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KANKANAY CEREMONIES

BY

C. R. MOSS

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## INTRODUCTION

### TERRITORY OF THE KANKANAY

Since the Kankanay have been studied very little, the exact extent of their culture area is not at present certain.

The Igorot of northern Benguet, and almost all of the people living in Amburayan and southern Lepanto, speak the same dialect, have similar customs, and call themselves by the same name, "Kakanay" or "Kankanay." The people of this group have no important cultural features by which to distinguish them from the Nabaloi, and linguistics is the only basis on which they may be classed as a separate unity.

The inhabitants of northern Lepanto call themselves "Katangnang," speak a variation of the dialect spoken in the southern part of the sub-province, and have some customs, such as communal sleeping houses for unmarried boys and girls, which are more similar to certain customs of the Bontoc than to any found among the southern Igorot.

It might also be mentioned that the towns of northern Lepanto are comparatively large and compact like those of Bontoc, while the Kankanay of southern Lepanto as well as those of Benguet and Amburayan live in scattered settlements. Another difference is the amount of authority exercised by the *baknang* or wealthy class. In

northern Lepanto the *baknang* are comparatively unimportant, while among the southern Kankanay they are as powerful as among the Nabaloi.

However, the best authorities regard practically all the Lepanto Igorot as Kankanay. This seems to be advisable at present, but it is not improbable that a more thorough study of the Katangnang in the northern part of the sub-province will result in their being classed as a separate group.

Regarding the Igorot of northern Lepanto as Kankanay, the territorial limits of the tribe are approximately as follows:

On the north, the Lepanto-Bontoc sub-provincial boundary; on the east, the western boundary line of Ifugao; on the south, a line passing near the southern limits of Alilem and Bacun, then through the southern part of Kapangan between the barrios of Kapangan and Datakan, then through the township of Atok a little north of the central barrio, and then through the southern barrios of Buguias; and on the west, a line passing through the foothills of Amburayan and Lepanto.

#### PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND TRAITS

In personal appearance the majority of the Kankanay are very similar to the Nabaloi except for the fact that they have hardly benefited as much through contact with the outside world. Except in the case of those who live near the sub-province of Bontoc, it is rather difficult to distinguish a Kankanay man from a Nabaloi.

The women of the two tribes are easily distinguished by a difference in dress, since the Kankanay women wear a waist instead of a jacket, and a plain skirt instead of the kind with the folded effect worn by the Nabaloi.

In personal traits the Benguet Kankanay are similar to the Nabaloi, but farther north the people are more self-assertive and independent. The difference in this respect between the *cargadores* of the various culture areas is noticeable. In Benguet they will generally carry without protest whatever size load they are given, but in Bontoc the *cargador* decides exactly how much he will carry. While waiting for his load, the Benguet man will probably remain out in the road, the Lepanto man in the yard, the Ifugao on the porch; but the Bontoc man comes into the house and acts as if he were in all respects the equal of the one for whom he carries.

## INDUSTRIAL LIFE

In agriculture and the industrial arts the Kankanay and the Nabaloi have made about equal progress, and practically everything that might be said of the one applies equally to the other. The standard of living is about the same, except that as a rule the Nabaloi have more rice. The houses and the method of their construction are similar, but there is a larger proportion of good houses among the Nabaloi. The household furnishings of the two peoples consist of the same or of similar articles.

## CUSTOM LAW

The custom law of the southern Kankanay differs from that of the Nabaloi only in unimportant details.<sup>1</sup>

The order of inheritance is the same, and the general principle that property must go to the next generation and that parents, brothers, and uncles can hold it in trust only, applies to the southern Kankanay as well as to the Nabaloi. Another principle of common application by the two tribes is that all relatives of the same degree, whether male or female, inherit equally.

The southern Kankanay and the Nabaloi also have similar customs in regard to marriage, and children are betrothed by their parents in the same way. Among the northern Kankanay the young people choose their own spouses as they do in Bontoc.

Divorees among the Kankanay are rather frequent, though they claim that they are never divorced after children have been born. I know of two cases of divorce, however, between Kankanay wives and their Nabaloi husbands after there were children.

In general, the customs of the southern Kankanay and the Nabaloi regarding the discovery and punishment of crime are the same; but a larger proportion of cases are settled by the Kankanay according to their old custom law, since the Nabaloi have lately become more prone to take their troubles to the white officials.

All the ordeals known to the Nabaloi for discovering criminals or testing the veracity of witnesses are used by the Benguet Kankanay. In addition to these they have the test called *manman*, decided by looking at the gall of two chickens furnished by the respective contestants. The Kankanay as well as the Nabaloi contestant always appeals to the sun.

<sup>1</sup> See my *Nabaloi Law and Ritual*, present volume, pp. 236-271, 1920.



Taken as a whole the custom law of the southern Kankanay and the Nabaloi is the same; and judging from the information at present available we may conclude that all the Igorot groups administer justice according to the same basic principles.

#### COMPARATIVE CULTURE

There is little difference in the amount of general knowledge possessed by the Kankanay and the Nabaloi, but the latter are probably a little more advanced in this respect. Whatever may be said of their native culture, the Nabaloi are certainly showing a greater readiness to adopt civilization than any other Igorot people.

Comparing the general Kankanay culture to that of the neighboring groups, I should say that it is lower than the culture of the Nabaloi and higher than that of the Bontoc. In some respects it is superior to the culture of the Ifugao or Kalinga, while in other respects it is inferior.

#### CEREMONIAL SYSTEM

##### GENERAL COMPARISON WITH THE NABALOI

The Kankanay ceremonial system is similar to that of the Nabaloi.<sup>2</sup> The rituals are the same in general purpose; they are based on a similar belief in spirits; the important elements of both systems are sacrifice and prayer; and the functions of the priests are the same. The ceremonies of each group must be given in their appropriate places, and a particular sacrifice must be offered in connection with each, though there is probably more latitude of choice among the Kankanay than among the Nabaloi.

There are Kankanay ceremonies corresponding in purpose to nearly all the Nabaloi ceremonies, but as a rule the spoken ritual is quite different. Some of the corresponding ceremonies are called by the same name, and some by different names. In a few cases ceremonies called by the same name are celebrated for entirely different purposes by the two groups.

There is not the same uniformity in the ceremonies celebrated in the various towns of the Kankanay as there is in those of the Nabaloi. As a rule the same rituals are held in the towns of northwestern Benguet, in Ampasungan of Lepanto, and in Bacun of Amburayan.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 280-335.

Buguias and Mancayan have the majority of these ceremonies, but not all. On the other hand, a few are celebrated in the latter towns which are unknown in the former.

From the data available, it seems that there is even more difference between the ceremonies of the northern and southern Kankanay than there is between those of the latter and the Nabaloi. It is quite certain, however, that all the Lepanto ceremonies have not been recorded, and when this has been done the rituals of the two sections may show a closer resemblance than at present appears to be the case.

#### SPIRITS AND DEITIES

The southern Kankanay have no term by which a supreme ruler of the universe is designated, and it is doubtful if any Kankanay, with the exception of a few who live near the coast, have any conception of such a personage. The translation of "Lumawig" as God in connection with the description of some of the ceremonies presented in Robertson's publication on the Lepanto Igorot,<sup>3</sup> may be explained by the tendency of the Ilokano township secretaries who did the recording, to interpret Igorot rituals in terms of the Christian religion.

It seems that all the Igorot tribes that have so far been studied recognize Lumawig as one of their great culture heroes. The Benguet Kankanay say that he once lived on earth and was one of them, and that when he died his soul did not go to the mountains with the souls of the other Igorot, but ascended to the sky, where it still remains with the souls of Kabigat, Amdoyaan, and the other great heroes of the past. All the culture heroes are objects of worship.

The *kakading* are the souls of the dead. They go to the mountains but sometimes return to their villages and cause sickness in order that sacrifice will be necessary. The *tanong* and *amud* are souls of ancestors.

The Kankanay as well as the Nabaloi believe in the existence of spirits other than the souls of the dead, which cause sickness or bad luck. Their concept of the special functions of each class of spirits, however, is not in all cases the same as that of the Nabaloi. The belief in the *amdag* which catch the souls of the living with a net, and in the *pasang* which prevent the birth of children, is common to both tribes. On the other hand, the *ampasit* and the *timungau*, malevolent spirits of the Nabaloi, seem to be regarded rather as culture heroes

<sup>3</sup> Phil. Jour. of Sci., ix, Section D, 465-527, 1914.

by the Kankanay. In addition to the *amdag* and the *pasang*, the southern Kankanay recognize the following:

The *dagas*, spirits which live with the people in their dwelling houses.

The *bilig*, spirits which live in the pasture or timber lands near the settlements.

The *pinading*, spirits which live in the high mountains, and correspond in some respects to the *kakaising* of the Nabaloi.

The Kankanay belief in *Messeken*, *Akodau*, and the other inhabitants of the underworld is the same as that of the Nabaloi. The belief regarding the underworld seems to be held in common by all the Igorot tribes and to extend to the Tinguian of Abra.

The Kankanay in a very few ceremonies pray to the sun and moon, but it is not probable that they pray to groups of stars as do the Nabaloi. The elements are frequently personified in the sacred stories, but it is not probable that prayer is offered to them.

#### PURPOSE

The Kankanay make ceremonies for the same general purpose as the Nabaloi. The majority of them are celebrated primarily against sickness, or to avert calamities, such as crop failure. Incidentally, all public ceremonies secure the good will of deities and spirits, and cause the giver to live long, be lucky, and become rich. The matter of personal pride and desire of power is also an important factor, and it is said that the most expensive *cañao* celebrated by some of the Lepanto Kankanay is given for no other purpose. I think this is doubtful, however, and believe it probable that all *cañaos* possess some religious significance, even when the givers have a material motive.

Another reason for ceremonies given by a member of the Kankanay *baknang* might be interesting. He stated that if he did not give the *mandit* and other public *cañaos* at frequent intervals, all his livestock would be stolen, but that as long as the people knew that they would consume the larger number of his animals, they were willing that he should have the trouble and responsibility of raising them.

#### PRIESTHOOD

As with the Nabaloi, the *mambunong* is an institution; though the Kankanay have more occasions on which they address the spirits and deities without his intervention than the Nabaloi. Except in

Buguias the ceremonies are not shrouded in mystery to the same extent that they are among the Nabaloi, and the people have more general knowledge concerning them.

The compensation allowed the priest is about the same as among the Nabaloi, and the priests appoint their successors in the same way; that is, by selecting the one to whom the prayer is taught.

#### DIVINATION

*Anap*, meaning "to find out," is the general name for the Kankanay divination ceremonies. Three methods are used.

The *mambunong* puts *tapuy* in a glass and prays, asking the gods to show what caused the sickness and what ceremony should be celebrated to effect its cure. He then looks into the *tapuy* where he sees something indicating the cause of the sickness and the ceremony to be celebrated. This method corresponds to the Nabaloi *bakno*.

A stone is suspended by a string, the *mambunong* prays, the various rituals are named; if the stone moves at the mention of a ceremony, that one must be celebrated. This method corresponds to the Nabaloi *sabat*.

An egg is stood on end on the ground, the rituals are named, and the one to be given is determined by the falling of the egg. This corresponds to the *buyon* of the Nabaloi, except that the latter use a stick instead of an egg.

The examination of the gall of a chicken is used to determine whether or not one will be lucky in doing a certain thing, or whether a sick person will recover. This divination is called *manman*.

