukhan, "Chakami."

"Nakayo'd si ange ta epey ko." Saet kano pumutlong si ange. Italo na pay, fotfotog ya ug-ukho nan chey amom-og.

Ka pangew-an, uschong na pay akhes sinan kinuyog cha'y chey ay kaep-eppas, kanana et akhes en, "Sino nin kinuyog sinan nay?"

"Chakami ya."

"Nakayo'd si finayo ta megmek-hak." Megmekhana't akhes et mangmangalak.

Sana't kinwani, "Nakayo'd akhes si chanum ta pay-ak nan panganan ta mapno, ta mid michayas tako's sanko leem."

Sana't akhes alan nan chey chanum ay chey et kinwanina'n, "Chanum ka'y intengnen et intengnen man nan taynak ay nay, in-afong ya amfutukhan cha man ya manokan cha ya ampakayan cha."

Chey et nakaeb nan kinwanin Lumawig, sach'a't en-asawa.

Ket ay apalan nan kakasod na'y chey si Lumawig. Tay ma-id mimila's fakhas na, ngem no infanew, mapno nan fanga's

Meanwhile Fukhan said to her father, "What's taking him so long?"

"Let's wait for him."

Finally Lumawig arrived for he had finished with the stone Khal-lat. Then he also stood by the pigpen and asked, "Whose piglets are these?"

Fukhan answered, "Ours."

"Give me some camote leaves." And, it is said, he cut off a leaf. And when he fed the piglets they suddenly became full-grown.

At the door, he looked down on some chicks which had just been hatched, and again he asked, "Whose chicks are these?"

"They're ours."

"Give me some grain so I'll feed them." And when they were fed, they became full-grown.

Then he said, "Give me some water also so I'll put [the water] where we eat and it will be full, and bad luck will not enter this house."

Then he got the water and said, "You cold water, bless the people of this house. They will have many pigs and their chickens will multiply."

And what Lumawig said was fulfilled. Then they [Lumawig and Fukhan] were married.

However, Lumawig's brothers-in-law became jealous of him. For they didn't see any rice in his house but when he stirred [the pot] it would

makan. No ikiwakiw na nan tag-ong, watwat chi.

Sana't kanan ken Fukhan en, "Intako't na's Lanao." Wad-ay cha nan an-ak na. Sacha't umey ad Lanao. Ischi nan finmulyasana. Kanana et en, "Inpachono ak et."

Kanan akhes nan kakasod na en, "Yangke into man nan narpuan tona ya maid fofotog na ya nuanuang na ya chomno nan kanana!"

Ngem inpilit na tay kina-eb na et nan afong na's chi. Kinwani na's nan chey kakasod na, "Engkayo umala's chalatey ay kisog-echan nan payok."

Incha kano alan ya fefe! Hana't kanan, "Cho, yangke nget-layen si apey sa." Sana't en kenswat nan fatang isnan chey chemang nay chey et umali ad Lanao nan kaew na.

Kanana'n, "Chey chayo siplisiplingan sa ta satako isuno. Siplisiplingan yo." Saet langsen na nan awak na ta siya nan chalatey ay kisog-echan nan fanga.

Finalatana nan chey fanga sana't isug-ed. Sana't akhes wakiwakan si away kaat ay fuker, chey chay ninkapno.

"Ek lalayan nan chey cha fotog ta waschin akhes makcheng."

Umey pay ad Kadkadan ya inngo, "Ali kayo ay finnanan-ig." Umali kano ya kanua-kanuang.

suddenly be full. And when he stirred [the pot] with his ladle, [it would be filled with] meat.

Then Lumawig said to Fukhan, "Let's go to Lanao." By that time, they had children. And they went to Lanao. It was there where he celebrated his *fuliyas*.¹⁴ He said "I'll give a chomno."

His brothers-in-law again said, "Where did [this fool] come from who talks of having a chomno when he doesn't have any carabaos or pigs!"

But Lumawig insisted [on his chomno] for he had finished his house there. He said to his brothers-in-law, "Go and get big logs so we will use them to prop up the cauldrons."

But, it is said, they came back with saplings. And Lumawig exclaimed, "The fire will eat those!" So he uprooted a huge pine tree from the nearby mountain and the tree rolled down to Lanao.

Lumawig said, "Okey, chop those [branches] into pieces to be used for firewood. Chop them to pieces." Then he cut the large trunk into logs and they were used to prop up the cauldrons.

He then placed banana leaves at the bottom of the big pot and placed it over the fire. Then he dropped a few grains of rice and the pot suddenly became full.

"Now I'll go call the pigs so each of you can catch [a pig]."

When he reached Kadkadan he shouted, "You small game come here." A herd of carabaos, it is said, came rushing down.

14. The *fuliyas* is a marriage feast where only pigs are butchered.

"Faken kayo, nan finnanan-ig si umali." Ya na't tokaken chaicha. "Awnin kayo. Nan fotog nan umali."

Idwani, umali et nan chey cha ka fotofotog. Kanan Lumawig, "Ayet, waschin chumpap."

Ngem nan kakasod na adi paat makadpap. Kanana, "Yake yo iyag-akhew ay manpap isnan kua yo!" Sana't pen-egnan nan kachakuwakkan ya takchen cha.

Kanan Khumanab, "No mangngen eg-ay ko felayen sa ya makadpap ka ngen."

Siya chi nan ma-ikapyo no chono.

"Not you, I want the small game to come." And he drove them away. "You wait. [I want] the pigs to come."

Then droves of pigs came running down. And Lumawig said [to the people], "Come on, each catch [what you can]."

But his brothers-in-law were not able to catch anything. He said, "Why does it take the whole day for you to catch your [pig]!" Then he caught the largest pig and they tied it.

But Khumanab [one of his brothers-in-law] said, "You wouldn't have been able to catch that pig if I hadn't tired it out already."

This is what is prayed during chono.

MYTH 4

"Si Khumanab"

Si Lumawig insulo na akhes nan angnen ay makifuso. Usto'y umey cha'y makifuso, pinmeteg nan akhew, iyuwen cha et kanana nan chey kakasod na et en, "Ya ngag mo Lumawig ka, ke mid paat inumen tako. Ayke tako uminom sinan wanga'y nay nakikifu!"

Lumawig ngalod tay ikak-an nan filig ay chey ya cha et madchata et nan ikwan cha. Umey cha pay sid-i's tangan id Paing id Tokukan, sacha't tumuli, ta intsachintan nan fawi.

"How He Punished Khumanab"

Lumawig also taught [the people] how to wage war. On one such expedition, the sun was so hot they became thirsty, and his brothers-in-law said, "I thought you were Lumawig, how come we don't have any water to drink? Are we going to drink from this muddy river?"

But he was Lumawig so as they walked through the mountain, their path was cleared of any obstacle. When they reached the center of Paing in Tocucan, they went to the *fawi* where they lighted a fire.¹⁵

15. The *fawi* is a sacred place where prayers are held. It is located either in the mountains or beside the river. To light a fire in the *fawi* means to pray.

Tumuli cha pay ya kanan cha kayet en, "Ya ngag mo Lumawig ka, yangke mid paat tako inumen?"

Awnin pay, umali cha pay id Chekaa, inchachawes cha's nan cheey wanga. Hana't kanan akhes, "Na intako's sa man. Lawa nan waneng ay nay. Umi keg man nan wane ay sana's inumen. Intako's sa man ta sak-et to tumufay si inumen tako."

Kumeg-ed cha pay isna'd Isik, chemang ad Sameyew, tufayen na't nan cheey cheppas, infodfod-o nan chanum.

Kanana't en, "Adi ka Khumanab, ta sata iyan-anongos ay uminom."

Iyan-anongos cha pay ay chua, usto pay ay isublat na ay uminom, ken-isurtot na't, ken itulod na's ka chanum ay chey. Nakaeb et si fato et nakhayad et ischi. Ya fumab-ala et nan chanum iska fulingig na. Ango-ango-wen cha nan lumaos, sana't apapan si fato. Ikad yangkhay nan inchad-awawan nan chanum is kawad nan fato nan mila tay kinabonana.

As they went back up the mountain, they said again, "I thought you were Lumawig, how come we don't have anything to drink!"

Eventually, they reached Chekaa and they immediately proceeded to the river. But Lumawig said, "Let us go on. This river is no good. Drinking the water will cause you to cough. Let's go further and I'll produce drinking water for us."

When they neared Issik, facing Sameyew, Lumawig thrust his spear into the cliff, and water issued forth from the rock.

Then he said, "Khumanab, let the others drink first, and we will drink last."

So they let the others drink, and when it was his turn to drink, he [Lumawig] pushed him [Khumanab] into the water head first. [Khumanab] turned to stone and was left there. And water kept flowing out of his anus. Passers-by kept laughing at the sight so he [Lumawig] covered the sight with stones. Only the portion where the water flows out of the rock can be seen today for he covered it.

MYTH 5

"Nan Fatfato"

"The Stones"

Khal-lat"

Narpo cha'd Lanao, sana't alan nan chey fato ya sasakfiteña, ya isaana id Chao-ey. Sana't isaad id Khal-lat. Kanana'n, "Naay nan fato

Coming from Lanao, he picked up a stone and carrying it under his arm, he brought it to Chao-ey. And he laid it down in Khal-lat. He said,

16. Khal-lat is a big flat stone which now has a crack in it. The term Khal-lat also means the place where the stone is, near Ato Sig-ichan in the Bontoc Ili.

ay kab-en tako, tapno no lumateng nan fatawa, ay chey mid pengpengna na'y lateng wenno in-uchan si inlaglagkhituweng ay uchan, chintanyo na ta tumke nan lateng ya nan uchan. Siya chi nan chawaten yo ken Khal-lat. Iyarpo yo ad Foyayeng ya ad Umfeg nan apoy, sayo't chintan na, maekew."