#### SPOKEN RITUAL

As with the Nabaloi, the spoken ritual consists of either a petition or a story which serves as a magical formula. The formula seems to be used to a greater extent by the Kankanay than by the Nabaloi. The prayer or formula must always be uttered at the appropriate place and in the proper circumstances, or else it will not be effective. The use of the formula as well as the prayer seems to be common to all tribes of the Igorot including the Tinguian.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Compare F. C. Cole, *Traditions of the Tinguian*, Publ. of Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropol. Ser., xiv; and R. F. Barton, *Ifugao Law*, present volume.

## DANCING AND SONGS

There is no dancing in connection with the private ceremonies; but the *tayo*, a dance by one man and woman at a time, forms a part of nearly all public ceremonies. The dance is the same as the *tayau* of the Nabaloi except that the Kankanay dance to faster time. The time is faster among the northern than among the southern Kankanay.

While the dance is in progress the *mambunong* shouts the following at intervals of about ten minutes to the man who is dancing:

Baliwatak sika; matagoga, maganakka; bomaknangka; bomaknang abū tomoi mansīda; bamaknang abū babayī manadong tauwadi, kasinsinopantaka si oaoay.

I give you this blessing: may you live long, may you have children; may you be rich; may the giver of this ceremony also be rich; may the women dancing also be rich, so that there will be our gathering together always.

While the *mambunong* is reciting the *baliwak*, the man stops dancing, but the woman continues. The *baliwak* corresponds to the *datok* of the Nabaloi.

The typical dances of the Nabaloi and the Kankanay are very similar, but this can not be stated of the dances of any of the other Igorot tribes. The Bontoc, Ifugao, Apayao, and Kalinga dances all differ considerably, and even the most common dances in various towns of the same tribe differ to such an extent that an inhabitant of one town can not take part in a dance of another.

Sacred songs form a part of the worship in connection with the Kankanay *mandit*, *palis*, *tamo*, and *bindian*. The *badio*, which is an extemporaneous chant similar to the *badio* of the Nabaloi, is always sung in connection with all ceremonies if there is sufficient *tapuy* on which to become intoxicated, but it is not regarded as a part of the worship.

## OMENS AND TABOO

The Kankanay pay even more attention to omens in connection with rituals or in their ordinary occupations than do the Nabaloi. Snakes, lizards, or certain birds crossing the roads are omens of bad luck. If anything falls, if a rock becomes detached and rolls down the hill, or a person stumbles, some calamity is sure to follow unless it can be averted by means of ceremonies.

The taboos among the Kankanay are even more numerous and last longer than among the Nabaloi. This may be partly due to the fact that the Kankanay are a more primitive people.

The taboo and the belief in omens is common to all the Igorot tribes, and the latter is prevalent to some extent among many of the lower class Christian Filipinos.

COMPARATIVE NABALOI AND SOUTHERN KANKANAY CEREMONIES<sup>5</sup>

NABALOI	SOUTHERN KANKANAY	PURPOSE
Buyon	Anap	For divining cause of sickness and its cure by standing stick or egg on end, by swinging stone, or by looking into liquid mirror.
Sabat		
Bakno		
Manoni		
Bindayan	Manman	Divining future by looking at gall of chicken.
	Bindian	Originally a head-taking celebration. Now given to cure or prevent sickness, or in compliance with a promise made while sick.
Pachit	Mandit	Originally a peace celebration. Now given to cure or prevent sickness, to obtain long life and good luck, and to enhance the prestige of the giver.
Chawak	Dawak	A <i>pachit</i> or <i>mandit</i> on a small scale, and given for the same purpose.
Bayog	Basit dawak	A very small <i>chawak</i> or <i>dawak</i> . (The prayer in <i>mandit</i> is called <i>bayog</i> .)
Batbat	Batbat	Against sickness.
Saad	Saad	A small <i>batbat</i> .
Kapi	Kapi	To prevent sickness of which one has been warned in dreams.
Amdag	Amlag	To secure release of the soul when it has been imprisoned by the <i>amlag</i> .
Tawal	Lawit	To induce a soul which has wandered away to return.
Tingiting	Tingiting	To cause return of souls which have flown away with the fire and smoke of a burning dwelling house.
Palis	Palis	Against witches.
Sagausau	Palis	To cause harm to befall an enemy or to avert harm from the giver.
Buang	Buang	Against deafness.
Nansaang	Mayilutlutkan	Against headache.
Palis chi kabunian	Palis di kabunian	Against toothache. Also against headache by the Nabaloi.
Dosad	{ Mantuis bilig Bilong Mayodosan Manbating	Against diseases of the lungs or chest.
Sigop		
Kolos	Liblibian	Against diarrhoea or pains in the abdomen or stomach.
Basil	Ampasit	Against sexually caused diseases.
Sabosab	Dayau	To cure sores. (Nabaloi ceremonies also celebrated after a quarrel so that sores will not result.)
Diau Chuntog		
Diau Kasib		

<sup>5</sup> See the present volume, p. 289.

NABALOI	SOUTHERN KANKANAY	PURPOSE
Tamo	Tamo	Against insanity.
Pasang	Pasang	Against sterility.
Abasang	Abasang	At the birth of children.
Sibisib	Sibisib	To cure wounds.
Kaysing	Gaysing	Betrothal ceremony given by parents.
Kalon	Galon	Betrothal ceremony given by betrothed.
Marigidin	Mangilin	Marriage ceremony.
Pansijanan	Mansiyanun	Divorce ceremony.
Siling	Siling	Funeral ceremony.
Okat	Pugas	Ceremony held immediately after a corpse has been put into the coffin or buried.
Tabwak	Kiad	To induce the soul of a person who has recently died to go away and not cause sickness.
Kosday	Kosde	To cause agricultural products to grow.
Tawal ni payu	Bugid	To increase water for irrigation. ( <i>Tawal ni payu</i> also against sickness caused by spirits living in rice fields.)
Pungau	Pungau	To cause the rice to increase when harvested.
Bakak	Bugak	To prevent sickness caused by eating new rice.
Salchi	Saldi	To prevent sickness caused by eating animals which have fallen or died of disease.
Kiad		Against sickness caused by mountain spirits called <i>kakaising</i> .
Ampasit		Against sickness caused by timber spirits called <i>ampasit</i> .
Pasang ni Mansakit		Against sickness caused by air spirits called <i>pasang</i> .
Timungau		Against sickness caused by water spirits called <i>timungau</i> .
Gangau		To cure rheumatism.
Padad		To foresee and avert death.
	Bilig	Against sickness caused by spirits of the same name.
	Dagas	Against sickness caused by house spirits called <i>dagas</i> .
	Laglagiwin	Against sickness caused by a guardian spirit.
	Tanong	Against sickness caused by the souls of ancestors.
	Sagausau	For luck before starting on a journey.

LEPANTO KANKANAY CEREMONIES<sup>6</sup>

A. Generally distributed through northern and central Lepanto:

*Begnas* or *pakde*, for the general welfare; made two or three times a year, before or after the planting and the harvesting of rice. Similar to the Ifugao *hongga*, the Benguet Kankanay *kosde*, and the Nabaloi *kosday*.

*Bayas*, made by the rich to emphasize their station; also against sickness. Made after marriage "every four or five years," or, "three times during one's lifetime." Similar to the Ifugao *bumaiyah*, the Benguet Kankanay *mandit*, and the Nabaloi *pachit*.

<sup>6</sup> Based on the publication by J. A. Robertson, *The Igorots of Lepanto*, Phil. Jour. of Sci., IX, section D, pp. 465-527, 1914. Ifugao analogies are cited in this paper in footnotes.

*Bakid*, variously described as "for the dead," "against ditches going dry," and "part of other cañaos." Similar to the Benguet Kankanay *bugid*; and the Nabaloi *tawal ni payu*.

*Ubaya*, divination, "for finding out." Similar to the Ifugao *ubaya*, the Benguet Kankanay *anap*, and the Nabaloi *buyon*, *sabat*, and *bakno*.

*Palis*, against witches. Similar to the Benguet Kankanay *palis* and the Nabaloi *palis*.

B. Mentioned only in the reports from this or that township:

*Pasang*, against sterility. Similar to the Benguet Kankanay *pasang*, and the Nabaloi *pasang*.

*Keslei*, against sickness.

*Tobag*, against sickness.

*Tonkala*, in accordance with a vow rendered during sickness.

*Bagaos*, for the rice crop; against mice and drouth.

*Sepesep*, nature and purpose not clear.

## PARTICULAR CEREMONIES<sup>7</sup>

### BINDIAN

The *bindian*, called by the Kabayan Nabaloi *bindayan*, is celebrated in Buguias, but in no other Kankanay town. The ceremony is held to cure or to prevent sickness, or in compliance with a promise made while a person is sick.

In general, the celebration is similar to that conducted in Kabayan; but in Buguias instead of the dummy head being carved to represent the head of a person, it represents the head of a snake. In the *bindian* song for Buguias, the deeds of the heroes who went to Legleg and succeeded in killing two large snakes which had been responsible for the death of a large number of people, are commemorated. The *olol*, instead of representing the takers of human heads as they do in Kabayan, represent the persons who killed the snakes.

As among the Kabayan Nabaloi, hogs are used for sacrifice, and the dancing is the same in the two towns. The prayer is also similar.

<sup>7</sup> All the ceremonies described in this section were recorded among the Benguet Kankanay in the townships of Kibungan, Kapangan, and Buguias. All the texts were recorded in Kibungan except those of the *kiad*, which were recorded in the central barrio of Kapangan, and those of the *ampasit* and *tanong*, which were recorded in the barrio of Legleg, Kapangan. Kibungan is a town in the north-western corner of Benguet. It is inaccessible, and has been affected very little by outside influence. It adjoins the Amburayan town of Bacun, and the Lepanto town of Ampasungan. Legleg is about midway between Kibungan and the Nabaloi boundary; the barrio of Kapangan is on the line between the Nabaloi and Kankanay; and Buguias is in the northeastern part of Benguet, north of the Nabaloi town of Kabayan. The dialect is spoken with some difference of pronunciation in the various towns. It is believed that all public ceremonies celebrated by the Benguet Kankanay are described in this section, but some of the private ceremonies were probably overlooked.



As a rule the celebration is not conducted on so large a scale in Buguias as it is in Kabayan, and fewer people attend.

I do not know whether or not this ceremony is given in any of the Lepanto Kankanay towns, but I have seen a dance in Bagnen which is similar to the *bindian* dance. The Igorot farther north have their head-taking celebrations, of which the *bindian* seems to be a survival.

#### MANDIT

The *mandit* of the Kankanay corresponds to the *pachit* of the Nabaloi. The Nabaloi use the word *manchit*, meaning "to celebrate the *pachit*." The Kankanay always substitute "d" for the "ch" of the Nabaloi.

However, there is a difference in the purpose for which the Nabaloi and the Kankanay of Kibungan and surrounding towns celebrate this ceremony. In Kibungan it is given neither to cure nor to prevent sickness, but only to cause the person celebrating it to become rich and to be honored by the people. In the Kankanay town of Buguias it is celebrated to cure or prevent sickness as well as to enhance the prestige and to increase the wealth of the giver.

The following is an account of a *mandit* which I saw on the 3rd and 4th of October, 1916, at the house of Damadan, a rich Igorot living in Kibungan:

The ceremony began about nine o'clock in the morning. The *mambunong* took a cocoonut shell filled with *tapuy*, and squatted in front of the house. He then prayed as follows, while holding the *tapuy* in his hand:

Sikayao ay pinading ay kayilinganmi, ipitikēnmi dakayos nan tapuy ut makikan kayo; ut adayo golgolidan di pakanēnmi.

You, the *pinading* living near us, we are giving you *tapuy* and food to eat and drink with us; so do not permit what we feed to have a skin disease.

The old men then squatted around in a group and sang the *bayog*, which is as follows:

Linmayad si Taydak, linmayad si Dakodak;  
Ginmosad si Soyaan, linmayad si Taydak;  
Ginmosad si Balitok, Balitok nay masobok.  
Tadyonay manyokayok dalingyos bintauwanyo,  
Linmobi di baboiyo, inmingyap di manokyo,  
Ganakyoi sauwaswoo. Siya say isongdoyo  
Linan inmananito.

Ginmosad si Aponan, ingosadna baboina  
Siay intayawanda sinan boi di mansina.  
Siya sat matoganda mobalung ya ipidwada

Tamonmasinop nan litagua way panamtamangan un dayida.  
 Ginmosad si Maodi balitok nay masodi,  
 Madili ay babayi, dalingyos bintauwanyo,  
 Liniboi di baboiyo, inmingyap di manokyo.  
 Alanyat i songdoyo si bomooi ay nayo.  
 Balbalungmo matago, ipidwanas bungbungo  
 Ut maad adotako.  
 Ginmosad si angtan; galinay kinadangian.  
 Tanbanos di baknang ingosad ni baboiyo  
 Ay inbayogunyo.

Became happy Taydak, became happy Dakodak;  
 Came down from the sky Soyaan, became happy Taydak.  
 Came down from the sky Balitok, Balitok who was kind.  
 The wooden dishes being carried in and out will be seen in your yard,  
 Will become fat your pigs, will increase in number your chickens.  
 Your children born will be eighteen. That is why you will mourn the death of  
 the one celebrating the ceremony.

Came down Aponan, bringing hogs  
 So that there would be dancing at the house where the *mandit* was celebrated.  
 So that they would know when they did it next,  
 He called together the people that they might see everything.  
 Came down from the sky Maodi, gold-shining.  
 Growing fat are your pigs, increasing in number are your chickens.  
 Admit you will mourn the death of the giver of this ritual.  
 If you live, do it again in the future  
 That we may increase.  
 Came down Angtan; his blankets were those of a rich man.  
 The greatest of all the rich men brought down your hogs,  
 Singing the *bayog*.

After singing the *bayog*, the people danced and drank *tapuy* until noon, when twelve hogs which were to be killed were tied and put in a row in front of the house. Just before the first hog was killed the *mambunong* prayed the prayer which is called *batbat* in Kibungan. It is as follows:

Lūmawig un Kabigat, si Pati, si Soyaan, si Amdoyan, si Wigan, si Bintauan, si Bangan, si Bogan, si, Obongan, si Obung, si Laongan, si Singan, si Maodi, si Kolan, si Moan, si Angtan, si Gatan, si Angban, si Mantalau, si Balitok; minyaan midakayos, yan tagoundakami. Idauwatmoi masangbo, tamo matagokami pangiyaan di ibamin dakami; tamo dakayo ay kabūnian waday pangiyaan min dakayo; tamo anakmi waday matago ya waday pangiyaan min dakayo.

Mopakēnmi adadočnyo, tauaday pidičnmi. Mo manokmi abu, matago tauwaday panbiagmi. Mo mansamakmi, abu, mataguay; batong mataguay, din togi mataguay; ta waday panbiagmi. Mo mansamakmi, abu, si pina, ya kapi adadoi bagasna, ta waday ilaukami, ta waday iami sigalimi.

Lumawig and Kabigat, Pati, Soyaan, Amdoyan, Wigan, Bintauan, Bangan, Bogan, Obogan, Obung, Laongan, Singan, Maodi, Kolan, Moan, Angtan, Gatan, Angban, Mantalau, Balitok; we are giving this to you that we may live long. Work for us to become rich so that while we live there will be the giving of meat

to us by our companions; so that you the gods will have things given to you; so that our children will have life; so that there will be gifts for you.

What we feed increase, so that there will be celebrations of ceremonies again. Cause our chickens also to live to be for keeping us alive. Make what we plant also to live; beans to live; camotes to live; to be for keeping us alive. Make what we plant, also, pineapples and coffee, to have much fruit, so that we may have it to sell, that we may have something with which to buy blankets.

The hogs were then killed, and after the meat was cooked the same prayer was repeated. After the people had eaten, they began to dance and sing again and continued to do so throughout the night; but only a small number of those who were present during the day remained. The majority went home, taking with them part of the meat which had been left.

The second and third days were similar to the first; but fewer people attended, and fewer hogs were killed.

The *mambunong* stated that, if after a person has celebrated the *mandit*, a stone should become detached from the hillside and roll down near his house, or if there should be a slide near, it would be necessary for him to kill another hog, and have the *mambunong* pray the following prayer:

Sika ay napolug ay bato nay ay okaamka, ut bomaknangak ut adakna bitbit-bitug. Mataguak abū ta maobananak.

You, the falling stone, I am giving you this so that you will make me rich and will not make me poor. Cause me to live also until my hair is white.

While this ceremony corresponds in general to the Nabaloi *pachit*, the song and prayer are entirely different. In the *pachit* the prayer is addressed principally to the souls of dead relatives, while in the *mandit* the hero deities are addressed. The prayer and song resemble more closely those for the Nabaloi *bindayan* than those for the *pachit*. It is not improbable that when the *bindayan* or its equivalent became obsolete among the Kibungan Kankanay, a part of it was incorporated in other rituals.

The corresponding Lepanto Kankanay ceremony is variously designated as the *bayas*, *bagnas*, and *daaus*. The corresponding Ifugao ceremony is called *bumayah*.

#### DAWAK AND BASIT

The *dawak* is a small *mandit*, and corresponds to the Nabaloi *chawak*. A very small *dawak* called *basit dawak* corresponds to the Nabaloi *bayog*.

## BATBAT

The *batbat* is given in all Benguet towns, by the Kankanay as well as the Nabaloi, to cure or prevent sickness and to bring riches and long life to the giver. The ceremony is held for the same general purpose by both tribes, but the manner of celebrating it is different.

In the Kankanay towns from one to twelve hogs may be used for this ceremony. The number varies according to the wealth of the giver. Unlike the Nabaloi they do not pretend to deceive the spirits by tying hogs which are not to be killed. The following story regarding this difference was related in Legleg,<sup>8</sup> a barrio of Kapangan:

Ud nabaon si Lūmawig winatwatun ifūgau gūdū ta siay adūūm si okana. Gomosad pay sin kayilokoan, ay mankadū si gūdū adīda donongun. Isakayatna pay sin Nabaloi; inamtada di nangia si esa ay yatdaum adadū di indawatna. Sin nangi bagaana sin Kankanay pay yaanda si adadū.

Sia say gapona ay iwud diidawat si Iloko sin batbat, mo din Inibiloī ya anda si ūsaloi, mo di Kankanay pay yaanda si adadū.

Long ago Lumawig gave the people hogs so that they would give some of the increase. When he came down from the sky to the Ilocano country and asked for hogs, they did not comply. He asked the Nabaloi; they knew how to give him one and pretend that many were given. When he asked the Kankanay, they gave him many.

This is the reason the Ilocanos do not celebrate the *batbat*; why the Nabaloi give one (hog) only; why the Kankanay give many.

Before each hog is killed, the *mambunong* prays as follows while holding a cup of *tapuy* in his hand:

Kabigat ay maybūngan, Lumawig ay maybūngan, Būliwan ay maybūngan, Pati ay maybūngan, Gatan ay maybūngan, Dūlo ay maybūngan, Bintawan ay maybūngan, Balitok ay maybūngan, Ubang ay maybūngan, Bangon ay maybūngan, Būgan ay maybūngan, Singan ay maybūngan, Ubagan ay maybūngan, Kolan ay maybūngan, Angtan ay maybūngan, Soyaan ay maybūngan, Amdoyaan ay maybūngan, Wigan ay maybūngan, Mantalau ay maybūngan; mo wada pay di sangbounda ya bomaknganda ut ta mapno di dapatanda, ya mapno di kuboda, ya magabay sinanak, ya gamun ya salon, to wada pansosokubantayo si tapin di agou: Bomangan sin sasakit.

Kabigat to whom prayer is offered, Lumawig to whom prayer is offered, Buliwan to whom prayer is offered, Pati to whom prayer is offered, Gatan to whom prayer is offered, Dulo to whom prayer is offered, Bintawan to whom prayer is offered, Balitok to whom prayer is offered, Ubang to whom prayer is offered, Bugan to whom prayer is offered, Singan to whom prayer is offered, Ubagan to whom prayer is offered, Kolan to whom prayer is offered, Angtan to whom prayer is offered, Soyaan to whom prayer is offered, Amdoyaan to whom prayer is offered, Wigan to whom prayer is offered, Mantalau to whom prayer is offered; since there

<sup>8</sup> See note 7, p. 354.

is praying here may it cause them to be rich so that their yards will be filled with pigpens, and may they be lucky in having children and money and cattle pasturing, so that there will be our eating and drinking together some other day. May the sick be cured.

After the hog has been killed, the *mambunong* takes the stick with which it was stuck, and swings it while praying as follows:

Sika pay ay wikibuyak ta dakami di omanda ya bomaknang, nakasnatna, tan onmandakami, ta isakladmi di pūogmi ya malipunan kami si anak, gamung, ya salon.

You, the stick, are swung so that we shall live long and become rich, so that we shall live long, so that our legs shall be as horn, so that we shall have many children, much money, and many cattle grazing.

The prayer recorded above is used in Legleg and all the other Kankanay barrios of Kapangan, but in Kibungan the prayer recorded under the *mandit* is also used for *batbat*. In Buguias the souls of the dead and the malevolent spirits as well as the deities are addressed, and the prayer as a whole is probably more similar to the Nabaloi prayer for *batbat* than to the one recorded above.

Dancing the *tayo* forms a part of this ceremony in all Benguet Kankanay towns.

The ceremony may last from one to three days, and is generally more expensive than the *batbat* of the Nabaloi. As a rule more hogs, *tapuy*, and rice are used.

It will be noted that in the prayer used by the Kankanay for *batbat* only the deities are addressed, while the Nabaloi not only relate a sacred story, but also petition the souls of ancestors, the *pasang*, and some of the constellations.

In some respects the Lepanto ceremony called *keslei* resembles the *batbat*.

Among the Benguet Kankanay as well as the Nabaloi the term *saad* is used to designate the *batbat* on a small scale.

#### KAPI

*Kapi* is celebrated by the Buguias Kankanay in compliance with dreams, or a vow made during sickness.

A hog, *tapuy*, and rice are necessary. Just before the hog is killed, the *mambunong* prays, addressing his prayer to the deities, the souls of the dead, and the malevolent spirits. They are asked not to cause sickness, but to give good luck, riches, and long life.

After the hog has been killed and cooked, the prayer is repeated. There is no dancing, but the people generally remain all day and spend the time drinking *tapuy*.