Idwani, marpod Foyayeng ya ad Umfeg nan apoy ay saeng, eegnan nan amam-a ya chacha inga-o, "Ekhwem nan fatawa sika'y Lumawig ay nangischo. Nay inyai mi nan apoy ay man-nget sinan nginadnam si Kal-lat ay infakham. Maseg-ang ka ta mekhew tay naskaw am-in nan takho, ya manok, ya fotog. Pabfalaem nan akhew ta mangakew.

Siya chi nan usar nan tud-i's Khal-lat.

"Here's this stone that we will bless, so that when the weather turns cold, the kind of cold which never stops or when it rains a very cold rain, light this so that the cold and the rain will cease. That is what you will beg from Khal-lat. Bring the fire from Foyayeng and Umfeg, light this [stone], and the weather will clear."

Today, from Foyayeng and Umfeg torches are held by old men as they shout, "Make the sun shine, you Lumawig who taught us. We have brought the fire to light Khal-lat as you instructed us to do. Have mercy on us for the people and their chickens and their pigs are cold. Bring out the sun and let it shine."¹⁷

That is what Khal-lat is for.

Sabfayan

Ngem no adi umud-uchan akhes, ulay masublisubli nan kaato-ato ay manerwap ya adi paat maseg-ang si Lumawig, nan chey akhes innapnap na'y fato ay chakchakuwag ay mattotood isnan khawan nan ato ed Chao-ey, siya chi akhes nan isakchuwan nan fabfafai. Adi cha umala isnan wanga, ischi id Tuklod-ingyaw nan manakchuwan cha ay fumala kannay is ka cheppas. Isaa cha nan chey chanum sacha't iyemes ken Sabfayan.

But when the sun shines and it never rains though the different atos take turns beating their gongs and still Lumawig does not pity them, then the large stone he placed upright in the *ato* in Chao-ey is used, and the women fetch water for this [stone]. They don't get water from the river. Instead they fetch water in Tuklod-ingyaw where the water flows from a rock. They bring this water and pour it over Sabfayan.¹⁸

17. This ritual is not done whenever there's a storm but only when there is long period when rain falls continuously so that the thatched roofs are never dry and it is very cold.

18. This is done during droughts. But it seems this particular ritual is not done anymore for some unknown reason. Or it may be that there hasn't been any occasion for its use so that other persons interviewed by the researcher, were not familiar with it.

Tinadlangan¹⁹

Tsinag-os na ad wanga, sana't iyali ed At-ato, ya isakley na. Kanana en, "No nangapey kayo isnan lepas nan sama, uma kayo's paluki, isukfit yo. Pay-an yo's tapey wen no fayas. Et na siyana nan inkedchawanyo's menfegkhasan nan insama yo ay pakhey. Nan makhayad ay suk-i yo sinan Tinadlangan ay nay sayo akhes ippeyo's nan khunguwan et na matakho nan fotog. Et khawis nan angnen cha ay chumadchakhe."

No lumaos ka, ingka sukfitan si paluki, tay siya nan chey mangwaniyam en, "Pa-inumek sika Tinadlangan. Maseg-ang ka ta umanantso nan pakhey ya infekhas."

Stopping by the river, Lumawig got the stone and carrying it under his arm, brought it to At-ato. He said, "When you observe the *apey*, after the planting season, get *paluki* and place it here.²⁰ Put rice wine or sugar cane wine [here]. This is where you ask for a plentiful harvest. Place what is left of the *paluki* for Tinadlangan in your pigpens and your pigs will be healthy. And they will grow well."

When you pass by, place your *paluki* here, because this is when you say, "I'm giving you something to drink Tinadlangan. Have mercy so that my rice plants will grow tall and bear lots of grains."

MYTH 6

"Si Kabfikhat"

Kanana ken anochi na, si anochi na ay Kabfikhat, ay inmey ad Sadchanga, kanana'n, "Chintam man nan chey ad Amfot-o tungpo na id Maligcong ta, ay chey kaew ta kaben ta's lusong."

Ngaag met tay chinentana tetewa. Tinangad na sana't ilan et in-as-asok, saet umey. Umey pay ya kanana,

"How He Taught the Chomno to Kabfikhat"

Lumawig spoke to his younger brother, his brother Kabfikhat, who settled in Sadanga. He said, "Build a fire in Amfut-o as far as Maligcong, and we'll build a mortar out of the tree trunk."

So he [Kabfikhat] really built a fire. Lumawig looked up, saw the smoke and climbed the mountain.

19. *Tinadlangan* is a large flat stone which has marks of *tadlang* or ribs on its surface.

20. *Apey*, literally "fire" but used here to refer to the ritual right after the planting season. This ritual is an offering to the unseen guardians to help in preserving the newly planted palay from harm.

The *paluki* is a cactus-like plant with small leaves. This is sometimes grown as house plants by people in the Poblacion.

"Na, ya man nan kem pet nilong-sutan nan poon na. Ayke sik-a's yun-ak ta sik-a's mengkwas nan poon!"

Ngaag met si anochi na, nen sikachan na't nan langes na't inmey id Sadchanga nan chey poon. Umey si Lumawig, inkwana nan sened. Hana't motmotmotan.

Siya chi nan insusunget na, "Sik-a ngen nan yun-a ta inkwam nan poon? Yake ka pet umam-amis!"

Matawen pay, kanan et nan 'nochi na'y chey ay, "Chomno tako et."

Chomno cha pay ad Sadchanga, yaket ay mamuchong cha et nangan cha's puchong. Maligwat pay nan chey chay inmankatkat isnan pakhey, umey cha't matorngo cha isnan allang. Tay ukhas kano ya maid, aki-akit is nakhayad tay sinis-isis-iyen Lumawig. Kanan et kano nan i-Sadchanga, "Intako't, umey tako's di, no wada tako in-atonan."

Khasat na't ya inmey et si Lumawig. Hana't kano kanan en, "Ngag man nan! Tuma nan ad-i kayo sum-ed ya. Nan anochik ay nay Kabfikhat, ad-i na kanan en, 'ya ta sad-en tako's yun-ak, si Lumawig.' I-kayo't ta umala kayo kasin si pumuchongan tako." Sacha't kasin umey.

Kecheng pay umey cha, umey cha pay et, nan innatkat nalafes tay napnonapno et tay infutofutog na's

And he said, "Why have you cut down the *poon*?²¹ Are you the elder so that the poon is yours?"

But his brother kicked the trunk and it went all the way to Sadanga. Lumawig had to be satisfied with the upper half of the trunk. And he scolded [his brother].

This is what he said, "Are you the elder so that the poon is yours? You're abusive."

After a year, his younger brother said, "Let's have a chomno [biggest marriage feast]."

It was chomno in Sadanga so they observed *mamuchong*, and they ate their *puchong*.²² Those assigned to get the palay started off and proceeded to the rice granary. But, it is said, they found very little palay left, for Lumawig had made the grains disappear. So, it is told, the people of Sadanga said, "Let's go, let's go there, if we have [another granary] to move to."

Luckily Lumawig arrived. And, it is told, he said, "It's your fault. Why did you not wait for me? That brother of mine, Kabfikhat, he didn't say, 'Let us wait for my older brother, Lumawig.' Bring our *puchong* and let's go." So they went back.

So they went, and when they were there, the granary was filled to the brim for he [Lumawig] had

21. The *poon* is literally the lower half of the tree trunk which is obviously better because it is bigger than the upper part.

22. A *puchong* is a piece of fresh stick with a slab of meat tied to it and stuck into the ground where a prayer or a ritual has been performed.

ka tangeb nan cheey penpen. Sacha't akhes angkhay inala nan nifutog ay chey. Ya sisya ay mamapno kayet nan pakhey ay chey ay kinapin. Nan nifutog angkhay nan inala cha.

Pad-anen pay Lumawig et fayowen cha, hana't kanan en, "At kasi yo ituli nan sana'y adi kafayo tay sana at masawalan nan fanga."

"Et sa masawalan nan sana ay finayo. Am-in nan fotog ay nay nenkafetweng cha, masas-ayag nan manok yanan ungang-a et mikaskasiw cha."

Sa-et umali'd Fontok et, un-unana'd Funtok. Innan pischo-pischo angkhay nan chono'd Sadchanga ken anochi na, si Kabfikhat.

added palay until it reached the roof. They took only the palay on top. And the granary was still full with the palay which had been added. They only took the palay on top.

Lumawig waited and they pounded the rice, and then he said, "Return [the palay] which has not been pounded for there is more than enough in the pots already."

[Then he blessed them.] "You will always have more than enough palay. Your pigs will be fat, you will have lots of chickens, and your children will be healthy."

Then he went back to Bontoc where he had come from. He only went to Sadanga to show his brother, Kabfikhat, how to perform the chomno.

MYTH 7

"Id Sadanga"

Adi pay si et am Kabigat in mali's Sakasakan et nangasawa. Si Lumawig, nangasawa ad Funtok.

Narpas pay ke et kananda kano en, "Ka ifaga en maabat ta et ta insipur isna rusong."

Chagas cha maabot ed Fay-engan et insipur asna rusong. Payna kadaka-sana yungyungan na pen na langes, narpas pay na yangana langes am Kabigat a poon na mensikada na. Naruslusig umali't Sakasakan na poon na, poon na batang.

Ke et kanan kano Lumawig an, "Pakapa inpaamed sina rusong? Mopay mo inpakan ka sa at maagi-

"How He Went To Sadanga" (Sadanga Version)

Lumawig had a brother, Kabigat who got married in Sadanga. Lumawig got married in Bontoc.

Afterwards, it is told, they said, "Let us meet in order to make a mortar."

So they met in Fay-engan and cut [down a tree for] a mortar. But then, when Kabigat looked down at the logs, he kicked the poon [bottom half]. And the poon of the pine tree rolled down until it reached Sadanga.

Then, it is told, Lumawig said, "Why did you do that with the mortar? When you raise pigs, they'll

agidan nan tupek na. Chakami chadlo ay i-Funtok na a tabtafa nan fotog na. Inmura kami ya khawis." Chagas na ay mangwani en, "No siya pay sa et sika et nan mamangpango ad domno tay sika na en pamid. Ta sapen mamanpangon ayagan."