I have never seen this ceremony in any of the western Benguet Kankanay towns, but have been told that it is sometimes celebrated in Kapangan. It is celebrated in all Nabaloi settlements, and in the township of Mancayan in Lepanto.

#### AMLAG

The *amlag* is a ceremony celebrated in all Benguet Kankanay towns. Its purpose is to cause the release of the captured soul of a living person.

A chicken, some rice, and a collection of tools are necessary for sacrifice. The *mambunong* holds the chicken in one hand and squats beside the *tapuy* and rice while he prays.

He begins his prayer by addressing the *amlag* of the various settlements from the coast town of San Fernando, La Union, to the place where the ceremony is held; and then requests that if any of them have captured the soul of the sick person, they release it in exchange for the food, *tapuy*, and tools.

This ceremony is celebrated for the same purpose as the *amdag* of the Nabaloi; but no sacred story is told by the Kankanay *mambunong*, nor are the deities addressed. The ceremony is celebrated in the Lepanto town of Mancayan, and probably in other Lepanto towns.

#### LAWIT

*Lawit* is a ceremony celebrated by the Benguet Kankanay to cause the return of the soul of a living person which has wandered away. One of the Kibungan *mambunong* said:

Mo itaum ay wadaka's adaway sin būuina, ifūgau, sīa amona aydin ababiikna tinaymana.

If a person dreams that he is far away from his house, he knows that his soul has left him.

The *mambunong* takes a plate of rice from which *tapuy* has been fermented and holds it in one hand, while holding a chicken in the other. He turns his face toward the sky and says the following:

Sika ababiikna ———, omalika, mo sinoi inmojan, sinan būitaka, tan inayan nanbūui di kakading. Mo itūum isa matika, ut ungay adika mangan sinan ilagbūam.

You, the soul of ——, come back if you have wandered away from our home, because it is dreadful to live in the home of the souls of the dead. If you stay there you will die, and you will not eat what you have earned.

The *lawit* is celebrated in Kibungan, Kapangan, Bacun, and Ampusungan; but I do not know whether or not it is celebrated in any other Kankanay towns. It corresponds to the Nabaloi *tawal* and to the Bontoc *ofat*.

#### TINGITING

The Buguias Kankanay celebrate a ceremony called *tingiting* to cause the return of the souls of the persons who have occupied a house which has been burned. It is believed that the souls fly away with the fire and smoke.

One of those who has occupied the house holds some dried meat in his hand, while he calls the names of all the sky deities he can remember, and asks that they send the souls to earth again.

This ceremony is celebrated by the Nabaloi, and in the Lepanto Kankanay town of Mancayan.

#### PALIS

The *palis* is celebrated by the Benguet Kankanay against witchcraft, and also to cause injury to befall an enemy.

*Tapuy*, cooked rice, and either a chicken or a dog are necessary for sacrifice.

The prayer is addressed by the *mambunong* to the *amlag*. They are asked to dissolve their alliance with the witch and take the side of the people, or to visit the enemy and cause him bad luck, in consideration of the *tapuy* and food which are furnished.

As soon as the prayer has been finished, the people present sing the *angba*, a song in which the deities are called by name and asked to witness the *palis*.

One man then dances and waves a spear as if he were attacking an enemy, while some of the people keep time by beating together wooden sticks.

The *palis* is celebrated by the Nabaloi and the Lepanto Kankanay. The ceremony, or its equivalent, is probably celebrated by all Igorot tribes, since a belief in witchcraft is prevalent throughout their territory. When the ceremony is celebrated to divert injury from oneself to an enemy, it corresponds to the Nabaloi *sagausau*.

## BUANG

The *buang* is celebrated to cure deafness in Buguias, in some of the Kankanay barrios of Atok, and probably in some if not all of the Benguet Kankanay settlements farther west.

The *mambunong* holds in one hand the chicken to be sacrificed and with the other hand he holds a cup of *tapuy* above the head of the deaf person, while relating the following story:

Kabigat of the earth was constructing a sod fence. While he was bending over to pick up a large piece of sod, he heard the noise of loud thunder. He did not look around, but continued to work.

Soon his wife Bangan, who was working in a near by *camote* field, called to him saying that it was time to go home. Kabigat did not answer, but continued to build fence. His wife became angry and began to scold, but when she turned around she saw the Thunder standing near. The Thunder said, "Do not become angry with your husband. He does not answer because he can not hear you. I made him deaf. If you want him to be cured get one chicken and one jar of *tapuy* and celebrate the *buang*."

Bangan did so and Kabigat was cured. Then they handed this down to the people, and commanded that the name of Thunder, Kabigat, and Bangan should be called.

This ceremony is celebrated by the Nabaloi, but a different version of the story is told.

## MAYILUTLUTKAN

*Mayilutlutkan* is a ceremony given by the Kankanay against headache. The *mambunong* takes a *camote* in his left hand and holds it against the head of the sick person. He holds a knife in his right hand against the *camote*, while praying as follows:

Sika pay ay mayilutlutkanka's sūmingising di agou, mayilutlutkanka's pangawan di agou, mayilutlutkanka's kalibiana agou, mayilutlutkanka's dimana agou, mayilutlutkanka's gomabisana agou, ya mayilutlutkanka's kapat aana; ado ut diya tubum dan dangau ay nay ta pangamoak di kasika ya dagosak iyuan sika's manokmo.

You the *mayilutlutkan* of the morning sun, you the *mayilutlutkan* of the mid-day sun, you the *mayilutlutkan* of the afternoon sun, you the *mayilutlutkan* of the setting sun, you the *mayilutlutkan* of the time the cocks first crow, and you the *mayilutlutkan* of the dawn; may a complete cure be made by the *dangau* so that you will show yourself to me, and I will make you a gift of a chicken.

The *mayilutlutkan* corresponds to the Nabaloi *nansaang*.



## PALIS CHI KABUNIAN

The *palis chi kabunian* is celebrated in Buguias to cure toothache, but I do not think it is celebrated in any other Benguet Kankanay towns.

A jar of *tapuy* and a chicken are used for sacrifice. The *mambunong* holds the chicken in one hand, while with the other he holds a spear against the aching tooth. He prays to the *amlag* asking that they cease causing the tooth to ache, and that they visit their malevolence on the patient's enemies instead.

The people then sing the *angba*, a song in which the deities are asked to witness the *palis*. The patient then holds a spear in his hand while he dances to the music produced by beating together two seasoned wooden sticks.

The ceremony is celebrated by the Nabaloi, but the spoken ritual is different.

## MANTUIS BILIG

*Mantuis bilig* is one of the ceremonies celebrated to cure pains in the chest. A chicken, a jar of *tapuy*, and a basket of blankets, breech-clouts, and headbands are necessary. The *mambunong* holds the chicken in one hand, puts the basket on his head, squats beside the *tapuy*, and says the following:

Wada si Damogo ay manili us Natoo. Sia say Mantuis Bilig ay makagayang si ipugau. Inapuna usay galui, usay budbud, usay wanus, ya usay manok. Wada's Mayang ay manili ud Ampungut. Wada's Bokosan ay manili ud Odoan. Wada's Sigmayo ay manili ud Tabayo. Wada's Gomi ay manili ud Kasili. Wada's Palatang ay manili ud Manalang. Omali kayo ta badanganyo dakami si mugmug ya pakan tamo waday kamanina ya waday pangay ay yaganmin dakayo.

There is Damogo, who lives in Natoo. He is Mantuis Bilig who spears the people. He requires one blanket, one breech-clout, one headband, and one chicken. There is Mayang who lives in Ampungut. There is Bokosan, who lives in Odoan. There is Sigmayo, who lives in Tabayo. There is Gomi, who lives in Kasili. There is Palatang, who lives in Manalang. You come to help us in feeding our chickens and in feeding our hogs, so that there may be (a ceremony) like this, so that there will be (something) for calling you names.

## BILONG

*Bilong* is a ceremony which is celebrated to cure diseases of the lungs. The *mambunong* holds in one hand a piece of dried meat and says the following:

Wada, kano, da Ginsingan un Sūyan. Mansīda pay, kano, san tonodaisan adūe ya mayaganda Ginsingan ya si Sūyan. Amuida pay, kano, yan pinoda san ūsay takbada si patok yan pinoda san ūsay takbada san inapoi. Somaada pay, kano, yan manbidbidbidang ut san ūsay batang. Ingayon kinwanina ut, kano, un, "Manototo ut sīna ta manganta."

Omada ut, kano, isan patok ud idawista apoi. Kanuttut, kano, adī makaoto san apoi ay manbidbidang. Amui dapag pay, kano, gogoabna, yan tomagoda ut sīa nangidawisan isan panganda ay patok ut dagos naoto.

Makakanda pay, kano, yan somaada ud baboida. Manokda dūandan mantogas eda. Anapūnda pay, kano, yan bilong. Ingayan kinwanina, kano, un, "Payun tako's nan ipūgau ta mo waday nankios bakun ya mantogpasda, ya daita di poon di sapon di bilong.

There were Ginsingan and Suyan. A person celebrating a ceremony and his relatives far away invited Ginsingan and Suyan. When they went one basket of meat fell, and one basket of cooked rice fell. While they were on the way home, there was one tree blazing. Then they said, "Let us cook and eat here."

They took the piece of meat and roasted it on the fire. They could not cook it on the blazing fire. They went below a little distance and roasted their food, the meat, and it cooked easily.

When they had eaten they went home. They were coughing and spitting blood. Then they discovered the *bilong*. Then they said, "We will hand it down to the people so that if they have sickness or spit blood, we shall be called and shall be the origin of the prayer of *bilong*."

## MAYDOSADAN

*Maydosadan* is one of the ceremonies which is held to cure pains in the chest. The *mambunong* holds a chicken which is to be sacrificed, while he relates the following:

Bangan un Kabigat ūnda manorian. Inagton Bangan tagbana, yan inalgīda Kabigat din pataklagna. Dintangda san dorian ay sin poon; anayan kaotanda ut mapno san tagban Bangan, ya mapno san pataklang Kabigat sin bugas di dorian.

Angayan idondon Bangan si Kabigat ut inmangaya. Itotukdūn pay sīna ay Bangan. Amui pay si Kabigat ya binutbutna san kayi ay dakdakui yan tinmudtud san dada. Angayan kaapap si Kabigat isan pagūna yan tamokdo.

Ingayan sūmaa ut asīna kanan, "Kaasīta pay sīna adī pay nanatui sīna tan samo waday kayi ay mandada." On gayutkan kinwanin Bangan, "Kambau! sīan ay poon di atud di maydosadan." Ut magay pagnan ipaytok sinan kay ipūgau.

Bangan and Kabigat went to get *dorian*.<sup>9</sup> Bangan carried on the head in the carrying basket, and Kabigat carried on the back in the carrying frame. They

<sup>9</sup> A kind of root eaten by the Igorot when the supply of rice or *camotes* is limited.

found the *dorian* and then dug it up, and Bangan filled the carrying basket and Kabigat filled the carrying frame with the root of the *dorian*.

Then Bangan sent Kabigat to get wood. Kabigat then went and picked up a large piece of wood dripping with blood. Then at once Kabigat put his hand on his chest and sat down.

Then he went home immediately and said, "Pity us because there has been death here, since the wood was bleeding." Then Bangan said, "Oh! This is the origin of the remedy for *maydosadan*." So it was handed down to the people.

After the chicken has been killed and cooked, the story is repeated.

#### MANBATING

*Manbating* is one of the ceremonies which is held when a person is bleeding from the nose or mouth. The *mambunong* holds a chicken in one hand, while he sits in front of a basket containing a rope and says the following:

Wada, kano, san dūa sin agī—Timūngau. Unda pay, kano, nanogian. Datgnūnda ut san ūsay togi ay inui us dalum san bugasna ut duiay pakdanonodun, yan dintangda san ūsay dalipoi ay bato. Tokwabunda payan.

Ilaunda, kano, ut nabokalan san kadan di bato, ut nandahos san matada ud dalum. Ilaunda, payun nada, kano, baoi yan nada mansida us dalum. Ungayun alaunda ut, kano, san talida ut pansissilpoonda ut itakudda ut siay pandananda ay amui adalum.

Domatūnga payan mansida. Daeda unda mangan. Mangmanganda pay, kano, yan nguda ūtut, kanon, san iposan un, "Dūpapūntako to ipangantako." Ungayan inmagyatda ut duiata kaaninta san iniwitanda ut itakudda isan pantū ta siay pangililanda si kawadata, yan dūantapui komaan. Inayan siay inyatda.

Asida ut dūpapūnda eda ut pay kanon nan sin agī, un "Adi kayo pompomsū ta asauwak san anakmo." Ungayan adida pinpinsuida eda ut pangasauwaun san anak Masēken. Ingayan konan, kono, Masēken, "Tako manganop."

Amui dapag, kano, yan ituiun san inapona isan sūbang dūanpag. Amuida Masēken yesan odūum ay kadwana, ut unda apayauun san kananda un noang ay nakay. Būmatung ut, kano, isan kadan si inapona, ut ilana nabakus san manugtug ay kadanda un anapanda.

Ungayan adina siniloan yan pinalobosna, ut amui. Dūmatung pay si Masēken yan yamyamana san inapona, ut ūngayan apayau ūnda san nabakus ay si ininada, ut dūpapūnda ut labakūnda. Idatungda payan ut kananda ipanganda. Asī ut kinwanin san inapona un, "Adikami pay ladum san ipūgau ay ipangan." Ingayan kinwanin Masēken un, "Mantaolika mo adi kayo laydum di ipūgau ay ipangan."

Ingayan mantaolida sinan sapui di lota, ut asida, kano, kinwanida un, "Manalako's tali ta waday sapountako si batun ta waday panbatungtako si ipangantako." Ingayan mansapoda si batun ta waday panbatung si ipūgau. Asī kinwanin dūa ay sin agī un, "Alauntakona ta ipangan." Asī ut kinwanin Masēken un, "Dakui ta omyada's tali ya manok ta mo adida omiya, asi alaun nan ipūgau ay batungantako."

There were two brothers, the Timungau. They went to get *camotes*. They found one *camote* the root of which went far into the ground, and they dug after it and found a wide stone. They turned it over.

They looked into the opened place, and their eyes saw to the underworld. They saw there a house, and there was being celebrated a ceremony in the underworld. Then they got their rope and fastened and tied it, and it was this way they went to the underworld.

Then they arrived at the ceremony. They went to eat. They were eating when they heard the inhabitants of the underworld say, "We will catch you so that we may eat you." Then they became afraid, and took off their breech-clouts and tied them on the door so that it would be thought they were there. This they did.

Then they caught them, and one of the brothers said, "Do not kill us because I will marry your daughter." Then they did not kill them, and he married one of the daughters of Maseken. Then Maseken said, "Let us go to hunt."

They went below, but the son-in-law stayed in the trail. Maseken and his companions went, and ran after an old carabao. They arrived at the place of the son-in-law, and he saw that an old woman was running at the place they were hunting.

Then he did not lasso her, but let her go; then he went away. Maseken arrived and scolded his son-in-law, and then ran after the old woman, their mother, and caught her and wounded her. Then the son-in-law said, "We do not like to eat people. Then Maseken said, "Return, if you do not like to eat people."

Then they returned to the top of the ground and said, "We will get the rope so that there is something for making a net so that we can catch our food with the net." Then they made a net so that there was something to net people with. Then the two brothers said, "Take this in order that you may eat." But Maseken said, "They will give us rope and chickens, because if they do not give them to us we will catch the people with the net."

#### LIBLIBIAN

The *liblibian* is a ceremony which is celebrated in Kibungan and the neighboring Kankanay towns to cure diarrhoea and pains in the abdomen.

The *mambunong* holds in one hand a kind of plant called *dungau* while relating the following story:

Wada, kano, san dūa ay sin agī, Bogan un Singan. Si Bogan baybayi, si Singan lalaki. Maanakda pay, kano, yan dūa ay lalaki. Din daktakui si Pintun; din banbanug sia si Liblibian.

Ungay pay, kano, madaktakda yan adī da mangan. Idawad amada tan inada san gawan di inapoi ya gawan di atui yan adida laydum.

Usay agou pay, kano, yan inmauway da amada ya inada dūmatūngda ut, kano, yan ingay kinanda pinilak san gambangda. Kinwanida un, "Ay takun ay gambang landok di laydingyo ay kanun." "Au, landok di laydunmi ay kanunmi."

Ungayan mankoyog ut, kano, Liblibian un Pintun ut amuida isan kayiloguan. Domatūngda payan siblaganda san anak di Iloko ta waday gapona si pangienda undaita si banig ta wada kanunda. Adī ut, kano, amonsan Iloko di mangiya un daeda si banigda, kano, yan pagdin adas di amoda. Kinwanida un, "Kambau! Adī amom nan Iloko di būni, ut amuitako'd sinan kayigorotan."

Amuita pay, kano, yan sinan kayigorotan, yan siblaganda san ūsay anak di Igorot. Kaa ut, kano, ūsay, manok ya sinpo ya lima ay banig ut isay paday liblibian. Kinatut kakansan ut pay bomangan san anakda.

There were a brother and sister, Bogan and Singan. Bogan was a woman and Singan was a man. They had children, two boys. The larger was Pintun, the smaller was Liblibian.

When they became older they did not eat. Their father gave the cooked rice from the center (of the pot) and the center of the liver, but they did not like it.

One day when their father and mother had gone to cultivate the land and had returned, they had already eaten one-half of their pot. They said, "How is this? you like to eat iron pots." "Yes, iron is what we like to eat."

Then Liblibian and Pintun left together and went to the land of the Ilocano. When they arrived they made one child of an Ilocano sick so that there would be a reason for giving them bolos to eat. The Ilocano did not know enough to give them bolos to eat, but knew of medicine only. They said, "Oh! The Ilocano do not know the prayer, so let us go to Igorot land."

They went to Igorot land and made sick one child of an Igorot. He took at once one chicken and fifteen bolos and held the ceremony *liblibian*. As soon as this was done, the sickness of the child was cured at once.

#### AMPASIT

The *ampasit* is a ceremony which is celebrated by the western Benguet Kankanay to cure sexually caused diseases. The *mambunong* holds in one hand a chicken which is to be sacrificed, and relates the following story:

Ud bayag waday isa ifugau ya asauwana waday isay anakda babayi mangadan si Ampasit. Sinamingsan si Ampasit inmu nan si lokto. Sinkadona sinadan isa anak Timungau ay lalaki intabona di anak ay babayi Ampasit. Sinkatauwataan si ama'n Ampasit adi makaanop. Yatda un natui si Ampasit.

Sinisay agou sin inmoyan ama'n Ampasit ay manamus inilada si Ampasit ay imaylagui si abalug ay bato. Sin ama inyatna un, "Tola di inmoyarn?" "In-asauwak di Timungau ay lalaki, ut intabona sakun sina." Inyagan amana sin buida ut nankañauda ut inayagana si Timungau ya din kabaena.

Kakdinganda ay mangan, si Timungau ya din kabaena sin naada. Si Timungau binmayun, ut nangamag, abū, kañau. Inayagona si Ampasit ya si amana ya si inana.

Sin inmayan Ampasit ya si amana ya si inana sin kañau Timungau, inmagyatda mosino di namolod si gūdū sin balayan tan adi di inila angan ililauunda.

Si ama'n Ampasit nanmimi. Anmimianda din mata'n di asauwan Ampasit tan adina inila. Si Timungau inyatna, "Adimi pian ay makiasauwa sin anakmi ay lalaki din Ampasit tan angan mosin buuitako manmimianda din matatako. Sapointabos da eda ta mansakitda ta adika manmimi."

Ta makabangon sin sakit, si ama'n Ampasit nangamag si kañau, ut say inamwan ifugau di yatna ay maamay.

Long ago there were a man and his wife who had a daughter named Ampasit. One day Ampasit went to get *camotes*. While she was on the way, a son of Timungau hid the girl Ampasit. For a long time the father of Ampasit could not find her. He thought that Ampasit was dead.

One day when the parents of Ampasit had gone to bathe, they saw Ampasit standing on a large rock. Her father said to her, "Where have you been?" She said, "I married the son of Timungau, and he hid me here." Her father called her to the house and gave a ceremony, and invited Timungau and his family.

After Timungau and his family had finished eating, they went home. Timungau was ashamed, and celebrated a ceremony also. He invited Ampasit and her father and her mother.

When Ampasit and her father and her mother went to the ceremony of Timungau, they wondered how the pigs in the yard were tied, because they did not see, although they were looking.

The father of Ampasit urinated. He urinated on the face of the husband of Ampasit, because he did not see him. Timungau said, "We do not wish to have Ampasit married to our son, because even at our own house they urinate on our faces. We will make them sick so that they can not urinate."

So that they might get cured of the sickness, the father of Ampasit had a ceremony, and taught the people what to say in order to celebrate it.

The *ampasit* of the Kankanay is entirely different from the ceremony of the same name celebrated by the Nabaloi. The Kankanay *ampasit* corresponds in purpose to the Nabaloi *basil*. There is no similarity, however, in the spoken rituals of these two ceremonies.

#### DAYAU

The *dayau* is celebrated in all Benguet Kankanay towns to cure sores.

A chicken and a jar of *tapuy* are necessary for sacrifice. The *mambunong* holds the chicken in one hand, a cup of *tapuy* in the other, and relates a version of the story recorded under the *bilig* (p. 377); but he adds that after the quarrel both the Wind and the Lightning became covered with sores, and that in compliance with the advice of Lumawig the *dayau* was celebrated in order that a cure might be effected.

After the ceremony the patient bathes while saying:

I am bathing for *dayau*. May my sores be cured. May I be like you, Water, free of sores.

The ceremony is very similar to the *diau kasib* of the Nabaloi. It is celebrated in Mancayan, but I do not know whether or not it is celebrated in any other Lepanto towns.

#### TAMO

The *tamo* is held in Buguias to cure insanity. It is also made in some of the villages of Mancayan, but I do not know whether it is celebrated in other Kankanay towns.

The *mambunong* holds the chicken in his hand and prays, but I can not state the nature of the prayer. After the prayer one man

dances with a spear in his hand. The dance, which is similar to that of the *palis*, is repeated three times. Between dances the people sing, but no one seems to be able to explain the meaning of the song. The majority of the words used in both the song and the prayer are probably obsolete.

The ceremony is similar in some respects to the *tamo* of the Nabaloi.

#### PASANG

The *pasang* is celebrated to cause children to be born. The *mambunong* holds a chicken in each hand and squats between two baskets of blankets, while relating the following story:

Wada, kano, Bintauan un Apinan. Sin Agīda. Adīda, kanon, mananak ya mo manawasda pay, kano, sūmakīsakit sin agusda asauwada.