Chagas cha tu-a ay siya et umat et machomno cha ed Sakasakan et mangampango ay eda ayagan si Lumawig ad Funtok. Sapay na karawanan na umali da pen ages. Mabukar da en kat kayman tay ayke ka makiili. Mabukar da kayman ya manaran da Lumawig. Manikid cha pay ad Fangda-in na ke et mamaag na anak Lumawig ay kaseseyan ay tumae.

Ke et kanan kano Lumawig, "Uno pa yo patanggaan sa alitao yo. Ta kan pay manoa ya dedang na pay ay intuptup si alitao yo's sa ta naarse na ikamkam yo."

"Ay paam."

Et na enmey na saan na guran, ke et kanana abes, "Na ta chomno ak abes." Ha-et abes chomnoen nan anak na.

Umey abes si Kabigat tay madkat. Adi pay na kabigatana madkat. Umey da pay ad Lengsadan na, inumreng da akit. Chagas cha kasin ay marubwat, umdan da pay sa ili is Kabelawan, kena't kano kanan, "Indadawes tako anggay," kanan kano Kabigat.

have long snouts. We in Bontoc have bigger and fatter pigs. And whatever we plant grows well."²³ He continued, "If that's the case you'll be the first to celebrate a chomno [marriage feast]. When you do, don't forget to invite me first."

The time came when they held a chomno in Sadanga and the first to be invited was Lumawig in Bontoc. So they went. But they had to leave the next day for they were not from that place. Lumawig and his companions hiked [home]. As they were climbing up Fangda-in, Lumawig's children suddenly left the others to defecate.²⁴

Then, it is told, Lumawig said, "Why do you bring bad luck to your uncle? He will have to butcher another pig because of this."

"Never mind."

After a month, Lumawig also said, "I'll celebrate a chomno too." And he too held a chomno for his children.

It was Kabigat's turn to go [to Bontoc]. The next day they started off. When they reached Lengsadan, they rested for a while. They then went on and when they reached Kafelaw [a place overlooking Bontoc], it is told, he said, "Let's go straight ahead," said Kabigat, it is told.

23. The Bontoks point out that even today, Lumawig's curse holds true. The Sadanga pigs are small, lean and have long snouts while the Bontoc pigs are very much bigger.

24. A common result of a big celebration like this is dysentery for there are times when the meat is barely cooked before it is served.

Umdan da pay ya kan Lumawig anna, et umbun dan da tumukcho. Ilan da pay et into pay na esa ay unga, maid. Chagas na kano en mangwani anna, "Ingkayo'd ta ingkayo ilaen. Wanden yo'd na daran."

Umali da pay ahna ilit Buntok anna en, na sak sinasako murmuran nan am-ama na esa ay unga na poon na atakey. Kanana kano ta fakagen na kena't kano kanan, "No, no adi kayo pet enpatey, adi ka'n fakag! Saken na, saken na am-ama. Tay adi kayo pay enarawig, saken nan batog si arawig. Ta mo umey kayo ya mangan kayo ya sasana ikaman yo ta wa'y kasi's umaliyan yo."

When they reached Lumawig's house, they sat down. Then they noticed that a child was missing. And, it is told, he said, "Go and look for him. Retrace our path."

When they reached the outskirts of Bontoc, they found an old man holding the child in his arms in a bed of *atakey*.²⁵ As they, it is told, raised their bolos to strike, it is told, he [the old man] immediately said, "Don't, don't kill me, don't strike. I'm an old man. [I took the child to make you come back] for you haven't performed the *alawig*.²⁶ So that when you attend a feast, there'll be other opportunities for you to return."

MYTH 8

"Id Tonglayan"

Id Lanao, apusen nan kakasod na siya. Idwanin nan chey afong ay chinomnawan cha inmey nan chua ay kakasod na ay lallalaki, insukfit cha nan sili isnan chey ka sakhing.

"Cumiwachay kayo pet tay iyali yo nan ngaag isnan afong ko. Taynak et chakayo ay an-ak ko ya asawak ta umeyak et is ummayak."

Kinmaeb sinan chey alop ay nanin-utan na ken chaicha. Inpey na't nan manok iska segnad. Inpey

"How He Sent His Family To Tinglayan"

While they were living in Lanao, Lumawig's brothers-in-law were filled with envy. So around the house where he had celebrated his chomno (marriage feast), two of his brothers-in-law hung hot pepper.

[Lumawig said'] "You poison me for you bring evil to my house! I'm leaving you my wife and children and I'll go where I'll go."

He then made a coffin [by hollowing out a huge log] and placed them inside. He put a rooster at the foot.

25. The *atakey* is a plant whose seeds are made into beads.

26. During a chomno, before entering the village, visitors are supposed to gather and pray. This ritual is called the *alawig*.

na nan aso's ka ulwanan. Sana't anuchen. No maituknog nan kawad nan aso, in-ngong-o. No ma-ituknog nan tupak na, inkoko-ok nan manok.

Sana't kanan, "Chey umey kayo't et wad-ay mangchan ken chakayo ay naamasangan ay i-Tonglayan. No kanan cha'n ifalam nan sagnim, adim ifab-ala. No pay ifalam pen-ekyag ko nan panga et ken suplak na nan limam. Iskeng mo's afong ta siya's managniyam."

Sana't anuchen chaicha, ya id Tonglayan tet-ewa nan na-isaklaan cha. Nan naay na amasangan ay i-Tonglayan, mangaew, sana't chomten nan along ay chey tay insasakley iska ilit nan wanga. Fakaken na koma, kanan et Fukhan, "Adim padpadanen tay naay kami's na." Inlunluney na kano chi ay nanglukat sacha't fumala.

Saet kano inpatpong cha's ka ato id Tonglayan. Si Fukhan et managni's ka afong na. Ilan cha pay kano ya matiking nan fatawa. Saet umali nan i-Tonglayan ay mangayag ken siya ta managni's ka ato. Inawis cha.

Umey pay si Fukhan ay chey ka ato et managni. Nalichongan na nan kinwanin ka-ichang na ken siya. Insagsagni pay si Fukhan ay chey, ken ekyag Lumawig nan panga et inkasusuplakan nan lima na.

He put a dog at the head. Then he set them afloat on the river. And when the end of the coffin where the dog sat bumped into something, the dog would howl. When the lower end bumped into something, the rooster crowed.

Then he said, "Go, and eventually you will be rescued by a widower from Tinglayan. But when they tell you to dance [under the sky], don't dance. If you do, I'll drop a branch to wrench off your arm. Dance only inside the house."

Then he set them afloat and, [as he had stated], they were really rescued in Tinglayan. This widower from Tinglayan was on his way to cut firewood, so he started to chop the coffin which he found on the river bank. He was about to strike with his axe when Fukhan said, "Please be careful for we are here." So he carefully pried open [the coffin], it is said, and they came out.²⁷

[After some time], it is said, there was a celebration in Tinglayan and the men played the gongs. Fukhan danced inside her house. And the people saw, it is said, that [as she danced], the world tilted. Then the people of Tinglayan asked her to dance at the ato. Eventually they were able to persuade her [to dance].

So Fukhan went to the ato to dance. She had forgotten her husband's warning. And as she was dancing, Lumawig dropped a branch and her arm was wrenched off.

27. It is assumed that Fukhan married this widower

MYTH 9

"Id Kan-ew"

Idwani nengngan et nan chua ay an-ak Lumawig ay waday id Tonglayan. Ilaen cha kano ya lumaos nan okis si falatong iska wanga, et sinmek cha nan si ama cha. Kanan cha et, "Inta ilan si ikit ta ay Fatanga id Funtok."

Umalong cha't. Sisinmek cha nan kinwanin ina cha'y, "Nan makikifu nan chanom, siya chi nan wanchen yo. Adi yo pay wanwanchen nan nafuleng-anan."

Ngaag met tay umali cha'd Masuwan ay chey ay tumoy-okan nan chanom ay marpo'd Kan-ew, ket siya nan makikifu. Siya et nan inlong cha. Edchanan cha nan i-Kan-ew ay cha infaliwes. Sacha't kanan en, "Chakami ed si mangangnen." Ippey cha pay nan sintungfo'y chey ya et napno nan sanga.

Ngaag met tay kecha't alu-alusen chaicha, tubtufayen cha chaicha ay mammatey. Adi cha ilin-awa nan cheey inangnen cha ay chey ay insukhe cha ya, ulay isang ay tungfo ya ninkakapno nan sanga cha. Hacha't alu-alusen chaicha ay sin-akhi et ippey cha kano nan kampila chas, pipinnang ya ad-i kasingfisingfitan nan awak cha. Adi cha katkatey. Awnin pay ya ke cha't fakaken chaicha, tubtufayen cha't chaicha, ya ke cha't chadlo umusan cha.

Chey umey et nan i-Funtok ay mangala ken chaicha. Hacha't alan nan cheey alawi, achawey, kasatan, siya nan atang cha. Alan cha akhes

"How He Cursed Can-eo"

Lumawig's children in Tinglayan were now full-grown men. One day they saw, it is said, the pods of black beans floating down the river, and they remembered their father. So they said, "Let's visit our grandfather, Fatanga, in Bontoc."

And they started walking upstream. They kept in mind their mother's instruction, "Always follow the muddy branch of the river. Don't follow the clear water."

Unfortunately, when they reached Tocuan where the water from Can-eo flowed, it was muddy. So it was where they wended. They found the people of Can-eo crushing sugar cane. And they volunteered, "Let us do it." When they crushed a single stalk, the jar was filled with juice.

But then they [the people of Can-eo] started to stab them, to strike them with their spears. They weren't grateful to them for filling their jar by crushing just a single stalk. And they started stabbing the brothers, it is said, with their bolos and headaxes but their bodies couldn't be wounded. They [the brothers] wouldn't die. Finally, they hacked them into pieces and stabbed them with their spears, and eventually they died.