Amuida ut, kanominda manpaanap. Datgnūnda, kano, san ūsay bato ay bui; binmali san ūsay dakdakui ya ando ay ipūgau ay maata di kadumna. Asi ibaganda Bintauan un Apinan ay mananap mo sinoi inmat un asauwada. Asina kanon un, "Amui kayo un boan si agou tan siay mangamo si anap."

Ungayanan amuida Bintauan un Apinan. Datūnga pay, kano, san nantotom-toman di lota ya ud tagui. Wada san dadakui ay būi. Binmali ut, kano, abū san ūsay ipūgau ay mandada di matana mayatag kaduna. "Sinoi gapona si inmalianyo?" "Inkami manpaanap tan mo manowas san asauwami ya mansakit ya adikami mananak." "Adi pay, amok di auap, ut amui kayo ūnda agou un Boan tan daeda dimangamo si anap."

Amuida ut, kano, ingilada di mantūmtumog san dūa ay kaman būi ay bato ay kalimlimosan si danom. Amugyapda, kano, ay amui ut impaononada san asoda. Ilanda ut, kano, nabasil. Ungayau omonodda si asoda. Mabas ilda ut diay nayapapa ut tagui, yan wada san adado ay buui ay nanataatang.

Dūmatang pay yan kabala san si asauwa'n agou, ut kinwanina, "Sinoi kayo?" "Unmali kami ta kami nanpaanap tan adi mananak si asauwami yan mo manawas da mansakitda." "Sangupkayo sian daounmi tan mo dūmatung si agou malpa kayo." Ungayan singupda sin daoun di būi di agou.

Dūmatung pay, kano, si agou ut inbaga uu, "Mo waday inmali ay ipūgau ud kūgau?" "Au, ay panada si daon di būi." Unda kanon manpaanap tan adi mananakda asauwada ya mansakitda mo manowasda." Ungayan ay agou inbgana Apinan un Bintauwan, "Sinoi gapona si inmalianyo?" "Inmali kami tan un kami manpaanap." Ungayan kinwanina agou, "Sūmaa kayo ut yaanyo di pasang, ut maganak kayo."

Sūmaada Apinan un Bintauan ut siay inyatda ut nanganakda, ya adi nansakit si asauwada mo manawasda.

There were Bintauan and Apinau. They were brothers. They did not have children, and when their wives had their menses, they were sick in the abdomen.

They went then to get some one to make the divination ceremony. They found a stone house; a large tall man with green eyebrows came out of it. Then Bintauan and Apinan asked him to make the divination ceremony so that they could learn what troubled their wives. Then he said, "Go to the Sun and Moon because they know the divination ceremony."

Then Bintauan and Apinan went away. They arrived then at the meeting place of the earth and the sky. There was a large house. A red-eyed man with green eyebrows came out of it. "For what reason did you come?" "We came to cause the divination ceremony to be made, because when our wives have their menses they get sick and do not have children." "I do not know the divination ceremony; go to the Sun and the Moon, because they know the divination ceremony."

They went on and saw two stones as large as a house striking each other, where the water empties. They were afraid to go farther, but sent their dog ahead. They saw he was on the other side. Then they followed their dog. They arrived on the other side, where there were many houses joined together.

They arrived then, and the wife of the Sun came out and said, "Who are you?" "We came to have the divination ceremony made, because our wives do not have children and when they have their menses they are sick." "Come under the house because when the Sun arrives he will wilt you." Then they went under the house of the Sun.

When the Sun arrived, he asked, "Did men come at noon?" "Yes, they are waiting under the house. They came to have the divination ceremony held, because their wives do not have children and they get sick when they have their menses." Then the Sun asked Apinan and Bintauan, "Why did you come?" "We came to have the divination ceremony celebrated." Then the Sun said, "Go home and celebrate the *pasang*, and you will have children."

They went home and did so and had children, and their wives were not sick when they had their menses.

There is no dancing in connection with this ceremony in the western Benguet Kankanay towns, but in Buguias the wife and husband dance. The wife carries her *camote* basket filled with blankets, breech-clouts, and cloth, which are offered to the *pasang*.

The *pasang* is celebrated for the same purpose by the Nabaloi, the Lepanto Kankanay, and probably other Igorot tribes. I have been told that a corresponding ceremony is celebrated as far north as Kalinga.

#### ABASANG

The *abasang* is celebrated in all Benguet Kankanay towns when children are born.

A chicken and a jar of *tapuy* are used for sacrifice. The *mambunong* holds the chicken in one hand, and prays to the *laglagawin* or guardian spirit of the child, asking that it may live long and be lucky. A magical story, which I was unable to secure, is also related.

This ceremony is celebrated by the Nabaloi, but I do not know whether or not it is held in any Kankanay towns outside of Benguet.



## SIBISIB

The Kankanay as well as the Nabaloi celebrate *sibisib* to cure wounds. The *mambunong* holds against the wound the instrument with which it was inflicted, while relating the following:

Si Boliwan waday dūa anakna—da Lūmawig un Kabigat.

Sin agou inmeda manganop, ut inaday isa makawas. Sūmaada pay nabayda ut nanibayda sin ilungan. Ginudgudda din patang ut inbilagda.

Sin tinmotokdowanda din asoda inapayoda di odūum ay makawas. Din dūa sin agi inonodda di asoda. Inyudda un amada un bantayana din patang.

Din isa sinsin agi niangna din makawas, yan adida ut maykapsū. Din makawas liumayau ay waday gayang sin angina. Nantaolida sin nanayanda un amada. Inilada ay yuwud patang.

Inyatna un amada, "Insēdan mut patang." Inyat amada, "Adak insīda, nayiwud sin manaukak." Inyat anakna, un "Adika ibagay maptung; insēdan mut."

Bintyakanut, Boliwan, agusna sin bangina ut matī. Ut inila din san agi ay iwud din patang sin agusna. Ut yatda un, "Angan yatmi insidam, adan binut-yakan akusmo ta adika natay."

Ut inbaladda ay manilit mo sino dinangisida sin patang. Inilada di idū sin tongdon di bimabaktadanda, ut inyatna un, "Au, insēdak." Din dūa sin agi inyatna un, "Puslundaka ut." Din idū inyatna un, "Adikayo pomsū, ta asak todoan si dakayo si mamuyan si magud, ya pabilayuk si amayo loman." Din idū inyatna un, "Yalio san gayang, banig, bislak, ya matadum ay bato." Ut inamagda. Din idū inpauina din gayanag, banig bislak, ya bato sin sagun nagudgud, ya inbūnongna. Si Boliwan natagū loman.

Din sin agi inyatda sin idū, "Waada ay anitoka." Din idū inyatna un, "Au, sakun di anito." Din sin agi inyatda, un, "Ingosadtako sin anak di ifūgau tamo waday ingus nina ay manomang ya sidotako di pangigapwanda mo sibsibanda."

Boliwan had two sons, Lumawig and Kabigat.

One day they went hunting, and caught a deer. They started home, but became tired on the way. They cut the meat into pieces and dried it.

While they were sitting down, their dogs ran after another deer. The two brothers followed their dogs. They told their father to guard the meat.

One of the brothers hit the deer with his spear, but did not kill it. The deer ran away with the spear in his body. They returned to the place where their father was staying. They saw that the meat was gone.

They said to their father, "You surely ate the meat." Their father said, "I did not eat it, it was taken away while I was sleeping." The sons said, "You do not speak well; you certainly ate it."

Boliwan cut open his (own) abdomen with a bolo, and died. Then the two brothers saw that there was no meat in his stomach. Then they said, "Although we said that you ate the meat, you should not have cut open your abdomen and then you would not have died."

Then they lay down and watched to see who had eaten the meat. They saw a snake above where they were standing, and said to it, "Probably you ate the meat." The Snake answered, "Yes, I ate it." The two brothers said, "We shall certainly kill you." The Snake answered, "Do not kill me; I will teach you how to cure wounds, and you can make your father alive again." The Snake

said, "Give me your spears, bolos, sticks, and sharp stones." They gave them. The Snake put the spears, bolos, sticks, and rocks near the wound and prayed. Boliwan became alive again.

The brothers said to the snake, "We think you are a god (anito)." The Snake answered, "Yes, I am a god." The brothers said, "We will tell the children of the people, so that if there is something like this they may cure it, and may call our names when celebrating the *sibisib*."

The story related in Buguias is substantially the same as the one related by the Kabayan Nabaloi in the same ceremony.

The *sibisib* is celebrated in the town of Bacun in Amburayan, and in Ampusungan of Lepanto, but I do not know whether it is made in other Lepanto towns.

#### GAYSING

The larger number of the Benguet Kankanay are betrothed while children by their parents. The betrothal ceremony is called *gaysing*. As a rule this cañao is celebrated when the children are very young; frequently while they are infants; and occasionally before one of them is born.

One of the primary objects of the *gaysing* is to cement friendship between the parents, and it is frequently held after they have quarreled and pressure has been brought to bear to cause them to become friendly again.

An animal, generally a cow, is killed and *tapuy* is furnished, but there is no spoken ritual.

The Nabaloi custom of betrothal is the same, and the same ceremony is celebrated.

#### GALON

The betrothal ceremony celebrated by the young people themselves without the intervention of their parents is called *galon*. It is held only in the instances where there has been no *gaysing*, or where the parties for whom the *gaysing* has been celebrated refuse to marry. Except in the case of the rich, refusal to marry is rare, since the one who refuses must pay all expenses incurred for the *gaysing*.

The *galon* is celebrated exactly like the *gaysing*.

The corresponding Nabaloi ceremony is called *kalon*.

## MANGILIN

The marriage ceremony, called *mangilin*, is similar to the *mangidin* of the Nabaloi.

A hog is always offered for sacrifice, and the *mambunong* prays, calling the names of the sky deities and asking them to witness the marriage. They are also requested to cause those marrying to treat each other properly, to cause them to have many children, to cause everything which they plant to grow well, to cause them to have luck with their livestock, and to give them long life and riches.

After the prayer the *Mambunong* passes a cup of water to the bridegroom, who drinks, and then gives the cup to the bride.

A taboo is effective against both the bride and groom for three days after the ceremony. At the end of this time they go to the brook to bathe, the man taking his ax and the woman her *camote* basket. While bathing each one repeats a short formula, after which they are husband and wife.

## MANSIYANUN

In case of divorce the *mansiyanun*, which is the same as the *pansiyanun* of the Nabaloi, is made. There is no spoken ritual, but a hog and *tapuy* are furnished the people.

The engagement, marriage, and divorce ceremonies are similar throughout Benguet, eastern Amburayan, and southern Lepanto.

## SILING

The *siling*, or funeral ceremony, is celebrated in all Benguet Kankanay towns, and, indeed, under various names, by the majority if not all of the Igorot tribes.

Except in the case of infants or very small children the dead are not buried immediately, but are put into a death chair around which funeral rites are held. In the meantime animals belonging to the dead person or his relatives are killed and eaten, while the burial is delayed.

The interval between the death and the burial varies according to the wealth of the deceased, sometimes lasting for months in the case of the very wealthy. Even when the health authorities force immediate burial on account of danger from infectious diseases, the *siling* continues just the same with a dummy corpse in the death chair.

Before anything is killed, the *mambunong* prays, asking that the food eaten at the *siling* may not cause sickness. A female relative then leans on the death chair and says the following:

“You are dead, —. We are giving everything we can for your *siling*. Do not come back for us, but let us live long.”

After the *siling* ends the corpse is put into the coffin and buried in the ground, or placed in a natural cave. The burial takes place either in the afternoon, between sunset and dark, or in the morning before the sun rises.

#### PUGAS

After a dead person has been buried, the people gather in his yard. They get a vessel of water, and the *mambunong* puts grass in it and sprinkles them, while saying the following:

Wada, kano, san dūa sin agī. Daeda Balitok un Obog. Nananakda ut napno san kabilibilig. Asīda naatui san kayilianda. Natui payan inkapotda. Asīda matapog nan kayipupūgau at alanda san ūsay pingan ya lima ay tabon di pao, ut manpagasda. Manpagasda pay, kano, yan laton ūtay magay mamatui un daeda. Ingayan duiay ya lida ut ipūgasdasnan kayi ipūipūgau ut sianan moadā matui, maagum san ipūgau ut manpagasna.

There were two brothers. They were Balitok and Obog. They had children, and the mountains fell. Then their neighbors died. When they died they buried them. Then the people gathered together, and took one plate and five leaves of *cogon* grass and made a ceremony. They made the ceremony then so that none of them would die. Then they handed it down to the people so that when there were deaths, the people would gather together and perform the ceremony.

The *pugas* corresponds to the Nabaloi *okat*.

#### KIAD

The *kiad* is a ceremony celebrated by the Kankanay of Kapangan and Kibungan to cure sickness inflicted upon the wealthy by the souls of their dead relatives.

A carabao, a cow, or a horse may be killed when the *kiad* is celebrated.

The people first take a jar of *tapuy* to the grave of that dead relative of the sick person who is indicated by the *anap* as having caused the sickness. A hole is made in the grave, and the *mambunong* prays as follows:

Amud, omalika ta yaanaka si noang, gale; ya maninommi tapuy.

Soul of dead relative, come because you are given a carabao, a blanket; and we will drink *tapuy*.

The blanket is put into the grave, after which the people go to the house of the sick person. They tie the animal to be killed, and give the rope to the *mambunong*. He then prays as follows, while holding the rope:

Ud niman nay yaanakka si noang, ut masaoan di sakitna.  
Now I am giving you a carabao, and may the sickness be cured.

The carabao is then killed and cooked. Just before the people eat, the *mambunong* says:

Amud, omalika ta mangangtaka.  
Soul of the dead relative, come and eat with us.

After the people have eaten, the *mambunong* shakes the two blankets to be used by the dancers, in order that he may shake out the spirits of the blankets for the dead relative. While doing this he says the following:

Bomaknangkami, onmandokami, ta waday kadayyawanmo.  
May we be rich, may we live long, so that there is your remembrance.

The people then spend the rest of the day dancing and drinking *tapuy*.

The ceremony is entirely different from the *kiad* of the Nabaloi. It corresponds in purpose and occasion to the Nabaloi *tabwak*.

#### KOSDE

*Kosde*, called *pakde* in some barrios, is celebrated in all Benguet Kankanay towns. The purpose of the ceremony is to cause agricultural products to grow well, and it is always celebrated some time between rice planting and rice harvesting, generally soon after the planting has been finished.

The night before the ceremony begins, every fire in the barrio is extinguished, and the next morning *new fire* is produced by means of friction.

Each household must furnish a hog or chicken and a jar of *tapuy*. The *mambunong* holds a separate ceremony at each house, and prays to the gods and spirits asking that the yield may be sufficient for the people and that there may be enough surplus with which to celebrate many ceremonies.

After the ceremony has been held at each house, the meat and *tapuy* are taken to one place. The men proceed to drink the *tapuy*,

but the meat is divided among the people according to the number in each family. The part which can not be eaten is hung above the fire and dried.

This ceremony corresponds to the Nabaloi *kosday*; to the *pakde* or *begnas* of the Lepanto Kankanay; and, in a general way, to the *hongga* of the Ifugao, and the *chaka* of the Bontoc.

#### BUGID

The ceremony called *bugid* is held in the Benguet Kankanay towns when the water for irrigation is not sufficient.

A jar of *tapuy* and some dried meat are taken to the field for sacrifice, and the owner of the field prays to the spirits of suicides asking them not to try to drink from the irrigation ditches.

The purpose of the ceremony corresponds to the *tawal ni payu* of the Nabaloi, and to the *bakid* as celebrated in some of the Lepanto Kankanay towns.

#### PUNGAU

The *pungau* is celebrated by the Benguet Kankanay at the beginning of rice harvest. Before any rice can be gathered, the owner of the field must procure a jar of *tapuy* and either a chicken or dried meat, which are taken to the field. The owner holds the chicken or dried meat in one hand and prays that the rice to be harvested may increase to an amount sufficient to last until the next harvest, and promises that a large part of it will be used for ceremonies.

After the prayer all who are to take part in the ceremony drink *tapuy*. No one else is allowed in the field until after the harvesting has been completed, and a piece of cloth is displayed to warn away intruders.

This ceremony corresponds to the *pungau* of the Nabaloi and the *safosab* of the Bontoc. The Lepanto Kankanay also celebrate a ceremony before beginning rice harvest, but I do not know by what name it is designated nor the manner in which it is celebrated.

#### BUGAK

Before any new rice is eaten, the ceremony called *bugak* is held. Some of the new rice and either dried meat or a chicken are cooked. A *mambunong* is not necessary, but the head of the household throws some of the cooked rice in the fire and says:

You, the fire which did the cooking, shall be the first to eat, in order that the rice shall not cause us to become sick.

He prays a similar prayer to the pots in which the cooking has been done, to the rack on which the rice was dried, and to the mortar in which it was threshed.

This ceremony corresponds to the *bakak* of the Nabaloi.

#### SALDI

The ceremony called *saldi* is held before eating the meat of animals which have died of disease or have fallen from a cliff.

Pieces of the animals liver are thrown in various directions while the *mambunong* addresses the *bilig* living in the pasture lands of the animal, asking that sickness may not result from eating the meat.

After the meat has been cooked, the *mambunong* invites the fire and the pot to eat first, in order that the people who eat may not become sick.

This ceremony, which corresponds to the Nabaloi *salchi*, is celebrated in all Benguet Kankanay towns, and also in Bacun, Amburayan, and in Ampusungan and Maneayan, Lepanto.

#### BILIG

The *bilig* are spirits which are friendly to the people, but cause sickness when they need blankets or food. The ceremony called *bilig* is performed to cure the sickness caused by these spirits.

A chicken, *tapuy*, rice, and blankets are obtained. The *mambunong* puts a basket full of blankets on his head, holds a chicken in one hand, and while squatting beside the *tapuy* and rice says the following:

Usay agou ud nabaon, din dagum ya din kimat nanbatbatda isan mabilig. Kinwanin kanon, dagum un, "Wawadaak mo si sika." Tumba pay, kano, si kimat, "Wawadaak mo si sika, tan mo kanuk sikayi, pantaoliuk ut matagua loman. Mo si sika payut mo waday kanun yan matui." Asi abun kanon dugum un, "Mo sakun kanuk yan matagua loman."

Asi kinwanina kimat un, "Mo si asa amuita sin bato ay dakdaku ta mo pitakun din bato. Ta mo adika pitakun din bato, asika pantaolinmo makipitak, yan mauabakko sika."

Ungayan domagum si madadama yan adi makapitak sin bato. Mayisokat pay din kimat kapitak sin bato ut asina pantaoliun. Din kimat kinwanina un, "Mauabakko sika tan adika nakapitak sin bato."

Ungayan alanda san takokoda ut inda manigay. Manigay pay si dagum yan usay odang yan usay dalit kitkitoi waday. Din kimat kinwanina un, "Sakun di manigay." Sia din putna adado adadaka ikan. Sia kinwanina sin dagum un, "Sika manotoka."

Din dagum inana sin ūsay sūgat ut apoiana. Din Kimat kinwanina un, "Ay bakun adadosa. Adi makakan san banga. Sakun din manoto ta ilaum."

Kaa ut, kano, si kimat ut siay manoto. Kaa ūsay bugas, ut pay inana isan bangada. Din bugas pinmona san bangada.

Din kimat kinwanina un, "Manungdungka kakod." Din dagum inpaīna din ūsay daktakui ikan sin bangada. Ilan pay, Kanon, kimat kinwanina un, "Nakun, adi makakan san banga. Ilaum sakun di manungdung." Din kimat ginisgusna din ikan ut payuna di ūsay gusgus sin banga. Din gusgus pinmona san banga.

Din kimat kinwanina un, "Tapagūnta nan igan di ikanta, asita panoliunta eda loman." Makakanda pay, kano, yan itup eda san igan di inpangada. Itupada paysan igan di inpangan dagum. Adī nantaoli. Itupada paysan igan di inpangan kimat; manlangoi ut, kano, dūwanda komaan.

Din kimat kinwanina uu, "Inaubakko sika." Din dagum kinwanina un, "Au, ungaykayiman naabakak isan." Ungayan mankayūnda.

One day, long ago, the Wind and the Lightning met on the top of a mountain. Said the Wind, "I am greater than you." Then the Lightning answered, "I am greater than you because when I destroy a tree, I make it live again. But when you have it for food, it dies." Then said the Wind again, "When I eat it, it lives again."

Then said the Lightning, "Then we will go to a large rock, so that you can break the rock to pieces. Because if you do not break the rock to pieces and then return the broken pieces, I win against you."

Then the Wind blew hard, but the rock was not broken. Immediately then the Lightning broke the rock, and then put it back together. The Lightning said, "I win against you, because you did not break the rock."

Then they took their nets and went to fish. The Wind fished, and he caught one lobster and one small eel. The Lightning said, "I will fish." He caught many large fish. He said to the Wind, "You cook."

The Wind took one *chupa* (of rice) to cook. The Lightning said, "Not that much. The pot will not contain it. I shall cook so that you will see."

The Lightning went immediately and cooked. He immediately got one grain of rice, and put it into the pot. The grain of rice filled the pot.

The Lightning said, "You cook the fish." The Wind put one large fish into the pot. When the Lightning saw it he said, "Not that much; the pot will not hold it. Watch me cook." The Lightning cut the fish into pieces and put one piece into the pot. The piece filled the pot.

The Lightning said, "Put into a pile the bones of the fish; then we will cause them to become alive again." They finished eating, and then threw into the water the bones of what they had eaten. They threw into the water first the bones of what had been eaten by the Wind. They did not return to life. Then they threw into the water the bones of what had been eaten by the Lightning; they swam, and went away.

The Lightning said, "I won against you." The Wind said, "Yes, truly, I lost this." Then they became friends.

#### DAGAS

When two or more persons living in one house become sick at the same time, the *anap* generally shows that the *dagas*, which are spirits that live in houses, have caused the sickness. When the people living



in a certain house have not had a cañao for a long time, the *dagas* which live with them become hungry and make them sick. The ceremony which must then be celebrated is called by the same name, *dagas*.

A chicken, rice, blankets, and *tapuy* are necessary. The *mambunong* holds the chicken in one hand, and squats near the rice, *tapuy*, and blankets while relating the following:

Wada, kano, san dña ay sin agi. Bomalada pay, kano, mo waday mansida. Pankapokapoan san ipugau. Ay kaasi ta pay kanosua adi unya nan manili si ipanganta. Daeda kinwanina un, "Amuita ut ta unta masapos boita sin lomasan." Makasapoda payan unmadad asoda, ut unda manganop.