So the people of Bontoc went to get [the brothers'] bodies. They brought poles and pieces of wood to carry their bodies home. They also

nan taked cha'y chey ay puway, sa-et lakta. Siya chi nan intaked cha. Inyey cha't ad Cheppas chaicha, nan-ak Lumawig.

brought twine. They used it to tie up their bodies. And they brought Lumawig's sons to Chep-pes and buried them there.²⁸

Et pumanad si Lumawig ya kanana'n, "Chakayo ay i-Kan-ew at amfusowen kayo, ngem ad-i kayo malakay et chakayo matey, ad-i kachadchad-uman nan ili yo!"

Lumawig descended and cursed them, "You people of Can-ew, you will be killers but you will all die young, and [your people] will never multiply."²⁹

MYTH 10

"Id Sabangan"

"How He Plowed a Field in Sabangan"

Narpu kano id Kabelawan. Malpas pay id Kabelawan, naypay nay Tuklaw-igan, tikidena ed Gensadan, idakar na'd Dakalan, nilanatad na'd Langtagan. Hana't kano itikid et ibilig na't ayenna ed Kamantaka. Ayenna et ed Ta-ed at kano gisob-gisobena.

It is said, Lumawig came from Kabelawan. After Kabelawan, then to Tuklaw-igan, climbed Gensadan, moved on to Dakalan, then to Langtagan. Then, it is said, he climbed the mountain to Kamantaka. He went to Ta-ed and, it is said, looked around.

Ayenna et ages ed Gummob, et ilana pay ages ed Balili. Ayenna pay id Balili et ya, "Ayta pay na si ili. Nalilibong! E, anggay."

Then Lumawig also went to Gummob, and also looked at Balili. But when he went to Balili he said, "What kind of place is this! It is so small."

Saet wada nan kanantako en Tambingan ya iyusdong na id Nanyaa, et idesnga nan Yang-a. Hana pay iyey id bilig et ayenna id Palawapeo. Iyusdong na pay id Lagan, et kanana'n, "Gawis id Sabangan. Ay ta umeyak et umila si asawak."

There is also a place that we call Tambingan, and he looked down on Nanya-a, and reached Yang-a. Then he went up the mountain to Palawapeo. He looked down on Lagan and said, "Sabangan looks good. I'll look for a wife there."

28. This place is now a sacred grove called Papattay where monthly religious ceremonies are held. The Bontoks point out that during WWII the whole town of Bontoc was bombed and only Papattay was spared.

29. It's quite true that up to now Can-ew is known for its warlike people. But there are few old men in their village and the Bontoks point at the scarcity of the houses that make up Can-ew.

Ayagenna nan babai ay asawa na.
Kanana'n, "Intupay nan Bagitan?"

Ayyenda pay id Bagitan ya,
"Siyana pay id siyadi. Anggay ay
humaa ka pay. Humapo takos
abungan takos na. Mo umali ka
umiskeg kas nan guab na. Haka
umali ay mangyali nan baon ko."

Inkana pay kano ay namindua.
Ikapitlo pay ya datngana et nan kano
losi na nan isawilna isnan bato. Adi
pay agin eeskeg ngem apdas na et
naila na.

Hana pay kanan en, "O, ul-ulay
ud pay dana."

Anggay et adi. Aped na et dinata
et maid danum na. Ay maagdan di
intagwan. Ina-yan ya di yong-an.
Yaket kabalebalewayan ya kalong-
along-ayban. Hana't adi danuman,
haet kumaan. Umey et id Ambango.
Siya di.

Lumawig called the woman who
was his wife. He asked, "Where is
Bagitan?"

When they were in Bagitan, "[We
will build] from this point to that
point. Go home first. We will build
a shelter here. When you come back,
cough while you are still down there.
Then bring me my food."

It is said, she did this twice. The
third time, she discovered him, it is
said, using his penis to uproot a big
rock. Then she pretended to cough
but she had already seen [what she
wasn't supposed to see].

Then he said, "Oh, these people!"

And that was it. He only leveled
this wide field but did not put wa-
ter in it.³⁰ He did not water it, just
left and went to Ambango. That's it.

MYTH 11

(The Babayas are the public wedding feasts which are periodically performed in Sagada. Bayas may either be held as an initial marriage feast or be performed by a couple long married to bring good luck and many children.)

The basic myth for the bayas ceremony is found in this account of how Lumawig taught the wedding rites. Many of the events are found in the Bontoc Lumawig cycle, but they are adopted to the Sagada situation. The text and translation is taken from A Sagada Reader by William Henry Scott [1988, 94-97]).

"Si Lumawig Id Sagada"

Wadas Lumawig id tag-ey,
naganak ay nakigtek isnan ipogaw.
Wada et nan anakna ay lalaki ay

"How He Taught the Bayas in Sagada"

Once upon a time, Lumawig up
above had children who grew up to
be adults. There was one son who

30. Lumawig's field is still there. This field is quite big in comparison with the size of the ordinary Igorot field.

idlona nan kabkababiyana. Dat kanan amada ken sia, "Ngan nan dakan kabkabiyanmo? Dakan adi badangan da-ida?"

Dat kanan nan de-ey lalaki, "Ayta, wada nan dededengnek."

"Et domawinka obpay. Ala-em kad nan apoymo ta omeyka isdi."

Danat ala-en nan apoy yanan binosi na et ome, ya nanidiweng. Dat kanan nan amana, "Domawin tet-ewa di."

Ilayogna et id Sapowan. Menmoli pay danat ilan nan tongon id Loko danat kanan, "Ay ma-id getkek datona." Ilana pay nan tongon nan Lagod, danat kanan, "Isnay ayek ta eyak men-anap is todowek." Sa-et menpanga-ey isnan Nga-ab et Dalikan danat datngan nan baba-i ay men-ab-abe. Danat kanan, "Ay ngan ik-ikkam?"

"Men-ab-abeak is bagoy."

Dat men-oto. Igwana nan nagabis ay bagas isnan banga dat ninkakapno. Danat kanan, "Omalika ta manganta." Manganda pay yaket nasaw-an.

"Kedeng. Itoloymo nan abbem ta eyak men-anap is todowek."

Omeyet sinan Dompinas ya ilana nan mema. Aplotena di nan mema danat imi-imen. Ikayatna isnan togpop, itogpopna et di. Nagolitek nan bato, nasamey nan ta-aw. "Sia di ta waday sak kadamdamagan."

"fooled around" with his sisters. So their father said to him, "Why are you always fooling with your sisters? Why don't you help them?"

The boy replied, "Why I keep hearing something [that tells me to]."

"So, go and marry in another town. Take your fire and go to some other place."

So he took his fire and dried salt-meat and started right off. His father said, "He's really going to marry somewhere else."

He took it down to Sapowan. He looked all around, and when he looked towards the Ilocos region he said, "But I don't know any of them." Then he looked toward the downstream region and said, "This is where I'll go and look for somebody to enlighten." So he stated right out for Nga-ab and Dalikan, and found a woman weaving. He asked her, "What are you doing?"

"I'm weaving a baby blanket."

Then he cooked. He put a very little rice in the pot and it was filled to the brim. Then he said, "Come on, let's eat." They ate, and yet there was some left over.

"All right. You go on with your weaving, and I'll seek somebody to enlighten."

He went to Dompinas, and saw some betel nuts. He picked some and chewed them. He carried off a quid and spit it out. The rocks were stained and the grass withered. "That's so I'll be known."

Daet Am-o, Binek-an. Ilosadna nan awilan. Sagongena pay nalikob nan sobo. "Sia di et maliklikob di ganak di ipogaw ta way sak kadamdamagan."

Omeyet isnan Amdakwag et ilana nan dow a si bababa-i ay mamatbatong. Danat kanan, "Ay ngan nan ik-ikkanyo?"

"Ay mamatbatong kami."

Danat badangan da-ida. Iyaplotna nan igidna danat igwa isnan lowan na esa; iyaplotna nan awana danat igwa isnan lowan es nan esang. Danat kanan, "Ay nawitankayo?"

"Nawitankami."

"Kedeng. Somaatako et."

Somaada et. Isnan nipadongda isnan dipayan danat kanan, "Ngan nan daken songso-ngen nan apoy isna?"

"Ay songsongsongem nan apoy tay sia sa nan sobanmi."

"Enkayo, ibagayo ken amayo ta omali ay mangsab-at."

Inmeyet san amada et ena sabaten si Lumawig. Dat mensedey si Lumawig. Soma-adat issan ilin si Madadne, dat kanan Madadne ken Lumawig, "Sino isnan dow a ay anakko di men-asawam, nan oniya mo baken nan inodi?"

"Ay nan inodi."

"Adi pay bas-owem?"

"Ay bas-owek," ay kanan Lumawig.

Then on to Am-o and Binek-an. He stuck in a piece of sugar cane, and it put out shoots all around. "That's so the fertility of the people will shoot up all around, so I'll be known."

He went to Amdakwag and saw two girls gathering beans. He said, "What are you doing?"

"We're gathering beans."

Then he helped them. He gathered a handful with his left hand and put it in the basket of one, and gathered a handful with his right hand, too, and put it in the basket of the other. Then he asked, "Are your baskets loaded?"

"Why they are loaded."

"All right. Let's go home."

They went home. When they had reached the outskirts [of the town] he said, "Why do I smell fire?"

"Why, you smell fire because that's our main entrance."

"Then go and tell your father to come out to meet me."

Their father came out to meet Lumawig. Then Lumawig performed the *sedey* rite. They went home to Madadne's village, and then Madadne said to Lumawig, "Which of my two children would you like to marry, the elder or the younger?"

"The younger."

"You're not going to take them out of order?"

"I'm going to take them out of order," was Lumawig's reply.

"Soma-atakot is ba-eyyo. Intoy kayatmos mensa-adantako, isnan goabna?"

"Adi isnan goabna tay masa-ob," ay kanan Lumawig.

"Et nan tag-ay?"