Manganopoda pay, kano, yan guniyagiak san asoda isan gawanda kadu. Amuida ut, kano, gigyakunda san malawas ay kayi, ya malawas ay builo, malawas ay maka. Daeda kinwanina, "Alauntako ut nata sapounta si boita."

Alaunda pay, kano, ut sapounda boida. Yan kanutnut kasindan sasakit; unngayan alanda ut, kano, san usay manokda, ut ya anda san dagas pay mayilatonan. Asida pay ipaytok sinan ipugau ut siay yat abun nan ipugau.

There were two brothers. They went out of the house when there was a ceremony. The people rubbed their greasy hands on them. They were sad because they were not given food by the people. They said, "Let us go and make our house out of sight." When they had left, they took their dogs and went to hunt.

While they were hunting, their dogs barked in the midst of the forest. They went there, and they were barking at a branchless tree, a branchless bamboo, and a branchless vine. They said, "Let us take them and use (them) for making our house."

They took them and used (them) for making their house. Then they were always sick, but they took one chicken and gave it to the *dagas*. Then they handed this down to the people, and it is being done again by the people.

#### LAGLAGIWIN

When the *mambunong* decides that a person has been made sick by his guardian spirit, he causes the sick person to hold a chicken in his hand and to repeat the following:

Sika Laklakiwin, ay poon di ababiik, omalika tan magay ya ak sika si manok makon sikay mamaspasaki, un ya adodi ya adi un pansakitun sakun.

You, *Laglagiwin*, the origin of the *ababiik*, come, because I will give you a chicken if you are the one that has caused the sickness, and you will not again make me sick.

The chicken is then killed and cooked, and just before it is eaten the sick person repeats the prayer.

## TANONG

The *tanong* is a ceremony celebrated to cure sickness caused by the souls of dead ancestors. A carabao, a cow, a hog, or a chicken may be sacrificed, according to the wealth of the sick person. A *mambunong* is not necessary, but the sick person himself prays as follows:

Yan nay ay din nouangko, ta mayiltonan din anguk, mokon dakayo paksau sinan angut ay mansakit. Yamo si bigat ya mataguak ya way nouangak ya andaka loman.

Here I am giving for *tanong* my carabao so that my body will be cured if you made my body sick. If tomorrow I am alive and have a carabao, I will give it again.

The promise to make additional sacrifice is rarely kept, and I have been told by those celebrating the ceremony that they had no intention of keeping it.

After the prayer has been uttered, the animal is killed. If a carabao or cow has been sacrificed, one of the men present cuts small pieces from its liver and throws them in different directions, while saying the following:

Dakayo ay kakading isan nanaraban di nouang, ya andakayo sinan ginotmo alti to pakamonyo ay inpangantka din nong aynay.

You, the souls of the dead in the pasture lands of the carabao, you are given these pieces of liver that you may know that the carabao has been sacrificed.

After the meat has been cooked, the sick person speaks the same prayer which he recited before the animal was killed.

## SAGAUSAU

Among the Kankanay of Benguet the *sagausau* is generally celebrated before starting on a journey, and always before starting on a journey to trade.

A chicken is first killed and its gall examined. If the gall is full and smooth the trader will have luck, but if the gall does not look right, the trip is delayed and the next day another chicken is killed. When the prospective trader finds a chicken whose gall is all right, he then proceeds to celebrate the *sagausau*.

In the western Benguet Kankanay towns, the person giving the *sagausau* prays as follows:

Sika agou ya boan, nay ay manaugasauak; sina yamo amoya sin amoyak, ya yaanda sakun si galiko ya takoanda sakun ni nalaka.

You, Sun and Moon, I am now celebrating the *sagausau*; and if I go, wherever I go, make them give me blankets and sell to me cheap.

In Buguias, where a large number of people make their living by acting as middlemen, between the Nabaloi and Ilocano on the one hand, and the Ifugao on the other, the prayer which is spoken by the *mambunong* is as follows:

You, Sun and Moon, come; witness the *sagausau*. ——— is about to start on a journey to trade. May he be successful in trading. May he be able to collect all that is due him and evade payment of what he owes. Cause the people to give him food and blankets.

In the Lepanto town of Mancayan the *sagausau* is celebrated, but I do not know whether or not it is held in the other Lepanto towns.

The *sagausau* of the Nabaloi is celebrated for a different purpose and is an entirely different ceremony.

## MYTHS<sup>10</sup>

### ORIGIN OF THE BIG AND LITTLE THUNDER

Guaday ifūgau ay way onasna. Usay būngbūngo idi ūna inīla baung, inīla ay waday mangibot si onasna. Ud isay labi nantabon ta ilauna.

Inīla nay adadū ay basang nay omali ay inbayat si si lūpatcha sin alad. Inanay din lūpot nay ūsali yan kimiti. Din isali nay babayī inani di lūpot, yan sinmayag, modin ūsali nabayan adin makasayag tan din lūpot inikudna din payadna.

Inkwanīna sin ifūgau un, "Iatudmo din lūpotko, tan sakun talauak, yan kianko ay sūmayag ud kayang." Mon din ifūgau yatna un, "Adīak iatud din lūpotmo anganas asauwam sakun." Ud niman manasauwada, mon adīna inatud din lūpotna insisiya. Mo din lalaki inpūina di lūpot sin dalam di dakalan sin adīna inīla.

Ud niman angoi yay tolo ay tauan di manasauwanda, ut nananaka-da's dūa. Idi ūsali yay agou din babayī inmui nay sansinokatan din dakdakalan, idi sinokatanan dakalan, dingtūngna din lūpotna.

Mo din ūsali nay anak matī. Din si inada maladi ay inanilaun di ūsali yay anakna ay mabayan si nalabi, mon adin omali sin kaganan.

<sup>10</sup> The first and fourth myths were recorded in Kibungan, the second in Kapan-gan, the third in Legleg.

Sin namingsan nay labi, din si inana di anak piana nay alaun sisiya ut kayang, mon din si amana inilana si asauwana. Idi anoka naniboda ut mantolagada un panpapatkadda din anak. Si inana din kagadua, ut nanbiagana; idi nanbiagana di kagadua, binugauwan naut di usali yay kagaduaana. Modin usali nay kagaduaana nabuyok tan si amana adina mabalin nay panbiagan. Idi namingsan nay labi, din si inana nanbiagana, yan yatna un, "Sulabitam din kagaduum." Ud niman sinongbalana, mon adiut napigsa tan nabayag ay nabuyok.

Nanbalin si kitkitoi yay kido, ut usali nay kagadua nanbalin nay abalug ay kido.

There was a man who had sugar cane. One morning when he went to see his field, he saw that some one had stolen his sugar cane. Then one night he hid to watch.

He saw many beautiful women come and hang their clothing on the fence. He took the clothing of one and made a loud noise. The other women took their clothing and flew away, but the one remaining could not fly because her wings were fastened to her clothing.

She said to the man, "Give me my clothing, because I am a star and wish to fly away to the sky." But the man said, "I will not give you your clothing until you marry me." Then they married, but he did not give her clothing to her. But the man hid the clothing under the *dakalan*<sup>11</sup> when she was not looking.

From that time until three years (afterwards) they were married, and they had two children. One day the woman started to change the *dakalan*; while changing the *dakalan* she found her clothing.

Then one of the children died. The mother continued to come to visit the remaining child in the night, but would not come in the daytime.

One night the mother of the child wanted to take it to the sky, but the father saw his wife. That time they quarreled and agreed to split the child in two. The mother took one half and made it alive; when the half had been made alive it called loudly for the other half. But the other half was rotten because the father was not able to make it live. Then one night the mother made it alive and said, "Answer your half." Then it answered, but not loudly, because it was rotten.

It became the Little Thunder, and the other half became the Big Thunder.

<sup>11</sup> The three rocks on which the pots sit.

## ORIGIN OF THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

Ud agayao inmali sinan lota din Lūmawig, ut inbūina dinisay babayī. Sia adadu ditonodna ay babayī. Inapada ta bakun eda di masauwana. Dayīda ipaeda din posok sindaon di kaugunda. Din Lūmawig sinongsongna din posok, ian adina layidun.

Sia kinwanīna sin asauwana, "Sakun mantaoliak ud tagoi; alayuk dingudwan din anakta ya makayan dingudwana." Sīa ginudwana din anakta, ut īnana din toktokna. Din toktona mabūngut tan iwud din awakna ut nanbūgan. Din Lūmawig sinapona din awak ya din-sikina, ut sīa dinkedo.

Din gudwana ay binayan din Lūmawig adi makali, ut sīa inmali loman ut sinapona din toktok, ut masauwana din kedo ut sīa din kimat.

Long ago Lumawig came to the earth and married a girl. She had many sisters. They were jealous because he had not married them. They put garlic under their beds. Lumawig smelled the garlic and did not like it.

He said to his wife, "I shall return to the sky; I shall take half of our child and leave half." He divided the child into halves, and took the head. The head was angry because it did not have its body, and talked loudly. Lumawig made it a body and legs, and it became the Thunder.

The half that Lumawig left could not talk, but he returned again and made (it a) head, and it married the Thunder, and it (became) the Lightning.

## THE MOUNTAIN KABUNIAN

Waday īsa ay liang sin īsa ay bantag sinēd nabaon, kabūnian bonngonanona di ifūgau nga oomoi sisi. Yatda un manganda mon adīda alaun din pilad. Kayipo ifūgau di amoi ud guab ay un manlakos piana amoi sin liang. Din anīto bunganasda eda.

Sin mamingsan inmoi di isay lakay ut binonngan di anīto yan inana ut din nanagananna ay pilad. Ut nanbiliū si bato, ut inmaylagui sin sookan di liang. Mapo di danom sin tupukna ut mo waday malabas inomunda. Mayigapo sin nangisaanda si pilad tinēkdan din kabūniau di manbūmo.

There is a cave in a mountain where long ago the gods gave food to the people who stopped there. They told them to eat, but not to carry away the plates. Many people going to the seashore to trade would stop at the cave. The gods gave them food.

Once a man stopped and was fed by the gods, but took away the dishes in which he had eaten. Then he was turned to stone, and (now) stands in front of the cave. Water gushes from his mouth, and when there are (people) passing by they drink it. After the plates were taken away the gods stopped giving food.

#### THE ORIGIN OF MAN

Id nabaon ginmosad si kabūnian sinan lota, mo'n iwud di ifūgau. Sia kinwanida, "Maptung mo waday ifūgau. Takosamopoa si lalaki i'ga babayī." Eda inoma si lota ut sinmapo si dūa ay sinan ifūgau ut pimatakdu'gna. Dinkingpas manok asīna panglagtoan kinwanida, "Pansiakak eda ta matagoda." Ut isa sinan ifūgau naysiak. Sia nanbalin si lalaki. Dinūsa dinnguna dinganangona ut naysiak abū, ut nanbalin si babayī.

Long ago the gods came to the earth, but there were no people. They said, "It is good if there are people. We will make a man and a woman." They took some earth and made two people and stood them up. They plucked the feathers from a chicken and made it jump, saying, "We shall make them laugh so that they will be alive." Then one of the people laughed. He became a man. The other heard the first and laughed also, and became a woman.

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