"Adi tay nan tag-eyna et masa-ok."

"Et nan kebasna?"

"Oen ta menkabkabas di ganak di ipogaw ya megmegan ya na-issama."

Inmey et isnan Lamag. "Sia di ta menlamlamag di ganak di ipogaw yas mamegmegan ya si ma-issama."

Inmey et isnan Namogong da-et Tetep-an. Intikidnas Amtadaw danat isakyat id Bagingey sana't iyey id Kanipawan et isodongna ken Kaan id Malingeb.

Sia et nan inkakkak-an si Kaan is Malingeb ay naganak is ipogaw ya issan ginomtek san an-akna danat ipabbey da-ida. Sia san sinomya-an san menmegmeganda ya naganakanda is ipogaw ya sinomya san mensama-anda.

Danat iyey is Pikong dat si Palakawan is Losban, Bandowan is Bilig dat si Koyaw is Lokong.

Sia nan inikkan Koyaw ay nangipabbey isnan an-akna. Sinmapo isnan abong danat mensegpen da-ida. Dadat ipoyawan isnan bebe ya

"So, let's go to your house. Where shall we build it, down below?"

"No, not down below, because that's where all the dirt goes," said Lumawig.

"Up above, then?"

"No, because that will be too smoky."

"Well, where it's spread out level?"

"Yes, so that the fertility of people and domestic animals and crops will be spread out level."

He went to Lamag. "That's so the fertility of people and domestic animals and crops will climb up (*lamag*), too."

He went to Namogong and to Tetep-an. He climbed up to Amtadao and took it to Bagi-ngey, then carried it to Kanipawan and looked down on Malingeb.

That's what Kaan of Malingeb did, producing more people, and when his children grew up he set them up in houses. That's why their increase of pigs and chickens and children came about, and the flourishing of their crops.

Then he took it to Pikong and to Palakawan of Losban, Bandowa of Bilig, then Koyaw of Lokong. (These are the traditional founders of the various *dap-ay* in Sagada.)

That's what Koyaw always did, setting up his children in houses. He made a house and had them enter it [for the first time]. They cut a pine

dalatey dada iyal-an da-ida isnan inapid ay kagat. Dadat to-oden nan bebe ya inalada nan manok ay kawitan yanan etag et manpano-odan ya inagganda nan agida sat mensapo ay mangwani:

Wada et si Lumawig id tag-ey. Nakigtek isnan ipogaw dat men-pabbey. Tino-odna nan bebena. Indegnakna nan lokod ya ganak isnan ipogaw. Makwas pay di inalana nan betegna et ibayas nan bommey. Isnan mapseng ya inalana nan kawitan et manapoyowanda ipoyodas tago yas mamegmegan.

"Inmey pay nan esa ay domingo tino-odna kasin nan bebena et ipaltiyana kasin di isnan beteg ya manok.

Inmey pay abes nan esa ay tawwen inalana kasin nan beteg yanan manok et paltiyena dadi."

Sia et di nan intodon Lumawig ay inik-ikkan si Koyaw. Ay mo ginomtek nan an-akna danat ipabbey da-ida. Natagodan, dadat makigtek isnan ipogaw. Ninbo-okda isnan oban. Memmegmegdas nan beteg ya manok dapay mapopo-ot.

Sia et di nan ik-ikkan nan omili ay mangikkan isnan initdon Lumawig.

sapling and [wood for] a cookstove, and got them a grass rope. Then they set up the sapling and took salt pork and a rooster and performed the Setting-Up rite and called their kindred, and then said the prayer:

"There was Lumawig up above. When [his] people came of age, he set them up in houses. They set up the sapling. He instituted longevity and fertility of people. After that, he took a pig and held wedding rites for the couple, and the next day took a rooster and performed Taking-Down [the sapling] to bring down life and the increase of animals.

"When a week passed, he set up his sapling again, and again killed a pig and a chicken.

"After a year passed, he again took a pig and chicken and killed them."

That's what Lumawig taught Koyaw always to do, that when his children would grow up he would set them up in houses. They thrived, so that there were plenty of people. They lived to have gray hair. They were successful in raising pigs and chickens, and they were well cared for.

That's what the whole town's always done, carrying out what Lumawig taught.

MYTH 12

(This is the Bauko version of Lumawig's marriage. The text and translation is taken from "Prayers in Lepanto-Igorot" by Morice Vanoverbergh [1953]).

"Id Bauko"

Si kano Lumawig yokyokena kano san awwidingna sinan daoda dana pay adi dunoen san kaenda, sa et kano kinwanin amana en: "Sino pay san inmat ken sik-a?"

"Dedengnek man san dinmanapas s' daga, dan pay maidekdekey san egesko, dan et sia san isadutko."

"Aw et, ta kad uy-uyek san gayangko mo tayudengka ay umey et wa ada ay tet ewa."

Sana et kano uy-uyen san gayangna, ya mentayudeng kano ay umey, sana et kano kanan en: "Anggay ay ayka ta ummmata si kaonmo."

Sada et kano alan san gayangna ya gi-dingna ya sin laeyna ay sana ya bedbedna, sa et kano: "Anggey di, enka et."

Umey kano ed Kalawittan yan payongana ed Pingad kano, yan siawatikda: "Ay adiak uppay layden na," kanana kano; umey pay kano ed Data, payongana kano ed Banaaw: "Ay ken uppay siay ayek na."

Sana pay itakdeg kano et umey yan ilana kano et naubse-ubseyanda; "Ay adiak uppay layden na," kanana kano: "Ta kad ayek ad Pilapil," kanana kano et umey, umey pay kano, yan: "Ay ta uppay naken nenkaayanganganda, ay adiak uppay layden na, ta kad umeyak ed Kay-ang."

"How He Celebrated His Marriage in Bauko"

Lumawig, they say, he plays, they say, on his jew's harp under their house, and does not prepare their food; then, they say, his father said: "What happened to you?"

"I am listening to those that walk on the earth, and my belly is touched, and that is what makes me lazy."

"All right, I shall let down my spear, if it goes down vertically perhaps it is true."

Then, they say, he lets down his spear, and it goes down vertically, they say, then he says, they say: "Come let us fetch your provisions."

Then, they say, they take his spear and his copper bracelets and his blanket there and his headband, then, they say: "There you are, go."

He goes, they say, to Kalawittan and looks down on Pingad, they say, and they use the Pingad-dialect: "I do not like these," he says, they say; he goes, they say, to Data on Banaaw: "Here I shall go."

Then, they say, he stands and goes, he looks down, they say, and they all have goiters; "I do not like these," he says again, they say: "I shall go to Pilapil," he says, they say, and goes, he goes, they say, and: "Why! they are bandy-legged, I do not like these, I shall go to Kay-ang."

Umey pay kano, yan sisasa-kaangda: "Ay adiak uppay layden na," kanana kano abe; umey kano abe ed Masla, kenda et kano nangubakuba: "Ay adiak uppay layden na."

Sa et kano umey ed Bila, yan ilana pay kano, yan menas-asuk san ibila, ilana pay kano, yan gebgebenda san banga: "Adiak uppay layden na ta mengebgebada si banga."

Itakdegna pay kano san din-mangna ed Apa, yan wada da Bangan ken Bugar ay men-a si batong, sa et kano dumag-us et sumaaada, sana et yapsut san awana et igtona sinan loan Bangan, ken et kano sana, et yapsut san igidna, et iguana sinan loan Bugar ken et napno: "Anggey tay napno san egenyo et ta et mangantako."

Sada et kano mangan, yan adin kakak-kaanan, sa et kanan da Bangan: "Ay uppay Kabunian na, tay bab-ana yan namongsan, bookna yan nalabayan."

"Anggey nakakantako."

Sada et dundunen si Bangan et en manakdo, ken et kano nakilut san sinakdona, sana et kano kanan: "Adiak sa ta nakilut."

Sana et dundunen si Bugar, sa et kano yeyna pay yan menililing-en: "Anggey sumaatako et."

Sada et umey sinan digsian, yan wada san agamang: "Sino pay san men-agamang sina?"

Sa et kanan Bugar: "Agamang mi adi na."

He goes, they say, and they all spread their legs: "I do not like these," he says, they say, again; he goes, they say, again to Masla, and they all wear *kuba*-bark, they say: "I do not like these."

Then he goes, they say, to Bila, and he looks, they say, and the Bila people make smoke, he looks, they say, and they put their jars in the fire: "I do not like these, as they put jars in the fire."

He stands, they say, in front of Apa, and, there are Bangan and Bugar who gather cow peas, then, they say, he stands there and they arrive, then he plucks at his right and puts them in Bangan's *loa*-basket, and they say, it gets filled, then he plucks at his left, and puts them on Bugar's *loa*-basket and it gets filled: "Now that your load is complete let us eat."

Then, they say, they eat, and it does not diminish, then Bangan says: "Why! is he Kabunian then, as he has only one great tooth, and his hair is long."

"We have finished eating."

Then they send Bangan to fetch water, then, they say, the water she fetched is dirty, then, they say, he says: "I don't like that as it is dirty."

Then he sends Bugar, then she brings it, they say, and it is clear: "Let us go home."

Then they go to the outskirts and there is a granary: "Whose granary is this?"

Then Bugar says: "This is our granary."

Sa et: "Itokdok sina; sino san ngadan amam?"

"Si Kadangen."

Sana et kanan: "Kanam si amam ta umyali si apey ya danum tay kanan din mangili."

"Inayan pay sa s' mangili, sino san bumaykatan sana?"

Dan et adi: "Anggey ta umyeyak."

Sana et yey san apey ya danum, sana et kano dawaten, et uban ya ganak san kanana: "Anggey sumaata et."

Sada et kano sumaa, sada et kano mangan, sada et makakan, sana et kanan: "Men-asawakami ken Bugan."

Sa et kanan amana: "Dake si Bugan, ta isonsontako sinan yon-a."

"Adiak si Bangan, tan manakdo et nabudkan, dan pay mangan si Bangan en iwanwan-ina, si pay Bugan et mangan et inmanmana."

Sa et siay inasawana s' Bugan, sada et umanak, sa et tulo san anakda, sa et yumo-ngayong san yugtan: "Sino san nenbegew sina? kakan danka adi mangan."

Sada et menpapadpad, sada et padpadan san pasang si Beskaan, sana et kanan: "Ta kad sumakiatak ken ama, mo sino san kanana."

Sa et umey, yan kanan amana: "Sino san inmaliam?"

Then: "I'll sit down here; what is your father's name?"

"Kadangen."

Then he says: "Tell your father to bring fire and water because the stranger says so."

"Ay! that stranger, why does he send people there?"

Then: "I shall bring them."

Then he brings fire and water, then, they say, he receives it, and talks about old age and many children: "Let us go home."

Then, they say, they go home, then, they say, they eat, then they finish eating, then he says: "I shall marry Bugan."

Then her father says: "Let Bugan there, and let us put the older sister in her place."

"I don't like Bangan, because when she fetches water it is full of sand, and when Bangan eats she does it unmannerly, but when Bugan eats she does it well."

Then he married Bugan, then they get children, then they have three children, then the younger one gets ill: "Why is that? when you should eat you don't."

Then they have communication made with the spirits, then they communicate with the *pasang* at Beskaan, then he says: "I shall go up to my father, to hear what he says."

Then he goes, and his father says: "Why did you come?"

"San anakko ay yugtan ay menyoyo-ngayong."

"Ay lasuyka ay kenka makilumaydan si ipugaw, anggey umeyka ta alam san kawitan ta idmangmo, auni et makaan."

Sa et pumaytok et idmangna yan nakaan, ken et kano binumsil san anakna: "Enka, ta daitako di pam-oanda s' pasang."

"On account of the youngest child who is very sick."

"There you are, loving men, go and fetch a cock and put him in front, and it will get cured."

Then he comes down and puts him in front and it got cured, and, they say, his child got strong: "Would you hold this for you alone, let us send it down to the men of the *pasang* sacrifice."

MYTH 13

"Id Kay-ang"

Si Lumawig idi umey ed Gotong, nintikid ed Kawag et umey ed Gayang dat umey ed Kamiling. Et ilana et nan dua ay babai ay maanani si batong. Et umey na't datngan daida. Datngan na pay ya kanan kano nan babai, "Dey et nakag-aw. Satako't mangan."

Sa't kano umey. Idi nakakan da sada et kasin men-ani. Idi masdem sumaa da. Idi sumaa da kenwanin Lumawig, "Sige ta iyun-una yo ta engkayo kanan si ama yo ta umali ta men-iyali si apoy, men-iyali si etag, men-iyali si danum."

Dey umey nan dua ay babai, imbagada ken ama da. Usto'y umey si ama da wada met nan apoy ay tinagon Lumawig. Kanana, "Ngan pay nan mensapulam isnan etag ya danum?"

"Adi ta masibban nan inyalin san . . . no an-ak mo sa dua ay babai ay ninbatong?"

"How He Went to Kayan"

When Lumawig went to Gotong, he climbed up to Kawag and reached Gayang then went on to Kamiling. He saw two young women picking beans. And he went up to them. When he reached them, it is told, one of the ladies said, "It's mid-day already. Let's eat."

So, it is said, he ate with them. After they had eaten, they continued harvesting. In the evening they went home. On their way home, Lumawig said, "Go on ahead and tell your father to bring fire, salt meat, and water."

So the women went and told their father [what Lumawig had said]. When their father reached Lumawig he found that he had already built a fire. He said, "What are you going to use this salt meat and water for?"

"In order to eat . . . are the two young ladies who were picking black beans your daughters?"

Nintikid da, et sumaa da kano san baey nan am-ama. Nakauto et nan dua ay babai et nangan da. Nakanan da et kanan Lumawig, "Umeyak et is-nan dap-ay ta ennak maseyep."

Sana't ninemnem, "Ay maiwed kayman nangtangad ken datuna?" kanana kano.

Saet kanan kano ama da ay dey en, "Ibagam ken daida."

Ibagana et, "Maid," kanan kano san dua ay babas-sang.

Sana't kano kanan en, "Laydek san esa." Sada et gab-en et mensilayad da. Sada pay kano maek sinan dap-ay.

Mabung-bungo et gab-en da et nan men-asawaan da. Saet menbakil si Lumawig si kaiw et matupog et maisapu si baey.

Mensapo pay kano's baey ya kanan kano nan mangili ed Kay-ang, "Ay badangan tako si LUmawig." Et badangan da.

Saet kano ibag-et Lumawig san payok et ippey na san dua ay begas. Sana pay kano kanan en, "Es-estem sa ta enak kad ilaen san sapuwen nan mensapu."

Ilan pay kano asawa na san dua ay bukel ay begas ay menliwliwes, "Ha't ikan pay ngata tuna ay mapno?" Pay-ana et si begas.

They climbed up [the mountain], and went home, it is said, to the house of the old man. The two young women had already cooked and they ate. After they had eaten, Lumawig said, "I'll go now to the *dap-ay* to sleep."³¹

Then he remembered, "By the way, have any of these [young ladies] been with a man?" he asked, it is said.

Then, it is told, their father said, "Ask them."

He asked them and, "None," replied, it is said, the two young ladies.

Then, it is told, he said, "I love one of them." So they finalized the engagement and they loved each other. Then, it is said, they slept in the *dap-ay*.

Early the next morning, they performed the marriage rites. Then Lumawig cut down [pine trees] and the logs were gathered to be built into a house.

As he built his house, it is said, the people of Kayan said, "Let's help Lumawig." And they helped him.

Then Lumawig, it is said, placed a big pot over a fire and dropped two grains of rice [in it]. Then, it is told, he said, "Watch over this so I'll go to see how the work is progressing."

As his wife looked, it is said, at the two grains of rice swirling in the pot, "How can this fill the pot?" And she added more rice.

31. The *dap-ay* among the Kankanays is the same as the *ato* of the Bontoks. Aside from serving as a council house, it is also the sleeping place of old men, widowers, unmarried men and visitors of the *barrio*.

Ngem nan bilin Lumawig et adi na dadauman. Sa't sumibo et san payok et umey et san danum san mensapsapuan da. Et dilawen Lumawig, "Ay pinay-an ubpay nan babai ay dey nan payok si begas?" Idi umey pay kano yaket pinay-ana tet-ewa.

Et siyadi et masapu et nan baey da et mentalaken da si otik. Ha't kanan kano Lumawig en, "Ta mensida ta kad ta mangigtungan di i-Kay-ang en nentalaken ta."

Sana't kano kanan en, "Dakayo ay baballo, engkayo mangaew. Ilan yo nan dadake, ta waday langen."

Adi da patyen tay wada's kasaod Lumawig ay mangitudo, "Ay papatyen yo nan apon di anito ay sana? Tay ulay maid tun-od na od iman. Tay way nalpu ed daya." Adi patyen san nabilin et banban-eg san langen ay insaa da.

Idi wiiken da san otik sada pay ippey san langen et logitan, et nasiken nan otik et.

Et kanan kano aben Lumawig, "Engkayo man-a si geyag yo ta menipay-an yo sinan watwat yo," kanana kano. Yaket adi patyen san udom na et dampay patyen san udom na. Tay begew ay nasiken san nakalogitan nan beteg et siya nan patyen da et. Siya daida san nakagabno si waday isida da et. San egay nangpati pay et maid kano inablos das sinda da et es-esa ay gedged et anggay.

But Lumawig had warned her not to add anything. The pot started to overflow and the water reached where the work was being done. And Lumawig said, "Did that woman add rice to the pot?" When he went to check, it is said, she had really done it.

When their house was finished, they raised young pigs. Then, it is told, Lumawig said, "Let's eat meat so the people of Kayan will see that we have raised [pigs]."

Then, it is told, he said, "You young men, cut some firewood. Get the large trunks."

But they did not obey him for Lumawig's brother-in-law said, "Are you going to obey that son of an *anito* [spirit]? He doesn't have any forefathers. Maybe because he came from the sky." They did not obey his instructions and they brought back small logs.

When they butchered the piglets, and burned off their hair, they suddenly became full-grown pigs.

Then, it is told, Lumawig again said, "Go and get containers so you'll have something in which to place your share of the meat," he said, it is told. Some did not obey him, but others did. They had seen how the piglets grew when their hair was burned. These people were able to get lots of meat. But those who disobeyed him, it is said, had only a slice to eat.

MYTH 14

"Id Wanga"

Inmey da kano nanganop ngem nasaew da. Sada pay kano sumaa et kanan kano Lumawig en, "Engkayo sinan dap-ay ta ibaga yo en nasaew tako."

Umey da pay kano et, "Anggay mentupog kayo si bayading ta waday baon da. Ta umey da men-uwat sinan wanga tay nasaew da."

Umey da pay kano san wanga ya mangiyeb da ta pamangan da sinan deey indawat di umili ay bayading. Et adi kapunpunit sinan danum. Sana't kano alan san bayading et na et maptet et nan danum et. Sana pay depapen san negay sana pay kano utowen. Et alae Lumawig san inpunit na ay bayading et mangan da pay kano kayet. San meningitan Lumawig et ibekas na kano sinan danum et menkiwkiwi kaman negay.

Siya kano di.

"How He Fished in the River"

They went hunting, it is said, but were frustrated. So they went home, it is told, and Lumawig said, "Go to the dap-ay [council house] and tell them we weren't able to catch anything."

When they got there, it is said, [the old men said], "Get some camote for their food in order that they'll go to the river to cleanse themselves since they had bad luck."

When they reached the river, it is said, they fished to add something to the camote given by the people of the village. But they couldn't hold back the water. So, it is said, he placed the camote into the water and the water stopped flowing. Then he caught the fish, it is said, and cooked them. Then Lumawig got the camote he had used to dam the river and they ate, it is said. And when Lumawig threw his fish bones, it is said, into the water, they wiggled like fish.

That is what is told.

MYTH 15

"Nan Kinmaanan Lumawig"

Kano et si Lumawig et men-baybay. Et detngen na et ed Ba-ang. Ena't baybayen et kanana

"How Lumawig Left"³²

It is said, Lumawig decided to plow a field. And he reached Ba-ang. He started to plow the field and, it

32. It is only in Kayan where there is a story about how he went back to the sky. So the logical assumption is that from Bontoc he carried the rituals up to the villages in the higher valleys, passing through Sabangan and Sagada before reaching Kayan, Tadian.

kano en, "No iyalim nan baon ko si kag-aw, men-eskag ka sinan tupak na."

Siya kano sinan damo et nen-eskag. Idi mawakas, kanan kano'n asawana en, "Apay masapul ay men-eskag ak sinan tupak na mo?"

Umey na pay kano isid-ip. Yaket am-in ay ulay dua'y ingana dampay dua'y ipugaw, bu-ok na et anggay kaman kaipu-ipugaw ay men-ub-ubla san deey baybayen da ay deey. Dat kasin mentauli et men-eskag, ngem anggay tinugon Lumawig di. Sampay kano umey et anggay es-esa gedan si Lumawig tay nen-aabet dadi.

Sampay kano kanan Lumawig en, "Anggay mangan ta, ta sumaa ta et. Adi ka ubpay kabilin."

Sumaa da kano et kanana kano et, "Ta sumaa ak." Et umon-unod kano si asawa na. Umey da pay kano ad Kamiling yaket na singputen et nan bengen san babai et maiwakat yaket nenbalin si bato.

Sapay kano umey et sinan tungtungdo na ad Gayang et ipadsek kano Lumawig san sukod na et kanana, "Kumab ka. No makakkab ka et umunod ka. No adika pay et anggay mataynan ka."

Kumab et si Lumawig, si asawa na yaket aped menag-aga. Yaket kanan kano Lumawig en, "Ay maliton ka, ubpay tua ya?"

is told, he said [to his wife], "When you bring my food at mid-day, cough while you're still at a distance."³³

It is said, on the first day she coughed. The next day, it is told, his wife said, "Why do I have to cough while still at a distance?"

So, it is said, she went quietly and peeped at him. He was using his whole body [to plow]. Even his ears were like two people, while his hair were like numerous workers plowing the field. Then she went back and coughed but Lumawig knew what she had done. And, it is said, when she reached the field, Lumawig was whole again.

Then, it is told, Lumawig said, "Let's eat and afterwards we'll go home. It seems you can't follow instructions."

It is said, they went home and, it is told, he said, "I've decided to go home." And, it is said, his wife kept following him. When they reached Kamiling, it is said, he seized the woman's necklace and the beads were scattered and turned to stone.

Then, it is said, he went to the top of Gayang and Lumawig, it is said, thrust his spear into a rock and said, "Climb up. If you can climb up, follow me. But if you can't, you'll be left behind."

And Lumawig started to climb, while his wife kept crying. Then, it is told, Lumawig said, "Come to think of it, you're pregnant aren't you?"

33. Just like in Sabangan, there is also a wide field in Kayan which is said to have been plowed by Lumawig.

Kawten na et nan liton asawa na ay dey et, kawten Lumawig et pabalaena et nan unga et dey petden na daet, "Dey, tuptupam nan siki na no siya nan laydem. San tuptup na pay sikyam." Yaket aped menag-aganan babai ay dey.

Saet kano sikyan Lumawig, dana et tuptupan. Pakaben na kano sinan sukod na ay nenbalin si bato et kumab et san dua ay unga ay dey. Dampay mataynan da Lumawig ay sin-asawa.

"Et dey, umunod ka no makkab ka. No adi ka pay et mataynan ka. Ngem nan bilin ko ken sik-a, no way laylayad sinan ili pay et adi kan mananal-alibi sinan batawa. No sinan dao nan mangab-an da sinan gangsa et siya nan manalibiyam," kanana kano. Et dana't taynan et umunod sinan dua'y unga ay dey.

Idi pay kano makasin et wada san bayas id Kay-ang et gaeben da san gangsa isnan batawa. Et nanalibi et san babai ay tinaynan Lumawig ay dey, et ekdagen et Lumawig san buyak. Kasin pay kano manalibi sinan batawa yakat kasin na ekdagen. Sapay masmek asawa na din buyat inbilin asawa na ay Lumawig ay dey.

He put his hand inside his wife's belly, and Lumawig brought out the baby and divided it into two, "There, add [the upper half] to it's feet if that's what you want. Or add feet to the upper half." But the woman kept on crying.

Then, it is said, Lumawig added the missing feet and head. It is said, he made them climb up his spear which had turned to stone and the two children climbed up.³⁴ And Lumawig and his wife were left behind.

"There, follow us if you can climb. If you can't, you'll be left behind. But remember this, if there is any celebration in the village, don't dance in the open air. If they play the gongs inside, then you may dance," he said, it is told. Then he left her and followed his two children.

Afterwards, it is said, there was a marriage celebration in Kayan and the gongs were played in the open air. The woman Lumawig had left behind danced in the open air and Lumawig dropped his bolo. Again, it is said, she danced and again he dropped his bolo. It was then that the wife remembered the warning of her husband Lumawig.

34. Lumawig's spear is still there. According to the residents of Kayan it was very much longer but the 1990 earthquake caused some damage.

"San Nangapey"

Umey nan sin-akhi ay chey ad Tur-uwan id Samoki. Inkayu-kayuwek cha't ay sin-akhi tay chinmalupayo nan pakhey. Nan chey fateng ay kulitas ya itab chinmalupayo kayet. Inliwliwes cha ay sin-akhi, ya kanan nan esang en, "Chah, ke kaaayyew nan naluyaw ay am-in ay esek, am-in nan pakhey!"

Ay, saet pumanad kano's Lumwawig et kanana, "Et kecheng chasa ay matakho, et en uchan et matakho sa."

Chey sacha't kano kanan ay, "Inta't ta inta ilan nan chey chay cha mangapey id At-ato." Sacha't kano umey. Alan cha't nan pasiking cha ya kanan cha'y, "Chuplakam man nan ili mi's Kensachan tay chey ay malipayo nan inyes-ek mi ya nan pakhey."

Ay, sacha't manikid ad Kalegleg et chuplakan nan chey legleg ay chey. "Umakayo ta siya's usalen yo nan legleg ay sana ta ikapya yo ay kanan yo ay, 'ay legleg ka man ay, wad-ay in-oor si ulo na ya ilegleg cha man sa ya makaan nan oloor nan ulo na.'"

Ay sacha't akhes pay intam-aw ad sachag ay chey, umali cha't si Makalifeng. Isadsad cha't nan chaing cha. Ta sacha't kinwani en, "Toh,

"What He Did During Apey"

Two brothers went to Tur-uwan in Samoki. They started to complain for all the palay had withered. All the pea and bean plants had shriveled too. The brothers kept looking around and one said, "What a pity, for all the crops, and all the rice plants have withered."

Then, it is told, Lumawig came down and said, "Those plants will live. It will rain and those plants will grow again."

Then, it is told, they said, "Let's go meet those people performing the apey in At-ato." And, it is said, they went. They got their *sangi* [rattan backpack] and prayed, "Shower our village of Kensachan [Bontoc Ili] because our crops and rice plants have withered!"

Then they climbed up to Kalegleg and [Lumawig] blessed the *legleg*,³⁶ "Get that legleg and pray saying, 'Oh legleg, here is someone whose head is aching. When she uses you to wash her hair, make her headache go away.'"

Then they looked to the west, and reached Makalifeng. Then they started their *chaing*.³⁷ Afterwards they said, "Let's go to the place where

35. The *apey* is the ritual right after the planting season. This ritual is an offering to the unseen guardians to help in preserving the newly-planted palay from harm. During *apey* the people of Bontoc Ili lodge paluki at Tinadlangan.

36. *Legleg* is clay used as shampoo from the place also named Legleg.

37. A *chaing* is a prayer combined with chants and choreographed movements.

intako't man ad chachaingan, ta intako afaten nan inmey id Appay. Ta iyafat nan inala tako'y nay ay inmangmang nan nay chay i-Kensachan. Nangke ubfeng nan inmangmang cha ya kakawitan."

Hacha't tikichen ad Angakhicho et i-Salukong cha't umey cha id Luwefan. Et en-epap-ay nan angnen cha'y manaing. Awaten kano'n chey pakhey nan chey ipap-ay. Hacha't kanan en, "Toh, yangag man en, yake tako iasadsad nan chaing tako ya ayke wad-ay khanaten tako's na. Chah, intako't man."

En asilokod cha pay sinan chey tayay cha, "Yangag pet man nan inala yo'd Appay. Yake ulon si simsimot! O, kaot alaen nan inyey tako'y pakhey ta ituli yo. Pet simsimot nan watwat yo! Chakami pay et ubfeng ya kakawitan, isna'd Kensachan. Sasakap pet ed Appay issas. Intako't, umey yo alaen ta intako't issa, issa'd Kensachan."

Umali cha pay kano'd, At-ato, en isadsad cha't akhes nan chaing cha't, inchaing cha ken Tinadlangan. Sacha't umali pay id Pangwew. Iyanok-a cha nan cheey fawwet cha. Infawwet si Falanay ya manaktakiki. Infawwet pay si Fomitog ya masaskook ad Angsafot.

"Nangke pet manaktakiki nan fawwet Falanay, ke si Fomitog et chey masaskook ad Angsafot! Ay intako't, alan yo nan sangi'y sana ta intakot isaa nan pakhey nan i-Kensachan, tay nay narpas nan apey cha."

Sacha't pay chengaan si paluki's Tinadlangan ya umali cha'd Kensachan. "Michengyas sipichena ya's

prayers are held so we'll meet our companions who went to Appay [Western Bontoc]. So we'll show them what the people of Kensachan have given us. Here they use large pigs and roosters for their rites."

So they ascended Angakhicho, passed through Salukong and reached Luwefan. And they prayed well. And the rice plants, it is said, also grew well. Then they said, "Though we pray, we won't get anything here. Come on let's go."

But when they compared the contents of their containers, "What have you gotten from Appay! Why it's the head of a bird! Go and retrieve the palay you brought them. How come your share is so small! Here in Kensachan we have pigs and chickens. Oh those people from Appay! Go get [the palay] and let's go to Kensachan."

When they reached At-ato, it is told, they said their chaing, prayed to Tinadlangan. Then they proceeded to Pangwew. They spun their tops. Falanay tried his top but it wouldn't spin. But when Fomit-og threw his top, it spun all the way to Angsafot.

"How come Falanay can't spin his top, while Fomit-og's top went all the way to Angsafot! Come on, get your *sangi* [rattan backpack] and let's bring home the palay to Kensachan for their apey is over."

Then they placed paluki [cactus-like plant with small pointed leaves] on Tinadlangan and finally arrived in

faneng ya's pakhey, ya ininot, ta adi al-alan si utot ya kinok-oloko," siya chi nan kanan cha.

Kensachan. "The palay will bend towards the wall [of the rice field] and towards the other side, and they will thrive, and the rats and lizards will not steal them," that is what they said.

MYTH 17

"Nan Tinulungana"

Sumaa si ina cha, "Ya ngag man nan engkayo'n insasanga's sa? Adi kayo't chentan angkhay nan afong tako?"

"Toh, kanam en chapwan nan nal-an ama mi, yake pet fuso'n nal-ana."

Yakena't kinwanin, "Engkayo't ilan nan chemang mo nalafey."

Umey cha pay ya peypeyan na nan tulo'y lafey. Isikwat na nan epat, itked cha. "Awni't ta ifales si ama ta."

Sumaa cha pay et kinwanin ina cha, "Ya, nakcheng nan sinakhang yo?"

"Nakcheng pay."

Napat-a pay nan talon ay chey ya kanan ina cha, "'Kayo't isukusok nan suke'y sana sinan fuso tako ay i-Suyangan."

Yake cha't pay tet-ewa isukusok ay chey. Umey cha pay isnan talon nan i-Suyangan ket naschem. Umey cha pay inchalulog ay chey ya kumaeb cha't si afongan. "Ta wa'y in-anian ta."

Yaket kinwanin nan anochi na, "At pay maloopan ta. Intakay san nafilkhana."

"How He Helped Two Brothers"

When the mother [of the two brothers] came home she said [to her sons], "What are you looking so gloomy about? Why haven't you lighted a fire?"

"You said that our father died well, but he was murdered by our tribal foes."

Then she said, "Go and see if the way is clear."

So they went and heard three bird calls. Then they heard a fourth. "We will avenge our father."

When they went home their mother asked, "Did it go well?"

"Yes all was well."

The next morning their mother said, "Go and avenge your father's death against our foes the people of Suyangan."

So they went. They reached Suyangan by nightfall. They went down the hillside and started to build a shelter. "So we'll have something to use when we harvest."

But then the younger said, "But one side will be blocked [by the mountainside]. Let's go higher."

Umey cha pay san chey nafilkang, inkaeb cha tet-ewa's in-afongan ay chey. Yaket pay kinaekab cha pay ya sumkhep cha pay ay chey. Sacha't mangag-akhew ay chey.

Yaket sana nan inyadyad-an isnan fufong ay chey. Yaket kinwanin san yun-ana, "Engka man ta fumala ka ta ilam no ngag nan inyadyad-an ay chey. Ay saet pewakem nan fufong ta asop ya kasi umali ta inkailulusaw."

Sana et tetewa pewaken san chey fufong ay chey. Sumkhep pay et kasin cha mangag-akhew ay sin-akhi. Yaket sana tetewa ay inyadyad-an. Yaket ninkalulusaw et ninpespes cha't nan chey siki na.

"Yam nan khaman ta penkilikil ko na."

Kinwani na, "Adi kayo kumilikil ta pumanad-ak ta inab-afig tako." Yaket pumanad ya si Lumawig.

Yakena't kinwani, "To pet mangapayan yo's inani yo?"

"Maid pay."

Yakena't kinwani, "Sika'y anochi engka alan san sangi'k ay kar-akha. Adim alan san napangkitan ay sangi'k tay inkipon ko pay chi's fuso ya inkipon ko's lako."

Umey pay ya menfalya na't si asawan Lumawig ay chey, kena't inala san chey napangkitan ay chey. Ilana pay ket kanan Lumawig ay, "Yangag tay nan napangkitan nan inalam. Inkipon ko pay sa's fuso ya lako."

"Ta man fumaes kami."

So they went to the top of the hill and really built a shelter there. After they had built it, they went inside. Then they ate their lunch.

Then they heard [something] jumping on the roof. The elder brother said, "Go and see what is jumping on the roof. Then cut a hole in the cogon fronds so, hopefully, when it comes back it will fall through it."

So he [the younger brother] really cut a hole in the roof. He went back inside and the brothers continued eating. After sometime they really heard [something] jumping on their roof. It fell through the hole and they grabbed its feet.

"Give me my head axe so I can slash it."

He said, "Don't kill me. I'll come down and we'll talk." And when he came down, it was Lumawig.

Lumawig said, "Where are you going to put what you have harvested?"

"[There is] nothing."

Lumawig said, "You who are younger, go and get my new sangi [rattan backpack]. Don't get the old one for I used it in tribal wars and trade."

He went, but he tricked Lumawig's wife and he got the old one. When Lumawig saw [what he had brought] he said, "Why have you brought the old one? I used that in tribal wars and in trade."

"Because we want to get our revenge."

Yakena't kinwani ay, "Kecheng." Sana't kanan isnan yun-a ay chey, "Ayed pespesem ed nan khayang ay nay."

Pespesen na pay nan khayang ay chey ket makaktaab nan kicho. Eg-ay na ipeg-anan. Kasin makaktaab nan kicho, eg-ay na kayet ipeg-anan. Yakena't alan san yun-a'y chey, kasin na't ichuwas san anochi na'y chey. "Pespesem ed akhes na."

Pinespes pay san anochi na'y chey ya nakaktaab nan kicho'y chey. Yakena't kinwani, "Naakchan pet nan icho yo. Awni't alaen yo nan fales ama yo."

Yaket pay tetewa napat-a nan talon ay chey ya sacha't umey san chey sasakchuwan san apon san i-Suyangan ay chey. Inte-e nan yun-a's nan liblifan ay chey. Pag-alin nan mamuknag ay chey ya nenlangfitana. Nenlangfitan akhes nan anochi nan manakcho ay chey. Sacha pay chaan ay ala san ulo cha'y chey.

Yaket sisilutan pay nan chey cha'y i-Suyangan chaicha. Yake cha't umchan pay san Fantokhan id Taokan, in-ingati cha, "Intakang ka man ta umey ka ken chakami tay ke sumisilot nan fuso miy nay i-Suyangan."

Yaket mintakang pay tet-ewa sana't kentangfan cha-icha. Umchan cha pay ay chey ya kecha't kasifa-fakag sinan fato'y chey. Ninkalebleb et nan khaman cha'y chey ya san chey falfeg cha'y chey.

Kinwani cha, "Yake pet anito chana. Intako't inpabsa sinan

And he said, "All right." Then he said to the older brother, "Come, hold my spear."

As he grasped the spear, suddenly lightning struck. But he didn't loosen his hold. Again lightning struck, and again he held tight to the spear. Then he [Lumawig] got the spear from the older brother and gave it to the younger brother, "Hold tight to this."

The younger brother held tight to the spear and lightning struck. Then he said, "You're from a sturdy root. Soon you'll avenge your father."

The next day really they went to the place where the children of Suyangan fetched water. The elder brother stayed in the place where the road curved. And when a farmer passed by, he struck him down. His younger brother also struck down a person who had come to fetch water. Then they cut off their heads.

Then the people of Suyangan started trailing them. And when they reached Fanto-khan [a large stone] in Taocan, they pleaded, "Open up and come to us for our foes, the people of Suyangan, are following us."

And [the stone] really opened up and swallowed them. When they [the people of Suyangan] reached the stone they started hitting it. But they only dulled their bolos and spears.

They said, "Those were *anitos* [spirits]. Let's go to sharpen our

sagsachi." Yaket maligwat cha pay tetewa't inchan pabsa ay chey.

Yake cha't akhes in-inga-o ay chey san faton Fantokhan, "Inatakang ka et ta umitubfa ka ta sumaa kami's ka ili mi'd Mabfileng."

Itubfa na pay chaicha'y chey yake cha't mangal-aleya-ey. Insakhong et nan i-Suyangan ay chey, "Wadaw, ke pet tet-ewa anito chasa!"

Sacha't pay umali's san ili cha'y chey, khab-en cha nan patik. Ya sacha't umyai san ato's fotog pay ay chey. Mamegnas cha akhes san ato cha'y chey. Nakakan cha pay ya kecha't kab-en san patik ay chey. "Awni't inpinalatik si chug-an nan fotog yo, tay na fotogan nan chap-ay, manok ya masayag chadlo nan manok."

"Kintek yo pet chadlo nan kaeb si patik. Awni et kumedse kayo ay sinpangato."

weapons." And they really went to sharpen their weapons.

Then they [the brothers] shouted to the stone Fantokhan, "Open up and spit us out so we'll go home to Mabfileng."

The rock spat them out and they started chanting and singing. The people of Suyangan looked back, "Truly those were anitos."

When they reached home, they performed the *patik*.³⁸ And they brought a pig [as sacrifice] to the ato. And they prayed at the ato. After they had eaten, they performed the patik. "What you have planted will be abundant, your pigs will thrive, and your chickens will flourish."

"[Since] you know how to do the patik properly, the people of this ato will prosper," [said Lumawig].

38. The *patik* is a thanksgiving ritual wherein a pig is butchered at the ato.

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